

**Franciscan Manuscripts in Padua from the Thirteenth to the Fifteenth  
Century:  
Following the Traces of a Conception of the Book**

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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### *Abstract*

This thesis discusses the role of the manuscripts written, read and studied by the Franciscan friars from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries in the city of Padua, northern Italy. In order to study the manuscripts, the study proposes a model of analysis that consists of four aspects: the ideal, the space, the purpose and the interaction.

The ideal was expressed by the regulations on learning, study and use of books. The regulations determined the type of book that the manuscripts should be aiming for. The thesis shows that the friars proposed interpretations of the rule in order to reconcile this ideal with their actual use of books. The space was expressed by the Franciscan libraries as places where the manuscripts were collected, but also studied. The thesis discusses how the libraries of the friars found the best ways to guarantee the availability of books for their readers through practices such as long-term loans. The study shows also that the purpose of the manuscripts was related to their physical characteristics, as well as to their type as a book of study, pastoral care, devotion or preaching. The dimension of the interaction refers to the practices of reading. The study reveals that Franciscans were skilled readers who showed remarkable flexibility and contributed significantly to the affirmation of the portable, personal library as a tool for learning and writing.

This thesis follows an innovative approach by comparing for the first time the book collections of the medieval Franciscan libraries in Padua. It also explores an original path by applying the reception theory and the notion of interpretive community as tools to discuss the cultural agency of the medieval Franciscan friars. As a result of its interdisciplinary approach, this study offers findings on the dynamics of circulation of

manuscripts in the libraries, the role of portability in the manuscripts employed by the friars, and prospective fields of application of the model of analysis.

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## *List of Abbreviations*

*AF* = *Analecta Franciscana sive Chronica aliaque varia documenta ad historiam Fratrum Minorum spectantia*, edita a Patribus Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 17 vols (Quaracchi: Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1885-2010)

*AFH* = *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*

*ALKG III* = *Archiv für Literatur und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, ed. by H. Denifle and F. Ehrle, 7 vols (Berlin/Freiburg-i-B: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1885-1900), III (1887)

*Annales Minorum* = Luke Wadding, *Annales Minorum seu Trium Ordinum a S. Francisco Institutorum*, ed. by Jose M. Fonseca, 32 vols (Quaracchi: n. pub., 1931-1964).

Bernardino of Siena, *Opera Omnia* = Bernardino of Siena, *Opera Omnia, studio et cura PP. Collegii S. Bonaventurae*, 9 vols (Quaracchi: Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1950-65)

Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia* = Bonaventure of Bagnoregio, *Doctoris Seraphici S. Bonaventurae Opera Omnia*, ed. by the Fathers of the Collegii S. Bonaventura, 10 vols (Quaracchi: Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1882-1902)

*Bullarium Romanum* = *Magnum Bullarium Romanum: bullarum, privilegiorum ac diplomatum Romanorum pontificum amplissima collectio*, 18 vols (Rome, various publishers, 1733-62; repr. Graz: Akad. Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1964-66), III: Pars secunda, ed. by Charles Cocquelines (Rome: Hieronymus Mainardi, 1741; repr. Graz: Akad. Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1964)

*CHL* = *Chronologia historico-legalis seraphici Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Sancti Francisci*, I (Naples: Michael Angelo, 1650)

*CHLB* = *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland*, ed. by Elisabeth Leedham-Green and Teresa Webber, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006)

*Chronica Glassberger* = *Chronica fratri Nicolai Glassberger*, in *AF* II (Quaracchi: Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1887).

*Chronica XXIV Generalium* = *Chronica XXIV Generalium Ordinis Minorum*, in *AF* III (Quaracchi: Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1897), pp 1-575

*PL* = Migne, *Patrologia Latina*

*Sacrorum conciliorum* = *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio: in qua praeter ea quae Phil. Labbeus et Gabr. Cossartius et novissime Nicolaus Coleti in lucem edidere ea omnia insuper suis in locis optime disposita exhibentur*, ed. by Johannes Dominicus Mansi, 54 vols (Venice, Antonio Zatta, 1759-98; repr, Paris: H. Welter, 1923-27)

### *Criteria for the transcriptions*

The transcriptions follow the original text and do not attempt to correct the source's spelling. My interventions mainly consist of the addition of punctuation.

Modern interventions, comments or paratextual information are provided in square brackets: [ ]

Uncertain transcriptions are placed between angle brackets: < >

## *Introduction*

*The book is simultaneously a thing  
a force, an event, a history<sup>1</sup>*

In the western part of Colombia, facing the Pacific Ocean, lies Chocó, a region entirely covered by tropical rainforest. Thanks to its difficult conditions, this place became the ideal refuge for slaves who fled from the wealthy colonial centres of the Caribbean from the seventeenth century onwards. Nowadays, every year, from mid-September to mid-October, the whole population of its capital city participates in the festival of San Pacho, a festivity that celebrates the religious figure at the centre of their cultural identity: Brother Francis of Assisi. The colourful festival of San Pacho illustrates the extent of the success of the Franciscan missionary work, a worldwide campaign inspired by the example, words and figure of a thirteenth-century preacher from a minor city on the hills of Umbria.<sup>2</sup>

The Franciscan missionary initiative was possible thanks to a demanding programme of training based upon intensive use of books. Books were at the core of Franciscan identity from its origins in the thirteenth century, but this did not mean that the relation between Franciscans and books was an easy one. From the very beginning Francis did not want the order to rely on book culture, and feared that affection for books could endanger the original apostolic spirituality of the community. Nevertheless, Franciscans soon became an order of learned men, that is, intellectuals who were familiar with the complexities of the book culture of medieval universities, and who contributed to all areas of medieval knowledge. In spite of the warnings of their founder, Franciscans fell

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1 Joseph A. Dane, *What is a Book? The Study of Early Printed Books* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012), p. 7.

2 'Pacho' is the colloquial word used in Colombia to refer to those named 'Francisco', that is, Francis.

in love with books and tried by all means available to reconcile the spirit of Francis with their devotion to books and learning.

This thesis will explore the relation between Franciscans and books with emphasis on the interaction between friars and manuscripts in the male convents of the city of Padua from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. In order to do so, this work will discuss four aspects of the Franciscan manuscripts. First, the ideal, as expressed by the regulations on study and the use of books; second, the space, that is, the libraries where these manuscripts were collected, read, studied and written; third, their purpose, as revealed by their physical characteristics; and finally, the interaction with their writers and readers. Each one of these characteristics will be studied in a chapter of the thesis. Nevertheless, before considering these features in detail, it is necessary to explore briefly the role Franciscans played within the cultural environment of Padua during the late Middle Ages.

Padua was a strategic hub in northern Italy from Roman times, and during the Middle Ages was a renowned centre of culture, as shown by Albertus Magnus' description of the city as a place where study flourished from ancient times.<sup>3</sup> During the thirteenth century the city's communal government was substituted by the rule of Ezzelino da Romano, who governed until 1250. Afterwards, Padua adopted a popular republican government which was soon weakened by internal struggles. In order to face the growing menace of the Della Scala family from Verona, the city offered the office of Protector and Captain General to Giacomo da Carrara in 1318. This was the beginning of the Carrara *signoria*, which lasted until 1405, when it fell under the expansion of the Republic of Venice.<sup>4</sup>

It is traditionally assumed that the origins of the University of Padua are located

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- 3 'Patavium quae nunc Padua vocatur civitas, in qua floruit studium ante paucum tempus.' Albertus Magnus, *Opera omnia* (Aschendorff: Monasterii Westfolorum, 1955- ), V, II, *De natura loci; De causis proprietatum elementorum; De generatione et corruptione*, ed. by Paul Hossfeld (1980), p. 33. See Paolo Marangon, *Ad cognitionem scientiae festinare: gli studi nell'Università di Padova nei secoli XIII e XIV*, ed. by Tiziana Pesenti (Trieste: Lint, 1997), p. 88.
- 4 A comprehensive profile of the medieval history of Padua, particularly of its affirmation as a *comune* and the rule of Ezzelino da Romano can be found in Sante Bortolami, 'Fra "alte domus" e "populares homines": il Comune di Padova e il suo sviluppo prima di Ezzelino', in *Storia e cultura a Padova nell'età di sant'Antonio: convegno internazionale di studi 1-4 ottobre 1981 Padova-Monselice* (Padua: Istituto per la Storia Ecclesiastica Padovana, 1985), pp. 1-74. See also Benjamin G. Kohl, *Padua Under The Carrara: 1318-1405* (Baltimore; London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 35-38, 251-60, 315-36; Benjamin G. Kohl, 'Government and Society in Renaissance Padua', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 2 (1972), 205-21; and Giuseppe Gullino, ed., *Storia di Padova: dall'antichità all'età contemporanea* (Sommacampagna: Cierre, 2010).



around 1222, when a group of students and masters migrated from Bologna in search of flexible conditions for study.<sup>5</sup> This is also the period when the mendicant orders arrived to the city, and when the rule of Ezzelino of Romano began.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, the cultural environment of Padua during the late Middle Ages was determined by the interaction between the government of the city, the University, and the mendicant orders, particularly, Franciscans.

Although Ezzelino's rule was severe, study in the University was not disrupted. The new regime guaranteed a space for the activity of Franciscans, as shown by the links with the provincial minister Bonaventure of Iseo, and by the appointment of friars in different roles, even as engineers responsible for the design and manufacture of structures of siege.<sup>7</sup> The Dominicans, nevertheless, were less favoured since their protectors had previously fought against Ezzelino.<sup>8</sup> After his demise, there was a further growth in the number of students in the University. As a consequence, masters and friars from Padua supported, a few years later, the foundation of universities in nearby cities such as Vicenza.<sup>9</sup> During the fourteenth century, under the *signoria* of the Carrara, the cultural environment received additional support. The new regime not only appointed scholars in key positions of administration, but reinforced the links with religious orders. There was a relationship of training and exchange between the hospitals in the city, the professors of medicine in the university and the mendicant orders.<sup>10</sup> During the fifteenth century, the Venetian administration transformed the University of Padua into a university of state. At the same time, the reformed Franciscan friars, or observants, arrived to the city and swiftly engaged in preaching and studying. Their hospital offered places for students, as shown by the case of Antonio da Urbino and his two brothers, who lived there while they were students. After

5 Nancy G. Siraisi, *Arts and Sciences at Padua: The Studium of Padua before 1350* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1973), pp. 15-20.

6 Marangon, *Ad cognitionem scientiae festinare*, pp. 48-49; 52-53.

7 'Erat autem et alius frater Minor laycus in isto exercitu, sanctus homo et Deo devotus, qui in seculo domini Icilini magister inegnierius fuerat ad faciendas machinas et trabuccos et catts atque arietes ad capiendas urbes et castra.' Salimbene of Adam, *Cronica*, ed. by Giuseppe Scalia, 2 vols (Bari: Laterza, 1966), I, p. 572. See also Marangon, *Ad cognitionem scientiae festinare*, pp. 86, 94.

8 Marangon, *Ad cognitionem scientiae festinare*, p. 90.

9 Marangon, *Ad cognitionem scientiae festinare*, p. 92.

10 Kohl, *Padua Under The Carrara*, pp. 199-204; Marangon, *Ad cognitionem scientiae festinare*, p. 69. For a profile of the life and activities of students during the early history of the university of Padua see Siraisi, *Arts and Sciences at Padua*, particularly pp. 20-31. See also Sante Bortolami, 'Studenti e città nel primo secolo dello studio padovano', in *Studenti, università, città nella storia padovana: atti del convegno, Padova 6-8 febbraio 1998*, ed. by Francesco Piovan and Luciana Sitran Rea (Trieste: LINT, 2001), pp. 3-28.

completing their studies, one of the brothers, Francesco, remained as the surgeon of the hospice.<sup>11</sup>

The relation between the University of Padua and Franciscan culture is illustrated by the fact that, according to St Anthony's legend, the students of the University were among the first who asked for his canonisation, even though he did not study or teach there.<sup>12</sup> In fact, the transformation of the convent's school from *studium* of the province in 1282 into *studium generale* in 1310, and later as a section of the theological faculty from 1363 was possible thanks to the interaction with the University.<sup>13</sup> Further evidence of the reciprocal influence between the Franciscan convent and the academic centre may be found in the composition of the book collection held by the friars in their library. According to Cesare Cenci, during the first two centuries of the convent there is a predominance of Franciscan authors with emphasis on the pastoral content, but the personal interests of professors and students of the University became more evident as the composition of the collection changed and reflected their needs.<sup>14</sup> The arrival of the observant friars and the foundation of the convent and hospital of San Francesco Grande during the fifteenth century enriched the exchange since the friars, apart from becoming active students, offered accommodation and support to fellow scholars.<sup>15</sup> The activity of friars, the strategic location and the continuous interaction with the University made of Padua the most important Franciscan centre in Italy after Assisi, and by the second half of the fifteenth century, it hosted two Franciscan convents from two different branches of the order. The first of these convents was the house of the unreformed friars of the Community, or Conventuals, who had settled and built the convent of Sant'Antonio

11 Silvana Collodo, *Una società in trasformazione: Padova tra XI e XV secolo* (Padua: Antenore, 1990), pp. 542-43, 553. See also François Dupuigrenet Desroussilles, 'L'università di Padova dal 1405 al Concilio di Trento', in *Storia della cultura veneta*, 5 vols (Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1976-[86]), III, II, *Dal primo Quattrocento al concilio di Trento*, ed. by Girolamo Arnaldi, and Manlio Pastore Stocchi (1980), pp. 607-47.

12 'Clamat nimirum sacer cleri conventus; vociferatur devotus populus; omnes una voce et unanimi voluntate concordant; ut probeati Antonii canonizatione [sic] ad curiam mittatur modis omnibus instant [...] Scribit proinde favore digna magistrorum atque scholarium universitas tota et litteras, visus et auditus testimonium perhibentes, mittit litteratorum concio, non leviter repulsam passura.' Léo de Kerval, ed., *Sancti Antonii de Padua vitae duae quarum altera hucusque inedita* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1904), pp. 75, 77. See Marangon, *Ad cognitionem scientiae festinare*, pp. 65, 81.

13 Marangon, *Ad cognitionem scientiae festinare*, p. 120.

14 Cesare Cenci, 'Manoscritti e frati studiosi nella Biblioteca Antoniana di Padova', *AFH*, 69 (1976), 496-520 (p. 498). See also Antonio Sartori, 'Gli studi al Santo di Padova', in *Problemi e figure della scuola scotista del Santo* (Padua: Messagero, 1966), pp. 67-180, where there is a comprehensive documentary overview of the activities of friars as agents of culture in the society and the practices of study in the convent.

15 Collodo, *Una società in trasformazione*, pp. 510-11.

from the thirteenth century. The second convent, San Francesco Grande, belonged to the reformed movement of the Observance and soon became one of the main observant centres of Italy.

### *i.1. Franciscans and Manuscripts: Status Quaestionis*

The study of the manuscripts used by Franciscans has been part of wider fields of research such as the history of Franciscan education, the history of Franciscan libraries, the development of Franciscan regulations on study and books, and the discussion of the modalities of use of books by Franciscan friars within the order's schools or *studia*.

The history of Franciscan education is one the most developed fields of research. In its early phases it focused on the edition of sources, mainly constitutions related to the discipline of study, by the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>16</sup> In 1904 Hilarin Felder published the first comprehensive study of the development of education and intellectual training in the Franciscan order, a work that was swiftly translated into French and Italian.<sup>17</sup> Felder explored themes such as the relation of Franciscans to the establishment and growth of the schools, or *studia*, and the organisation of studies during the thirteenth century. The effort to make comprehensive and accurate editions of the sources continued during the first part of the twentieth century, as shown by the work of Andrew G. Little and the editions carried out by the Collegio di Quaracchi.<sup>18</sup> As a result, solid support to explore particular problems and cases became available. The first studies of the history of education in the order were carried out mainly by members of the order who focused on three main topics, namely, the biographical profiles of renowned Franciscan masters, the study of canon law, and the role of Franciscan friars as masters at the University of Paris.<sup>19</sup> A more structured view of the

16 See for instance Franz Ehrle, *Die ältesten Redaktionen der Generalconstitutionen des Franziskanerordens*, in *ALKG* vi (1982), pp. 1-138.

17 Hilarin Felder, *Geschichte der wissenschaftlichen studien im Franziskanerorden bis um die Mitte des 13 Jahrhunderts* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1904).

18 Andrew G. Little, *The Grey Friars in Oxford* (Oxford: Oxford Historical Society, 1892); Andrew G. Little, 'The Franciscan School at Oxford in the Thirteenth Century', *AFH* 19 (1926), 803-74; Andrew G. Little, 'Definitiones capitulorum generalium ordinis fratrum Minorum 1260-1282', *AFH*, 7 (1914), 676-82; Andrew G. Little, 'Statuta provinciali provinciae Franciae et Marchiae Trevisae (saec. XIII)', *AFH* 7 (1914), 447-65. For an overview of the editorial work of the Collegio di Quaracchi see Fortunato Iozzelli, 'Le edizioni scientifiche del Collegio S. Bonaventura di Quaracchi-Grottaferrata', in *Editori di Quaracchi 100 anni dopo. Bilancio e prospettive. Atti del Colloquio internazionale (Roma, 29-30 maggio 1995)*, ed. by Alvaro Cacciotti and Barbara Faes de Mottoni (Rome: Antonianum, 1997), pp. 21-39.

19 Francesco A. Benoffi, 'Degli studi nell'Ordine dei Minori', *Miscellanea Francescana*, 31 (1931), 151-

process of education and the development of the network of Franciscan schools was achieved in the contributions presented in the congress of Todi in 1976.<sup>20</sup> The papers of the congress explored the schools of the mendicant orders following a comparative approach that aimed to contextualise the processes of training and learning. As a result, Franciscan learning and book culture were considered in relation to the context of the Dominican experience. The contributions of the congress also explored methodological questions, for example, how the availability of the sources had conditioned the perspective of scholars on the field of research. In this sense, the presence of a structured and specific corpus of Dominican sources on learning has also conditioned the perception of early scholarship. Other fields proposed by the congress were the diffusion of the mendicant schools, the constitution of networks of centres of training, and the techniques of teaching and learning, as revealed by the sources. Concerning the relation of mendicants, and in particular the Franciscans, with manuscripts, the contribution of Gabriella Severino Polica on books, reading and practices of learning in mendicant schools has become a fundamental reference for the study of book culture within the order.<sup>21</sup> As will be discussed further, the congress of Todi has been a significant contribution to scholarship on Franciscan intellectual history, but at the same time significantly contributed to the affirmation of the idea that Franciscan book culture was dependent on the Dominican model.

In 1988 the congress of the Società Internazionale di Studi Francescani at Assisi discussed the relation between the Franciscan order and the culture of medieval universities. As a result of the new approaches proposed by the contributions, the role of masters such as Anthony of Padua and Bonaventure of Bagnoregio as promoters of scholarly culture was explored in the wider context of the institutional development of the order.<sup>22</sup> More recently, there have been attempts to explore new fields within the

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60, 257-59; and 32 (1932), 23-27; Michael Brlek, *De evolutione iuridica studiorum in ordine Minorum (ab initio ordinis usque ad an. 1517)* (Dubrovnik: Jadran, 1942); Palemon Glorieux, 'D'Alexandre de Halès à Pierre Auriol. La suite des maîtres franciscaines de Paris au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle', *AFH*, 26 (1933), 257-81; Victorin Doucet, 'Maîtres franciscains de Paris. Supplément au "Répertoire des maîtres en théologie de Paris au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle" de M. le Chan. P. Glorieux', *AFH*, 27 (1934), 531-64.

20 *Le scuole degli ordini mendicanti, secoli XIII-XIV (11-14 ottobre 1976)* (Todi: Accademia Tudertina, 1978).

21 Gabriella Severino Polica, 'Libro, lettura, "lezione" negli studia degli ordini mendicanti (sec XIII)', in *Le scuole degli ordini mendicanti*, pp. 373-413.

22 *Francescanesimo e cultura universitaria. Atti del XVI convegno internazionale (Assisi, 13-15 ottobre 1988)* (Perugia: University of Perugia, 1990).

scholastic culture of mendicants, for example, the vocabulary of the mendicant schools.<sup>23</sup> In order to achieve a better understanding of the complexities of the Franciscan educational system, scholarship has recently focused on the actual practices of learning, training and reading in the Franciscan schools, and has tried to relate them to the general development of the order.<sup>24</sup> Nevertheless, one of the issues of scholarship on books and education has been the tendency to concentrate on the early history and the scholastic phase, which stops at the beginning of the fifteenth century, ignoring the role of Franciscan Observance. In this context, the work of Bert Roest is particularly interesting for several reasons: first, it went beyond the fourteenth century and explored the educational context of the Franciscan Observance; second, it proposed an approach that brought Franciscan libraries as part of the system of training into analytical focus; and third, it proposed the *lectors*, or instructors of the schools, as agents of the Franciscan intellectual achievement.<sup>25</sup> His description of the Franciscan curriculum of studies and the organisation of the network of schools within the provinces has been discussed recently by William Courtenay, who warns against the perils of generalisations and suggests focusing on the specific characteristics of the provinces.<sup>26</sup> Luigi Pellegrini, however, returned to the topic of the relation between mendicant orders and universities, proposing that since they were innovations or 'inventions' of the Middle Ages, they reflected the dramatic transformations of the social and cultural context, providing new answers to the question why mendicants engaged so quickly and effectively with universities.<sup>27</sup> More recent studies have explored an approach to Franciscan learning in the specific context of the order's provincial organisation. An example of this kind of study is Emanuele Fontana's work on the relation between friars,

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23 *Le vocabulaire des écoles des mendiants au Moyen Âge: actes du colloque (Porto, 11-12 octobre 1996)*, ed. by Maria Candida Pacheco (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999).

24 *Studio e 'studia': le scuole degli Ordini mendicanti tra XIII e XIV secolo. Atti del XXIX Convegno internazionale (Assisi, 11-13 ottobre 2001)* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi Sull'Alto Medioevo, 2002).

25 Bert Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education (c. 1210 – 1517)* (Leiden: Brill, 2000); Bert Roest, 'The Role of Lectors in the Religious Formation of Franciscan Friars, Nuns, and Tertiaries', in *Studio e 'studia': le scuole degli Ordini mendicanti tra XIII e XIV secolo. Atti del XXIX Convegno internazionale (Assisi, 11-13 ottobre 2001)* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi Sull'Alto Medioevo, 2002), pp. 83-115.

26 William J. Courtenay, 'Franciscan Learning: University Education and Biblical Exegesis', in *Defenders and Critics of Franciscan Life: Essays in Honor of John V. Fleming*, ed. by Michael Cusato and G. Geltner (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2009), pp. 55-64 (p. 59).

27 Luigi Pellegrini, *L'incontro tra due invenzioni medievali: università e ordini mendicanti* (Naples: Liguori, 2003).

books and practices of teaching in the province of Sant'Antonio, in northern Italy.<sup>28</sup> His work also discusses the organisation of studies, practices related to production, acquisition of books and study in the province, and the works of some of the lectors in the convent of Sant'Antonio. Fontana's contributions complement the work previously carried out by Paolo Marangon, who significantly enhanced our understanding of the development of the scholastic culture in the convent of Sant'Antonio in Padua, and explored the relation between friars, university, and the study of philosophy and natural sciences in the school of the convent.<sup>29</sup>

The recent work of Neslihan Şenocak discusses a wide range of issues such as the historiographical debate on the 'Franciscan question', or the original intention of Francis regarding his own order, the influence of the members of the order on the early Franciscan historiography, and the overstatement of the apparent incompatibility between using books and the vow of poverty.<sup>30</sup> This topic constitutes an important part of this thesis, since the discussion on Franciscan regulations on use of books and study in Chapter 1 shows that even the most rigorous reconstructions of the intention of Francis did not entail condemning the use of books. Additionally, Şenocak argues that, concerning learning and the use of books, historiography has so far considered the question of humility as a secondary topic, and has focused instead almost exclusively on poverty. With regard to learning and study, Şenocak also discusses the fact that even though Franciscans argued that preparation for preaching and pastoral care was the reason to pursue a course of study, their level of training, active participation in all fields of scholastic discussion, and achievements as intellectuals clearly go beyond the simple task of fulfilling pastoral duties. Additionally, she explores the questions of why friars engaged so profoundly in the scholastic culture of their time, and whether Franciscans, and mendicants in general, reflected a process of glorification of learning which was characteristic of medieval society. In the context of scholarship on Franciscan learning, this thesis offers significant contributions in terms of the discussion of the regulations as a means to understand the distance between an ideal proposed by the rule and the actual practice of learning. The innovative perspective that applies the

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28 Emanuele Fontana, *Frati, libri e insegnamento nella provincia minoritica di S. Antonio (secoli XIII-XIV)* (Padua: Centro Studi Antoniani, 2012).

29 Paolo Marangon, *Ad cognitionem scientiae festinare*.

30 Neslihan Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect: The Rise of Learning in the Franciscan Order, 1209-1310* (Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 2012).

reception criticism and its categories, such as the interpretive community, and the manuscript evidence offer insight into the friars as readers who integrated the world of their multiple audience in their discipline of writing.

As a topic of research, Franciscan libraries have mainly been studied in relation to Franciscan institutional developments or Franciscan education.<sup>31</sup> Further research has produced editions of library inventories, complemented by the identification and description of the volumes registered in those documents.<sup>32</sup> Another set of studies has focused on discussing processes such as the creation of regulations for the libraries and the acquisition and circulation of books within the Franciscan houses.<sup>33</sup> Concerning the regulations on study, books and libraries, Pietro Maranesi's research has produced a significant contribution in terms of the edition of the sources and, more recently, a comparative study of the Franciscan regulations and their relation to the order's internal debate on ownership and the use of books.<sup>34</sup>

#### The consideration of manuscripts in Franciscan environments as an independent

- 31 John W. Clark, *The Care of Books: An Essay on the Development of Libraries and their Fittings, from the Earliest Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1901), pp. 199-207; Giuseppe Abate, 'Manoscritti e biblioteche francescane del medio evo', in *Il libro e le biblioteche: Atti del primo congresso bibliologico francescano internazionale, 20-27 febbraio 1949*, 2 vols (Rome: Pontificium Athenaeum Antonianum, 1950), II, pp. 77-126; Kenneth W. Humphreys, *The Book Provisions of the Medieval Friars: 1215-1400* (Amsterdam: Erasmus, 1964); Kenneth W. Humphreys, *The Friars' Libraries* (London: British Library, 1990), and Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education*.
- 32 Kenneth W. Humphreys, *The Library of the Convent of St Antony, Padua at the Beginning of the Fifteenth Century* (Amsterdam: Erasmus, 1966); Kenneth W. Humphreys, *The Library of the Franciscans of Siena in the Late Fifteenth Century* (Amsterdam: Erasmus, 1978); Cesare Cenci, *Bibliotheca Manuscripta ad Sacrum Conventum Assisiensem*, 2 vols (Assisi: Casa Editrice Franciscana, 1981); Donatella Frioli, 'Gli antichi inventari della Biblioteca Antoniana di Padova: lessicografia e concezioni codicologiche', *Le Venezie francescane*, 4 (1987), 73-103; Eugenia Govi, 'Il fondo manoscritto della biblioteca di S. Francesco di Padova conservato presso l'Universitaria patavina', *Le Venezie francescane* 4 (1987), 137-57; Martina Pantarotto, *La biblioteca manoscritta del convento di San Francesco Grande di Padova* (Padua: Centro Studi Antoniani, 2003); Donatella Frioli, 'Gli inventari degli Ordini Mendicanti', in *Libri, biblioteche e letture dei Frati Mendicanti (secoli XIII-XIV). Atti del XXXII convegno internazionale, Assisi, 7-9 ottobre 2004* (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2005), pp. 301-73, and Elena Somigli, *Hoc est registrum omnium librorum: Le biblioteche e la circolazione libraria in ambito francescano nella Provincia di Toscana dei secoli XIV-XV. Fonti edite e inedite* (Unpublished doctoral thesis, Istituto di Studi Umanistici, Florence, 2009).
- 33 Simona Gavinelli, 'Per una biblioteconomia degli Ordini mendicanti (secc. XIII-XIV)', in *Libri, biblioteche e letture dei Frati Mendicanti (secoli XIII-XIV): Atti del XXXII convegno internazionale Assisi, 7-9 ottobre 2004* (Spoleto: CISAM, 2005), pp. 265-300; Neslihan Şenocak, 'Book Acquisition in the Medieval Franciscan Order', *Journal of Religious History*, 27 (2003), 14-28.
- 34 In this sense the main contributions are due to Pietro Maranesi. For instance, Pietro Maranesi *Nescientes litteras: L'ammonezione della regola francescana e la questione degli studi nell'Ordine (sec XIII-XVI)* (Rome: Istituto Storico dei Capuccini, 2000), and Pietro Maranesi, 'La normativa degli ordini mendicanti sui libri in convento', in *Libri, biblioteche e letture dei Frati Mendicanti (secoli XIII-XIV). Atti del XXXII convegno internazionale, Assisi, 7-9 ottobre 2004* (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2005), pp. 171-264.

object of study had its origins in the description of sets of manuscripts that could be considered Franciscan in terms of their provenance.<sup>35</sup> Scholars such as Attilio Bartoli Langeli, Nicoletta Giovè Marchioli, and Neslihan Şenocak have explored and discussed the circulation of books in the Franciscan order, and have contributed significantly to the transformation of the topic of books and mendicant orders into a proper field of study.<sup>36</sup> Their work continues to offer interesting results and prospective fields such as the dynamics of circulation of books within reformed houses, or the autographs by the saints of the Franciscan observance.<sup>37</sup> Two topics within this field are particularly relevant to the focus of this thesis: the real extent of the Dominican influence on Franciscan book culture, and the nature and typology of the books used by Franciscan friars.

### *i.1.1. Historiography: A Question of Influence*

The discussion of the role of books in Franciscan life has been determined by a schematic opposition between Franciscans and Dominicans built up in the

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- 35 A. Lopez, 'Descriptio codicum franciscanorum Bibliothecae Riccardianae Florentinae', *AFH*, 1 (1908), 116-25; 433-42; 2 (1909), 123-30, 319-24, 480-84; 3 (1910), 333-40, 551-58, 739-48; 4 (1911), 360-65, 748-54; 5 (1912), 352-59; 6 (1913), 156-67, 328-37, 748-57; and S. Tosti, 'Descriptio codicum franciscanorum Bibliothecae Riccardianae Florentinae', *AFH*, 8 (1915), 226-73, 618-57; 9 (1916), 395-442, 13 (1920), 587-603; 14 (1921), 243-58; 15 (1922), 155-70, 508-24; 16 (1923), 545-56.
- 36 Attilio Bartoli Langeli, 'I libri dei frati: la cultura scritta dell'Ordine dei Minori', in *Francesco d'Assisi e il primo secolo di storia francescana* (Turin: Einaudi, 1997), pp. 283-305; Nicoletta Giovè Marchioli, and Stefano Zamponi, 'Manoscritti in volgare nei conventi dei Frati Minori: testi, tipologie librerie, scritture (secoli XIII-XIV)', in *Francescanesimo in volgare (secoli XIII-XIV): Atti del XXIV Convegno internazionale (Assisi, 17-19 ottobre 1996)* (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1997), pp. 301-36; Nicoletta Giovè Marchioli, 'I protagonisti del libro: gli ordini mendicanti', in *Calligrafia di Dio: la miniatura celebra la parola*, ed. by Giordana Mariani Canova and Paola Ferraro (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 1999), pp. 51-57; Nicoletta Giovè Marchioli 'Circolazione libraria e cultura francescana nella Padova del Due e Trecento', in *Predicazione e società nel medioevo: riflessione etica, valori e modelli di comportamento. Atti del XII Medieval Sermon Studies Symposium*, ed. by Riccardo Quinto and Laura Gaffuri (Padua: Centro Studi Antoniani, 2002), pp. 131-41; Nicoletta Giovè Marchioli, 'Scriptus per me. Copisti, sottoscrizioni e scritture nei manoscritti della Biblioteca Antoniana', *Il Santo*, 43 (2003), 671-90; Nicoletta Giovè Marchioli, 'Il codice Franceseano, l'invenzione di un'identità', in *Libri, biblioteche e letture dei Frati Mendicanti (secoli XIII-XIV). Atti del XXXII convegno internazionale, Assisi, 7-9 ottobre 2004* (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2005), pp. 375-418; Nicoletta Giovè Marchioli, 'La cultura scritta al Santo nel Quattrocento: fra produzione, fruizione e conservazione', in *Cultura, Arte, Committenza al Santo nel Quattrocento, Padova, Basilica del Santo, 25-26 Settembre 2009* (Padua: Centro di Studi Antoniani, 2010), pp. 361-88, and Neslihan Şenocak, 'Circulation of Books in the Medieval Franciscan Order: Attitudes, Methods, and Critics', *Journal of Religious History*, 28 (2004), 146-61.
- 37 Nicoletta Giovè Marchioli, 'Sante scritture: l'autografia dei santi francescani dell'Osservanza del Quattrocento', in *Entre stabilité et itinérance: livres et culture des ordres mendiants XIII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. by Nicole Bériou, Martin Morard, and Donatella Nebbiai (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 162-87.



historiography of both orders. Previously, scholarship on the role of books in mendicant orders has defined the field by suggesting a model where book culture was adopted by Franciscans under the influence of the Dominican example. One of the clearest examples of this approach is the contribution presented by Gabriela Severino Polica at the congress of Todi in 1976, where she discussed mendicant practices of study, as well as the use of books during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.<sup>38</sup> One of her main conclusions was that the Dominicans represented a cultural and intellectual *avant-garde* that succeeded in making study into an essential part of their identity from the very beginning. Franciscans, however, only managed to follow the Dominican example, since they were dramatically limited by their internal conflicts.<sup>39</sup> Although both orders reproduced the dynamics of the university *lectio* in their own schools, their different cultural ideologies determined opposite roles for books within each community.<sup>40</sup> Moreover, although preaching was a distinctive element of the orders' identity, Dominican preaching had the purpose of fighting heresy, while the purpose of Franciscan preaching was the call to penance. This difference was reflected in the preparation for preaching. For the Dominicans, only an intensive practice of study could provide the necessary exegetical tools to guarantee the proper interpretation of Scripture. For the Franciscans, preaching was essentially an apostolic exhortation and was based on living in an exemplary way than on learned reflection. As a consequence, an incomplete Franciscan theological interpretation developed later.<sup>41</sup> This approach suggested that only Dominicans considered intensive study and use of books as essential to preaching, which reinforced the perception of the Dominican order as an intellectual community centred in study. A similar point of view has the great limitation of assuming that there should be a suitable model of development for the order, a model that Franciscans, at least in the early phases of their history, failed to accomplish.

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38 Severino Polica, 'Libro, lettura, "lezione"'.  
 39 Severino Polica, 'Libro, lettura, "lezione"' pp. 381-83.

40 Severino Polica's analysis proposed an ideology focused on intellectual achievement for the Dominicans, as opposed to a Franciscan ideology centred in the apostolic exhortation to penance. See Severino Polica, 'Libro, lettura, "lezione"', pp. 378-81.

41 'Risulta chiaro a questo punto che l'ideologia del libro elaborata dai Domenicani esprime un rapporto di consapevole e approfondita continuità fra cultura scritta e predicazione [...] I Francescani, al contrario, stenteranno sempre ad inquadrare la riflessione del libro in un'ottica culturale-professionale, proprio perchè il nesso fra acquisizione della scienza e sua professionalizzazione, fra cultura scritta e predicazione, fra esegesi e comunicazione, si afferma presso di loro in modi incerti, sfocati, segnati da un non risolto rapporto con una vocazione "evangelica".' See Severino Polica, 'Libro, lettura, "lezione"', p. 408.

Any set of observations on the very early phases of the Franciscan cultural experience is unquestionably useful, but still insufficient to understand phenomena such as the role of books in, say, fifteenth-century observant preaching. Since the particular analysis of Severino Polica was based upon a scheme that opposed 'active Dominicans' to 'passive Franciscans', it was natural to arrive at the conclusion that the Dominican book was essentially a 'scholastic' tool, adapted to the intellectual vocation of an order focused on study, while the Franciscan book, as expected, was a continuous source of conflict.<sup>42</sup> Such a perception has its roots in the overstatement of the conflict between the presence of books and the poverty of the order, and the lack of understanding of the role of humility in the whole picture. As shown in Chapter 1 of this thesis, even the most strict interpretations of the rule did not condemn books in themselves. Nevertheless the conflictual approach to the question of study and books has been very influential. One of the reasons for its success is that it is inherently schematic, and therefore became useful to simplify complex phenomena. Another reason is the fact that it followed a comparative approach that focused on the differences between the orders, providing a simple characterisation of the mendicant orders during their complex early phases: 'intellectual, disciplined Dominicans' were the opposite of and complementary to 'apostolic, passionate Franciscans'. Only very recently has this approach been questioned, particularly by Bert Roest, Neslihan Şenocak and Nicoletta Giovè Marchioli.<sup>43</sup> In fact, there are two problems with the traditional approach: first, it implies a value-judgement in terms of perceiving the early phase of the Franciscan history as a failure in terms of scholarly achievement; and second, it does not establish clearly the extent of the influence of the Dominican example. However, remaining echoes of the idea that Franciscan learning and study were somehow determined by the Dominican example are still present in some of the most recent research<sup>44</sup>

### *i.2. The Franciscan Book: Ideal Models and Perspectives*

During the 32nd Congress of the Società Internazionale di Studi Francescani at Assisi, Nicoletta Giovè Marchioli offered the results of her research into the books used and

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42 Severino Polica, 'Libro, lettura, "lezione"', pp. 387-93; 402-03.

43 Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education*; Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, pp. 16-20, and Giovè Marchioli, 'I protagonisti del libro: gli ordini mendicanti', pp. 51-53.

44 For example, in Fontana, *Frați, libri e insegnamento*.

produced by Franciscans in search of a specific type of book that may be considered as Franciscan.<sup>45</sup> In fact, Giovè Marchioli discussed what she called the 'physiognomy' of the Franciscan manuscript, that is, the set of physical characteristics of the manuscripts used and produced by Franciscan friars, in order to find whether a model for the Franciscan book could be identified. One might think that such a model was represented by the books used by the early community of friars, but Giovè Marchioli points out that a question arises: what kind of manuscript constituted the Franciscan model, the humble miscellany of devotional texts gathered and copied by the first friars, or the liturgical books for the divine office?<sup>46</sup> Liturgical books such as breviaries and missals were perhaps the first manuscripts available in Franciscan houses, even before the constitution of any library. However, they arrived through donations or bequests; and even when they were produced by the convents themselves later, they followed established models that left no room for the affirmation of any original Franciscan style in their elaboration. As a consequence, the liturgical book used by Franciscans had only two possible variations: a big manuscript for collective use with a high level of ornamentation or breviaries of a smaller dimension, intended to be portable books to be carried by the friars. The manuscripts produced by the friars in the early stages of the history of the order were mainly devotional texts, not tools for study or for the preparation for preaching. The appearance of manuals and compilations of sermons within the Franciscan convents reflected the further engagement of the community in forms of preaching beyond the exhortation to penance. These manuscripts, which usually contained sermons, had a low level of sophistication, were smaller than books for study, and contained a great variety of hands and decorative elements. Therefore, the Franciscan compilations of sermons do not fit into the ideal of the Franciscan book.<sup>47</sup>

In order to find a model for the Franciscan book, Giovè Marchioli proposed to start by formulating an ideal Franciscan manuscript, that is, a book written by a Franciscan friar, containing the work of a Franciscan author and belonging to a Franciscan house.<sup>48</sup> In this sense, the volume Assisi, Biblioteca del Sacro Convento, MS 338, a compilation

45 Giovè Marchioli, 'Il codice Franceseano, l'invenzione di un'identità'.

46 Marino Bigaroni, 'Catalogo dei manoscritti della biblioteca storico-francescana di Chiesa nuova di Assisi', *Atti dell'Accademia Properziana del Subasio di Assisi*, 6th ser., 1 (1978), 9-43 (pp. 10-11). See also Nicoletta Giove-Marchioli, 'Il codice Franceseano, l'invenzione di un'identità', p. 382.

47 Giovè Marchioli, 'Il codice Franceseano', pp. 394-95; 406-09.

48 Giovè Marchioli and Stefano Zamponi, 'Manoscritti in volgare nei conventi dei Frati Minori', p. 312.

of early writings on Francis of Assisi is the realisation of such an ideal.<sup>49</sup> However, a manuscript that satisfied the requirements of the ideal was rather exceptional, and therefore it becomes practically irrelevant for the discussion of the nature of the Franciscan book. Some Bibles used by Franciscans in Franciscan convents were unequivocally made to be part of a Franciscan library, as shown by the decorations depicting Francis and Franciscan saints. Nevertheless, they were magnificent manuscripts of large dimensions, far from reflecting any humility or poverty.<sup>50</sup> At the same time, the production within a Franciscan centre is not a necessary condition for a manuscript to be Franciscan. There are some examples of Franciscan manuscripts whose scribe was a layman living outside the convent, as with the volume Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 1287, a miscellany with excerpts from Bonaventure and other Franciscan masters, written by Dino Brunaccini, a wool merchant who transcribed the book 'per se e per le sue erede del libro dello armario dello studio del chonvento di frati minori di Firenze'.<sup>51</sup>

As mentioned before, Franciscan manuscripts of sermons were far from the proposed ideal. At the beginning, Franciscan sermons were gathered in compilations that reproduced the format of the manuscripts used as tools of study in the university, that is, they were parchment manuscripts of regular size, usually between 300/330 x 200/220 mm, written in gothic script, normally by a single hand, and with a mise-en-page organised in two columns. The more modest paper volumes of sermons, written in cursive script, with a smaller size, appeared later, as miscellanies, characteristic of the observant reformed convents.

Evidence shows that books used and produced by Franciscans had a remarkable variety: they were written in many different scripts, from the most formal gothic to the most informal cursives, and had an enormous variation in size, styles of decoration, and mise-en-page. These volumes contained single works, compilations of works by one author or miscellanies. Concerning the relation between the types of books and their

49 A complete description of the manuscript can be found in Cenci, *Bibliotheca Manuscripta ad Sacrum Conventum*, I, 236-37.

50 Examples of this kind of manuscripts are the volumes Cesena, Biblioteca Malatestina, MS D.XXI.1, 2, 3, 4 and Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Monumenti e collezioni provinciali, MS 1597, or the Bible in various volumes: Padua, Biblioteca Antoniana, MS 267, 274, 276, 277, 280, 283, 284, 285, 289, 309, 310, 313, 316 and 342, and Assisi, Biblioteca del Sacro Convento, MS 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 and 15. See Giove-Marchioli, 'Il codice Francese', p. 385.

51 See Giove-Marchioli, 'Il codice Francese', pp. 401-02. See also Giove Marchioli and Zamponi, 'Manoscritti in volgare nei conventi dei Frati Minori', pp. 314-16.

size, there were at least three different kinds of manuscript employed by friars: the big liturgical book, the medium book of study that followed the model of the books used in the universities, and the small, portable book. Concerning the general dynamics of production, it seems that there was a continuous production of the same types of manuscript, with one significant variation during the fifteenth century. The friars of the Community, or Conventuals, continued using books, but there are indications which suggest that they did not produce new books by the late fifteenth century: the number of colophons indicating the convent as the place of production decreased dramatically. It seems that those who undertook the task of producing new books were the observant friars.<sup>52</sup> Until the end of the fifteenth century the three main forms of the Franciscan book continued: the book of study, characterised by the influence of the university book; the compilation of sermons, and the book with high level of realisation, destined for devotional purposes, but certainly not a book of study. All these considerations led Giovè Marchioli to question the existence of a single model that could summarise the different types of book produced and used by Franciscan friars during the Middle Ages.<sup>53</sup> The proposal of an ideal for the Franciscan book, or rather, its failure, is helpful for understanding that the complex reality of the manuscripts written and read by Franciscan friars escapes any attempt at methodological simplification in terms of a unitary model, and this understanding constitutes one of the findings of this thesis.

The discussion proposed by Giovè Marchioli was a significant contribution to understanding the limits of Franciscan codicology as a field of research, and constituted a sound alternative to the approach of a sector of Franciscan historiography that separated preaching from an intensive discipline of study. In fact, book evidence shows that preaching had an important role in university studies, and that it was at the centre of book circulation in Franciscan houses.<sup>54</sup> Therefore, a broad conception of study, closer to the actual practices of use of books in the context of the Franciscan culture, is

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52 Giovè-Marchioli, 'La cultura scritta al Santo nel Quattrocento', p. 375.

53 'Non esiste un codice francescano con un'identità certa e assoluta, o comunque non esiste un modello dominante, quanto piuttosto esiste una costellazione di modelli simili ma tutti devianti o deviati, quasi fossero una rifrazione, una scomposizione all'infinito di un'immagine e dunque di una realtà solo inizialmente o astrattamente nitide e poi sempre più complesse.' Giovè Marchioli, 'Il codice Francescano', p. 381.

54 Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education*, pp. 281-84; 290-97. Neslihan Şenocak argues that preaching played a fundamental role in the life of the order, but not as the ultimate purpose of intellectual training, but as a means to justify the centrality of learning in the life of the friars. See Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, pp. 145-48.

necessary to gain a better understanding of the role of books in the Franciscan order.<sup>55</sup>

### *i.3. Franciscans Manuscripts in Padua: Elements for a Conception of the Book*

Manuscripts written, collected, and read by Franciscans have been the object of study of different disciplines, for example, codicology, which has offered a complete description of the physical characteristics of some of the manuscripts collected in Franciscan convents. Histories of libraries have focused on the development of collections of books, including editions and descriptions of valuable sources such as medieval library catalogues. Religious historians have explored the manuscripts written, collected, and used by Franciscans as a significant element of the 'Franciscan question', that is, the historiographical discussion of the original intention of Francis in relation to the development of the order. Cultural historians have outlined the significant role of books in the development of the scholastic culture of the Franciscans. All these lines of enquiry, in spite of their great significance, underline the fact that manuscripts written, collected and used by Franciscan friars have been an important piece of evidence in the historiographical debate; but Franciscan manuscripts have rarely been studied for their own sake, even in the case of codicology, which focuses on the manuscripts' history without directly engaging with their 'Franciscan' distinctiveness. A clear example of this is the historiographical approach to Franciscan manuscripts as an element of potential conflict between the rule and the vow of poverty. In fact, as shown recently by Neslihan Şenocak, historiography has overstated the conflict between the vow of poverty and use of books within the order, and has downplayed the role of humility.<sup>56</sup> By doing so, scholarship has, inadvertently, also participated in the reconstruction of Francis's intention.

Apart from these areas of scholarly debate, there are also important unexplored fields of study concerning Franciscan manuscripts. The most recent discussion on the topic does not go beyond the fourteenth century, and even in the few cases where there is a consideration of manuscripts or libraries during the fifteenth century, it refers exclusively to the friars and libraries of the unreformed Community, excluding the

<sup>55</sup> Giove-Marchioli, 'Il codice Franciscano', pp. 404-06.

<sup>56</sup> Neslihan Şenocak presented a set of considerations on the matter in the paper 'The Making of Franciscan Poverty', presented at the International Medieval Congress in Leeds in 2012.

centres of production and study of the Franciscan Observance. A second area in need of research is related to the fact that current considerations of the book within the Franciscan order focus on the scholastic model of reading practised in the universities.<sup>57</sup> The reception of Franciscan manuscripts employed for devotional purposes, for pastoral care, and as tools for preaching, especially during the second half of the fifteenth century, remains unexplored. A discussion of practices of reading is necessary in order to improve our models of analysis, particularly in the case of the unexplored observant manuscripts, and would constitute a solid base from which to propose a more accurate typology of the Franciscan manuscript. A third field left unexplored concerns the use of a comparative approach to study cases of Franciscan libraries and their organisation in order to verify whether it is possible to establish a particular type of manuscript in relation to reformed or unreformed communities of the order.

This thesis fills some of these gaps by studying the manuscripts written, collected, and read in the male Franciscan convents of Padua from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century. As mentioned before, Padua was one of the most important Franciscan centres, and could count on the presence of two convents from two different branches of the order by the second half of the fifteenth century: the unreformed convent of Sant'Antonio and the reformed observant convent of San Francesco Grande. Both convents had a school and a library that was also a centre of book production. The study of these manuscripts is carried out by means of an interdisciplinary approach, and explores the question of the relation between Franciscan friars and their books, as well as whether this relationship reflects a particular conception of the book. It will also discuss the question of the 'Franciscan book' by establishing a difference between the 'Franciscan book' as an abstraction as opposed to 'Franciscan manuscript' as a category that encompasses the concrete volumes analysed and studied. In what follows, a more detailed description of this work will be presented, but it is necessary first to devote some words to the terminology adopted and the fields that this thesis does not cover.

'Conception' is understood in a wide sense as the inner representation and a set of ideas related to an external physical object. Accordingly, the conception of the book referred to in the title of this thesis is the way in which Franciscans, through interaction with manuscripts, perceived the book in multiple forms: as an object that was a recipient

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<sup>57</sup> Jacqueline Hamesse, 'The Scholastic Model of Reading', in *A History of Reading in the West*, trans. by Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999), pp. 103-19 (pp. 108-11).

of information, as a source of information, as a tool for the preparation for preaching, as a recipient of their own thoughts, as a portable library, and as a defining element of their identity. It is clear, then, the Franciscan conception of the book was not a unitary one.

'Book' and 'manuscript' are problematic terms. As individual words and as nouns both in the singular and the plural: book/books, manuscript/manuscripts, are practically interchangeable in this work, and refer to a material object in a specific time and place which is a written recipient of information in the form of a codex.<sup>58</sup> Nevertheless, as explained before, this thesis will discuss the theoretical notion of the 'Franciscan book', as opposed to the reality of the 'Franciscan manuscripts'. The 'Franciscan book' is used for the conceptualisation of an ideal unitary model for the books written, collected and used by Franciscan friars. 'Franciscan manuscripts' refers to the concrete handwritten volumes or books that were used by friars as the source of information for the practices of reading and study. I have tried to avoid confusion by reducing to a minimum the instances where the 'Franciscan book' is employed.

The term 'library' refers not only to a space where the books were collected and kept, but also to the system of collection, circulation and retrieval of written volumes characterised by specific patterns of organisation. It also acquires the sense of collection of works, and that is why, as will be seen in chapters three and four, it could also refer to a single manuscript that contains a set of different works.<sup>59</sup> The term 'study' is understood in its medieval scholastic sense of 'to devote or apply oneself to one's books'.<sup>60</sup> It implied mainly the act of reading, and in the case of the Franciscan interpretive community, also the act of writing. Therefore, to study was a form of interaction with the text, as examined in chapter four. 'Learning' has a broader general sense, and comprises the multiple practices of study, but also the teaching methods and all the forms of intellectual training of the friars. In this sense, learning was a long-term process that implied a continuous devotion to study and, therefore, to book culture. 'Study' and 'learning' usually appear together in this work, but they are not interchangeable, although they were closely related. 'To read' and 'reading' will be understood as the process of interaction between an agent, the reader, and a written object, the text, within the specific context of an interpretive community, that is, the

58 Mariken Teeuwen, *The Vocabulary of Intellectual Life in the Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 168-69.

59 Teeuwen, *The Vocabulary of Intellectual Life in the Middle Ages*, pp. 159-60.

60 Teeuwen, *The Vocabulary of Intellectual Life in the Middle Ages*, pp. 139-40.



community of shared values and practices of writing to which the reader belongs. A detailed description of the sense of 'reading' and 'interpretive community' is offered in chapter four.

It is also necessary to mention the fields this work does not discuss for reasons that go from the methodological to the practical. For example, concerning the community of readers, this thesis will not explore the female branch of the Franciscan order. Concerning the book collections, the manuscripts kept in the sacristy of the convents, usually employed for the divine office, are not part of this analysis, mainly because, from the point of view of the interpretive community, they were not part of the book collection, but rather of the valuable goods of the sacristy. Another type of book that is not an object of analysis in this work consists of printed books. Franciscans enthusiastically welcomed printed books into their collections, but these volumes were no longer the result of the physical action of a scribe. In this sense, these books reached their readers as unitary, complete, finished objects; and even though they could be personalised in different ways, they were not the kind of books that, for example, were intended to satisfy the specific needs of an individual scribe. They were books, certainly, but no longer manuscripts.

Concerning the main topics of the thesis, chapter one explores the first aspect of the Franciscan manuscript, or the ideal, by discussing the relation between the regulations of the order and the use of books in the Franciscan convents. Using books became a problematic issue for Franciscans as a result of the warnings of their founder against the glorification of study and learning. The chapter proposes that the Franciscan rule, as established by Francis, aimed to preserve the balance between unlearned and learned members of the community. The order's intellectual achievement was possible thanks to a tradition of interpretation of the rule that reconciled the parts of it that seemed to prohibit learning as a goal in its own right with the dedication to study and use of books. The chapter traces the interpretation of the rule proposed by the friars of the Community, to which the convent of Sant'Antonio belonged, and the reformed friars of the Franciscan Observance, to which the friars of the convent of San Francesco Grande belonged. The focus of the chapter is on establishing the expression of an ideal Franciscan relationship to books, as is expressed in the regulations, both implicitly and explicitly. According to the ideal, the intention of the founder could be reconciled with

the intellectual agency of the friars because the latter was justified by the preparation for preaching and pastoral care. Again, the remarkable achievement of Franciscans in all areas of intellectual endeavour surpassed the stated aim of preparation to fulfil pastoral duties. This chapter also shows how the ideal book, as described in the first versions of the regulations, was perhaps never used, mainly because it could not satisfy the expectations and needs of the friars. Accordingly, the regulations had to adapt and reflect the needs of a community that came to share certain intellectual expectations. The main sources used to carry out the analysis in the chapter are the two versions of the Franciscan rule, and the different interpretations of the masters of the order in the form of answers to particular questions, treatises on the proper observance of the rule, admonitions, letters, and commentaries on the rule.

By studying the Franciscan libraries in Padua, chapter two explores the second dimension of the Franciscan manuscript, that is, the space. The starting point is the discussion of the development of the medieval library with the help of two types or models of book collection; the first is the library as it was conceived and used by Boethius, that is, a scholar's personal library that reflected the expectations and needs of its owner. The second type of library is represented by Cassiodorus, who assembled the book collection of Vivarium, his monastery in southern Italy. The library of Vivarium was intended to satisfy the needs of a community whose members shared reading and writing skills, and it became the predominant type of library during the Middle Ages. With the development of scholastic culture, there were significant transformations in the setting of this communal library. One of the most important was to split the book collection in two: one part made up of books chained to the tables, and the other of copies available for loan. The mendicant orders, and particularly the Franciscans, both adopted and improved this model of library. The chapter offers new findings to the field of study by comparing the libraries of the two Paduan convents. After describing the history, size and main characteristics of each book collection, the chapter analyses the distribution of volumes and the composition of the book collections. Although both libraries were intended to be the repositories of a collection focused on the education and training of Franciscan preachers, the comparison reveals interesting differences in the characteristics of the topics and physical characteristics of the manuscripts collected. The older library of Sant'Antonio seems to have been devoted to the study of the

'classic' masters of Franciscan culture, while in the library of the observant convent there is a significant presence of treatises on cases and procedures related to pastoral care and devotion. Most of the manuscripts collected in the observant library are modest in format and materials, and appear to be miscellanies written as personal copies, that is, books to be used by their own scribes. The presence of this kind of manuscript challenges the assumption that the personal collection of books returned only with the rise of international humanism. The study of these Franciscan libraries also shows that friars were highly skilled readers, capable of reading more than one manuscript at the time. They were also readers who employed manuscripts as a source for producing new manuscripts, and in this sense their libraries show that Franciscans were agents of writing. The main sources for this chapter are the medieval inventories of the Paduan libraries, contained in surviving manuscripts in Padua and in the Vatican library.

Chapter three studies the physical characteristics of a representative set of volumes collected in the Paduan libraries, as well as traces of use that can be found in them, in order to explore the third dimension of the Franciscan manuscript, namely, its purpose. In order to do so, it establishes two sets of manuscripts, one from the library of Sant'Antonio, and the other from the library of San Francesco Grande. The set from the library of Sant'Antonio is constituted by the copies of a theological treatise and a collection of sermons, while the set from the library of San Francesco Grande is constituted by manuscripts that were used as tools for the composition of sermons and collections of sermons. These two sets are representative selections from the two libraries that exemplify some of the larger issues treated in this work. The study of the manuscripts begins with a codicological examination, before comparing the volumes from the same set and, finally, comparing the two sets. This codicological approach revealed unknown features of the organisation of the library of Sant'Antonio: it has been possible to establish the order of arrival of the copies of the commentary on the first *Book of Sentences* by Bonaventure of Bagnoregio; and at the same time, interesting information on the way in which the library guaranteed the availability of manuscripts has been discovered. The overall comparison allows one to establish common features in the manuscripts, according to the libraries of provenance. The library of the convent of Sant'Antonio held mainly parchment manuscripts of study and theological treatises of

medium size, while in the library of the convent of San Francesco Grande there were paper manuscripts of smaller dimensions that were usually compilations for devotional purposes, or tools for pastoral care and preparation of sermons. These manuscripts contained works of different genres in both Latin and the vernacular.

Chapter four explores practices of reading within the Paduan convents. Using the methodological tools of history of reading, reception theory, and codicological and palaeographical tools, the chapter establishes a relation between the manuscript evidence and the notion of an interpretive community, applied to the convents, in order to identify not only particular forms of reading within the convents, but also a characterisation of Franciscan friars as readers. The chapter also discusses models of analysis of medieval readers as proposed by historical criticism, and shows that in relation to their interpretive community, Franciscans were professional agents of culture, characterised by an outstanding flexibility as readers and writers. As readers familiar with different levels of writing and, in the case of observant friars, as users of personalised collections of works, Franciscans challenge the definition of the humanist reader as a pioneering figure characterised by his flexibility, multi-linguistic competence and cultural agency through a personal library. The main sources for the discussion of the practices of reading in the convents are the manuscripts read by the friars, specifically, the traces of use that can be identified in the form of marginal comments, notes, cross references, and ownership inscriptions.

In summary, the present thesis explores four dimensions of the Franciscan manuscripts: the ideal of these manuscripts, as expressed in the regulations on the study and use of books; the space of the Franciscan manuscripts, that is, the libraries where they were collected; the purpose of the manuscripts, as reflected by their physical characteristics; and the reading of the manuscripts, as revealed by textual evidence. At this point one might justifiably ask why this thesis focuses on Franciscan manuscripts instead of broadening the field to the Franciscan book. The thesis shows that the notion of the Franciscan book is an unhelpful category of analysis, and proposes instead the Franciscan manuscript as a concrete, functional, and verifiable reality that reveals the interaction between Franciscans and the written page, showing that Franciscans as writers, readers and agents of literacy were characterised by their flexibility.

## Chapter One

*Regulations  
and Franciscan Manuscripts in Padua*

*Introduction*

By the middle of the fifteenth century, Franciscans were facing an internal conflict that menaced the unity of the order. Two groups of friars, the unreformed friars of the Community, or Conventuals, on the one side, and the reformed observant friars on the other, embraced almost opposite views concerning the nature and purpose of Franciscan spirituality. When, in 1443, a general chapter was summoned in order to elect the new general minister of the order, Pope Eugenius IV decided to intervene to solve the problem of the increasing division within the order. The pope's project should have been confirmed by the election of the virtuous observant friar Alberto of Sarteano. However, as Duncan Nimmo reports, during the first session of the chapter

Alberto of Sarteano as president mounted the rostrum and began to read out a message from the pope, which may very well have expressed the wish that he be elected General. He never reached the end of it. With cries of 'Liberty!, Liberty!', a crowd of Conventuals surged forward, tore the missive from his hands, and dragged him bodily from the chamber, and on the floor of the hall the delegates of the two factions came to blows.<sup>1</sup>

Two bands of friars who fiercely and, perhaps enthusiastically, exchanged blows in order to settle a question of spiritual leadership certainly was not the most encouraging

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<sup>1</sup> Duncan Nimmo, *Reform and Division in the Medieval Franciscan Order: from Saint Francis to the Foundation of the Capuchins* (Rome: Capuchin Historical Institute, 1987), p. 630.

display of Franciscan charity. Nevertheless, the fight at the Paduan chapter may be seen as evidence of a dispute about the proper way of following Francis. In other words, the Paduan fight was, in essence, the physical expression of a dispute about the Franciscan rule.

This section does not aim to offer a detailed discussion of the complex history of the Franciscan rule and its interpretations. Nevertheless, it could be said that Francis strove to prevent any glossing of his writings, but Franciscans found themselves torn between those who wanted a strict and even literal observance of his dispositions and those who considered that interpretations and adaptations of the rule were necessary. In this debate, one of the most important questions was the role of study and books. In fact, learning and the use of books were intrinsically connected to two fundamental aspects of the Franciscan life: the principle of humility and the apostolic mission of preaching. An early biography of Francis of Assisi included a passage that described his concern about the fact that, apparently, knowledge had become more attractive to friars than virtue. He feared that his companions could find themselves empty-handed on the 'day of reckoning', when all of their precious books would be absolutely useless and would be thrown out the window.<sup>2</sup> According to this passage, Francis attributed a low level of usefulness to books because their value depended on the circumstances. Therefore, they were superfluous and unnecessary to achieve the main goal of Franciscan spirituality, namely, to live according to apostolic principles. This excerpt reflects how, from the early stages of its history, the Franciscan community perceived an incompatibility between Francis's intention and the presence of books as tools for learning. In fact, very soon Franciscans became an active part of the international community of learned scholars. Therefore, it was difficult to keep the original intention of the founder in

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2 In chapter 147 of the *Vita Secunda*, a biography of Francis written by Thomas of Celano in 1246-47: '[Franciscus] Dolebat si, virtute neglecta, scientia quareretur, praesertim si non in ea vocatione quisque persisteret in qua vocatus a principio fuerit. "Fratres", ait, "mei, qui scientia curiositate ducuntur, in die retributionis manus invenient vacua. Vellem eos magis roborari virtutibus, ut cum tempora tribulationis venirent, secum haberent in angustia Dominum. Nam et ventura est", inquit, "tribulatio, qua libri ad nihilum utiles in fenestris proiciantur et latebris". -Non hoc dicebat quod Scripturae studia displicerent, sed quo a superflua cura discendi universos retraheret, et quosque magis charitate bonos, quam curiositate sciolos esse vellet.' Thomas of Celano, *Vita secunda S. Francisci Assisiensis* (Quaracchi: Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1927), pp. 190-91. See Emanuela Prinzivalli, 'Un santo da leggere: Francesco d'Assisi nel percorso delle fonti agiografiche', in *Francesco d'Assisi e il primo secolo di storia francescana*, ed. by Maria Pia Alberzoni and others (Turin: Einaudi, 1997), pp. 71-116 (pp. 97-99); see also Grado G. Merlo, *Nel nome di san Francesco: storia dei frati Minori e del francescanesimo sino agli inizi del XVI secolo* (Padua: Editrici Francescane, 2003), pp. 159-60.

terms of humility and poverty, and to develop a discipline of study and learning.<sup>3</sup>

Naturally, at the origin of Francis's apprehensiveness there was the anxiety that books could easily be the object of ownership, which was in contradiction to the principle of humility established by the rule.<sup>4</sup> The order made a continuous effort to solve this problem by developing different interpretations of the regulations in order to guarantee the constant presence of books without violating, at least formally, the spirit of the founder's disposition.

This chapter will explore one aspect of the Franciscan manuscript, that is, the idea of the manuscript as proposed by the regulations. In order to do so, it will follow the attempts to solve the problem of the apparent incompatibility of the original Franciscan regulations with the presence of books. It will consider the development of the main source of regulations, that is, the rule of the order, and its application in the two male Franciscan convents in Padua: the unreformed convent of Sant'Antonio, which followed the interpretation of the regulations proposed by masters such as Bonaventure of Bagnoregio, Hugh of Digne and the other representatives of the hierarchy of the order; and the reformed observant convent of San Francesco Grande, which followed the model proposed by John of Capistrano and Bernardino of Siena, two of the four 'pillars' of the observant reform. The discussion of the different approaches to the regulations will be useful to understand the ways in which the Paduan convents conceived of their respective relation to books, and how they perceived the role of books within the life of the community as an element of Franciscan identity. The discussion of the regulations on books as interpreted by the community and the reformed friars will also provide a comparison between the ideal manuscript, as it derives from the rule, and manuscripts as they were conceived in later interpretations of the rule. This discussion will help us to understand in subsequent chapters the actual practices of collection, production and use of books, and will also provide evidence useful to understand how the ideal of the Franciscan manuscript developed and adapted to the necessities of the friars.

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3 Neslihan Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect: The Rise of Learning in the Franciscan Order, 1209-1310* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), pp. 107-8; Michael Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006), pp. 58-59.

4 The first version of the Franciscan rule established: 'Regula et vita istorum fratrum haec est, scilicet vivere in obedientia, in castitate et sine proprio, et Domini nostri Jesu Christi doctrinam et vestigia sequi qui dicit: "Si vis perfectus esse, vade et vende omnia quae habes, et da pauperibus et habebis thesaurum in caelo; et veni, sequere me.'" *Die Opuscula des Hl. Franziskus von Assisi*, ed. by Kajetan Esser (Grottaferrata: Il Collegio S. Bonaventura di Quaracchi, 1976), pp. 377-78.

### 1.1. *Learning and the Use of Books: Two Problematic Practices for Franciscans*

When Francis of Assisi died at La Porziuncula in the night between 3 and 4 October 1226, he left a 'troublesome inheritance' to his community of friars.<sup>5</sup> Although Francis in his *Testamentum* described himself as 'ignorans et idiota', his writings covered different genres such as letters, regulations, canticles, admonitions, and examples written in Latin and in the vernacular.<sup>6</sup> All of them were shared, read, studied and interpreted thoroughly by the friars, not only for their spiritual significance, but especially because most of them were either their founder's answer to a question addressed by a single friar or group of friars, or were Francis's solution to a specific problem experienced by the early community. In this sense, the most complex of those documents, the Franciscan Rule, not only had the specific purpose of fixing the principles for the order's identity and government, but was also an authoritative source to solve issues concerning the proper application of the Franciscan principles to everyday life. Consequently, the rule was not only read and studied but, in spite of the founder's exhortation, interpreted by the community's masters and chapters, in an attempt to harmonise the swift growth of the order with his original intention.<sup>7</sup>

Preaching is one of the activities that best illustrates these changes. Franciscan friars embraced preaching as one of the essential traits of their identity, as reflected in the ninth chapter of their rule. Early Franciscan preaching consisted in a simple and universal call to penance and remission of sins; but with the affirmation of learning within the order, and with the diffusion of the Franciscan presence in all sectors of society, preaching became an activity entrusted to those who had received suitable preparation in the *studia* of the convents, or in the university, and very soon learning and preaching became inseparable in the Franciscan world. In this sense, the different Franciscan rule's interpretations on study, books and libraries reflected the evolution of the order's spirituality, as well as its internal conflicts on the role of learning within the

5 Roberto Lambertini, and Andrea Tabarroni, *Dopo Francesco: l'eredità difficile* (Turin: Abele, 1989); Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, p. 44, and John R. H. Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order: from its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), pp. 83-85.

6 Stanislao da Campagnola, 'Introduzione', in *Fontes Franciscani*, ed. by Enrico Menestò et al. (Assisi: Porziuncola, 1995), pp. 3-22. See also *Die Opuscula des Hl. Franziskus von Assisi*, p. 262.

7 Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, pp. 59-60; Edith Pásztor, *Intentio Beati Francisci: il percorso difficile dell'Ordine francescano (secoli XIII-XV)*, ed. by Felice Accrocca (Rome: Istituto Storico dei Cappuccini, 2008), pp. 181-96.



community. In what follows, there will be a brief description of the general development of the Franciscan rule, as well as a description of the rule's treatment of study and use of books.

### *1.2. The Franciscan Rule*

Once the charismatic preaching of Francis of Assisi began to attract his first followers, the question of how to organise the group of companions according to an apostolic model became apparent. Most probably, Francis did not have in mind any specific form of organisation for the brotherhood, but simply intended to reproduce the way of life of the first Christian community, as it was described by the Gospels.<sup>8</sup> However, very soon he realised that it was necessary to reach a certain degree of formalisation and to obtain institutional approval. Accordingly, by 1210 he wrote a collection of evangelical principles and asked and obtained papal approval for them.<sup>9</sup> Unfortunately, no copies of this rule, known as the *Regula primitiva* or *Protoregola*, have survived; but most probably it reflected the fact that Francis regarded his companions as members of a 'fraternitas', and consequently it was not his main purpose to establish a new religious order.<sup>10</sup> Nevertheless, the swift growth of the community and the arrival of clerics, masters of theology and priests dramatically changed the nature of the first community of his followers. By the autumn of 1220, Francis gave up the government of the community, and by 1221 he completed, with the aid of friar Caesarius of Speyer, a different text intended as a normative document.<sup>11</sup> This first rule, known as the *Regula non bullata* lacked papal approval. Therefore, the question of a canonically valid normative document that regulated the life of the friars was still open.

On 23 November 1223 Pope Honorius III officially confirmed a rule for the Franciscan community with the letter *Solet annuere*. This new rule, known as the

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8 'Et postquam Dominus dedit mihi de fratibus, nemo ostendebat mihi, quid deberem facere, sed ipse Altissimus revelavit mihi, quod deberem vivere secundum formam sancti evangelii', in *Die Opuscula des Hl. Franziskus von Assisi*, p. 439. See also Merlo, *Nel nome di san Francesco*, p. 20.

9 'Et ego paucis verbis et simpliciter feci scribi et dominus Papa confirmavit mihi', in Esser, *Die Opuscula des Hl. Franziskus von Assisi*, p. 439.

10 Some scholars have proposed a reconstruction of the *Regula primitiva* based upon surviving sources. See John R. H. Moorman, *The Sources for the Life of s. Francis of Assisi* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1940), pp. 38-54. See also Raoul Manselli, *San Francesco* (Roma: Bulzoni Editore, 1980), pp. 259-61.

11 See Grado Giovanni Merlo, 'Storia di Frate Francesco e dell'Ordine dei Minori', in *Francesco d'Assisi e il primo secolo di storia francescana* (Turin: Einaudi, 1997), pp. 3-32 (pp. 10-11).

*Regula bullata*, was an attempt to combine, or rather, to translate the Franciscan spirit into precise, normative language. This time, apart from Francis, the heads of the order, and even perhaps members of the Roman curia participated in its composition. The result was a Franciscan text in inspiration, but with a sharp normative form.<sup>12</sup> By the autumn of 1226 Francis dictated his testament. Intended as a synthesis of his spirituality, the testament, according to his words, should be considered as the complement of the rule and, like the rule, should be preserved carefully in its original integrity.<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless, very soon the rule and the testament became the subject of study, critical reading and controversial interpretation in order to adapt the normative dispositions to challenging situations such as the arrival of learned members in the community, their engagement in scholastic culture or the appointment of friars as prelates.

### 1.3. *The Franciscan Rule and the Question of Study and Books*

Even before the composition of the *Regula non bullata* the question of use and ownership of books was a problem for the first Franciscan community, as shown by the dispositions of an early general chapter of the order, gathered in 1220, which established that friars should not have books and that novices should not keep the psalter with them.<sup>14</sup> The use and access to books was also considered by the *Regula non bullata* in its third chapter, which establishes: 'Clerici [...] libros tantum necessarios ad implendum eorum officium possint habere. Et laicis etiam scientibus legere psalterium, liceat eis habere illud. Aliis vero nescientibus litteras, librum habere non liceat.'<sup>15</sup> This reveals three important features: first, that by the time of the compilation of the first version of the rule there was a distinction between 'clerici', 'laici' and the 'nescientes

12 See *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*, ed. by Regis J. Armstrong and others, 3 vols (St. Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute, 1999-2001), I (1999), p. 99. See also *Die Opuscula des Hl. Franziskus von Assisi*, pp. 363-72.

13 'Et non dicant fratres: "Haec est alia regula, quia haec est recordatio, admonitio, exhortatio et meum testamentum quod ego frater Franciscus parvulus facio vobis fratribus meis benedictis propter hoc, ut regulam, quam Domino promisimus, melius catholice observemus [...] Et generalis minister et omnes alii ministri et custodes per obedientiam teneantur, in istis verbis non addere vel minuere. [...] Et omnibus fratribus meis clericis et laicis praecipio firmiter per obedientiam, ut non mittant glossas in regula neque in istis verbis dicendo: "Ita volunt intelligi."' *Die Opuscula des Hl. Franziskus von Assisi*, pp. 443-44.

14 Only three decrees from this chapter are known. All of these dispositions were related to the question of possession. Two explicitly forbid, on the one hand, possession of books in general and, on the other, possession of a Psalter for novices. See Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, pp. 31-32.

15 *Die Regula non Bullata der Minderbrüder*, ed. by David Flood (Werl: Coelde, 1967), p. 57.

litteras' within the community; second, that one of the key criteria to establish the distinction was the ability to read books; and third, that this ability was perceived as a skill that had a specific and practical purpose. The passage also leads to the question of a restriction in the access to literacy for those 'nescientes litteras'. Some scholarship sees in the disposition a 'damage-control strategy', that is, since Francis knew that the increasing influence of the literate friars could be a risk for the original apostolic spirit, he tried to guarantee the presence of illiterate active members in the community in order to avoid an 'intellectualisation' of the order.<sup>16</sup> Although it is very difficult to establish the original intention of Francis, this interpretation seems in accordance with Francis's declared purpose of living according to the spirit of the Gospel.

In the second rule or *Regula bullata*, the distinction between 'clerici', 'laici' and 'nescientibus litteras' was outlined more clearly, when it was established in the third chapter that:

Clerici faciant divinum officium secundum ordinem sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae excepto psalterio, ex quo habere poterunt breviaria [...] Laici vero dicant viginti quatuor *Pater noster* pro matutino, pro laude quinque, pro prima, tertia, sexta, nona pro qualibet istarum septem [...].<sup>17</sup>

This is confirmed further, in the tenth chapter:

Moneo vero et exhortor in Domino Jesu Christo, ut caveant fratres ab omni superbia, vana gloria, invidia, avaritia, cura et sollicitudine huius saeculi, detractio et murmuratione et non curent nescientes litteras litteras discere.<sup>18</sup>

An interesting question relevant to the use of books is whether there is a sort of development between the two rules, or whether the *Regula bullata* is just a concise and refined reformulation of the first version of the rule. Carlo Paolazzi proposed that the

<sup>16</sup> See Enrico Menestò, 'Francesco, i Minori e i libri', in *Libri, biblioteche e letture dei Frati Mendicanti (secoli XIII-XIV). Atti del XXXII convegno internazionale, Assisi, 7-9 ottobre 2004* (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2005), pp. 3-27 (pp. 9-10). See also Carlo Paolazzi, 'I Frati Minori e i libri: per l'esegesi di "ad implendum eorum officium" (Rnbu III, 7) e "nescientes litteras" (Rnbu III, 9; Rebu X, 7)', *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 97 (2004), 3-59 (pp. 22-27), and Pietro Maranesi, *Nescientes litteras: l'ammonizione della regola francescana e la questione degli studi nell'Ordine (sec XIII-XVI)* (Rome: Istituto Storico dei Capuccini, 2000), pp. 56-63.

<sup>17</sup> *Die Opuscula des Hl. Franziskus von Assisi*, p. 367.

<sup>18</sup> *Die Opuscula des Hl. Franziskus von Assisi*, p. 370.

rules are complementary: the restriction concerning the Psalter in the first rule implies a restriction of reading, while the restriction on learning how to read implies a restriction on the use of books.<sup>19</sup> Therefore, it is possible to say that although the Franciscan rule did not encourage, and even restricted, learning, at the same time it did not condemn it.

As mentioned before, it seems that the rule aimed to keep a balance between, on the one hand, learning and intellectual achievement and, on the other, Francis's conception of the pure spirituality of the apostolic way of life. A strict observance of the Franciscan rule would not have led to the development of learning, schools, or any kind of deep engagement with book culture. The image of the manuscript to be used by Franciscans that derives from the rule is that of a devotional volume, produced outside the community and available only to a restricted number of friars. Nevertheless, Franciscans very swiftly became agents of knowledge and culture, which raises the question of how this was possible. The key to the answer is to be found in the development of the interpretations of the rule, which allowed the accommodation of university masters and intellectuals within the setting of the order, keeping, at the same time, a direct link with the figure of the founder.<sup>20</sup> In what follows a more detailed description of the different interpretations of the rule's regulations on learning and the use of books will be considered, as well as their relation to the Franciscan convents in the city of Padua.

#### *1.4. The Convent of Sant'Antonio in Padua and the Interpretations of the Rule of the Friars of the Community*

There is no precise record of the arrival of the first Franciscans in Padua; nevertheless, it is very likely that an active campaign of Franciscan preaching took place shortly before 1229, as recorded by a chronicle of the time.<sup>21</sup> Most probably the nearby convent of

<sup>19</sup> Paolazzi, 'I Frati Minori e i libri', p. 55.

<sup>20</sup> Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, pp. 35-37.

<sup>21</sup> 'Hic speravit Padua pacem amodo permansuram in ea. – Nunc circa unius anni spacium civitates de Marchia tarvisina adeo quieverunt in pace, quod quasi circa finem anni domini MCCXXVIII, et circa principium subsequentis nulla fuit terrarum predacio, nulla hostium incursio vel insultus, preter supra dictum exercitum, set bonorum omnium copia; tantum gaudium et leticia intergentes, ut a pluribus crederetur quod amodo nulle sediciones esse debeant in Marchia nulle werre. Imo et religiose persone totum quasi populum in laudabili contemplacione manentem divinis predicacionibus recreabant. Nam et in illo tempore inter ceteros viros religiosos et iustos advenit beatus Antonius, sicut dicetur inferius, et in diversis locis per Marchiam verba Dei voce melliflua predicavit.' *Rolandus Patavinus, Cronica in factis et circa facta Marchie Trivixane aa. 1200-cc. 1262*, ed. by Antonio Bonardi (Città di Castello: S. Lapi, 1905-1908), p. 40. See also Eleonora Lombardo, 'Ecclesia huius temporis: la chiesa militante

Arcella offered support for the Paduan preaching, and as a result friars from that convent were called by Bishop Jacopo Corrado to settle in the city, in the small church of Santa Maria Mater Domini, located on the site of the current Chapel of the Virgin in the Basilica of Sant'Antonio.<sup>22</sup> There are grounds to suppose that Anthony of Padua himself established the convent's *studium*, which should satisfy the increasing need of preparation for preaching. In a very short time the convent established a strong relation with the university, following the model of the University of Paris.<sup>23</sup> Concerning the question of learning, study and, more importantly, the use of books and their compatibility with the Franciscan rule, the friars of Sant'Antonio followed the interpretation developed by the masters of the Community such as Bonaventure of Bagnoregio and Hugh of Digne during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. A brief summary of the main aspects of that interpretation will be offered in the following lines.

As shown in the description of the development of the Franciscan rule, the attitude of Francis to learning and the use of books was ambiguous.<sup>24</sup> By the mid-thirteenth

nelle prime raccolte di frati minori (1225ca-1260)' (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Padua, 2009), p. 98.

22 Antonio Sartori, *Archivio Sartori: documenti di storia e arte francescana*, ed. by Giovanni Luisetto, 4 vols (Padua: Biblioteca Antoniana; Basilica del Santo, 1983), I, p. 1309; see also Bernardino Bordin, 'Profilo storico-spirituale della comunità al Santo', in *Storia e cultura al Santo di Padova fra il XIII e il XX secolo*, ed. by Antonino Poppi (Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1976), pp. 15-115 (pp. 74-75).

23 Paolo Marangon, *Ad cognitionem scientiae festinare: gli studi nell'Università di Padova nei secoli XIII e XIV*, ed. by Tiziana Pesenti (Trieste: Lint, 1997), pp. 65-69, 115-25; Emanuele Fontana, *Frati, libri e insegnamento nella provincia minoritica di S. Antonio (secoli XIII-XIV)* (Padua: Centro Studi Antoniani, 2012), pp. 52-56.

24 To establish the intention of Francis, especially in relation to study and the use of books, has proven to be a very elusive goal, as Malcolm Lambert confirmed: 'It is a dangerous thing to make unrestricted use of scholastic methods in analysing the nature of Francis's intentions. Many of the historians who have given us outlines of the ideal of Francis have been Franciscans themselves, trained in systematic theology and naturally enough employing the categories of scholasticism [...] Yet Francis was never able to think or write in such terms.' Malcolm D. Lambert, *Franciscan Poverty: The Doctrine of the Absolute Poverty of Christ and the Apostles in the Franciscan Order 1210-1323* (St Bonaventure, NY: The Franciscan Institute, 1998), pp. 34-35. Interesting considerations on the topic may be found in Hilarin Felder, *Histoire des études dans l'ordre de saint François: depuis sa fondation jusque vers la moitié du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, trans. by Eusèbe de Bar-le-Duc (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1908), pp. 65-104; Lawrence C. Landini, *The Causes of the Clericalization of the Order of Friars Minor, 1209-1260 in the Light of Early Franciscan Sources* (Chicago: Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana, 1968), pp. 51-55; Giulia Barone, 'La legislazione sugli "studia" dei Predicatori e dei Minori', in *Le scuole degli Ordini mendicanti (secoli XIII-XIV), 11-14 ottobre 1976* (Todi: Accademia Tudertina, 1978), pp. 205-47 (pp. 208-9); Mirella Ferrari, 'Gli scritti di san Francesco d'Assisi', in Stanislao da Campagnola et al., *Francesco d'Assisi nell'ottavo centenario della nascita* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1982), pp. 34-59; Theophile Desbonnets, *Dalla intuizione alla istituzione: i Francescani*, trans. by Lina P. Rancati (Milan: Biblioteca Franciscana Provinciale, 1986); Attilio Bartoli Langelì, 'I libri dei frati: la cultura scritta dell'Ordine dei Minori', in *Francesco d'Assisi e il primo secolo di storia francescana* (Turin: Einaudi, 1997), pp. 283-305; Maranesi, *Nescientes litteras*, pp. 63-66; Grado G. Merlo, *Nel nome di san Francesco*, pp. 113-15; Menestò, 'Francesco, i Minori e i libri', pp. 11-15; Pásztor, *Intentio Beati Francisci*, pp. 195-96; William J. Courtenay, 'Franciscan Learning: University Education and Biblical Exegesis', in *Defenders and Critics of Franciscan Life: Essays in Honor of John V. Fleming*, ed. by

century, a significant part of the Franciscan community wanted to reconcile completely the activities and spirituality of the order with study. Nevertheless, an increasing feeling of suspicion regarding intellectual achievement was growing, in part due to the diffusion of Joachite ideas within the order. In fact, a particular interpretation of the spiritual prophecy of Joachim of Fiore cast a deep shadow over the real meaning and importance of study.<sup>25</sup> This is the context in which masters such as Hugh of Digne and Bonaventure of Bagnoregio wrote their commentaries on the question of books and study.<sup>26</sup> The latter offered a good synthesis of the position of the friars of the Community on study, books and libraries during the thirteenth century.<sup>27</sup>

Concerning books and study, Bonaventure presented his point of view in two works. The first one is the *Epistola de tribus questionibus*, a letter dated 1254 and sent as an answer to an unknown master who had asked three questions concerning three contradictions between the Franciscan life and the rule. The first question regarded the

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Michael Cusato and G. Geltner (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2009), pp. 55-64 (pp. 55-56). See also Jean François Godet-Calogeras, 'De la "Forma vitae" à la "Regula Bullata" et le Testament de Frère François', in *La regola dei frati Minori: atti del XXXVII convegno internazionale, Assisi, 8-10 ottobre 2009* (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2010), pp. 31-59; and Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, pp. 25-54.

25 In 1254 Gerardo of Borgo San Donnino wrote the *Liber introductorius in Evangelium aeternum*, a work that proposed a radical interpretation of the eschatological work of Joachim of Fiore. According to Gerardo, The Franciscans were Joachim's 'prophets of the Spirit', the preachers of the *Evangelium aeternum* and the agents of salvation that would lead to a new age, the age of the Spirit. In this new age, learning would not be required because Francis's words and precepts would have comprised all knowledge and science. Gerardo believed that the *Evangelium aeternum* was confirmed by three works written by Joachim: the *Concordia novi et veteris Testamenti*, the *Expositio in Apocalipsim* and the *Psalterium decem chordarum*. Gerardo's propositions were condemned as heretical by Pope Alexander IV in 1255. See Luigi Pellegrini, *L'incontro tra due invenzioni medievali* (Naples: Liguori, 2003), pp. 147-48; Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969), pp. 175-90; Merlo, *Nel nome di San Francesco*, pp. 163-65; and Maranesi, *Nescientes litteras*, p. 93.

26 Maranesi, *Nescientes litteras*, pp. 97-109.

27 Bonaventure was born Giovanni di Fidanza, most probably in 1221 in the small town of Bagnoregio, central Italy. According to testimonies for his canonization, he was educated by Franciscans in his home town. In 1234-35 he set off for studies in Paris, where he studied under master Alexander of Hales, who became the first Franciscan to hold a chair in theology at the University of Paris. He entered the Franciscan order in 1238, and received the name of 'Bonaventure'. In 1254, he obtained the licence to teach theology, but was admitted into the guild of masters only in 1257, due to the dispute between secular and mendicant masters. That same year he was elected minister general, and in 1273 he was appointed cardinal. Bonaventure died unexpectedly in 1274. Further references on Bonaventure's life and work could be found in Etienne Gilson, *La philosophie de saint Bonaventure*, (Paris: J. Vrin, 1924), pp. 9-88; Rosalind B. Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government: Elias to Bonaventure* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959); J. Guy Bougerol, *Introduction to the Works of Bonaventure* (Paterson, NJ: St Anthony Guild Press, 1964); Timothy B. Noone, 'The Franciscans and Epistemology: Reflections on the Roles of Bonaventure and Scotus', in *Medieval Masters: Essays in Memory of Msgr. E. A. Synan*, ed. by R. E. Houser (Houston: Center for Thomistic Studies, 1999), pp. 63-90; and Christopher M. Cullen, *Bonaventure* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

use of money by 'interposita persona' and the possession of books. The second question put forward the problem of the absence of manual work in the life of the friars. Finally, the third question concerned the incompatibility between teaching in the universities, the dedication to study and the regulation that prohibited teaching illiterate friars how to read: 'non curent nescientes litteras, litteras discere'.<sup>28</sup>

Concerning the circulation of money, Bonaventure argued that the rule prohibited the ownership of goods, among which were books, but it did not forbid their use.

Bonaventure established a clear distinction between, on the one hand, to use and/or to have and, on the other, to own. According to his interpretation, only the latter would be against the rule, which implied that the use of books was a perfectly valid option for the followers of Francis.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, books had an extraordinary value for the order, because they were absolutely necessary to undertake the mission of preaching, the very *raison d'être* for the Franciscans.<sup>30</sup> Consequently, not the presence, but the absence of books was the true menace to the existence of the order. In this sense, due to their fundamental role, books should not be seen as part of the question concerning the poverty of the order, because they were a fundamental part of the apostolic commitment at the heart of Franciscan identity. The full observance of the rule, its perfection, depended on books: 'de perfectione Regulae est libros habere sicut et predicare'.<sup>31</sup> Interestingly, though, Bonaventure chose 'habere' instead of 'studiare', 'legere', or 'utor', as the term that should be linked to the perfection of the rule. Since Bonaventure had established a distinction between having and ownership, his reflection suggested that the possession of books, understood as a continuous use in time, was a legitimate option for the Franciscan order, and that such an option was not only in accordance with the spirit of the rule, but also essential for Franciscan identity. This last reflection is of great importance in order to understand further developments of practices related to

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28 Bonaventure of Bagnoregio, *Doctoris Seraphici S. Bonaventurae Opera Omnia*, ed. by the Fathers of the Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 10 vols (Quaracchi: Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1882-1902), VIII (1898), 331.

29 'Dico, ergo, quod Fratibus horum concessus est usus, sed vetatur appropriatio. Nam non dicit Regula, quod fratres nihil habeant nec aliqua re utantur, quod esset insanum; sed, quod "nihil sibi approprient"', Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia*, VIII, 333.

30 'De libris autem et utensilibus quid sentiam, audi. Clamat Regula expresse imponens fratibus auctoritatem et officium praedicandi, quod non credo in aliqua regula alia reperiri. Si igitur praedicare non debent fabulas, sed verba divina; et haec scire non possunt, nisi legant; nec legere, nisi habeant scripta: planissimum est, quod de perfectione Regulae est libros habere sicut et predicare.' See Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia*, VIII, 332-33.

31 Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia*, VIII, 333.

manuscript culture such as loans of books for long-term periods in Franciscan libraries.<sup>32</sup> Regarding dedication to study and teaching, Bonaventure made clear that study was not forbidden, nor even questioned by Francis. When he said in the rule 'Non curent nescientes litteras litteras discere', Francis was establishing a principle according to which each one should remain in his proper vocation: 'Dico ego, quod Regula non vetat studium litteratis, sed illiteratis et laicis. Vult enim iuxta Apostolum, *quod unusquisque in ea vocatione, qua vocatus est, permaneat*'.<sup>33</sup>

A second document in which Bonaventure referred to books and the role of study in the order is the *Determinationes quaestionum circa regulam Fratrum Minorum*.<sup>34</sup> In this work, Bonaventure, already minister general of the order, answered some problematic questions concerning the rule. The third question regarded the proper place of study in the life of the community: was it necessary to accomplish friars' spiritual duties?<sup>35</sup> Bonaventure answered the question using two arguments. The first dealt with the importance of preaching and the pastoral role of the order, a very delicate task that required proper preparation.<sup>36</sup> The second argument was related to the danger of being guilty of heresy due to a wrong reading of the Scripture. To avoid this danger it was necessary to be able to read properly, and that was possible only through study and the use of books.<sup>37</sup> The second interpretation of the Franciscan rule that illustrates the attitude of the friars of the Community towards the question of the use of books is Hugh of Digne's commentary on the rule.<sup>38</sup> There is general agreement on the year 1252 as

32 A more detailed discussion of these practices will be offered in chapter 2.

33 Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia*, VIII, 334.

34 Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia*, VIII, 337-90.

35 'Cum Religiosi debeant simpliciter ambulare et orationibus et virtutibus abundare et ad hoc operam dare, cur usum impendunt studio literarum, quae olim sancti Patres postposuisse laudantur, ut Benedictus et alii, in secreta conversatione studentes?' See Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia*, VIII, 339.

36 'Predicationis officium ex regulari professione Ordini anexum sit et confessionis, quae notitiam requi sacrae Scripturae, quae subtili indiget in plerisque locis expositione, ne ex imperitia errores pro veritate doceamus; necesse est nos sacrae Scripturae habere studium et magistros', in Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia*, VIII, 339.

37 'Hereticorum etiam versutiis, qui in scripturis sanctis occasionem erroris per falsas interpretationes assumunt, oportet per ipsarum diligentem investigationem diligentius obviare et fideles contra illorum fraudes et latentes decipulas praemunire.' Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia*, VIII, 339.

38 As a master of the Franciscan order, Hugh of Digne could be considered as an outsider. In fact, he was not among the learned friars who shared with Francis the first development of the community, nor was he part of the ruling entourage of the order, nor was he among the great philosophers of the University of Paris. Nevertheless, he is one of the most influential Franciscan figures of the thirteenth century, although the contours of his life are not very clear. Brief biographical profiles of Hugh of Digne may be found in Jerome Poulenc, 'Hughes de Digne', in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique, doctrine et histoire*, 17 vols (Paris: Beauchesne, 1969), VIII, col. 875-79, and R. B. Brooke, 'Hugh of Digne', in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 15 vols (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1976), VII, 190.



the date of composition of Hugh's commentary. The date is important because it places the commentary under John of Parma as minister general of the order, and shortly after Pope Innocent IV issued the bull *Ordine vestrum*.<sup>39</sup> The bull was a significant institutional shift against a sector that asked for reform within the Franciscan order; and it is possible that John of Parma himself, who also believed in the need to rediscover the original principles of Franciscan spirituality, conceived the commentary as instrumental to an articulated rejection of *Ordine vestrum*.<sup>40</sup>

The commentary was addressed mainly to those who, although claiming to live according to the rule, ignored it.<sup>41</sup> At the same time, by establishing that the rule was not against learning, Hugh was responding to those who had attacked the order, particularly the secular masters who had questioned Franciscan masters and students' fidelity to the rule in the context of the dispute over the role of mendicants as masters at the university, especially, William of Saint-Amour.<sup>42</sup> The commentary followed the structure of the rule, glossing each chapter. For example, when discussing the second chapter, and particularly the conditions for entering the order, Hugh followed the established distinction between 'clerici' and 'laici', and explained that the substantial difference between these two groups within the order was their intellectual background. The commentary on the sixth chapter discussed poverty, property and the use of goods. Commenting on the passage where the rule specifies: 'Fratres nihil sibi appropriant', Hugh discussed the difference between ownership and use, especially in relation to books. Proper use did not imply any disobedience of the rule; and, therefore, the real question to be discussed should be the purpose of using the goods.<sup>43</sup> This implied that

39 David Flood, *Hugh of Digne's Rule Commentary* (Grottaferrata: Editiones Collegii S. Bonaventurae ad Claras Aquas, 1979), pp. 11, 54. See Jacques Paul, 'Le commentaire de Hughes de Digne sur la règle franciscaine', *Revue d'Histoire de l'Église de France*, 61 (1975), 231-41, pp. 231, 240-41, and Maranesi, *Nescientes litteras*, p. 98.

40 David Flood, *Hugh of Digne's Rule Commentary*, p. 54. See Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government*, pp. 255-74.

41 'Quosdam vero ex nostris periculose quod scire necesse est ignorantes, non enim excusat ignorantia regulae professorem.' Flood, *Hugh of Digne's Rule Commentary*, p. 91.

42 Maranesi, *Nescientes litteras*, p. 100. See also Flood, *Hugh of Digne's Rule Commentary*, pp. 53-54. Brief descriptions of the conflict between mendicant and secular masters at the University of Paris can be found in Merlo, *Nel nome di san Francesco*, pp. 161-67; Badin Gratien, *Histoire de la fondation et de l'évolution de l'Ordre des Frères Mineurs au XIIIe siècle* (Paris: Société et librairie S. François d'Assise, 1928), pp. 205-15; Felder, *Histoire des études dans l'ordre de saint François*, pp. 186-242; and Luigi Pellegrini, *L'incontro tra due 'invenzioni' medievali*, pp. 139-61.

43 'Attende tamen quod in praesentibus tetigi, quod proprietates tam locorum librorum quam aliarum rerum Ordini licitarum quae ad usum fratrum simpliciter et absolute nulla sibi retenta proprietate sive dominio conferuntur cum fratrum esse non possint regula obsistente, ad diocesanos ut dicitur de iure pertinebit. [...] Ita quod fratres nec locum nec librum nec aliquam rem extra Ordine alienare

the question whether the order should or should not have an intellectual vocation was already solved, as the consideration of two examples showed. First, the example of Francis himself, who made extensive use of the written word. Second, the example of Alexander of Hales, who became a friar after establishing himself as a renowned scholar in Paris, illustrating how study and the use of books could lead to the highest levels of virtue. Nevertheless, an important question remained to be solved, namely, how the rule's admonition of its tenth chapter should be interpreted: 'Non curent nescientes litteras litteras discere'. Like Bonaventure, Hugh's answer explored Francis's 'intentio'. According to Hugh, Francis did not mean that study and the use of books should be prohibited, but intended to restrict study to those who already had an intellectual background, because each one should remain in and cultivate his proper vocation, in complete agreement with the apostolic principles.<sup>44</sup> Consequently, the original vocation of those learned friars could only be reinforced by studying the words of God.<sup>45</sup>

This brief consideration of the reflections of two Franciscan masters on the role of learning, study and the use of books has shown that Bonaventure tried to provide a definitive answer to the question whether Franciscans should or should not have an intellectual profile. By offering a reconstruction of the 'intentio' of Francis, Bonaventure concluded that the founder not only did not condemn studies, but conceived of them as an important feature of the order's work. By linking the use of books to the very essence of the order, that is, apostolic preaching, Bonaventure made books an essential part of the Franciscan identity.<sup>46</sup> Additionally, it has been shown how Hugh of Digne proposed a similar solution to the problem. He also tried to reconstruct

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quomodolibet possunt [...]. Quod pater qui dat filio suo librum non contra ordinem et animam filii dare intendit, sed dat librum ut Ordo et filius iuxta Ordinis formam utatur.' Flood, *Hugh of Digne's Rule Commentary*, p. 146.

44 'Sanctus hoc loco primas in Ordine litteras et senes elementarios non commendat. Multis studium litterarum studii orationis devotionis et caritatis ad fratres negligentiam parit. Religio ad virtutes potius quam ad apices vocat. Si bonus studens vis esse bonitatem et disciplinam scientia anteponeere stude. [...] Sed cum regula dicat quod non curent nescientes litteras litteras discere, et Dominus in Evangelio: Nolite vocari rabbi (Mt. 23, 8); numquid fratres studium litterarum et maxime cathedram magisterii possunt assumere? Possunt utique. Non sanctus regulae conditor litteratis sed laicis et illiteratis studium vetat, ut unusquisque secundum apostolum in qua vocatione vocatus est in ea permaneat (1 Cor. 7,24). Nescientes litteras litteras discere noluit. Sed scientes litteras in litteris proficere non vetuit.' Flood, *Hugh of Digne's Rule Commentary*, pp. 186-87.

45 'Alioquin suae contrarius regulae ipse fuisset, qui existens in Ordine cum paucas litteras sciret, postmodum non solum orando sed etiam legendo profecit. Et alios fratres in divinis studere litteris voluit. Et ut sacrae scripturae doctores in magna reverentia haberent mandavit, tamquam illos a quibus perciperent verba vitae'. Flood, *Hugh of Digne's Rule Commentary*, p. 187.

46 Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, pp. 146-48.

the 'intentio' of Francis and found in the rule evidence that decidedly supported the intellectual vocation of the order.<sup>47</sup> This set of interpretations remained practically without variation over time since it effectively reflected the needs and expectations of the friars of the Community such as those of the Paduan convent of Sant'Antonio. In fact, Anthony of Padua had been a remarkable example of how a learned friar could follow Francis's example through devotion to preaching. Nevertheless, there was a part of the Community that felt the need for renewal and reform in terms of a return to a more strict application of the rule and of the original principles of the Franciscan brotherhood. Perhaps the most influential of the initiatives of reformation were the Spiritual movement and the observant reform. The latter is of special interest because one observant community had an important settlement in the city of Padua, with a convent that became one of the most important centres of the Franciscan Observance in northern Italy. In the following section some of the main considerations of these movements of reform in relation to learning, study and the use of books will be described.

### *1.5. The Convent of San Francesco Grande in Padua and the*

#### *Interpretations of the Rule of the Movements of Franciscan Reform*

The convent of San Francesco Grande followed the observant approach to learning, books and study. As a movement of reform that strove for a return to the original simplicity of the first Franciscan brotherhood, the Observance had to find a particular form to reconcile the presence of study and books with Franciscan spirituality. Once again, it offered an interpretation of the original intention of Francis. Nevertheless, the observant conception was in part the result of the development of previous attempts to solve the problem, particularly, from the movement known as the Spirituels. This is the reason why in the following lines there is a description of the main features of the Spirituels' interpretation of the rule, followed by the observant solution to the incompatibility between the strict application of the rule and the development of learning and study at the highest levels.

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<sup>47</sup> Maranesi, *Nescientes litteras*, pp. 104-05.

### 1.5.1. Franciscan Movements of Reform and Their Views on Study, Books and Libraries

At the General Council of Lyon in 1274, the question of the status of the mendicant orders was raised. As a result, while the small mendicant communities were suppressed, the major orders were preserved and reinforced, since the Holy See saw in them an evident benefit to the universal church.<sup>48</sup> However, according to the chronicle of Angelo Clareno, in the same year, alarming news began to spread. There were rumours that Pope Gregory X had forced Franciscans to accept common property in the style of monastic orders and canonical communities.<sup>49</sup> A group of Franciscan friars reacted to rumours by opposing vehemently the order's hierarchy. Among the rebels there were friars of special charisma such as Angelo Clareno and Pietro of Macerata, who, once summoned and asked to recant, refused and, therefore, were punished by the ecclesiastical authorities with imprisonment.<sup>50</sup> This group of rebel friars willing to fight for the privilege of poverty were known as the 'Spirituals'. They saw themselves as the heirs of a tradition in strict accordance with the first Franciscan group, and fought for the observance of the rule and Francis's *Testamentum* in a literal way. Their sources were oral tradition and the written testimonies produced by the first companions of Francis; and it is likely that Angelo Clareno, one of the main figures of the movement, had had direct personal contact with one or more of the first companions of Francis.<sup>51</sup>

The theoretical basis of the Spirituals was summarised in the writings of Peter John Olivi and Ubertino of Casale.<sup>52</sup> In their works, poverty was placed at the core of Franciscan identity and, therefore, the question of use and ownership became extremely

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48 Merlo, *Nel nome di san Francesco*, pp. 181-84. See also Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, pp. 177-78.

49 Angelo Clareno, *Liber chronicarum sive Tribulationum Ordinis Minorum*, ed. by Giovanni Boccali (Assisi: Porziuncola, 1999), pp. 528-34. David Burr observes that this chronicle is a reconstruction made by Clareno in his late years, which means that it may be 'artfully constructed'. See David Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans: From Protest to Persecution in the Century after Saint Francis* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), pp. 44-45.

50 Merlo, *Nel nome di san Francesco*, p. 232. See also Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans*, pp. 43-46, and Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, pp. 188-90.

51 Nimmo, *Reform and Division in the Medieval Franciscan Order*, pp. 79 and 90-93.

52 For Peter John Olivi, especially his *Quaestio on the usus pauper*, his treatise on the same subject and his commentary on the Franciscan rule, see Petrus Ioannis Olivi, *De usu paupere: the Quaestio and the Tractatus* (Florence: Olschki, 1992), and *Peter Olivi's Rule Commentary*, ed. by David Flood, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, 67 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1972). For Ubertino of Casale, especially his treatise *Sanctitas vestra*, a passionate response to some objections that came from the friars of the Community, see *ALKG*, III, 51-89.

important.<sup>53</sup> In this context, the conception of the *usus pauper* was developed by Olivi as a central question for the Franciscan life: friars were required to be poor, not only by rejecting any kind of ownership, but also by restrictions in the use of material goods. Moreover, it was also necessary to make a *poor use* of goods to be in complete accordance with the vow of poverty. Accordingly, a breach in the *usus pauper* was a substantial breach of the vow of poverty, which was a mortal sin.<sup>54</sup> As a result, the order found itself torn on the question of the proper observance of the rule, and a division developed within it according the interpretations of the rule and the Franciscan principles.<sup>55</sup> After a phase of controversy, Pope Clement V proposed a solution to the conflict with his bull *Exivi de Paradiso*, in 1312. The bull aimed to offer a common ground of observance. There followed a short-term compromise that lasted until Clement died, but afterwards the conflict started again.<sup>56</sup> On 7 October 1318, Pope John XXII issued the bull *Quorundam exigit*, which was basically a commentary on two decisions of the preceding bull *Exivi de Paradiso*. As a result, a difficult alternative was presented to the Spirituals: full obedience to the pope's decree or persisting in disobedience, which meant to be declared heretics. The formula was as simple as it was effective, and was synthesized by the bull's conclusion: poverty was great, and even greater was integrity; nevertheless, the greatest good of all was obedience, and it should be strictly kept.<sup>57</sup>

The Spiritual doctrine concerning books and studies is clearly reflected in Ubertino's *Sanctitas vestra* and in the works of Angelo Clareno. Ubertino's work is an answer to some questions about the Spirituals' point of view concerning the right observance of the Franciscan life. According to Ubertino, study represented one of the main risk factors to the spiritual health of the order. In fact, the principle of simplicity illustrated by the life of Francis should lead the friars to the refusal of pagan or scholastic studies and at the same time should stimulate them to preserve carefully the words of the

53 See *ALKG* III, 72-76.

54 See David Burr, *Olivi and Franciscan Poverty: The Origins of the Usus Pauper Controversy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), pp. 43-81. Ubertino went further and affirmed that the poverty of Jesus, his mother and the disciples implied the *usus pauper* and, therefore, the refusal of such a sacred principle constituted heresy. See Nimmo, *Reform and Division*, p. 103. See also *ALKG* III, 57-66.

55 See Nimmo, *Reform and Division*, pp. 109-19.

56 See Nimmo, *Reform and Division*, pp. 119-34.

57 'Magna quidem paupertas, sed maior integritas; bonum est obedientia maximum, si custodiatur illaesa.' See Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, p. 311, and Nimmo, *Reform and Division*, p. 137.

fathers. Nevertheless, for many study had become an instrument to achieve power and privileges and to enjoy a life of easy work, exercising unfair authority over the other friars.<sup>58</sup> Ubertino condemned what he called the 'evil spirit' of many learned brothers, but did not condemn study or the use of books in themselves. Accordingly, for Ubertino the only way to remain in the rightful Franciscan spirit was to respect faithfully the original 'intentio' of the founder, clearly expressed in the Rule when he said: 'Non curent nescientes litteras litteras discere'.<sup>59</sup> This means that the main purpose of Franciscan life was not to study but to live in simplicity, by preaching and praying, according to the evangelical model.<sup>60</sup> Any other way of considering the matter of books and study was simply contrary to the 'intentio' of Francis.<sup>61</sup> Therefore, for Ubertino, books and study occupied a secondary place in Franciscan spirituality. Only the spirit of prayer and simplicity could defeat the arrogance and pride that usually characterised scholars, because Franciscan identity, contrary to that of other orders, did not depend upon books and study but upon prayer.<sup>62</sup>

The second source of the Spirituals' views on study, learning and the use of books are the *Liber chronicarum sive Tribulationum Ordinis Minorum* and the *Expositio regulae Fratrum Minorum* written by Angelo Clareno.<sup>63</sup> The main purpose of the commentary

58 'Et omnes dissensiones quasi, que sunt in provinciis multis ordinis, sunt propter ambicionem promocionis ad studia, ut sint lectores et prelati et aliis dominantur. [...] Quia non multis sunt ingeniosi et apti ad subtilia et tamen, ut honorentur, volunt mitti ad studia et habere nomen lectoris, licet parum sciant, ideo postea fastidi de studio efficiuntur ociosi et vagi et aridi et indevoti nec curant chorum sequi, sed uno socio habito servitore discurrunt, ut volunt, et stant in terris propriis ceteris fratribus dominantes. [...] Et quia a talibus ordo regitur cum quasi semper sint de corporibus capitulorum provincialium et postea generalium; ideo semper Ordor tendit ad ima.' *ALKG*, III, 73-74.

59 Esser, *Die Opuscula des Hl. Franziskus von Assisi*, p. 370.

60 'Non fuit hec intentio regule nec beati Francisci, quin immo dicit Regula quod "non curent nescientes litteras litteras discere, sed attendant, quod super omnia desiderare debent habere spiritum domini et sanctam eius operationem, orare semper ad deum puro corde" etc. Et in legenda dicit, quod vult fratres esse discipulos evangelicos et in scientia simplicitatis excrescere et magis orationi quam studio vacare exemplo Christi, qui magis orasse dicitur quam legisse.' *ALKG*, III, 74.

61 'Et multa dicit de hoc, expresse asserens, hoc genus studii esse contra suam intencionem, et horrebat tantam apropiacionem librorum.' *ALKG*, III, 74.

62 'Et dicebat, quod nolebat, quod fratres cupidi essent de scientia et libris, sed volebat quod studeret habere sanctam simplicitatem et oracionem devotam et dominam paupertatem. Et hanc dicebat securiorem viam pro salute anime et vocacionem ordinis sui na domino principalem. [...] Et si aliorum religiones vocantur ad studia ex sui institucione, licet ubique reprehendenda sit abusus studiorum, huius religionis vocacio ex expressione fundatoris, superius est descripta, ad orationem et studium modiis aliis moderatum.' *ALKG*, III, pp. 74, 76.

63 Angelo Clareno was born at Fossombrone near 1247. He became a Franciscan friar by 1262. Shortly afterwards he retired to a hermitage with a few companions and formed a group of Franciscan hermits known as the 'Clareni' who searched for a strict observance of the rule. The group was soon united to the main body of the order, but he persisted in following the original Franciscan way of life under the influence of an interpretation of the Joachite prophecy in a historical sense, which led to a dispute with the government of the order. After a period of wandering and preaching, he was

on the rule was to establish the real 'intentio' of Francis. Like Ubertino, Clareno paid special attention to the rule's exhortation to abandon any form of arrogance and pride, a principle that also applied to books and their use: the friars should not be eager to possess books or to become learned because such a spirit was contrary to true Franciscan humility and simplicity.<sup>64</sup> According to Clareno, Christ himself, through Francis, made an exhortation concerning the perils of vanity, showing simplicity as the only real and secure path for any true Franciscan. At some point in the order's history, holy simplicity was betrayed by some friars who, like Eve in paradise, fell victims to temptation.<sup>65</sup> Therefore, for Clareno, the pursuit of profane knowledge brought an excessive reliance on secular knowledge and the growth of vanity and pride. These very same feelings encouraged the community to build up great houses in the centre of cities and to search for material goods instead of cultivating poverty in holiness.<sup>66</sup>

The Spirituals' interpretation of the rule concerning the problem of study and the use of books had two main consequences. First, the Spirituals strove to establish and use as an argumentative standpoint the 'intentio' of St Francis. Second, based upon the interpretation of the 'intentio', the Spirituals did not condemn the use of books and

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summoned to Avignon to answer the charge of heresy. As a result of the final dispositions of Pope John XXII, he became a member of the Poor Hermits of Celestine V. When the cardinal protector of the Celestines, Giacomo Colonna, died on 1318, Angelo left Rome and went to Subiaco, where he lived among the Benedictines. In 1337 he retired to the little hermitage of Santa Maria d'Aspro, in Basilicata, southern Italy, where he died. For further details on his life, spirituality and legacy see *Angelo Clareno francescano: Atti del XXXIV convegno internazionale. Assisi, 5-7 ottobre 2006* (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2007), and Felice Acrocca, *Un ribelle tranquillo: Angelo Clareno e gli Spirituali francescani tra Due e Trecento* (Assisi: Porziuncola, 2009).

- 64 'De hoc etiam in prima regula erat scriptum: "Et clerici libros tantum necessarios ad eorum officium possint habere". Voluit beatus Franciscus quod fratres omnes non essent cupidi de scientia et libris et quod literas nescientes non curarent literas discere sed quod clerici et layci attendant ad id, quod super omnia habere et desiderare debebant et tenebantur, quod illud est, quod se habentes Deo placentes facit, et gratia et veritate plenos, ad regnum glorie absque impedimento perducit, habere videlicet spiritum Domini et sanctam eius operationem, orare semper ad Dominum puro corde et habere humilitatem et patientiam in persecutione et in infirmitate et diligere eos, qui nos persequuntur et reprehendunt et arguunt, et cetera.' Angelo Clareno, *Expositio regulae Fratrum Minorum*, ed. by Livarius Oligier (Quaracchi: Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1912), pp. 208-09.
- 65 'Beatus Franciscus previdit quod religionem suam ad similitudinem Eve sub specie mala et bona sciendi, et excellentiam habendi deorum, idest sublimium doctorum ecclesie et sapientium magistrorum, antiquus serpens seducendo corrumperet et a simplicitatis innocentia, ad quam tenendam et amandam tanquam sue plenitudinis et integritatis formam et speciem singulariter creata et condita erat, finaliter elongaret, et miseris innumeris et erumpnis multiplicibus, proprio decore perditio, obnoxiam faceret.' Angelo Clareno, *Expositio regulae*, p. 209.
- 66 'Futura enim prospiciens cognoscebat per spiritum ait fr. Leo, et etiam mulotiens fratribus dixit, quod fratres sub specie hedificandi alios dimicent vocationem suam, scilicet puram et sanctam simplicitatem, orationem sanctam et dominam paupertatem nostram [...]' Angelo Clareno, *Expositio regulae*, p. 209.

study. Instead, they preserved their close relation with books by identifying pride and vanity as the real dangers for the Franciscan spirituality. This suggests that, for Spirituals, a humble activity of study could be an acceptable form of *usus pauper* of books.

### 1.5.2. *The Franciscan Observance and Study, Books and Libraries*

The group of the Spirituals was completely dissolved during the first half of the fourteenth century. This, nevertheless, did not undermine the ideal of living under the strictest observance of the Franciscan rule, as the several attempts in this direction that took place during the second half of the fourteenth century show.<sup>67</sup> One of the most important was the initiative of John of Valle, a former disciple of Angelo Clareno. In 1334, John established a small hermitage at Brugliano, in Umbria, that, in spite of its rigour, attracted many followers. One of them, Gentile of Spoleto, became the leader of the fraternity. Under his direction, the fraternity grew significantly and Gentile requested in 1350 an authorisation to incorporate four existing Franciscan hermitages into his fraternity. Against all odds, the community obtained the authorisation in the form of a papal privilege, the *Bonorum Operum*.<sup>68</sup> However, the friars of the wider Franciscan community saw this small group of hermits as dissidents.<sup>69</sup> When in 1354 the general chapter approved a new set of statutes for the whole order, the minister general, William Farinier, asked the hermit friars if they intended to accept the new regulations. The hermits considered that the statutes were incompatible with their strict observance of the rule and therefore rejected the statutes. The community then proceeded to declare the group of hermits heretical. At this point the Holy See intervened and, after an inquisitorial procedure, it was determined that the hermits' privilege should be revoked.<sup>70</sup>

67 Nimmo, 'The Franciscan Regular Observance: The Culmination of Medieval Franciscan Reform', in *Reformbemühungen und Observanzbestrebungen im spätmittelalterlichen Ordenswesen*, ed. by Kaspar Elm (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1989), pp. 189-205 (p. 189).

68 See Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, pp. 369-70; Nimmo, *Reform and Division*, pp. 382-86; and Merlo, *Nel nome di San Francesco*, p. 284.

69 'Eodem anno quidam frater laicus, dictus Gentilis de Spoleto de Provincia sancti Francisci, et quidam alii quadam fatua devotione seducti in tantam audaciam prorupuerunt, ut se toti Communitati Ordinis opposcentes Ordinem magno schismate dividere molirentur. Supplicaverunt namque domino papae Clementi, instantibus pro eis aliquibus viris notabilibus eorum fatua devotione deceptis ut eis aliqua loca Ordinis concederentur, in quibus possent regulam ad litteram observare.' *Chronica XXIV Generalium*, p. 547.

70 *Annales Minorum*, VIII, 120-22.



The experience of the Umbrian hermits was significant for the history of the order because one of the members of the suppressed community, Paoluccio of Trince, persisted in gathering together a Franciscan community that lived under a strict observance of the rule. In 1367 he met the new minister general, Thomas of Frignano, and obtained permission to go back to Brugliano and revive the experience of rigorous Franciscan life. Consequently, in 1368 Paoluccio assembled a community devoted to the strict observance of the rule. This is commonly accepted as the origin of the movement of reformation known as the Franciscan Observance.<sup>71</sup> The reputation for holiness of the Observance grew and the movement rapidly spread. The growth of the movement within the order raised the question of the possibility of the compatibility between a strict form of life and a more relaxed interpretation of the rule. A solution to the problem was possible under one of three forms: first, to make a general reform of the order in a stricter sense; second, to institutionalise the existence of two parties with different interpretations of the rule, both of them under the authority of one minister general; and, third, to divide the order in two. The history of the Franciscan order during the fifteenth century could be summarised as the attempt to solve the question of coexistence by exploring each one of the aforementioned solutions.<sup>72</sup>

The appointment of observant friars to play a role in the governance of the order reflected the diffusion of the movement within the order and their growing influence. By 1443 John of Capistrano, one of the four 'pillars of the Observance', was elected as vicar for the Italian provinces and, in fulfilment of his duties, he prepared a set of directions for the friars under his care. These directions became the core of the observant constitutions. In 1447 the Observants held a chapter general that confirmed the dispositions of John of Capistrano. Two years later, the unreformed Franciscan friars, or friars of the Community, held a chapter general at Florence. The impossibility of holding one general chapter for both Franciscan branches showed that there was an effective distinction between two forms of Franciscanism within the same order.<sup>73</sup>

As defenders of a strict interpretation of the rule, the observant friars may appear as a group of friars hostile to learning, study and the use of books. Nevertheless, for the Observance, learning was a means to achieve spiritual strength. The programme of

71 *Annales Minorum*, VIII, 246-47. See also Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, pp. 371-73, and Nimmo, *Reform and Division*, pp. 394-405.

72 Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, p. 441.

73 *Chronica Glassberger*, pp. 308-09. See also Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, p. 479.

John of Capistrano of 1443 confirmed the important role of proper guidance in order to avoid the risk that blind pursuit of knowledge might suffocate the humility that should characterise the spirit of Franciscan mission.<sup>74</sup> The most important sources for the doctrine and regulations on study and books are the writings of Bernardino of Siena and John of Capistrano. Bernardino of Siena established a school of moral theology and pastoral techniques at Fiesole, where the friars could receive preparation to preach. In 1438 Bernardino went to Assisi and, as vicar of the Cismontane observants, issued at the convent of S. Damiano an important vicarial decree pertaining to study and the organisation of pastoral care. Although the document is short, it is the source of the legislation on study for the Observants.

The decree stated first that the friars who had entered the Observance as unlearned lay persons and had later passed on towards the clerical state should not be allowed to hear confessions of lay people.<sup>75</sup> On the other hand, the decree also prohibited uneducated lay friars from learning and from entering the clerical estate, according to what had been established by the tenth chapter of the rule.<sup>76</sup> The only way to solve the contradiction between these decrees is to assume that the unlearned lay persons of the first decree were capable of reading and writing at the moment of arrival in the order, which would have enabled them to perform the divine office with the required books. As for the uneducated lay friars of the second decree, it should be assumed they were not able to read, and therefore they should not be taught how to. Bernardino offered two clear restrictive clauses concerning the order and study that derived their authority directly from the tradition of interpretation of the rule. This illustrates how the conception of the role of study within the Observance was carefully designed to be presented as the valid realisation of the original purpose of the order's founder.

When John of Capistrano was designated vicar for the Italian provinces in 1443, he prepared a set of regulations for the friars under his care.<sup>77</sup> Capistrano presented his constitutions in the form of a detailed commentary on the rule, and, therefore, the observant regulations were to be understood as directly deriving from Francis's

<sup>74</sup> Bert Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education (c. 1210 – 1517)* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), p. 156.

<sup>75</sup> 'In primis, quod nullus ad professionem receptus pro laico, postea effectus presbyter, possit audire confessiones saecularium personarum, sed dumtaxat fratrum.' Bernardino of Siena, *Opera Omnia*, VIII, p. 314.

<sup>76</sup> 'Item, quod nullus laicus permittatur addiscere litteras, aut ad clericatum ascendere.' Bernardino of Siena, *Opera Omnia*, VIII, p. 315.

<sup>77</sup> See Maranesi, *Nescientes Litteras*, p. 226.

intention. The first question that he considered was the conditions for admission to the order. The dispositions put special emphasis on the hard conditions of Franciscan life that should be explained to the new members of the community.<sup>78</sup> Another point concerning the admission of novices to the order established that the candidate should be apt to virtuous work and able to carry the burden of religious life.<sup>79</sup> Capistrano stressed the importance of the willingness to undertake physical activity instead of showing special competence in study. This had a special importance because it was customary to separate the new friars according to their previous way of life, and therefore they were considered as potential lay friars ('pro laico'), or clerics ('pro clerico'). One of the fundamental criteria to establish the difference between the groups was their level of education. Since Capistrano's constitutions apparently did not assign a special importance to the knowledge of grammar, but instead stressed the importance of physical capability, it would seem that the Observants were not interested in establishing a distinction between 'pro laico' and 'pro clerico'. However, the observant constitutions established the exclusion of laymen from clerical life, in accordance with the traditional understanding of the rule's passage: 'Et non curent nescientes litteras, litteras discere, sed attendant quod super omnia desiderare debent habere Spiritum Domini et sanctam eius operationem'.<sup>80</sup> Moreover, according to Capistrano's constitutions, the only way to avoid the restriction was to obtain a special authorisation from the general vicar for the observant friars.<sup>81</sup> In this sense, one could say that the observant constitutions followed the traditional interpretation of the Franciscan rule, that is, identifying the 'nescientes litteras' with the lay friars.

Naturally, in the spirit of the observant reform, the friars' spiritual duties were considered of vital importance, and it was in order to satisfy this need that the dispositions on study, learning and the use of books became of great significance. To guarantee that confessors and preachers were able to exercise their duties properly, the constitutions established that one or more observant houses in each province should be

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78 'Et nullus fratrum iuvenem quempiam vel aetate provectum, adulationibus, suasionibus, vel blanditiis, praesumat attrahere ad nostram Religionem: Quinimmo vitam nostram accipere volentibus, diligenter et seriose exponatur rigor potius nostri status quo ad obedientiam, paupertatem et castitatem et cetera quae in nostra Regula continentur.' *CHL*, I, 103a. See also Maranesi, *Nescientes Litteras*, p. 227.

79 'Sit idoneus ad honestos labores, et Religionis onera supportanda.' *CHL*, I, 103b.

80 Esser, *Die Opuscola*, p. 262.

81 'Nullus etiam Laicus nostri Ordinis ad Clericatum praesumat accedere nisi a me prius licentiam obtinuerit: et nescientes literas, non curent literas discere, nisi suscepta obedientia, vel obtenta licentia sui Vicarii, vel mea.' *CHL*, I, 108a.

designated for the teaching of friars 'in primitivis scientiis' and in 'sacra pagina', that is, theology. The study of those subjects was considered to be on the same level as preaching, confessing or providing spiritual advice.<sup>82</sup> Consequently, the establishment of centres of study with specific programmes of training and study acquired an extraordinary value for the Observance.<sup>83</sup> Observant *studia* were founded in Bologna, Ferrara, Mantua, Fabriano, Florence, Pavia, Milan, Verona Padua and Venice, all of them furnished with libraries.<sup>84</sup>

In February 1444 Capistrano wrote a letter directed to all provincial vicars of the Observance in Italy with the purpose of ensuring the fulfilment of the directions he had established in 1443. The letter is an interesting source that confirms the great importance of study for the Observance as a tool that guaranteed the proper undertaking of the duty of preaching.<sup>85</sup> For Capistrano, the possession of correct knowledge was not only necessary for the clerical friar in charge of pastoral care, but also had spiritual significance, because it was directly linked to the deepest nature of man as a creation of God. Therefore, those who despised knowledge inevitably sinned against human nature and the gifts of the Holy Spirit.<sup>86</sup> At this point one might wonder what the Observance answer was to the restriction on teaching those friars 'nescientes litteras' how to read. Capistrano established that the rule's admonition was not intended to be interpreted in an absolute, restrictive sense: it was a means to an end.<sup>87</sup> One example of this was given by Francis himself when he authorised Anthony of Padua to teach theology to friars

82 'Quod etiam sane intelligendum est circa spiritualia exercitia cum corporalibus intermixta; ut neque in praedicationibus, neque in confessionibus, neque in studiis, sive lectionibus; veletiam spiritualibus consiliis, personis regularibus, vel saecularibus exhibendis, adeo se occupent, quod divinas laudes et ordinarium officium praetermittant.' *CHL*, 1, 105a.

83 'Iuvenes idonei ad studia literarum non occupentur in aliis exercitiis a suis prelatiis.' *CHL*, 1, 111-12.

84 'Omnibus Vicariis suae curae commissis quatenus quilibet Vicarius in sua Provincia determinaret unum vel plura loca, iuxta possibilitatem et aptitudinem Fratrum Provinciae, in quo vel quibus locarentur Fratres idonei ad docendum pariter et discendum, qui proficere valerent, nedum in principiis scientiae sed etiam in Sacra Pagina, Deo Duce.' *CHL* 1, 106-08. See also Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education*, pp. 164-65

85 'Quomodo poterit quisquam benefacere se nescit? Quomodo sciet, si non didicerit? Quomodo discet, sine docente?' See Anicetus Chiappini, ed., 'S. Iohannis de Capistrano Sermones duo ad studentes et Epistola circularis De studio promovendo inter Observantes', *AFH*, 11 (1918), 97-131 (p. 129).

86 'Turpissima est iactura quae fit per ignorantiam et negligentiam. Inimicus nature est, qui scire contemnit; quia naturaliter est homini scientiam concupiscere. Contra naturam ergo peccat, qui scientiam despicit; Spiritum Sanctum blasphemare convincitur qui Spiritus Sancti donum negligit et talentum.' See Chiappini, 'De studio promovendo', p. 128; see also Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education*, pp. 164-65.

87 'Eia ergo agite prudenter, et circumspicite diligenter, ut laici nescientes litteras non curent litteras discere; clerici vero et presbyteri, qui iam litterarum studio sunt professi, vacent litteris et scientiae, sine dispendio regularis observantie et spiritualis discipline'. See Chiappini, 'De studio promovendo', p. 130.

with the admonition that it should not suffocate the spirit of prayer and devotion. For Capistrano, this meant that it was not study but its abuse which was the real danger for the spirituality of men.<sup>88</sup>

A complementary perspective to the general observant regulations on learning and the use of books is offered by Bernardino of Siena, who not only instituted places of learning in observant convents, but also developed a doctrine on the character of study as a part of Christian life. Bernardino's thought is summarised in three works: his sermon at Florence on 20 February 1425; another sermon at Siena in the same year; and the sermon *De scientiarum studiis*, at the University of Padua in 1443. These works showed how, in Bernardino's conception, study was necessary to arrive at true wisdom. In this sense, knowledge had a moral value because, if ignorance was the cause of social unrest and civic disaster, knowledge guaranteed civil harmony. Consequently, there was a universal obligation to become learned, that is, to have knowledge of the principles of faith. This meant that everybody should learn, because that was a moral, honest and a virtuous way of glorifying God.<sup>89</sup>

This brief overview of the approach of Franciscan Spirituals and Observants to the issues of learning, study and the use of books allows us to understand that both movements were expressions of the wish to return to the origins of the Franciscan spirituality, and that learning played a determining role in the context of such a reformation, in spite of the fact that learning, study and books were not considered as part of the original brotherhood's identity. All the emblematic figures of the movements of reform – Peter John Olivi, Ubertino da Casale, Angelo Clareno, Bernardino of Siena and John of Capistrano – were products of the discipline of study and book culture of Franciscan schools and universities.

In the particular case of the Franciscan Observance, there are two important remarks to be made. First of all, study in the observant world was considered as a fundamental, complex and rich activity with a practical purpose: to support the mission of preaching.<sup>90</sup> Secondly, the observant constitutions were not only the expression of an

88 'Non in scientia, sed in abusu scientie acquisite vel aquirende: scilicet in modo acquirerendi vel ministrandi, defectus aut vitium implicatur'. See Chiappini, 'De studio promovendo', p. 130. Francis's authorisation took the form of a short letter: 'Fratri Antonio episcopo meo frater Franciscus salutem. Placet mihi quod sacram theologiam legas fratribus, dummodo inter huius studium orationis et devotionis non exstinguas, sicut in regula continetur.' Esser, *Die Opuscola*, p. 153.

89 Roest, *Franciscan Education*, pp. 161-62.

90 'Praedicationis officium est substantamentum Fidei Christianae, lumen veritatis, schola virtutum,

awareness of the importance of intellectual activity. They also reflected an increasing interest in creating a link of uninterrupted tradition with the original intention of the first brotherhood, following the same path as the unreformed friars of the Community.

### *Conclusion*

This overview of the development of the Franciscan regulations on learning and the use of books allows us to understand that the friars of the Community and the friars of the movements of reform followed similar approaches to describing the role of books within the order, that is, to reconstructing the *intentio* of Francis. Naturally, such a reconstruction was possible because Francis did not clearly establish his view on the matter. Following the path of the reconstruction of Francis's intention, one can say that although he aimed to preserve the delicate balance between learned and unlearned members within his community, he did not consider books as fundamental for Franciscan spirituality, especially because he did not provide the community with a set of procedures and rules on study and learning. All of the developments in the interpretation of the rule, even the most rigorous, do not condemn the use of books, and find legitimacy for the role of learning through the reconstruction of Francis's original intention. It is also interesting that the interpreters of the founder's intention were all products of the sophisticated training and intellectual discipline of Franciscan schools and universities. They were, one might say, unintentionally, the most compelling evidence of how the order could be a space for the coexistence of learning and the apostolic spirit.

A second observation regards the fact that the key argument to justify the role of learning and the presence of books within the order was the preparation for preaching and, to a lesser extent, the preparation for pastoral care. The reach of the intellectual achievement of the members of the order swiftly surpassed all expectations, and the declared purpose of limiting the activity of study to the preparation for preaching became more a reminder of an ideal than an effective determinant of the actual practice.<sup>91</sup> The significant distance between the ideal purpose of study as a support for preaching, as expressed by the regulations, and the actual development of the order also

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ruina vitiorum, via salutis, doctrina morum, camera sanctitatis. [...] *CHL*, I, 106a.

91 Senocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, pp. 145-46.

allows us to reflect on how the first Franciscan regulations expressed an ideal of the book to be used by the friars.

The first interesting feature of the ideal book to be used by Franciscans is that it was not to be written by Franciscans. Early regulations do not refer explicitly to the activity of writing within the convents, and the first specific reference to writing appears in the constitutions of 1239, which describe it as an activity related to a training exercise, rather than to the internal production of manuscripts.<sup>92</sup> By 1260 an interpretation of the section of the rule that mentioned activities of work suitable for friars established that writing was an acceptable option, and for the first time it related writing to study.<sup>93</sup> It was not clear whether friars were encouraged to produce the manuscripts they needed for study or if they were allowed to work as scribes for external patrons. Nevertheless, specific regulations, such as the provincial chapter of Treviso of 1290, established that in order to satisfy the needs of the libraries and the friars, the convents could count on the presence of a permanent scribe.<sup>94</sup> It is reasonable to suppose that by that time Franciscans were not only transcribing, but also authoring many of the works that were studied in the convents. This development in the conception of the Franciscan book, namely, from an external manuscript to a work of study conceived, written and transcribed within the convent, was only possible thanks to the complete reconstruction of the intention of Francis through interpretation. A similar development could be observed in the type of manuscripts described by the regulations. The Franciscan rule mentioned biblical books and devotional texts in restrictive terms. Theological works or books for study were not even considered by Francis. Nevertheless, by the end of the thirteenth century the question under discussion was not whether theological books or books of study were to be allowed in the convents, but how most efficiently to provide friars arriving at the universities with the manuscripts they needed.<sup>95</sup>

92 'Fratres tam clerici quam laici compellantur per suos superiores in scribendo et in aliis sibi competentibus exerceri.' Cesare Cenci, 'De fratrum minorum constitutionibus praenarbonensibus', *AFH* 83 (1990), 50-95 (p. 91).

93 'Cum Regula dicat quod "Fratres quibus dedit Dominus gratiam laborandi, laborent fideliter et devote" ordinamus quod fratres, tam clerici quam laici, compellantur per suos superiores in scribendo, studendo et aliis laboribus sibi competentibus exerceri.' Michael Bihl, ed., 'Statuta Generalia Ordinis Edita in Capitulis Generalibus Celebratis Narbonnae an. 1260, Assisii an. 1279 atque Parisiis an. 1292: Editio Critica et Synoptica', *AFH* 34 (1941), 13-94; 284-358 (p. 69)

94 'Ordinat minister et diffinitores cum provinciali capitulo quod in conventu Padue et Veneciis et aliis conventibus, qui sustinere poterunt, teneatur continue unus scriptor, qui scribat libros necessarios et pro armario opportunos.' A. G. Little, 'Statuta Provincialia Provinciae Franciae et Marchiae Trevisae (s. XIII)', *AFH*, 7 (1914), 447-65 (p. 460).

95 Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education*, p. 15.

The second feature of the ideal book conceived by the regulations is its role. The original purpose of books within the community was to be a support for the performance of the divine offices, for devotion and for pastoral care. The training of friars as preachers introduced the circulation of books destined to be tools in their education; but very soon Franciscans found themselves transcribing, authoring and collecting works on theology, philosophy, canon law and natural sciences.

A third feature of the book as outlined by the regulations regards its availability. As described by the rule, books should be available to those members of the order who were already able to use them at the moment of their arrival in the order. This disposition reflected the intention of controlling the balance between the unlearned and learned members of the community. Nevertheless, the ideal balance was dramatically altered with the active participation of friars in the scholastic culture of their time; and the creation and development of a network of schools was a consequence, rather than the cause, of the 'intellectualisation' of the order. Naturally, instead of restricting access to books, the order had to find ways to make them available within the convents, and it found very sophisticated mechanisms for the production and circulation of books, as will be shown in the next chapter. A manuscript of restricted availability, produced outside the community and employed as a rudimentary tool of devotion, was not the ideal of the book for an order of intellectuals, and that helps us to understand the dramatic contrast with the actual books written, studied and collected by Franciscan friars.

As a dimension of the Franciscan manuscript, the idea, as expressed in the regulations, changed, developed and adapted to the needs of a community who shared devotional, pastoral and intellectual expectations. The following chapter will explore another dimension of the Franciscan manuscript, namely, the space, or the places where this ideal was challenged by the actual practices of production and use of manuscripts.



## Chapter Two

*Libraries and Franciscan Manuscripts in Padua**Introduction*

In a passage of his *Cronica*, the Franciscan friar Salimbene of Adam described a dispute between the Dominican lector Peter of Apulia and the Franciscan master Hugh of Digne. According to Salimbene, Peter, a learned and eloquent man, claimed that he could not care less about the doctrine of Joachim of Fiore, a statement that prompted a resolute answer from Hugh.<sup>1</sup> After persuading Peter by demonstrating the unquestionable truth of Joachim of Fiore's doctrine, Hugh addressed their audience, drawing attention to the fact that it was no longer possible to consider the Franciscan order as a group of simple, unlearned men.<sup>2</sup>

The figure of Hugh, highly praised by Salimbene, was almost at the opposite end of

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- 1 'Cum autem vidissem quod in camera fratris Hugonis congregabantur iudices et notarii atque phisici et alii litterati, ad audiendum ipsum de doctrina abbatis Ioachym docentem [...] tunc supervenerunt etiam duo fratres Predicatores, qui redibant a suo generali capitulo quod Parisius fuerat celebratum; quorum unus dicebatur frater Petrus de Apulia, in Ordine eorum Neapolitanus lector et litteratus et magnus prolocutor [...] Huic quadam die post prandium dixit frater Ioanninus, Neapolitanus cantor, qui eum optime noverat: "Frater Petre, quid vobis videtur de doctrina abbatis Ioachim?" Respondit frater Petrus: "Tantum curo de Ioachym, quantum de quinta rota plaustrum [...] Cui frater Hugo dixit: "Et quid ad me, si non credit? Sibi imputetur. Ipse viderit, cum vexatio dabit auditui intellectum. Verutamen vocate ipsum ad disputationem, et audiemus in quo dubitat." See 'De disputatione fratris Hugonis cum fratre Petro, lectore Neapolitano fratrum Predicatorum, occasione scripture abbatis Ioachym', in Salimbene of Adam, *Cronica*, pp. 343-44.
- 2 'Post quorum recessum dixit frater Hugo remanentibus litteratis hominibus qui disputationem audierant: "Isti boni homines semper de scientia glorientur et dicunt quod in Ordine eorum fons sapientie invenitur, cum Ecclesiasticus dicat: *Fons sapientie verbum Dei in excelsis*. [Ecclesiasticus 1. 7] Dicunt etiam quod transierunt per homines ydiotas, quando transeunt per loca fratrum minorum. [...] Sed per Dei gratiam modo non potuerunt dicere quod per homines ydiotas transierunt quia feci quod docet Sapiens in Proverbiis, dicens *Responde stulto iuxta stultitiam suam, ne sibi sapiens esse videatur*. [Proverbs 26. 5] Et iterum dicit: *Stude sapientie, fili mi, et letifica cor meum, ut possis exprobranti respondere sermonem*. [Proverbs 27. 11]" Salimbene of Adam, *Cronica*, 1, 364.

the spectrum of the simple and unlearned members of the idealized first Franciscan brotherhood, and reflected the transformation of the Franciscan community into an order that could rival Benedictines and Dominicans in its devotion to study. In fact, the recruiting of master Alexander of Hales at the University of Paris in 1236 became the unquestionable proof of the swift success of the Franciscan order, which, by the end of the thirteenth century, had attracted many of the most influential and renowned intellectuals of the time: Peter Cattani, Caesarius of Speyer, John Pian del Carpine, John Parenti, Anthony of Padua, and Haymo of Faversham, among others.<sup>3</sup>

At the origin of the intellectual eagerness of the order was the increasing need of theological education for the friars responsible for preaching.<sup>4</sup> The whole process was supported by an efficient network of schools that offered the possibility of reaching the highest levels of learning to the most talented students, who were expected to attend the 'lectio' regularly.<sup>5</sup> Naturally, learning depended on the use of books, and therefore the

3 C. H. Lawrence, *The Friars: The Impact of the Early Mendicant Movement on Western Society* (London; New York: Longman, 1994), p. 127; Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education*, pp. 14-17, and Pellegrini, *L'Incontro tra due invenzioni medievali*, pp. 116 and 129-31. See also Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, pp. 66 and 171-83.

4 The general traits of the development of preaching in the Middle Ages are described in John W. O'Malley, 'Introduction: Medieval Preaching', in *De Ore Domini: Preacher and the Word in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Thomas L. Amos, Eugene A. Green and Beverly M. Kienzle (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1989), pp. 1-11. A remarkably clear introduction to medieval sermon studies can be found in Louis J. Bataillon, 'Approaches to the Study of Medieval Sermons', *Leeds Studies in English* 11 (1980), 19-35, and in Beverley M. Kienzle, 'The Typology of the Medieval Sermon and its Development in the Middle Ages: Report on Work in Progress', in *De l'homélie au sermon. Histoire de la prédication médiévale: Actes du colloque international de Louvain-la-Neuve (9-11 juillet 1992)*, ed. by Jacqueline Hamesse and Xavier Hermand (Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut d'Etudes Médiévales de l'Université Catholique de Louvain, 1993), pp. 83-101. The International Medieval Sermon Studies Society and its journal *Medieval Sermon Studies*, have contributed significantly to the understanding of medieval sermons. A comprehensive description of the development of scholarship on sermon studies may be found in Phyllis Roberts, 'Sermon Studies Scholarship: The Last Thirty-Five Years', *Medieval Sermon Studies*, 43 (1999), 9-18. Recent research explores also the performance of the medieval sermon using interdisciplinary tools, as shown by Valentina Berardini, 'Discovering Performance Indicators in Late Medieval Sermons', *Medieval Sermon Studies*, 54 (2010), 75-86. For an overview of the development of preaching in the mendicant context, see D. L. D'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris before 1300* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985). The link between preaching and study, particularly at the university, is explained by the Franciscan sources in terms of the acquisition of the knowledge of sacred Scripture in order to preach properly. Neslihan Şenocak warns, however, that it is 'risky to accept the arguments of medieval friars at face value', and says that this argument does not explain satisfactorily the outstanding levels of variety and sophistication of the friars' involvement with learning. See Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, pp. 144-88. See also Eleonora Lombardo, 'La production homilétique franciscaine. Quelques considerations pour un approche structural aux premières recueils des sermons des frères mineurs', *Études Franciscaines*, 5 (2012), 85-110.

5 The obligation of attending school in the convent was established by the constitutions of Assisi in 1279: 'Arctentur autem omnes fratres clerici ad ingressum scholarum, cum non fuerint circa iniuncta sibi officia occupati.' See Michael Bihl, 'Statuta Generalia Ordinis Edita in Capitulis Generalibus Celebratis Narbonnae an. 1260, Assisii an. 1279 atque Parisiis an. 1292: Editio Critica et Synoptica',

Franciscan schools should be provided with book collections that guaranteed continuity in studies.<sup>6</sup> Consequently, very quickly the library, understood not only as a physical place but also as the collection of books, became one of the most important spaces in Franciscan convents.

As mentioned before, Franciscan libraries have been considered as a topic of research within the study of Franciscan institutional history and Franciscan education.<sup>7</sup> Another focus of modern research is demonstrated through edited sources, mainly inventories, complemented with the identification and description of the books registered in those documents.<sup>8</sup> A more recent set of studies has focused on processes such as the creation of specific regulations for the libraries and the acquisition and circulation of books within Franciscan houses.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, unexplored fields of study remain, and this chapter aims to explore at least two of them. First, after briefly describing the evolution of the medieval and Franciscan libraries, this section proposes an innovative approach by comparing the book collections of two Franciscan libraries from two different branches of the order – one unreformed, the other, reformed –, as they were during the second half of the fifteenth century. Second, and as a result of the comparison, it will identify differences in the type of manuscripts collected, as well as characteristic physical features of these volumes, according to the library of provenance, in order to verify whether there is a relation between these characteristics and the needs of the community of users. After presenting the idea as the first dimension of the Franciscan manuscript in the previous chapter, this chapter aims to outline its second significant dimension: the space.

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*AFH*, 34 (1941), 13–94 (p. 76). See also Bartoli Langeli, 'I libri dei frati: la cultura scritta dell'Ordine dei Minori', p. 284. See also Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education*, pp. 67, 82–86, and 92–93; and Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, pp. 215–37.

6 Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education*, pp. 197–201.

7 Clark, *The Care of Books*, pp. 199–207; Abate, 'Manoscritti e biblioteche francescane del medio evo', pp. 77–126; Humphreys, *The Book Provisions of the Medieval Friars*; Humphreys, *The Friars Libraries*; Bartoli Langeli, 'I libri dei frati: la cultura scritta dell'Ordine dei Minori'; and Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education*.

8 Humphreys, *The Library of the Convent of St Antony*; Humphreys, *The Library of the Franciscans of Siena*; Cenci, *Bibliotheca Manuscripta ad Sacrum Conventum Assisiensem*; Pantarotto, *La biblioteca del convento di San Francesco Grande di Padova*; and Somigli, 'Hoc est registrum omnium librorum'.

9 See *Libri, biblioteche e letture dei Frati Mendicanti (secoli XIII–XIV): Atti del XXXII convegno internazionale Assisi, 7–9 ottobre 2004* (Spoleto: CISAM, 2005); Şenocak, 'Book Acquisition in the Medieval Franciscan Order'; and Şenocak, 'Circulation of Books in the Medieval Franciscan Order: Attitude, Methods, and Critics'.

## 2.1. The Medieval Library

One of the most fascinating representations of the act of writing embellishes the Codex Amiatinus at the Biblioteca Laurenziana of Florence.<sup>10</sup> On folio 2<sup>r</sup> (formerly numbered 4<sup>r</sup> and V<sup>r</sup>), the prophet Ezra is depicted in the labour of rewriting the books of the Old Testament after their loss by fire.<sup>11</sup> One of the most striking features of this miniature is the fact that it presents a privileged perspective to the readers, especially if their attention focuses on the splendid cupboard that opens its doors generously, offering a view of its precious contents: books. The image of the open cupboard powerfully illustrates the complexity of the medieval conception of the library, that is, a process rather than a place.<sup>12</sup> In fact, the term 'bibliotheca', or its equivalent 'armarium', had a wide range of meanings and could be used for an actual repository of books, for a collection of volumes or for a collection of texts gathered in one codex, as usually happened with the Bible.<sup>13</sup> This multiplicity of meanings certainly represents a challenge for the study of any aspect of medieval librarianship because it is necessary first to establish a sense of the concept of the medieval library.

For the purposes of this work, the medieval library will be understood as a collection of written volumes, characterised by a principle of organisation useful for the location and retrieval of books.<sup>14</sup> This approach offers a double advantage. On the one hand,

10 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana MS Amiat. 1. See Appendix 3, fig. 1.

11 As the couplet above the image informs the reader: 'Codicibus sacris hostilii clade perustis / Esdra Deo fervens hoc reparavit opus.' Scholarship has debated the relation between Cassiodorus, Bede and the figure represented on fol. 2<sup>r</sup> of the Amiatinus. For further details see Paul Meyvaert, 'The Date of Bede's *In Ezram* and his Image of Ezra in the Codex Amiatinus', *Speculum* 80 (2005), 1087-133. See also Kurt Weitzmann, *Late Antique and Early Christian Book Illumination*, (London: Chatto and Windus, 1977), pp. 24 and 126.

12 *CHLB*, 1, 1. See also David Bell, 'The Libraries of Religious Houses in the Late Middle Ages', in *CHLB*, 1, 126.

13 Isidore of Seville, for instance, defines the library as the place where books are collected: 'Bibliotheca a Graeco nomen accepit, eo quod ibi recordantur libri. Nam βιβλιων librorum, θηκη repositio interpretatur.' Isidore, *Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*, ed. by W. M. Lindsay, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1911) 1, vi, iii, 1. However, the term had a very wide field of meaning. See Mariken Teeuwen, *The Vocabulary of Intellectual Life in the Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), p. 155.

14 See *International Dictionary of Library Histories*, ed. by David H. Stam, 2 vols (London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2001) 1, xii-xiii. The significant variation in the terminology has led me to adopt the term 'volume' in its sense of a unit of the library cataloguing process. Therefore, a volume may contain one or more works. The term 'book' will be used in this sense, unless indicated otherwise. This terminology is compatible with the distinction between 'liber', 'codex' and 'volumen' that was already in use since the early Middle Ages, as shown by Isidore: 'Codex multorum librorum est; liber unius voluminis. [...] Volumen liber est a volvendo dictus, sicut apud Hebraeos volumina Legis, volumina Prophetarum.' Isidore, *Etymologiarum*, 1, vi, iii, xiii. However, there are some contexts in which the boundaries of meaning are unclear. For further details see Teeuwen, *The Vocabulary of Intellectual Life in the Middle Ages*, pp. 168 and 178, and François Dolbeau, 'Noms de livres', in *Vocabulaire du livre et de l'écriture au moyen âge: Actes de la table ronde (Paris 24-26 septembre 1987)*, ed. by Olga

since it refers to the collection rather than the room where it is located, the definition of library does not depend on the presence of a designated place for the gathering of volumes; on the other hand, it allows us to consider a small book collection, contained in one single cupboard, to be just as significant as the magnificent religious or university libraries of the late Middle Ages. In order to contextualise the two libraries object of this thesis, a description of the development of libraries in the Middle ages follows.

In the aftermath of the collapse of the Western Roman empire, two models of intellectual work related to two different ways of conceiving and using the library appeared. These models were embodied by the figures of the Roman scholars Boethius and Cassiodorus.<sup>15</sup> Boethius was one of the most influential figures in medieval Latin culture. His best known work, the *Consolatio Philosophiae*, written in captivity shortly before his execution in 524/5, is an expression of a *religio grammatici*, that is, a strong devotion to knowledge and study as individual sources of hope. In the whole of Boethius's work, Greek Neoplatonism, Latin philosophical writing, Greek Christian literature, and the Latin Church Fathers coexisted. Such a synthesis was possible thanks to his extensive and profitable use of his personal library, as well as that of his father-in-law Symmachus.<sup>16</sup> This way of using one's own book collection reflected one particular conception of the library during Late Antiquity, that is, the library understood as a personal possession that reflected its owner's intellectual history and interests.

Although Cassiodorus received the same kind of education as Boethius, he followed a very different path. After having pursued a remarkable *cursus honorum*, Cassiodorus decided to establish in Rome a Christian school following the model of those of

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Weijers (Turnhout: Brepols, 1989), pp. 79-99 (p. 80).

15 For an overview of Boethius's historical context, see John Moorhead, 'Boethius' Life and the World of Late Antique Philosophy', in *The Cambridge Companion to Boethius*, ed. by John Marenbon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 13-33. For a thorough consideration of the life, work and influence of Boethius in the cultural tradition, see John Marenbon, *Boethius* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), as well as *Boethius: His Life, Thought and Influence*, ed. by Margaret Gibson (Oxford: Blackwell, 1981). For an overview of the cultural context of Cassiodorus, see Antonio Garzya, 'Il modello della formazione culturale nella Tarda Antichità', in *Nuovo e antico nella cultura greco-latina di IV-VI secolo*. ed. by Isabella Gualandri, Fabrizio Conca and Raffaele Passarella (Milan: Cisalpino Istituto Editoriale Universitario, 2002), pp. 3-14. For a complete study on the life and work of Cassiodorus, see James O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1979), as well as Cassiodorus, *An Introduction to Divine and Human Readings*, ed. and trans. by Leslie Webber Jones (New York: Octagon Books, 1966), especially pp. 3-64.

16 Marenbon, *Boethius*, pp. 7-11, and James W. Thompson, *The Medieval Library*, (New York: Hafner, 1957) pp. 34-35.

Alexandria and Nisibis. However, once he realised that political chaos would make it impossible to accomplish his task, he retired to Squillace, in southern Italy. There he founded Vivarium, a monastery organised around a library accessible to the community of monks. The core of the work at Vivarium was the care, preservation, and careful copying of books.<sup>17</sup> Like Boethius, Cassiodorus embodied a distinctive model of conceiving and working in a library: for Cassiodorus, the library was a resource shared by the religious community, and reflected the needs of that communal body.

While the personal working-library practically disappeared with Boethius, the choice of Cassiodorus established an archetype for the early medieval library: the collection should be linked to a *scriptorium*, that is, a centre for the production of books.<sup>18</sup> During the next three centuries the development of *scriptoria* and their libraries continued, and under the Carolingians they were fully developed.<sup>19</sup> During the eighth and ninth centuries, the Carolingians followed a cultural programme in order to claim the heritage of classical Antiquity and the Christian church.<sup>20</sup> This cultural transformation was mainly accomplished through the flourishing of monastic foundations and their *scriptoria* such as those of Fulda, Reichenau, St Gall and Lorsch, which were centres of production of magnificent codices.<sup>21</sup> The Carolingian world emphasised and enhanced the role of the book as a physical object with a political value, and specific types of books became symbols of power that performed the same function as land, money or wealth and, as a consequence, libraries also acquired a political value.<sup>22</sup>

17 Thompson, *The Medieval Library*, p. 37.

18 See Thompson, *The Medieval Library*, p. 35, and *International Dictionary of Library Histories*, I, p. 104.

19 For a description of the changes in the conception of the book and libraries during this period, see Armando Petrucci, 'La concezione cristiana del libro fra VI e VII secolo', in *Libri e lettori nel Medioevo*, ed. by Guglielmo Cavallo (Rome: Laterza, 2003), pp. 3-26. For the specific changes in the Merovingian and early Carolingian world, see Pierre Riché, *Éducation et culture dans l'Occident barbare: VI<sup>e</sup>-VIII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1962), as well as Rosamund McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 166; and Rosamund McKitterick, 'The Scriptoria of the Merovingian Gaul: A Survey of the Evidence', in *Columbanus and Merovingian Monasticism*, ed. by H. B. Clarke and Mary Brennan (Oxford: B.A.R., 1981), pp. 173-207 (pp. 174 and 182-85).

20 Rosamund McKitterick observes: 'Such, indeed was their zeal, intelligence and sheer productiveness in so doing that the whole period is generally classified as a "Renaissance", despite the inevitable ambiguities and assumptions of such a term.' *The Carolingians and the Written Word*, p. 165. See also Rosamund McKitterick, 'The Carolingian Renaissance of Culture and Learning', in *Charlemagne: Empire and Society*, ed. by Joanna Story (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), pp. 151-66.

21 Rosamund McKitterick, 'Le Rôle culturel des monastères dans les royaumes carolingiens du VIII<sup>e</sup> au X<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Revue Bénédictine*, 103 (1993), 117-30.

22 Thompson, *The Medieval Library*, pp. 54-101. See also McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word*, pp. 149 and 157-59, and Rosamund McKitterick, 'Charles the Bald (823-877) and his

The eleventh century introduced a period of deep transformations that affected monastic culture.<sup>23</sup> The new millennium brought a renewal of urban culture and centres of intellectual activity developed outside the cloister. In the twelfth century the universities became the natural space for the dissemination of knowledge.<sup>24</sup> This process stimulated the growth of a written culture which required new types of book and library. Many university texts were produced through a system in which the books were broken up into *peciae*, that is, sections that could be rented by the students who needed to copy them. As a result, a single book could be copied simultaneously by many scribes, who were, more often than not, their readers.<sup>25</sup> The libraries also were transformed by ingenious solutions such as the 'double collection', a system in which one collection was formed by books chained to the benches and available only for consultation, and a second collection was constituted by unchained books, available for loan. This is the context in which the mendicant orders became involved with study and intensive use of books and libraries.

### 2.1.1. Mendicant Orders and their Libraries

A situation of crisis, reflected by the flourishing and swift spread of new religious movements from the second half of the twelfth century, is closely related to the appearance of the mendicant orders.<sup>26</sup> Like the heretical movements, mendicants were the expression of a wish for renewal linked to the consolidation of the urban mercantile class. At the same time, mendicants satisfied the spiritual expectations of the new society with their flexibility, mobility and declared devotion to poverty, all of which

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Library: The Patronage of Learning', *English Historical Review*, 95 (1980), 28-47.

23 Pellegrini, *L'incontro tra due invenzioni medievali*, p. 8. See also Jean Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture*, trans. by Catharine Misrahi (New York: Fordham University Press, 1982) pp. 153-90.

24 Pellegrini, *L'incontro tra due invenzioni medievali*, pp. 49-73.

25 Roger Lovatt, 'College and University Book Collections and Libraries', in *CHLB*, 1, pp. 152-77. For the university of Paris, especially the college of Sorbonne, see Thompson, *The Medieval Library*, pp. 255-58. For the libraries of Oxford and Cambridge, see Thompson, *The Medieval Library*, pp. 393-401. For the production of books for the medieval university, see L. E. Boyle, 'Peciae, Apopeciae, Epipeciae', in *La Production du livre universitaire au Moyen Age. Exemplar et pecia: Actes du symposium tenu au Collegio san Bonaventura de Grottaferrata en mai 1983*, ed. by Louis J. Bataillon, Bertrand G. Guyot and Richard H. Rouse (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1988), pp. 39-40; Hugues V. Shooner, 'La production du livre par la pecia', in *La Production du livre universitaire au Moyen Age*, pp. 17-37; and Guy Fink-Errera, 'La produzione dei libri di testo nelle università medievali', in *Libri e lettori nel medioevo*, pp. 131-65.

26 Gordon Leff, *Heresy in the Later Middle Ages: The Relation of Heterodoxy to Dissent c. 1250-c. 1450*, 2 vols (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967) 1, 3-7.

permitted them a remarkable adaptability.<sup>27</sup> The two main mendicant orders were the Preachers, or Dominicans, and the Friars Minor, or Franciscans. In a general sense, mendicant orders pursued their activity within urban society, established their houses among the people and were closely linked to the Holy See, which used them not only as a valuable, highly skilled resource for administrative roles, but also as one of the main resources to fight heretical movements, thanks to their dedication to study, pastoral care and preaching.<sup>28</sup> In order to accomplish such an important mission, the mendicant orders established an internal programme of study that soon led them to pursue higher-level studies at the universities. There the mendicants, especially Franciscans and Dominicans, became protagonists of the intellectual life of their time and contributed decisively to the development of scholarly culture, book culture and librarianship.<sup>29</sup>

The Dominican order was founded in 1215 with the specific purpose of opposing heresy through preaching.<sup>30</sup> An intense discipline of study based upon the extensive use of books was at the core of the Dominican programme of preaching, and therefore Dominicans needed very efficient libraries. By the second half of the thirteenth century, Humbert of Romans, the fifth general of the order, prepared a set of detailed instructions concerning libraries in his *De officiis Ordinis*. In the chapters *De officio cantoris*, *De officio librarii* and *De officio gerente curam scriptorum*, Humbert established the principles of the organisation and functioning of Dominican libraries such as the classification of volumes, opening hours, regulations on consultation and loan of books, indispensable books of reference that should be in the library and even provision of materials to carry out the work of copying.<sup>31</sup> The general purpose of those regulations

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27 A comprehensive study of the origins, role and impact of the mendicant orders on society can be found in Lawrence, *The Friars: The Impact of Early Mendicant Movement in Western Society*. See also Lester K. Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe* (London: Elek, 1978).

28 Raoul Manselli, *Studi sulle eresie del secolo XII* (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo, 1953), p. vi.

29 See Pellegrini, *L'incontro tra due 'invenzioni medievali'*, pp. 115-31.

30 'Notum sit omnibus presentibus et futuris quod nos. F.[oulques] Dei gratia Tolosane sedis minister humilis, ad extirpandam hereticam pravitatem et vicia expellenda et fidei regulam edocendam et homines sanis moribus inbuendos, instituimus predicatores in episcopatu nostro fratrem Dominicum et socios eius, qui, in paupertate evangelica, pedites religiose proposuerunt incedere et veritatis evangelice verbum predicare.' M. H. Laurent, *Monumenta Historica S. P. N. Dominici* (Paris, J. Vrin, 1933), p. 66. See also William Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order*, 2 vols (New York: Alba House, 1966-71), i, 39-43, and G. R. Galbraith, *The Constitutions of the Dominican Order: 1216 to 1360* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1925) pp. 6 and 31-34.

31 Humbert of Romans, *Opera de Vita Regulari*, ed. by Joachim J. Berthier, 2 vols (Turin: Marietti, 1956), ii, 238-39, and 263.



was to guarantee the most rational and efficient possible use of libraries and books in the education of the preacher.<sup>32</sup>

The Franciscan order had a far more complex relationship with study, books and libraries than the Dominicans. The first community of apostles constituted the model of life that Francis wanted to follow, and therefore there was little space for books, libraries and a culture of intellectual achievement during the early history of the Franciscan order. However, the purpose of preaching the Gospel implied some degree of education of the friars and, consequently, the use of books. The order tried to reconcile poverty, apostolic life and the use of books and libraries through regulations. As Chapter 1 has shown, the process of establishing a set of regulations was not smooth, and reflected the internal struggles of the Franciscan order between the institutional life and the model established by its founder. If using books could be a problematic practice, collecting them could be even more. Nevertheless, books were necessary to perform the divine office and, therefore, these kind of books became part of the goods of the convents. From the second decade of the thirteenth century, the growth of schools in the convents led to the enhancement of the book collections. Nevertheless, libraries for study were not a distinctive feature of the early Franciscan community. The first Franciscan book collections were intended to gather liturgical books, while other books arrived through donations and bequests.<sup>33</sup> These sets were complemented by reference books and preaching aids to be kept in depositories.<sup>34</sup> The book collections started to grow as early as the first half of the thirteenth century, when particular educational needs arose and special provisions, like having two separate collections of books, one for consultation and one for loan, were adopted in order to guarantee that books were always available for the friars.<sup>35</sup> The provision of two collections of books was not invented by mendicants. In 1212, a diocesan synod summoned in Paris recommended to monasteries to divide their books into two groups: one should remain

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32 Gabriella Severino Polica, 'Libro, lettura, "lezione" negli studia degli ordini mendicanti (sec XIII)', in *Le scuole degli ordini mendicanti, secoli XIII-XIV (11-14 ottobre 1976)* (Todi: Accademia Tudertina, 1978), pp. 373-413 (pp. 384-88). See also Humphreys, *The Book Provisions of the Medieval Friars*, pp. 44-45.

33 Simona Gavinelli, 'Per una biblioteconomia degli Ordini mendicanti (sec. XIII-XIV)', in *Libri, biblioteche e letture dei Frati Mendicanti (secoli XIII-XIV)*, pp. 265-300 (pp. 271-74). See also Bartoli Langelì, 'I libri dei frati', pp. 288-91.

34 Humphreys, *The Book Provisions of the Mediaeval Friars*, pp. 56-57. See also Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education*, pp. 197-99.

35 Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education*, p. 200.

in the house, while the other should be kept for lending.<sup>36</sup> In order to fulfil these dispositions, some monastic houses adopted the practice of chaining the most valuable volumes to benches.<sup>37</sup> Later, many university colleges adopted the same practice. Mendicants followed the example and kept the chained collection of books and were careful to ensure that the most requested books were always available for loan. In some cases even life-long loans were to be granted.<sup>38</sup> In fact, the use of books for limited or short periods of time had serious implications for the discipline of study. The normal practice of study, especially at higher levels, implied long periods of time and, most importantly, physical interaction with the book by writing personal comments, identifying passages of interest with the aid of small hands drawn in the margins, (*maniculae*), by adding cross references to the same text or by adding references to other works. It was necessary, therefore, to find a way to facilitate long periods of study. It is in this context that the idea of long-term loans of books was devised as a solution to the problem.

The earliest evidence for the assignment of books on long-term loan comes from the first general constitutions, dating from 1239. These statutes made it possible for friars who held the office of preacher to take with them the books granted to them for life, or 'concessi ad vitam'. Neslihan Şenocak has discussed the circulation of books in the medieval Franciscan order, and has considered some examples of long-term loans and loans of books for life in two articles of 2003 and 2004.<sup>39</sup> She provides examples of how some lectors and preachers received books in concession for life such as friar Monaldo of Todi, who received in 1245 three volumes: a commentary on the Gospel of Luke by Bonaventure, the commentary of William de la Mare on the first and second book of the *Sentences*, and a commentary on the Gospel of Matthew by Nicholas Gorran. One of the manuscripts registered the concession, indicating that the book was destined to be used by friar Monaldo and that anyone who dared to take the books from him without proper authorisation would be under anathema. Here we find the

36 *Sacrorum conciliorum*, xxii (1778; repr. Paris: H. Welter, 1903), 832.

37 Clark, *The Care of Books*, pp. 101-16.

38 Şenocak, 'Circulation of Books in the Medieval Franciscan Order', pp. 147-53. See also Donatella Frioli, 'Gli inventari delle biblioteche degli Ordini mendicanti', in *Libri, biblioteche e letture dei Frati Mendicanti (secoli XIII-XIV). Atti del XXXII convegno internazionale, Assisi, 7-9 ottobre 2004 (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2005)*, pp. 301-73 (pp. 334-35).

39 Şenocak, 'Book Acquisition in the Medieval Franciscan Order', and Şenocak, 'Circulation of Books in the Medieval Franciscan Order'.

expression that typically indicates the concession of books on loan for long periods of time, usually for life: 'Concessus ad usum'.<sup>40</sup> As will be seen in the following section and in the subsequent chapters, the Paduan convents offer examples of these practices in the environments of the Community and of the observant reform.

## 2.2. *Two Case-Studies*

From the thirteenth century, the city of Padua became an important centre of Franciscan activity. The presence of the university contributed significantly to making the Paduan convent of Sant'Antonio a point of arrival for friars coming from many different places in search of high-level education. These Franciscans contributed significantly to the growth of the library collection through studying and copying.<sup>41</sup> By the second half of the fifteenth century, the library of the convent held an impressive collection of more than a thousand volumes. A few years before, in 1420-21, another Franciscan convent had been founded not very far from Sant'Antonio. This new convent, dedicated to Francis, belonged to the observant reform, and was conceived as a support for a hospital and house of pilgrimage. Very soon the convent of San Francesco Grande became an important centre for the Italian Observance as well as for high-level education for observant preachers. Its library, although young, was remarkable for the standards of the time.

The following section will compare the libraries of these Paduan convents during the fifteenth century. The main sources of evidence are two inventories. For the library of the convent of Sant'Antonio, or Biblioteca Antoniana, a fifteenth-century inventory preserved in MS 573, is currently available in the library of the convent. For the observant library, the earliest inventory available dates from the seventeenth century, and reflects the size of the collection as it was during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The presence of two sources describing the libraries of two different Franciscan houses in the same city is an exceptional circumstance that allows us to explore, for the first time, their similarities and differences.

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40 Şenocak, 'Circulation of Books in the Medieval Franciscan Order', p. 151.

41 Nicoletta Giovè Marchioli, 'Circolazione libraria e cultura francescana nella Padova del Due e Trecento', in *Predicazione e società nel medioevo: riflessione etica, valori e modelli di comportamento: Atti del XII Medieval Sermon Studies Symposium*, ed. by Riccardo Quinto and Laura Gaffuri (Padua: Centro Studi Antoniani, 2002), pp. 131-41 (pp. 132-35).

### 2.2.1. *The Biblioteca Antoniana at Padua*

The origin of the collection of the Biblioteca Antoniana at Padua has not been clearly established. However, it is almost certain that when the Franciscan friars arrived in Padua in 1229, they brought with them the books required to perform the divine offices properly.<sup>42</sup> It is possible that the most ancient volumes of the collection were read, studied and commented on by Anthony of Padua himself. In fact, among the earliest volumes of the collection there were a Bible and copies of patristic and theological literature that were part of the collection of sources for the sermons and theological lessons of Anthony.<sup>43</sup>

One of the first documents concerning the history of the library is the last will of the canon of the cathedral, Egidius, who lent to the library of the convent his books and a copy of the sermons of Anthony in 1237.<sup>44</sup> In 1240, Uguccione, another canon of the cathedral, donated to the convent a Bible in twenty-five volumes that he had probably acquired in Paris in 1214-20.<sup>45</sup> Further donations to the conventual library were registered in 1260. In this year, Nicolaus Clericus, from the Benedictine monastery of San Pietro in Padua, donated to the convent a book of sermons.<sup>46</sup> Later, in 1289, Zilborga, widow of the count of Vicenza, stated in her will that two hundred pounds should be given to her son in order to buy books, but only if he entered the Franciscan order.<sup>47</sup> Among the most important donations to the library during the fourteenth century were those of Beatrice Tolomei, who donated in 1300 to the Paduan provincial

42 Sartori, *Archivio Sartori*, 1, 1309. See also Giuseppe Abate, 'Manoscritti e biblioteche francescane del medio evo', pp. 87-88.

43 See Giuseppe Abate and Giovanni Luisetto, *Codici e manoscritti della Biblioteca Antoniana col catalogo delle miniature*, 2 vols (Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1975), 1, xxiv.

44 'Conventui fratrum minorum de Padua et ad eorum utilitatem et usum reliquit libros suos, qui sunt apud dictos fratres, et sermones quondam fratris Antonii, qui sunt apud magistrum Patavinum,' See Paolo Sambin, 'Tre notizie per la storia culturale ed ecclesiastica di Padova (secoli XII e XIII)', *Archivio veneto*, 56 (1955), 1-11 (p. 2).

45 It is the current Padua, Biblioteca Antoniana, MS 285. In an internal note it is written: 'Iste liber est de conventu Padue et in eodem conventu debet permanere, qui fuit quondam magistri Ugutionis de voluntate ipsius. Si quis autem eum alienaverit anathema sit; et est Genesis de littera et apparatu Parisiensi, cum multis aliis quorum scripta sunt inferius, quos magister Ugutio dedit fratribus Minoribus de conventu Padue, ut ibi debeant stare.' See Sartori, 'Gli studi al Santo di Padova', pp. 152-53; *I manoscritti datati della provincia di Vicenza e della Biblioteca Antoniana di Padova*, ed. by Cristiana Cassandro et al. (Florence: SISMEL; Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2000), p. 53. See also Abate and Luisetto, *Codici e manoscritti della Biblioteca Antoniana*, 1, xxvii.

46 Sambin, 'Tre notizie per la storia culturale ed ecclesiastica di Padova', p. 4.

47 'Libras ducentas pro libris si ordinem fratrum Minorum intraverit; alias non.' Abate and Luisetto, *Codici e manoscritti della Biblioteca Antoniana*, 1, xxvii.

minister the sum of twenty-five lire to repair the books in the library. Another significant donation to the conventual library was the legacy of Bishop Ildebrandino de' Conti in 1352, as well as that of the natural philosophy professor at the University of Padua Gaetano of Thiene in 1461.<sup>48</sup>

Concerning the production of books within the library, it is necessary to remember that in 1290 the regulations of the provincial chapter gathered at Treviso determined that in the convents of the Venetian province there should be a permanent scribe appointed to copy the books needed in each conventual library. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the Biblioteca Antoniana could count on its own centre of copying.<sup>49</sup> Two inventories, the first carried out in 1396, the current Padua Biblioteca Antoniana MS 572, and the second, completed in 1449, the current Padua, Biblioteca Antoniana, MS 573, provide information about the remarkable growth in the quantity of volumes during the brief period between them, as well as about some significant losses.<sup>50</sup> The arrival of printing was also an opportunity to enhance the book collection.<sup>51</sup> In 1477, the minister general Francesco Sansone created a fund of two hundred pounds for the acquisition of books for the library. This sum was used exclusively for the acquisition of printed books, among which were the *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, printed in Mainz in 1459, and the decretals of Boniface VIII, in a printed edition of 1465.<sup>52</sup>

The designation of the Paduan convent as a site for a theological college with the prerogative of awarding degrees in 1630 represented a considerable increase in the theological collection of the library. In 1772 professor Alessandro Burgos brought to the convent his remarkable personal collection of books.<sup>53</sup> In 1806 and 1810, the Napoleonic laws separated the library from the convent. However, the library was not affected by the suppressions and/or confiscations because the rights of ownership and the duties of administration had been transferred from the Middle Ages to a lay entity, the Arca del Santo. As a consequence, the Biblioteca Antoniana became an exceptional

48 Sartori, 'Gli studi al Santo di Padova', 153-54; See Sartori, *Archivio Sartori*, 1, 1309.

49 See Chapter 1. The text of the decree is as follows: 'Item ordinat minister et diffinitores cum provinciali capitulo quod in conventu Padue et Veneciis, et aliis conventibus qui sustinere potuerunt, teneatur continue unus scriptor qui scribat libros necessarios et pro armario opportunos.' Little, 'Statuta Provincialia Provinciae Franciae et Marchiae Trevisae (s. XIII)', p. 460.

50 See Humphreys, *The Book Provisions of the Medieval Friars*, p. 7.

51 Abate and Luisetto, *Codici e manoscritti della Biblioteca Antoniana*, 1, xxxvii

52 Abate and Luisetto, *Codici e manoscritti della Biblioteca Antoniana*, 1, xxxviii. See also R. Biordi, 'Ha 700 anni la "Antoniana" di Padova', in *Almanacco dei bibliotecari italiani* 1967 (Rome: Palombi, 1966) p. 115.

53 Sartori, *Archivio Sartori*, 1, 1310.

case of a Franciscan library in Italy that remained in its original location and that did not suffer the complete loss or dispersion of its collection.

### *2.2.1.1. The Book Collection of the Biblioteca Antoniana in the Fifteenth Century*

In 1449 the Arca del Santo decided to carry out an inventory of all the goods of the sacristy and the library, as stated at the beginning of the document that registered it.<sup>54</sup> The original programme was not completed, and only the volumes collected in the conventual library were counted, omitting the books contained in the sacristy. The inventory of the library was written in a parchment volume, MS 573 of the Biblioteca Antoniana. After MS 572, this manuscript is the oldest evidence of the organisation and composition of the book collection in the library. The parchment volume of 314 x 225 mm and 66 leaves was written in an elegant script, a variation of the 'rotunda bononiensis'. Its formal character was underlined by a set of three miniatures in gold and other colours.<sup>55</sup>

The 1449 inventory registered the books of the collection in two main parts. The first concerned the books present in the library for consultation or loan. The second part listed books on loan at the moment of the writing of the inventory. In order to register the books present in the library, the 1449 inventory followed their position in the room: it began with the chained books located in the first bench on the right-hand side, moved towards the left and then turned back, registering the unchained books kept in cupboards.

At the moment of composition of the inventory, the books on loan were divided between those that could be retrieved and those that had been on loan since 1423 and were still missing. The registration proceeded by indicating the name of the person who

54 MS 573, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>: '[H]ic liber presens continet inventarium omnium librorum existentium in libraria huius sacri conventus fratrum Minorum Padue tam cum chatena quam sine chatena; insuper et inventarium omnium rerum existentium in sacristia predicti sacri conventus, videlicet reliquiarum, tabernaculorum, calicum, patenarum, turibolorum, ampularum et alliarum argenteriarum generis cuiuscumque; insuper omnium apparamentorum aureorum argenteorum, sericorum, telle cum omnibus ad illa spectantibus, item palliorum, perlarum, vellutorum et sericorum; item et missalium ceterorumque librorum divinatorum officiorum, item et aliarum rerum et ornamentorum in dicta sacristia existentium [...] Currentibus annis a Nativitate Domini nostri Yesu Christi 1449, de mense marcii, et pontificatus beatissimi domini nostri pape Nicolai quinti anno secundo.' Humphreys, *The Book Provisions of the Medieval Friars*, pp. 70-71.

55 Abate and Luisetto, *Codici e manoscritti della Biblioteca Antoniana*, II, 595.

had requested the book, followed by the title of the volume. In some cases there were notes indicating the return of the volume. For those books on loan since 1423, the inventory showed an understandable lack of hope, since most of those who had kept the books on loan were already dead.<sup>56</sup>

Concerning the description of the volumes, the inventory provided a summary and an efficient description that would help to identify the items quickly.<sup>57</sup> The inventory also revealed awareness of the distinction between 'volumen' and 'liber', that is, between the compilation of different works in a single codex and the text of a single work.<sup>58</sup> The first element of importance for the identification of a volume was its location in a specific bench or cupboard. The inventory followed the distinction between 'banca', or bench, as a repository for chained books, and 'scaffa', or cupboard, for items on loan.<sup>59</sup> Then the inventory registered the title of the work or the name of the author, followed by a description of the binding.<sup>60</sup> Next there was the *incipit* of the work, usually introduced by the formula 'cuius principum...'; and, to identify the book described better, there followed the *incipit* of an internal leaf, usually the first folio of the second quire, with the formula 'secundus quinternus incipit'. Finally, the *explicit* of the volume was transcribed, usually introduced by the formula 'finis vero ultimus'.

#### 2.2.1.2. *The Organisation of the Book Collection in the Biblioteca Antoniana*

Including the eighty-four books on loan, and the thirty-five lent since 1423, the Biblioteca Antoniana in 1449 had a collection of 1024 volumes, distributed among fifty-three depositories. A swift comparison with the fourteenth-century inventory shows that during the intervening fifty-three years the Biblioteca Antoniana increased its collection

56 Fol. 66<sup>v</sup> declared: 'Suprascripti nominati in dicto libro antiquo pro maiori parte sunt mortui et tamen non sunt deperati in ipso libro.' See Appendix 1 for a full transcription of this section.

57 Jacques Monfrin, 'Le Catalogue et l'inventaire (résumé)', in *Vocabulaire du livre et de l'écriture au moyen âge*, p. 135.

58 Donatella Frioli, 'Gli antichi inventari della Biblioteca Antoniana di Padova: lessicografia e concezioni codicologiche', *Le Venezie francescane*, 4 (1987), 73-103 (p. 81). A clear example is item n. 224: in a *Summa super Sententias*, there is, 'interpoxitus', a *Tractatus de quatuor cardinalibus virtutibus*. The scribe registered for each one of the works the *incipit* and *explicit* but put them together in one item, preserving the unity of the 'volumen'.

59 Jean-François Genest, 'Le Mobilier des bibliothèques d'après les inventaires médiévaux', in *Vocabulaire du livre et de l'écriture au moyen âge*, pp. 136-54 (pp. 152-53); see also Frioli, 'Gli antichi inventari della Biblioteca Antoniana di Padova', p. 70.

60 Frequently the title of the work included the name of the author or the work was known only by the author's name. See Richard Sharpe, *Titulus: Identifying Medieval Latin Texts. An Evidence-Based Approach* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 22 and 30-32. See also Frioli, 'Gli antichi inventari della Biblioteca Antoniana di Padova', pp. 74-76.

by seventy-one percent, which constituted a remarkable rate of growth.<sup>61</sup> Therefore, the Paduan library was at the level of the most important libraries of the order such as those of Assisi, Bologna, Florence, and Siena. The latter was the only one that could count on a higher number of volumes.<sup>62</sup>

MS 573 reveals that there were twenty-one copies of the Bible plus eighty-three glossed biblical books.<sup>63</sup> There were also copies of postils by Thomas Aquinas, Philip of Moncalieri, Peter of Tarantaise, Francis Abatis, Stephen Langton, Jacob of Alexandria, William of Antona and William of Saint-Amour. This set was complemented by a collection of patristic commentaries on the Bible by Augustine, Ambrose and Gregory the Great, plus modern commentaries by Nicholas of Lyra, Peter Lombard, Thomas Aquinas and Alexander of Alexandria.

Apart from the biblical commentaries, the patristic literature included works from Augustine, Gregory the Great, Jerome, John of Damascus, Isidore, Rabanus Maurus, and Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite. The collections of lives of the saints were important tools of study, and consequently a fair number of copies, all anonymous, were available.<sup>64</sup> Apart from these collections there were volumes dedicated to the most important Franciscan saints: Francis and Anthony of Padua.

Peter Lombard's *Book of Sentences*, a compilation of theological questions systematically arranged around major topics, was perhaps the most influential theological text of the Middle Ages.<sup>65</sup> Accordingly, the Biblioteca Antoniana had

61 Bartoli Langeli, 'I libri dei frati', pp. 286-87. See also Frioli, 'Gli antichi inventari della Biblioteca Antoniana di Padova', pp. 75-76, and Humphreys, *The Library of the Franciscans of the Convent of St Anthony*, p. 7.

62 Cenci, *Bibliotheca Manuscripta ad sacrum Conventum Assisiensem*, 1, 29-34; Humphreys, *The Book Provisions of the Mediaeval Friars*, pp. 111-15; Humphreys, *The Library of the Franciscans of Siena in the Late Fifteenth Century*, p. 24.

63 Five of the twenty-one copies of the Bible went missing while on loan.

64 According to Kenneth W. Humphreys, Jacobus de Voragine is the author of eight of the volumes. See Humphreys, *The Library of the Franciscans of the Convent of St Anthony*, p. 15.

65 See Philip W. Rosemann, *Peter Lombard* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 8-70; Marcia L. Colish, *Peter Lombard*, 2 vols (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 1, 33-154, and Russell L. Friedman, 'The *Sentences* Commentary, 1250-1320: General Trends, the Impact of the Religious Orders, and the Test Case of Predestination', in *Mediaeval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*, ed. by Gillian R. Evans, 2 vols (Leiden: Brill, 2002-10), 1, 41-128. Monika Asztalos summarises the reasons for the appreciation of the *Book of Sentences* in these terms: 'The lasting success of this work of compilation has been ascribed to its lack of originality, its relative orthodoxy, its complete coverage of the debated issues of the day and the author's unwillingness to give final solutions to difficult questions.' See Monika Asztalos, 'The Faculty of Theology', in *A History of the University in Europe*, ed. by Hilde de Ridder-Symoens and Walter Rüegg, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 1, 409-41 (p. 412). For further detail, see Chapter 3.



several copies of this work plus a remarkable set of commentaries. The best known were those of Bonaventure, Alexander of Hales, John Duns Scotus, William of Ockham, Francis of Meyronnes, Peter Auriol, Landolfus Caracciolus and John of Ripa. There was also a complete collection of other theological commentaries such as the *Summa theologiae* and the *Summa contra gentiles* of Thomas Aquinas, and the *summae* of Alexander of Hales and Henry of Ghent. There was also a remarkable collection of compilations of disputes on specific topics, or *quaestiones*. Only two of these volumes were identified by the name of the authors, Thomas Aquinas and William Almoinus, while the others remained anonymous. The compilations of answers to a great variety of different questions, or *quodlibeta*, were very important in the programme of training in universities and in the convent, as shown by the presence of copies of *quodlibetales* by Duns Scotus, Thomas Aquinas and Henry of Ghent in the collection. Concerning the philosophical literature, there were copies of the Aristotelian *Metaphysica*, *De anima*, *Physica* and *Ethica*. The collection of Aristotelian commentaries included those of the most renowned masters such as Duns Scotus, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, and Averroes.<sup>66</sup> Other important philosophers present in the library were Boethius, Porphyry, Thomas Aquinas, and masters such as William of Ockham, Walter Burley, and William of Heytesbury.<sup>67</sup>

Perhaps the most important section of the library was its collection of sermons. There were 230 volumes, of which 180 were anonymous. This constituted a remarkable number, even in the context of the Franciscan libraries.<sup>68</sup> There were several volumes of sermons by Jacobus de Voragine, as well as works by the best-known Franciscan masters such as Luke of Bitonto, Bonaventure of Iseo, Francis of Meyronnes, Servasanctus of Faenza, Bertrand of Turre, and Anthony of Padua.<sup>69</sup>

66 On fol. 26<sup>v</sup> the inventory describes a commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics* as follows: 'Scriptum Allexandri super Methaphisica in volumine mediocri coperto coreo sanguineo per totum cum claviculis de metallo, cuius principium "Sicud dicit Philosophus [...]"' Humphreys identifies the manuscript with the current Padua, Biblioteca Antoniana, MS 386, and attributes the authorship to Alexander of Alexandria. Humphreys, *The Library of the Franciscans of the Convent of St Anthony*, pp. 17 and 115. Although Alexander of Alexandria was not a commentator on Aristotle, the evidence suggests that Humphreys' identification and attribution are correct. See Abate and Luisetto, *Codici e manoscritti della Biblioteca Antoniana*, I, 323-24.

67 Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education*, pp. 123-46.

68 See Humphreys, *The Book Provisions of the Medieval Friars*, pp. 103, 105-07, 111 and 115, and Humphreys, *The Library of the Franciscans of Siena in the Late Fifteenth Century*, pp. 22, 27. For a swift comparison with a Dominican house see Luciano Gargan, *Lo studio teologico e la biblioteca dei Domenicani a Padova nel Tre e Quattrocento* (Padua: Antenore, 1971), pp. 234-38, 248-49.

69 The sermons of Anthony were items number 95 and 96 of the fifteenth-century inventory. The first is the famous 'Codice del tesoro', Padua, Biblioteca Antoniana MS 720. See Abate and Luisetto, *Codici e*

The book collection also included works on canon law such as the *Decretals*, and their commentaries; and there was even a copy of the *Institutes* of Justinian, the most important work of Roman, or civil, law. In order to guarantee proper instruction in grammar, the library had copies of works such as the *Institutiones* of Priscian, the *Derivationes* of Hugh of Pisa and the *Summa* by Guglielmus Britonis. There were also some classical treatises such as *De officiis* by Cicero, and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* by pseudo-Cicero and *De beneficiis* by Seneca, along with works by Sallust, Lucan, Martianus Capella and Orosius. It is worth mentioning the presence of one copy of Dante's *Commedia*.<sup>70</sup> The scientific literature was limited to the treatises *De natura animalium* by Aristotle, *De sphaera* of John of Sacrobosco, Boethius's *De arithmetica*, two anonymous volumes of astrology, a miscellany entitled *Liber diversarum scientiarum*, four copies of *De proprietatibus rerum* by Bartholomeus Anglicus and one copy of the *Speculum historiale* by Vincent of Beauvais. Finally, there was a fair collection of works of reference, among which there were the *Historia Scholastica* by Peter Comestor, a set of *Concordantie Biblie*, and copies of *Distinctiones*, *Capitula Bibliae*, and *Correctiones Bibliae*, plus several copies of the *Mammotrectus* of John Marchesinus, a popular encyclopaedic guide to the Bible.

This brief overview of the composition of the book collection shows that the Biblioteca Antoniana was an impressive library, not only in terms of the number of volumes, but also in terms of the extent of the topics and authors available. These settings suggest that the collection aimed to satisfy the needs of a programme of study at the highest levels, and that it offered the required resources to complete such programme successfully: from the basic manuals and tools of reference to the most sophisticated commentaries and treatises on theology and philosophy. At the same time, the declared main purpose of the Franciscan intellectual training was preaching, and the library of the convent of Sant'Antonio reflected it by making of the collection of sermons and preaching tools the section with the highest number of items.

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*manoscritti della Biblioteca Antoniana*, I, xxvi–xxvii, and II, 656. See also Leonardo Frasson, et al., eds, *In nome di Antonio: la "Miscellanea" del Codice del tesoro (XIII in.) della Biblioteca Antoniana di Padova. Studio ed edizione critica* (Padua: Centro Studi Antoniani, 1996), pp. 10-19.

70 On fol. 16<sup>r</sup>: 'Item est in bancha suprascripta est uno Dante coperto corio rubeo cum claviculis. Incipit "Nel mezo" et secundus quinternus incipit "partiti vestie". Finit "Deo gratias".' See also Emilio Pasquini, 'San Francesco e i frati Minori in Dante', in *Francescanesimo in volgare (secoli XIII–XIV): Atti del XXIV convegno internazionale (Assisi, 17–19 ottobre 1996)* (Spoleto: CISAM, 1997), pp. 143-58, and Severino Ragazzini, 'Presenza di Dante al Santo', in *Storia e cultura al Santo di Padova fra il XIII e il XX secolo*, ed. by Antonino Poppi (Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1976), pp. 641-47.

### 2.2.1.3. *The Organisation of the Books in the Space of the Library*

The order of registration adopted by MS 573 follows the organisation of the space in the Biblioteca Antoniana. The library was located in a wide room whose area was divided into two sides. On the right-hand side there were fourteen benches and twelve cupboards, while on the left-hand side there were fourteen benches and thirteen cupboards. As mentioned before, the books for consultation were chained to the benches, while the books available for loan were kept in the cupboards.

On the right-hand side, the first two benches kept copies of the Bible and biblical texts. From the third bench onwards, and until the ninth bench, there was a complete collection of specific commentaries on biblical texts.<sup>71</sup> Among them, on the seventh bench, there was a manuscript of Joachim of Fiore's *Psalterium decem chordarum*, one of the sources for the controversial interpretation of the role and purpose of the order adopted by some Franciscans during the thirteenth century.<sup>72</sup> From the ninth until the fourteenth benches there was a collection of sermons on biblical books.

The theological section began on the left-hand side. The first bench held copies of the *Book of Sentences*, a Bible and a copy of Dante's *Comedy*.<sup>73</sup> The second and third benches had theological treatises like the *Summa* of Henry of Ghent, but were mainly occupied by commentaries on the *Book of Sentences*.<sup>74</sup> The fourth bench had mainly *summae*, *quodlibetales* and *questiones*, while works on logic and commentaries on the *Sentences* occupied the fifth bench.<sup>75</sup> The sixth and seventh benches were dedicated to the literature of the Fathers of the Church.<sup>76</sup> Treatises on canon law and philosophy

71 Some of the commentaries were Augustine's on the book of Genesis, the commentary of Nicholas of Lyra on the Psalms and the treatises of Thomas Aquinas on the Gospels.

72 The manuscript is the current Padua, Biblioteca Antoniana MS 322. See Abate and Luisetto, *Codici e manoscritti della Biblioteca Antoniana*, I, 290–92. For a description of the influence of the Joachite ideas in the Franciscan spirituality, see Chapter 1.

73 See above n. 70.

74 For example, the commentaries of Alexander of Hales, Bonaventure, Duns Scotus, Peter Auriol, Francis of Meyronnes, Landolfus Caracciolus, and Richard of Middleton.

75 Such as the *Summa theologiae* and *Quodlibetales* by Thomas Aquinas, and two volumes of *quaestiones* on the *Sentences* by Landolfus Caracciolus and Giles of Rome. Some of the works on the fifth bench were the *Dialogus* and the *Summa logicae* by William of Ockham, accompanied by volumes of the *Quaestiones* by Henry of Ghent, other works by Giles of Rome, the *Summa super Sententias* by Philip the Chancellor and the commentary on the fourth book of the *Sentences* by Duns Scotus.

76 The sixth bench was dedicated almost exclusively to Augustine. There were copies of *De civitate Dei*, *Milleloquium*, *Confessiones*, and a volume containing *De vera religione*, *De libero arbitrio*, and *De conflictu vitiorum*. The seventh bench was dedicated to keep mainly treatises by Fathers of the Church with works by Jerome, Augustine, John of Damascus, Isidore of Seville, and Pseudo-Dionysius the Aeropagite. The bench also contained the *Breviloquium* of Bonaventure, the treatise *De miseria humanae conditionis* by Pope Innocent III, and copies of the *Ordinarium vite religiose* by John of

were available on the eighth and ninth benches, while the volumes on moral theology were chained to the tenth bench.<sup>77</sup> The eleventh bench was dedicated to Aristotle and the commentaries to his books, a set that was complemented by the books kept on the twelfth bench, dedicated to the treatises on natural philosophy and logic.<sup>78</sup> Finally, the thirteenth and fourteenth benches kept treatises on mathematics, rhetoric, history and manuals of grammar.<sup>79</sup>

The cupboards with the copies for loan were behind the benches. On the left-hand side, the first four cupboards contained the Bible, biblical books and concordances to the biblical text. The fifth and sixth cupboards were occupied by commentaries on biblical books. From the seventh cupboard onwards, and until the eleventh, more than one hundred and fifty volumes of sermons were available. The twelfth cupboard contained glossed volumes of biblical books, especially the Psalms, as well as commentaries on the Gospels, the prophets and the book of Revelation. The thirteenth cupboard contained useless, unidentified material.<sup>80</sup>

The first cupboard on the right-hand side contained copies of the *Book of Sentences* and the commentaries by Thomas Aquinas. The second cupboard contained fourteen volumes of commentaries on the *Sentences*, all by Bonaventure, while the third

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Wales.

77 The eighth and ninth benches had copies of the *Decretales* and commentaries such as the *Summa super titulos decretalium* by Geoffrey of Trani, the *Summa super titulos decretalium* by Henry of Segusio, and the *Summa decretalium per alphabetum* by John of Saxony. On the tenth bench there were treatises such as the *Summa de penitentia* by Servasanctus of Faenza, the *Summa* on the same subject by Peter Cantor and several treatises on virtues and vices.

78 There, copies of the *Metaphysica*, *De anima*, the *Physica*, and other major works by Aristotle could be found. Among the commentaries there were copies of the *Super methaphysicam* by Duns Scotus, the *Expositio in librum de Anima Aristotelis* by Gaetano of Thiene and the commentaries by Averroes. The twelfth bench contained the *In quatuor libros metheorum* by Albert of Cologne, and the *De caelo et mundo* by Gaetano of Thiene. The works on logic comprised the *Summa logicae* or *Loyca guallis* by William of Ockham, the *Logica* by William Burley, and a copy of the *Quaestiones* of Rudolf Brito. There was also a copy of the *Ethics* by Aristotle, one volume containing *De officiis* by Cicero, and *De beneficiis* by Seneca.

79 There was one copy of Boethius's *De arithmetica*, and one miscellany with encyclopaedic works by Rabanus Maurus, Isidore of Seville, Macrobius and Bede, as registered on fol. 29<sup>r</sup> of MS 573: 'Rabanus De computo in aseribus et coreo viridi et blavo ad ligaturas, cuius principium "Dilecto fratri" et est in antiqua littera et incipit secundus quaternus "dianum et nocturnum" et habet in finem novem folia circulis et signis de zodaico [sic].' It is the current Padua, Biblioteca Antoniana MS 27. See Abate and Luisetto, *Codici e manoscritti della Biblioteca Antoniana*, 1, 28-33. On the same bench there was also a copy of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* by Pseudo-Cicero, two miscellanies of historical works by Sallust, and the treatise *De sphaera* by John of Sacrobosco. The fourteenth bench was devoted to works on grammar and reference such as the *Derivationes* by Hughes of Pisa, a manual on grammar by the same author, a miscellany of works of William Brito that included the *Expositio vocabulorum Bibliae*, and *De accentu* by Priscian.

80 On fol. 49<sup>v</sup>: 'Tertia decima scaffa sinistra. Quedam scartafacia inordinata et quasi inutilia.'

cupboard was dedicated to the commentaries on the *Sentences* and *summae* by other influential Franciscan masters.<sup>81</sup> The series of commentaries on the *Sentences* continued through the fourth cupboard and was complemented by volumes of *quaestiones* in theology composed by renowned masters.<sup>82</sup> The fifth and sixth cupboards kept the volumes on canon law and the commentaries on the subject as well as tools of reference.<sup>83</sup> The volumes on the lives of saints filled the seventh cupboard, while the eighth cupboard had a more heterogeneous content.<sup>84</sup> The ninth cupboard contained volumes concerning theological questions, including those related to the *Book of Sentences*.<sup>85</sup> Many volumes on natural sciences were placed in the tenth cupboard with topics such as arithmetic and astrology, while the eleventh cupboard kept works on logic.<sup>86</sup> Finally, the twelfth cupboard had only eight volumes on different topics.<sup>87</sup>

A schematic summary of the organisation of the volumes would look as follows:

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- 81 There were copies of the commentaries by Alexander of Hales, Duns Scotus, William of Ware, Peter Auriol and Francis of Meyronnes.
- 82 Apart from the *questiones* written by the authors of the commentaries kept in the third cupboard, there were the compilations of Henry of Ghent and Hannibal of Hannibaldis, a disciple of Thomas Aquinas.
- 83 There were six copies of the *Decretales*, thirty *summae* and commentaries, plus one copy of the *Institutiones* of Justinian.
- 84 Apart from the general hagiographical compilations such as the *Legenda aurea*, the seventh cupboard contained four copies of Bonaventure's *Legenda* of Francis, and two of the *Legenda* of Anthony of Padua. This series was complemented by six copies of the *Mammotrectus Biblie*, a very popular encyclopaedic guide to understanding the text of the Bible, composed by John Marchesinus. On the other hand, apart from a copy of *De proprietatibus rerum* and a missal, one could say that the eighth cupboard was dedicated to treatises on virtues and vices, including the homilies and the *Dialogi* of Gregory the Great and the popular *Diadema monachorum* by Smaragdus.
- 85 There were also copies of the *Summa theologica* by Alexander of Hales, the *Quaestiones* by Francis of Meyronnes and the *Quodlibetales* by Duns Scotus.
- 86 On the tenth bench there were treatises like *De sphaera*, as well as works by Aristotle such as the *De historia animalium*, the *Ethica*, *De anima*, the *Physica*, and the *Metaphysica*. The eleventh bench mainly had copies of the *Summa logicae* by William of Ockham.
- 87 There were two copies of the *Expositiones vocabulorum Scripturae* by William Brito, one volume of *De bello civili* by Lucan, one exemplar of an anonymous *Ars dictandi*, one copy of the *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* by Martianus Capella, and one volume described as a 'Pirtimanus sine principio'. It is worth noting that there were also two choir books available for loan, as registered on fol. 64<sup>r</sup>: 'Liber Cantus in magno volumine in papiro in aseribus et coreo rubeo per totum. Incipit in secundo quinterno "Ave maris stella" cum A magno laborato in medio cum figuris beate Virginis et aliis. Finis ultimus "CCCLXXXII". Liber in quinternis CC in cantu in papiro, cuius principium "Sanctus". Finis "seculi amen".'

<b>Left-hand side</b>		<b>Right-hand side</b>	
1	Bible, <i>Book of Sentences</i> , <i>Divine Comedy</i>	1	Bible
2 to 3	Commentaries on the <i>Sentences</i> , theological treatises (mainly <i>summae</i> ) Thomas Aquinas's <i>Summae</i> , <i>quodlibetales</i> , <i>quaestiones</i>	2	Bible, biblical texts
4	Works by William of Ockham, <i>quaestiones</i> of Henry of Ghent Works by Augustine	3 to 9	Commentaries on biblical texts
5	Works by the Fathers of the Church	9 to 14	Sermons on biblical books
6	Canon law and philosophy	1	<i>Book of Sentences</i> , commentaries on the <i>Sentences</i> by Thomas Aquinas
7	Moral theology	2 to 4	Commentaries on the <i>Sentences</i> , <i>Quaestiones</i> on theology
8 to 9	Works by Aristotle, commentaries on Aristotle's works	5 to 6	Canon law, commentaries on canon law and books of reference
10	Natural philosophy, logic	7	Hagiography, <i>Mammotrectus</i>
11	Mathematics, rhetoric, history and grammar	8	Treatises on vices and virtues
12	Grammar, books of reference	9	Theological questions
13	Bible, biblical texts, concordances	10	Natural science
14	Postils, commentaries	11	Logic
Cupboards		12	Miscellany
1 to 4	Sermons		
5 to 6	Glossed biblical books, postils on Gospels		
7 to 11	Other: 'Quaedam scartafacia inordinata et quasi inutilia'		
12			
13			

### 2.2.2. *The Library of San Francesco Grande at Padua*

In the first half of the fifteenth century, Baldo Bonafari and his wife Sibila de Cetto founded an institution to receive the poor, the sick and pilgrims in the city of Padua.<sup>88</sup> In 1407 Baldo and his wife asked permission to carry out the project, and work began in October 1414.<sup>89</sup> At the same time, the idea of associating a church dedicated to St Francis with the hospital took shape, and they obtained a licence for the foundation of a church and a small convent from the bishop of Padua in December 1416, and the right to perform divine offices in the church was granted to the Franciscans 'videntes ex elemosinis'.<sup>90</sup> However, the spiritual care of the sick in the hospital and the rights of burial were to be allocated to the parish church, according to a bull issued by the pope in 1420. In the following year, Sibila died. In her last will she established that the convent should be occupied exclusively by observant friars, while the administration and government of the hospital should be the responsibility of a college of jurists.<sup>91</sup> The Franciscan community grew swiftly, and in a short time there were nearly fifty observant friars at the convent who formed an active international community. From 1444, the friars of the convent asked for and obtained the right to provide spiritual assistance to the sick and pilgrims in the hospital.<sup>92</sup>

The convent became one of the most important centres of the Observance in northern Italy. In 1423 and 1443 it was visited by Bernardino of Siena; in 1441, 1443, 1450 and 1451 the Paduan convent received John of Capistrano, Robert of Lecce and John Marchesinus. Usually, the visiting masters gave a cycle of sermons, many of which were transcribed in volumes destined to become part of the library collection.<sup>93</sup> The importance of the convent as a centre of education also grew steadily. Very soon it was able to offer not only basic levels of education, but also the instruction required to gain

88 Collodo, *Una società in trasformazione*, p. 473. See also Martina Pantarotto, *La biblioteca del convento di San Francesco Grande di Padova* (Padua: Centro di Studi Antoniani, 2003), p. 8.

89 Collodo, *Una società in trasformazione*, pp. 481-84.

90 Collodo, *Una società in trasformazione*, p. 487. It is very probable that Baldo had known the Franciscan movement of the Observance during his stay at Venice in the years 1405-13, through the Venetian convent of San Francesco della Vigna. See Francesco Ferrari, *Il francescanesimo nel Veneto dalle origini ai reperti di San Francesco nel Deserto: appunti per una storia della provincia veneta dei Frati Minori* (Bologna: Documentazione Scientifica, 1990), pp. 305-07. Silvana Collodo, however, proposes that Bonafari's relation with the Observance began in 1413, when Bernardino of Siena visited the city for the first time. See Collodo, *Una società in trasformazione*, p. 485.

91 Collodo, *Una società in trasformazione*, pp. 490-91.

92 Collodo, *Una società in trasformazione*, p. 520, and Pantarotto, *La biblioteca manoscritta del convento di San Francesco Grande*, p. 10.

93 Pantarotto, *La biblioteca manoscritta del convento di San Francesco Grande*, p. 11.

access to the university, and by the year 1470 the convent became a *studium* of the observant Venetian province. Consequently, at the end of the fifteenth century, the city of Padua could count on two Franciscan *studia* to support the training of the growing community of friars, many of whom had arrived at Padua as students of the university.<sup>94</sup>

During the early modern period, the convent grew as the needs of the hospital increased. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, the convent was the seat of the archive of the observant province, and in 1634 it received the title of *studium generale*. During the seventeenth century Augustine Macedo became the first observant to hold a teaching position at the University of Padua. Another very important figure in the history of the convent was Michelangelo Carmeli, a scholar who carried out the project of the construction of a great library for the convent. The project included a detailed inventory of the library that was finished in 1776.<sup>95</sup> By the end of the century the republic of Venice obtained control of the convent, and the Napoleonic invasion meant the suppression of the convent, the expropriation of all goods and the transfer of the books to the public library. The cloister was transformed into a military storehouse, and the Franciscan friars returned to the convent only in 1914.

During the fifteenth century, the observant convent received gifts or bequests to allow the acquisition of books. The library also enriched its collection with the donations of books from students and visitors who lived in the hospital.<sup>96</sup> There are, therefore, good grounds to suppose the presence of a book collection from the first moments of the institutional life of the convent. Unfortunately, the earliest available document that describes the composition of the book collection dates from 10 January 1600. It is an inventory made during a search of the Congregation of the Index of Prohibited Books.<sup>97</sup> This inventory registered 193 manuscripts, giving their title and author and in some cases including a brief description of the contents if the work was a miscellany. The inventory made a distinction between manuscript and printed volumes. A second inventory of the book collection in the convent was made thirty-nine years

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94 Pantarotto, *La biblioteca manoscritta del convento di San Francesco Grande*, pp. 11, 13; Collodo, *Una società in trasformazione*, pp. 527-28 and 553.

95 Pantarotto, *La biblioteca manoscritta del convento di San Francesco Grande*, p. 13.

96 Pantarotto, *La biblioteca manoscritta del convento di San Francesco Grande*, p. 12.

97 It is the current Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana MS Vat. Lat. 11283, ff 40<sup>r</sup>-54<sup>v</sup>. See *Codices Vaticani Latini: Codices 1126-11326*, ed. by Madeleine Lebreton, and Luigi Fioriani (Vatican City: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1985), pp. 112-13 and Pantarotto, *La biblioteca manoscritta del convento di San Francesco Grande*, p. 14.



later in the context of the compilation of the inventories of the libraries at Padua under the direction of Filippo Tomasini.<sup>98</sup> This was a list of the volumes available in the convent, and registered 128 volumes plus 17 from the convent of St Ursula. This second inventory offered additional information on other aspects of the volumes such as the *incipit* and *explicit*, the date of the book and the works that formed part of a single volume, although the information was not always accurate. This third inventory of the book collection was carried out in 1776, and was part of a miscellaneous manuscript, currently in the Biblioteca Civica of Padua.<sup>99</sup> The inventory registered 346 manuscripts described with a great level of detail. This precision has permitted a secure identification of many volumes as books belonging to the library of the convent.

Recent research has made an important contribution to the reconstruction of the medieval book collection. Martina Pantarotto edited the three inventories of the library, and identified the surviving medieval volumes.<sup>100</sup> She has also established, from codicological and philological evidence, a large corpus of manuscripts that undoubtedly were in the library before the year 1525. The main evidence is the enumeration of the leaves, completed on all the volumes of the collection during the late sixteenth century, plus the registration, at the end of each volume, of the total number of leaves and, in some cases, the number of quires. Moreover, there are traces of a precedent numeric system of reference, which was modified by the scribe of the sixteenth-century inventory.<sup>101</sup> Finally, she completed a careful and detailed description of each of the surviving volumes. This catalogue has been the main resource for the following analysis of the main features of the fifteenth-century book collection of the convent of San Francesco Grande.

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98 Filippo Tomasini, *Bibliothecae Patavinae manuscriptae publicae et privatae* (Udine: Schiratti, 1639).

99 Padua, Biblioteca Civica, MS B.P. 929. The inventory, which occupies 39 leaves, is the sixth work of the miscellany. The volume lacks numeration. See Pantarotto, *La biblioteca manoscritta del convento di San Francesco Grande*, p. 16.

100 Pantarotto, *La biblioteca manoscritta del convento di San Francesco Grande*.

101 Pantarotto, *La biblioteca manoscritta del convento di San Francesco Grande*, p. 98. Additional evidence is provided by the absence of ownership inscriptions from later periods. This feature has been instrumental for establishing the presence of the volume in the convent during the fifteenth century.

### 2.2.2.1. *The Book Collection of the Convent of San Francesco Grande*

It is not possible to affirm beyond any doubt that there was a double library at the convent of San Francesco Grande at Padua during the fifteenth century. The earliest inventories available do not register the presence of chained and/or unchained books, and the absence of the original bindings makes it difficult to establish if the volumes were chained or not. Most probably the books were available for consultation and loan, without distinction, and in this, perhaps, a characteristic feature of observant collections had a decisive influence: their nature as 'recent' libraries. In effect, only five out of 170 volumes were produced before the fifteenth century, and in the early stages of the life of the convent the dynamics of circulation, use and production of books were probably not clearly established.

Concerning the nature of the collection, although it is not possible to reconstruct the distribution of the books in the space of the library, it is possible to identify the main thematic groups around which the library was organised. First, it is necessary to consider the presence of the Bible and biblical texts. Surprisingly, there are only two volumes of these in the corpus established by Pantarotto.<sup>102</sup> The first is a copy of the Bible from the thirteenth century. The second is a copy of the Epistles of Paul, included in a miscellany. Perhaps the circulating copies of the Bible were part of the collection of the sacristy, and were therefore not registered in the inventories.

The most important part of the collection consisted of tools useful for the training of the preachers. There were fifty-three volumes of postils, commentaries, compilations, treatises on the vices and virtues, and miscellanies of treatises on different topics. The authors were the leading masters of the order, especially the two main observant preachers, Bernardino of Siena and John of Capistrano. However, the Dominican masters had an important place as well: there were works by Thomas Aquinas, and the library had a good number of copies of the works of the fourteenth-century Dominican master St Antonino of Florence.<sup>103</sup> A copy of extracts from the *Divina Commedia* was included in a volume of treatises on moral subjects, which seems to be a personal copy, prepared by friar Francis of Padua, who left it to the convent after his death.<sup>104</sup>

<sup>102</sup> Pantarotto, *La biblioteca manoscritta del convento di San Francesco Grande*, pp. 111 and 154.

<sup>103</sup> See Thomas Kaeppli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevii*, 3 vols (Rome: S. Sabinae, 1970-1980), I (1970), p. 80.

<sup>104</sup> On Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria MS 1030, fol. II<sup>v</sup> there is a note: 'Hic liber est ad usum fratris Francisci minorite de civitate Patavii quem propria manu conscripsit et post mortem ipsius pertinet ad

As we might expect from an observant library, sermons constituted an important part of the collection. There were at least twenty-eight volumes of sermons, especially miscellanies that included Fathers of the Church, Dominican masters such as Jacobus de Voragine and St Antonino of Florence, and the main observant masters, especially Bernardino of Siena. There were also some works such as the treatise *De ornatu et habitu mulierum* by the Dominican St Antonino of Florence that were included in miscellanies of other subjects such as canon law. There were just two copies of volumes of lives of saints, one of which was the *Legenda aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine. There were also six volumes on canon law, among which were volumes of the *Decretals*, their tables of concordances, and treatises on the nature of the power of the pope. The theological treatises were important for the convent, as is shown by the number of volumes available. The main category was commentaries on the *Sentences* and the theological contents of the *Decretals*. The treatise *Compendium theologiae veritatis* by Hugo Ripelin de Argentina should be mentioned because it was available in a single copy of its vernacular version under the title *Spina e rosa*.<sup>105</sup> On the other hand, the literature of the Fathers was present with volumes concerning commentaries on biblical books or treatises on Christian spirituality such as the *Scala Paradisi* of John Climacus. An important section of the collection dealt with Franciscan institutional life. There were copies of the Constitutions, of the bulls of the popes Nicholas III and Clement V, of the Franciscan rule and commentaries on the rule and the founder's *Testamentum*.

The presence of ten manuals of logic, grammar and similar works of reference illustrates the importance of these subjects of study in the Paduan convent. There were works such as the *Grammatica Latina* by Gaspare of Verona, the *Summae Grammaticae* of Petrus de Isolella, a copy of the *Orthographia* by Gasparino Barzizza and the *Sophismata* by William of Heytesbury. Although it did not constitute a big section of the library, classical literature was represented by works such as the *Achilleid*, the *Satires* of Juvenal, works by Cicero and a commentary by Nicholas Trivet on the tragedies of Seneca.<sup>106</sup> The library had a few books on natural sciences, particularly on

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locum Padue.' See Pantarotto, *La biblioteca manoscritta del convento di San Francesco Grande*, p. 138.

<sup>105</sup> Pantarotto, *La biblioteca manoscritta del convento di San Francesco Grande*, p. 162.

<sup>106</sup> The *Achilleid* is an unfinished epic poem by Statius that was intended to celebrate the life and deeds of Achilles. See Statius, *Achilleid*, ed. by Oswald A. W. Dilke (Bristol: Phoenix, 2005).

astronomy and astrology, plus a treatise on natural philosophy known as *Mare Magnum*.<sup>107</sup> There were also volumes on Roman history, including a catalogue of the Roman emperors, and some philosophical treatises, including the commentaries on Aristotle's works.

From this description of the book collection of the library of the convent of San Francesco Grande it is possible to outline its profile as a working library, focused on the education and training of preachers. The earliest volume available was produced during the thirteenth century, and there was a very small number of works produced before the fifteenth century. Nevertheless, it is clear that, based upon the traces left behind by the scribes, a significant part of the collection was produced in the convent, and therefore there was a clear choice in the production that favoured tools of study and that left other genres, such as lives of saints, in a secondary role.

So far, the profiles of the two main Franciscan libraries at Padua in the fifteenth century have been outlined. Both libraries were part of the order's system of *studia*, each coming from a different tradition with a particular interpretation of the rule and the role of learning and books within the community, as has been shown on Chapter 1. Although a full inventory is not available for the observant library, it is possible to propose a comparison between the two book collections in terms of their working methods, their size, their main orientation and the type of books that were available in each of them.

If the Biblioteca Antoniana applied the model of the double collection of books, that is, a division between chained and unchained volumes according to the needs of reading and study, there is no indication of a similar situation for the library of San Francesco Grande. The few surviving original bindings do not suggest the presence of chained books, and the earliest inventories of the observant library show no trace of a system of double collection. Moreover, it is possible that in the observant library there was only a single collection of books, all unchained, available for loan and copy. This means that the model of the double library was not always followed by the mendicants, and that its application depended on the particular circumstances of the convent, and could be

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<sup>107</sup> It is the current Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 1110, a paper manuscript in folio written during the fifteenth century, titled: *Theorica in lapide philosophico quae intitulatur Mare Magnum*. See Pantarotto, *La biblioteca manoscritta del convento di San Francesco Grande*, pp. 30, 76 and 143; see also Lynn Thorndike and Pearl Kibre, *A Catalogue of Incipits of Mediaeval Scientific Writings in Latin* (London: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1963), 305.

linked to specific practices of reading and study, as will be discussed further on the fourth chapter.

A second feature of comparison and contrast is the size of the libraries. By the end of the fifteenth century, the Biblioteca Antoniana was a firmly established library with almost three centuries of history and one of the biggest book collections of the order, which had grown remarkably between the fourteenth and the fifteenth century, and this situation certainly reflected the importance of the convent as a centre of spirituality and study. In contrast, the library of the convent of San Francesco Grande had existed for only seventy years by the end of the fifteenth century. Nevertheless, although the number of volumes available was far smaller than that of the Biblioteca Antoniana, the size of its collection was, proportionally speaking, remarkable. The importance of the convent as an observant centre and the high profile of its *studium* were strong incentives for the growth of the library collection. Certainly, there was a close relationship with the students who stayed as permanent guests in the hospital, to the extent that it was not uncommon for a student to decide to abandon his course in favour of the religious life in the habit of an observant friar.

### *Conclusion*

This overview of the development and main features of the two Franciscan libraries allows us to formulate a few observations. After presenting a set of conclusions for each of the Paduan libraries, a set of general observations on the role of Franciscan libraries as the space of the Franciscan book will be offered.

The analysis of the fifteenth-century inventory of the Biblioteca Antoniana shows that, by the end of the Middle Ages, the library was firmly established with more than a thousand volumes available. An overview of the contents of the library shows that it offered a complete set of tools for study, from books of reference to volumes on devotional, theological, philosophical and scientific subjects. However, the strength of the collection relied on its impressive set of sermons. This means that the Biblioteca Antoniana was mainly a space devoted to the intellectual training of the preacher through individual study. This conception of study and use of books made loans, even for life, necessary.<sup>108</sup>

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108 Şenocak, 'Circulation of Books in the Medieval Franciscan Order', pp. 153-54.

The description of the location of the books confirms that the main purpose of the Biblioteca Antoniana during the fifteenth century was to offer the necessary tools for the education of the preacher, in complete accordance with the general programme of the order.<sup>109</sup> This is particularly clear for the Bible, the biblical texts and the biblical commentaries: the chained volumes were located on the first ten benches on the right hand side. The copies for loan were available in the first six cupboards on the left hand side. The chained manuscripts of the *Book of Sentences* were on the first two benches on the left hand side, and their copies were available for loan in the first four cupboards on the right hand side. In another case, five cupboards with volumes of sermons corresponded to five benches of chained volumes on the right hand side.

This particular arrangement leads to a second observation. To place the books for loan on the opposite side of their respective chained volumes may seem an unusual pattern of organisation.<sup>110</sup> In fact, it would be more practical to locate all the copies of one chained work on the same side, keeping the volumes for loan stored in the adjacent cupboards. The systematic distribution of the volumes on opposite sides suggests that this arrangement of the space was deliberate. Most probably, it had the purpose of securing a homogeneous distribution of the volumes in the repositories, avoiding an imbalance in the layout of the library.

The third observation regards the organisation of the topics. The compilation of the inventory followed the layout of the library, allowing us to identify the order in which the topics were located. In the case of the chained books, the most significant part of the collection was formed by the Bible and biblical texts, the commentaries on the biblical text, a complete collection of sermons on biblical topics, the book of the *Sentences* and its commentaries. These were followed by volumes on philosophy, the works of the Fathers of the Church, the books on canon law, moral theology, the works of Aristotle, and the treatises on natural philosophy, sciences and grammar. The organisation of the

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<sup>109</sup> Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education*, pp. 276-90.

<sup>110</sup> A similar practice was not followed in the Franciscan libraries of Assisi, Florence or Siena. At Assisi, the chained books and those for loan were located in different rooms. See Cenci, *Bibliotheca Manuscripta ad Sacrum Conventum Assisiensem*, p. 33. In the case of the Franciscan library of Santa Croce in Florence, the whole collection was chained to two rows of benches. See Humphreys, *The Book Provisions of the Mediaeval Friars*, p. 112 and James F. O'Gorman, *The Architecture of the Monastic Library in Italy: 1300-1600* (New York: New York University Press, 1972), pp. 52-53. In the case of the library of the convent of Siena, the inventory did not provide information on the specific location of the cupboards in relation to the benches. See Humphreys, *The Library of the Franciscans of Siena in the Late Fifteenth Century*, pp. 15-16.

topics in the cupboards was very similar. First came the Bible and biblical texts, followed by concordances, postils and sermons. Then there were the glossed books of the Bible, the *Book of Sentences* and its commentaries. This set was complemented by books on canon law, hagiography, theology, natural sciences and logic. This arrangement reflected a hierarchy of the sources of authority and knowledge, a practice that was not unusual in the mendicant libraries.<sup>111</sup>

In the library of Sant'Antonio the Bible, the supreme source of authority, was followed by the writings of the masters of the order, the Fathers of the Church and the tools of reference. This would mean that the Fathers of the Church had a secondary role in relation to the Franciscan masters. In effect, the works of the Fathers were usually part of the intellectual training of the student, but they were not a principal subject of study or commentary by the Franciscan friars.<sup>112</sup> As a result of the mendicant approach to reading and learning, the Fathers of the Church played a complementary role and, apart from Augustine, were limited to supporting the innovative reflections and discussions of the mendicant masters.<sup>113</sup> By reflecting the order's new approach to the sources of intellectual authority, the organisation of the library offers further evidence of its role as a space devoted to providing, as effectively as possible, the required tools for the training and education of the Franciscan preacher.

The comparison between the libraries shows that, at first sight, the two libraries seem very similar: both were working libraries strongly focused on education and training, and both catered for concrete needs of study. However, there were significant differences. First, there was a remarkable difference in the available number of copies of the Bible. While the collection of the Biblioteca Antoniana opened with a magnificent Bible in several volumes of large size, nothing similar seems to be listed in the observant library, or if it was, it did not leave any trace of its presence. On the other hand, if it is true that both of the libraries were focused on study and the training of preachers, it is also true that there were significant differences in their particular

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111 The hierarchy of the topics was established following the criterion of importance. Usually, this principle appeared more clearly in the collection of books for loan, mainly because they were used for individual study after becoming part of the collection through more informal and complex processes. See Massimiliano Bassetti, 'I libri "degli antichi"', in *Libri, biblioteche e letture dei Frati Mendicanti (secoli XIII–XIV)*, pp. 419–51 (pp. 432–33, 444–45).

112 Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education*, pp. 123–32, 250–58.

113 Jacqueline Hamesse, 'The Scholastic Model of Reading', in *A History of Reading in the West*, trans. by Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999), pp. 103–19 (pp. 103–06).

interests. While the Biblioteca Antoniana had a strong emphasis on collections of sermons and theological and philosophical literature, the main part of the collection of the library of San Francesco Grande was dedicated to biblical commentaries, postills and treatises. This distinction was reflected in the proportion of philosophical literature in each collection: it was high in the Biblioteca Antoniana and, by contrast, barely perceptible in the library of San Francesco Grande. Another point of difference is the importance of the manuscripts dedicated to lives of saints. Their presence in the Biblioteca Antoniana is significant, while in the library of San Francesco Grande there are only two copies of the best known works on the topic. This apparent lack of interest could be explained by the fact that the commentaries and postills could provide all the hagiographical knowledge required. There is also a great difference concerning the literature containing regulations, constitutions and dispositions regarding the Franciscan order. While there is almost no trace of these works in the Biblioteca Antoniana, apart from a few works lost on loan, there are at least ten volumes on the subject in the observant library, reflecting the strong interest of the Observance in emphasizing the legitimacy of their way of life within the Franciscan order.<sup>114</sup>

The overview of the libraries offers also a glimpse of the system of production and growth of the collection of books. In both collections, donations, legacies and internal production played a significant part in their rate of growth. However, according to codicological evidence such as the notes from scribes, it seems that by the end of the fifteenth century the rate of production of personal copies for study was significantly higher in the observant library.<sup>115</sup> Those copies were meant for personal use and were normally left to the convent on the death of the possessor. Perhaps the libraries represented two different ways of understanding the discipline of study at the end of the fifteenth century: it seems that while the Biblioteca Antoniana strongly focused on reading and studying, the observant friars 'kept the quill in hand', that is, were deeply committed to the continuous production of books.<sup>116</sup>

At this point it will be helpful to recall the figures of Boethius and Cassiodorus as

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114 The inventory of the Biblioteca Antoniana shows that a Master Francis of Belluno had on loan a set of volumes among which there were the general and provincial constitutions of the order, the constitutions of Pope Benedict XI, the privileges of the order, and the rule of the Poor Claires. See Appendix 1.

115 Pantarotto, *La biblioteca manoscritta del convento di San Francesco Grande*, pp. 98-100.

116 Nicoletta Giovè Marchioli, 'La cultura scritta al Santo nel Quattrocento: fra produzione, fruizione e conservazione', pp. 386-88.



personification of two different models of development for book collections. Medieval libraries are seen usually as strictly 'Cassiodorean', that is, as book collections devoted to satisfying the needs of a community. The 'Boethian' library, that is, the personal library, is seen as a characteristic feature of modern, international, humanism. Nevertheless, as will be seen in the following chapters, there are examples of Franciscan manuscripts that suggest that they played the role of personal, portable libraries that reflected, expectations, needs and intellectual background of their owners who, as users of the libraries, were no longer the simple, unlearned Franciscan friars of the origins of the order, but the 'fratres rescribentes vel legentes' described by Bonaventure.<sup>117</sup> It has been shown that the Franciscan book collections were organised to satisfy the needs of readers capable of using more than one book at a time, that is, scholars who followed a programme of training that aimed at intellectual achievement, even if subordinated to preaching.<sup>118</sup> In other words, and according to Salimbene of Adam, Franciscan libraries were a place where the enthusiastic and intellectually proud friar Hugh of Digne could feel perfectly at home.

After exploring the development, organisation, role and significance of 'space' as the dimension of the Franciscan book that represents the places where Franciscan books were collected, organised and made available for their readers, it is time to take a closer look at the manuscripts themselves.

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117 Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia*, VIII (1898), 350.

118 Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education*, pp. 278–81. See also and Michael J. P. Robson, *The Greyfriars of England (1224-1539): Collected Papers* (Padua: Centro Studi Antoniani, 2012), pp. 219–24, 229–34. The practice of reading more than one book simultaneously is illustrated by the list of books on loan of the inventory of the Biblioteca Antoniana, MS 573 on fols 64<sup>v</sup>-66<sup>v</sup>. See Appendix 1. See also Humphreys, *The Library of the Franciscans of the Convent of St. Antony*, pp. 177–84.



## Chapter Three

*Franciscan Manuscripts in Padua**Introduction*

By the middle of thirteenth century, the English Benedictine monk Matthew Paris wrote, with a hint of praise, about an interesting group of newcomers. In his *Historia Anglorum*, he described how these men carried a great number of books, practically entire libraries, in sacks hanging from their necks, and how over time they built schools, cloisters and lofty churches, and how within their confines they established schools of theology and fervently talked to the people, bringing back no small crop to the barn of Christ, where the harvest was rich, but the labourers so few.<sup>1</sup>

These curious characters were Franciscan friars, a group whose main elements of identity were, at the time, engagement in pastoral care, preaching, and books, in spite of the fact that, according to Francis of Assisi, books were not required to live in the simplicity of the first Christian community.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, by the second half of the thirteenth century, Franciscans had transformed themselves from a brotherhood of simple laymen into an order of masters of theology, science and philosophy. The main tools of that transformation had been the books, which poses the questions of what were the contents of these books? How were they constructed physically? How were they

1 'Libros continue suos, videlicet bibliotecas, in forulis a collo dependentes baiulantes. Tandem scholas edificaverunt, deinde domos et claustra, denuo, magnatibus sumptus sufficienter administrantibus, ecclesias et officinas amplas et excelsas fabricaverunt [...] Tandem scholas theologie infra septa sua constituentes, legentes et disputantes et populo predicantes, fructum ad horrea Christi, quia messis multa et operarii pauci fuerant, non modicum reportarunt.' Mattheus Parisiensis, *Historia Anglorum*, in *MGH SS*, xxviii (Hannover, 1888), 397.

2 For further detail, see Chapter 1.

employed? Furthermore, can these volumes provide us with clues on the friars' conception of the book? These questions will guide the discussion in this chapter.

After exploring aspects of the Franciscan manuscript such as the relation between its ideal and its reality, as well as the space where it was collected and read, it will be useful to explore its physical characteristics and its purpose according to its contents and use. The first chapter of this thesis discussed the set of regulations on the use of books within the Franciscan order, as well as how these regulations were followed in the convents of Sant'Antonio and San Francesco Grande in Padua. Chapter 2 explored and compared the libraries of these Paduan convents and established significant differences that reflected the particular interests and the nature of each of community. Taking the comparative approach further, the current chapter will examine a corpus of manuscripts in order to identify distinctive characteristics that could support a typology of the readers present in these libraries during the fifteenth century. Such a typology plays an important role in the discussion of Franciscans as readers in the following chapter. The analysis will show that there are substantial differences between the books collected and read in each of the convents. These differences regard not only their contents, but more profoundly, their physical characteristics, and especially, their composition as volumes, which suggests the presence of different practices of reading in each convent that will be verified on Chapter 4.

In order to proceed with the analysis, two sets of manuscripts have been established, one from the library of Sant'Antonio, or the Biblioteca Antoniana, and one from the library of San Francesco Grande. The manuscripts selected are representative of the most important genres collected in each library. In outline, the set for the Biblioteca Antoniana consists of a theological treatise and a collection of sermons, while the set from the library of San Francesco Grande is constituted by tools for the composition of sermons and collections of sermons. The study of the manuscripts proceeds, first, by examining and comparing the volumes from the same set, and then by comparing the two sets.

### 3.1. *Manuscripts from the Library of the Convent of Sant'Antonio*

As shown in Chapter 1, the history of the Biblioteca Antoniana, practically coincide with the arrival of Franciscan friars in Padua in 1229. It is possible that during the late thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries there was, if not a scriptorium, at least a scribe responsible for copying books for the library in order to satisfy the needs of the convent, in accordance with the dispositions of the regulations of the provincial chapter that gathered at Treviso in 1290.<sup>3</sup> Another way to improve the collection of the library was through donations to buy books for the use of one particular friar or of the library, as shown, for example, by the last will of Zilio Teco, who in 1253 left one hundred lire to the convents of Vicenza and Padua for the acquisition of books, or the last will of Ziborga, who left two hundred lire to her son in order to buy books, but only if he entered the Franciscan order.<sup>4</sup> As a result, the library collection grew steadily and by the late fourteenth century it had a remarkable collection.<sup>5</sup>

Although there is no specific study dedicated to the typology of texts collected in the library, the information provided by the early inventories reveals that there were copies of the Bible, works useful for pastoral care, works of theology, books of reference, collections and tools for the composition of sermons and texts of law and philosophy.<sup>6</sup> As discussed in Chapter 2, the main purpose of Franciscan education was to provide the friars with the tools essential to fulfil the duty of preaching, and the libraries of the convents reflected that purpose.<sup>7</sup> The most important of these tools were theological treatises and collections of sermons, which had the role of providing models for the

3 See Chapter 2, n.49.

4 'Legavit et dari iusit centum libras denariorum veronensium pro facere libros conventui et fratribus de sancto Francisco de Vicentia de ordine fratrum minorum. [...] Item legavit centum libras denariorum veronensium pro facere libro conventui et fratribus minoribus de Padua de Sancto Antonio.' See Sartori, *Archivio Sartori*, II, p. 2313. See also Fontana, *Fratri, libri e insegnamento*, pp. 94-98. For Ziborga's last will see chapter 2, n.47.

5 Bartoli Langelì, 'I libri dei frati', pp. 286-87. See also Frioli, 'Gli antichi inventari della Biblioteca Antoniana di Padova', pp. 75-76, and Humphreys, *The Library of the Franciscans of the Convent of St Anthony*, p. 7.

6 A consistent typology of the texts *used* by the Franciscan friars would be a helpful tool for the description of Franciscan intellectual history. In the specific case of the Biblioteca Antoniana, Fontana identifies the following main genres: texts for study and the *cura animarum*, the Bible and texts of theology, complete works and collections of authorities, lexicographical tools, collections of sermons and *artes praedicandi*, collections of *legendae*, collections of *exempla* and texts of law and philosophy. This typology reproduces the classification of books established by the librarians who compiled the inventories. Therefore, only the direct examination of the manuscripts would provide the information necessary to establish different levels of use and a more accurate image of texts actually read and studied by the friars. See Fontana, *Fratri, libri e insegnamento*, pp. 109-43.

7 Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education*, pp. 277-79.

composition of new sermons.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, in order to have representative volumes for my analysis, I selected a corpus of manuscripts consisting of four copies of a theological treatise and four copies of a collection of sermons, both written by influential masters of the order, and studied during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the period when the convent of Sant'Antonio became one of the most prestigious *studia generalia* in Italy.<sup>9</sup>

### *3.1.1. A Theological Treatise: The Commentary on the First 'Book of Sentences' by Bonaventure of Bagnoregio*

An increasing tendency towards the exhaustive codification of knowledge produced fundamental works for the medieval scholastic culture such as the *Glossa ordinaria*. In 1155-57 Peter Lombard, a canon of the cathedral school of Notre Dame in Paris, composed a compilation of theological questions systematically arranged around major topics in four volumes. His work, known as the *Book of Sentences*, became the most influential theological treatise of the Middle Ages. The first book considered God and the Trinity; the second, the creation; the third, the incarnation and the virtues; and the fourth, the sacraments and the Last Judgement. By 1215, the *Book of Sentences* was recognized by the Fourth Council Lateran as a text that should be used in the schools, and it became an undisputed source of written authority from the second half of the thirteenth century.<sup>10</sup> With the development of universities, it was required that candidates for the highest degrees in theology produce their own commentary on the *Sentences*. This process of commenting became so influential that Peter Lombard's treatise was often studied through the commentaries rather than directly in the original text.

One of the most important commentaries on the *Book of Sentences* was written by the Franciscan Master Bonaventure of Bagnoregio.<sup>11</sup> The Biblioteca Antoniana had several copies of this work, as shown by the 1449 inventory: there were copies available for consultation chained to the second bench on the left-hand side, and more than

8 Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education*, pp. 80-81, 85-87, and D'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars*, pp. 64-65, particularly 78-81.

9 Fontana, *Fratri, libri e insegnamento*, pp. 64-67.

10 Rosemann, *Peter Lombard*, pp. 8-70; Colish, *Peter Lombard 1*, pp. 33-154, Friedman, 'The *Sentences* Commentary, 1250-1320', pp. 41-128, and Asztaloz, 'The Faculty of Theology', pp. 412-15.

11 Cullen, *Bonaventure*, pp. 15-16, and Bougerol, *Introduction to the Works of Bonaventure*, pp. 99-108.

fourteen volumes for loan located in the second cupboard on the right-hand side.<sup>12</sup> Currently the Biblioteca Antoniana holds fourteen manuscripts of Bonaventure's commentary on the *Book of Sentences*, four of which – MSS 120, 123, 124 and 125 – are copies of the commentary on the first book.<sup>13</sup>

MS 120 is a parchment volume of 332 x 232mm, produced during the fourteenth century.<sup>14</sup> Its binding consists of wooden boards covered in leather. On the inside of the front plate there are traces of the clasp that held the ring connected to the chain.<sup>15</sup> The 153 leaves of the manuscript are organised into thirteen quires. The text is written in a formal gothic bookhand, distributed in two columns with decoration limited to initials in red, accompanied by coloured paragraph marks, or paraphs, in red and turquoise. There are some notes that do not comment on the text, but had the purpose of confirming that the manuscript belonged to the library of Sant'Antonio, according to the dispositions of the Chapter of Verona.<sup>16</sup>

Readers left three types of sign of their written interaction with MS 120: marginal references, useful to 'navigate' through the text; marginal additions or corrections; and marginal comments. Some examples of references employed by readers of the MS can be found especially at the beginning of the volume, as in fols 1<sup>r</sup>-2<sup>r</sup>, where there is a system of marginal lines drawn to the left of each column, useful for identifying the main divisions of the text. Each line is accompanied by a number, which corresponds to a heading of the paragraph.<sup>17</sup> Another set of marginal notes, written in a late hand, most

12 Padua, Biblioteca Antoniana, MS 573, fols 16<sup>v</sup> and 50<sup>v</sup>-51<sup>r</sup>.

13 There are four copies of the commentary on the first book; three copies of the commentary on the second book: MSS 121, 126 and 127; three copies of the commentary on the third book: MSS 119, 128 and 129; and four copies of the commentary on the fourth book: MSS 122, 130, 131 and 213.

14 For a detailed description see Abate and Luisetto, *Codici e manoscritti della Biblioteca Antoniana*, 1, 161-62. See also Humphreys, *The Library of the Franciscans*, p. 152.

15 Some examples of this system of chaining are available in Clark, *The Care of Books*, pp. 159, and 175.

16 On fol. II<sup>r</sup>: 'Iste liber primus Bonaventure deputatus est conventui padue ordinis minorum per capitulum provinciale celebratum Veronae. Ad voluntatem ministri pro exemplari ad tempus, propter studentes provinciales, tamen provinciae est liber iste.' On fol. I<sup>r</sup> there is a prayer: 'Domina sancta Maria que oratis pro omnibus orate per famulo vestro ad sanctum regem glorie, quia tanta sunt peccata nostra quod non possumus avere misericordiam [...]', and on fol. II<sup>v</sup> there is a note: 'Conventus Padue est Bonaventure super sententias iste primus.' See Abate and Luisetto, *Codici e manoscritti della Biblioteca Antoniana*, 1, 161; Fontana, *Fratri, libri e insegnamento*, pp. 118-19. Many marginal notes in the manuscripts of the Biblioteca Antoniana were transcribed in MS 590, Paulus Franciscus Munegatus, *Collectio rerum ante initium et post finem Codicum scriptarum*. It is an autograph paper manuscript from the nineteenth century, of 285 x 195 mm and 92 leaves. It gathers together the notes on many of the flyleaves.

17 Accordingly, 1<sup>o</sup>, corresponds to 'Primo propter preemptionem', 2<sup>o</sup>, corresponds to 'Secundo, propter spaciositatem', 3<sup>o</sup> corresponds to 'Tercio propter circulationem denaru fluvii', 4<sup>o</sup> corresponds to 'Quarto propter emendationem', and so on.

probably from the fifteenth century, provides complementary references such as 'Primus liber', or 'Secundus liber', but these go no further than fol. 1<sup>v</sup>. A third form of reference consists of short marginal references, commonly introduced by the word 'Nota', and used to indicate a passage worthy of attention. Similarly, there are marginal references to indicate the place where the word 'Respondeo' introduces an answer to a question, or where the words 'Contra' or 'Opinio' introduce arguments to be discussed by the author. An example of this type of reference may be found on fol. 25<sup>r</sup>, where Bonaventure discusses a question by explaining three different arguments. These arguments are indicated by a fifteenth-century annotator, who wrote in a marginal note '1<sup>a</sup> opinio [sic]', to indicate the first argument, '2<sup>a</sup> Opinio', to locate the second argument, and finally, 'Opinio Magistri', to indicate the doctrine of Peter Lombard, according to the interpretation of Bonaventure.<sup>18</sup>

Short summaries of the contents, written in the margins of the manuscript, constitute another form of reference. For example, on fol. 3<sup>r</sup>, a fourteenth-century hand wrote: 'Three types of men'.<sup>19</sup> The same hand added on fol. 3<sup>v</sup> these words: 'writer, compiler, commenter, author' to indicate the place where Bonaventure explained the different forms of authorship.<sup>20</sup> Further, a fifteenth-century hand wrote a simple scheme in the margin of fol. 23<sup>r</sup> as a quick reference to summarise the types of necessity: 'Necessity of violence/ necessity of coercion; necessity of want/ necessity unavoidable; necessity of exigence/ necessity unchanged'.<sup>21</sup> A similar type of summary is found on fol. 94<sup>r</sup>. In the margin, a fifteenth-century hand wrote 'Threefold relation', to locate the beginning of Bonaventure's argumentation on the relation between reality and names of God.<sup>22</sup>

18 Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia*, I, 135-36.

19 'Tria genera hominum.'

20 'Scriptor, compiler, comentator, auctor.'

21 'Necessitas violentie/necessitas coactionis, necessitas indigentie/necessitas inevitabilis, necessitas exigentie/necessitas inmutatis [sic].' This typology of necessity is treated in the sixth distinction of the *Book of Sentences*. Specifically, Bonaventure discusses whether the generation of the Son, the second person of the Trinity, is to be attributed to a rational necessity, as is stated in the heading of the first question on fol 23<sup>r</sup>: 'Utrum generatio Filii sit secundum rationem necessitatis'. Bonaventure explains that necessity could arise from one of three principles: 'Disconveniente', 'Deficiente', or 'Conveniente et Sufficiente'. If necessity comes from the principle 'Disconveniente', it could be 'violentie' or 'coactionis'; if it comes from the principle 'Deficiente', it could be 'indigentie' or 'inevitabilis', and finally if necessity comes from the principle 'Conveniente et sufficiente', it could be 'exigentie' or 'immutabilitatis'. See Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia*, I, 125-26.

22 'Relatio triplex.' The passage is part of the third question of the thirtieth distinction. It considers whether the names convey any real relation in God. Bonaventure answers that there is a threefold relation between names and reality: 'Respondeo ad hoc intelligendum est, quod dici secundum relationem est dupliciter: aut secundum rem, aut secundum modum. Realis autem relatio triplex est.'



Another example may be found on fol. 131<sup>v</sup>, where the forty-second distinction considers the power of God. In the first question, Bonaventure discusses whether God can be other than himself. An insertion mark leads to the end of the leaf, where a fifteenth-century hand summarises the contents of the answer: by and towards himself, God can be considered other than himself either as distinct, according to essences, and remote, according to distance; or, according to forms and essences, as unitary and not remote but rather within distance.<sup>23</sup> On fol. 152<sup>v</sup> there is another example of the summaries employed by the readers of the manuscript. A fourteenth-century hand wrote on the margin 'On threefold will', to identify the passage of distinction forty-eight where Bonaventure uses the authority of Hugh of St Victor to support his account of human will.<sup>24</sup>

The marginal comments were also used to correct or to add missing parts of the text. For example, the text of the *Proemium* is corrected by a marginal addition on fol. 1<sup>v</sup>.<sup>25</sup> Something similar happens on fol. 2<sup>v</sup>, where Bonaventure answers a question concerning theological knowledge.<sup>26</sup> On fol 7<sup>r</sup> there is another significant addition to the text, under the question of whether God is the most perfect source of joy.<sup>27</sup> Small additions and corrections of this type were made by a set of at least four different hands, from the fourteenth to the early fifteenth century, and may be found all over the manuscript, which suggests that the volume was used intensively, and more importantly,

23 The transcription of the passage is as follows: 'Respondeo ad hoc intelligendum notandum est quod posse aliud sive in aliud a se hoc est dupliciter [*Insertion mark*]: aut in aliud sicut in distinctum secundum essentiam [...]' The insertion mark corresponds to a summary of the answer written on the bottom of the leaf: 'Posse in ad a se essere dividitur aut in/ -pro sicut in distinctum secundum essentias et remotum secundo distantiam./-pro sicut in divisum secundum formas et essentias non tamen in remotum sed aliquam distantiam.'

24 'Voluntate triplex.' Bonaventure discusses the conformity of human will to divine will in distinction forty-eight. In the second question of the second article, he reflects on whether human will is bound to conform to divine will regarding the object of the will itself, and answers affirmatively, using as part of his argument the authority of Hugh of St Victor: 'Unde Hugo distinguit in nobis triplicitem voluntatem scilicet rationis, pietatis et carnis, et in Christo quadruplicem, extendens nomen voluntatis.' See Cullen, *Bonaventure*, pp. 92-96.

25 'Profundum creationis est vanitas esse creati. Creatur enim quanto magis evanescit [*Insertion mark. In the margin, a fifteenth-century hand adds in formal gothic script: tanto magis in profundum tenit, sive evanescat*] per culpam sive per poenam.'

26 The introduction to the answer is as follows: 'Respondeo dicendum quod subiectum in aliqua scientia vel doctrina tripliciter potest accipi. Uno modo dicitur subiectum in scientia [*Insertion mark. In the margin, a later hand adds in formal gothic script: 'ad quod omnia reducuntur tamquam ad primum radicale. Alio modo'*] ad quae omnia reducuntur sicut ad totum integrale.'

27 Bonaventure answers that only God is the source of joy in the second question of the third article of the first distinction: 'Respondeo dicendum quod solo domino est fruendum proprie accepto frui pro ut dicim motum [*Insertion mark. On the margin a fourteenth-century hand adds: 'cum dilectatione et quietatione sed convenitur accepto frui pro ut dicim motum'*] cum dilectatione tantum omnibus.'

that it was carefully revised and corrected by its readers.<sup>28</sup>

Another purpose of the marginal notes was to keep a record of personal comments. Among the examples of this is one on fol. 26<sup>r</sup>, where a note indicates the lack of understanding of a passage of the seventh distinction.<sup>29</sup> The reader, however, did not provide any correction, most probably because the available copies of the work had the same unclear version of the text.<sup>30</sup> Another example may be found on fol. 55<sup>r</sup>. In the introduction to the commentary on the sixteenth distinction, Bonaventure explains the topics to be considered. However, a marginal note, written by a fourteenth-century hand, warns on the master's lack of clarity, most probably, as a way of underlying an inconsistency in the transcription, since the second part of the question is discussed in the following distinction.<sup>31</sup> On fol. 148<sup>v</sup> a third example of a comment may be found, when Bonaventure clarifies some doubts at the end of the forty-sixth distinction. The consideration of the doctrine of Ambrose concerning the different grades of truth in relation to the Spirit prompts a fourteenth-century hand to write in the margin: 'Nota de veritate superiore', both as a dramatic synthesis of the argument and as a personal reflection on the topic.

The second copy of Bonaventure's commentary is MS 123, a parchment manuscript of 315 x 228 mm, produced during the fourteenth century.<sup>32</sup> Its binding consists of wooden boards covered in leather. The back cover and the fol. 154 have traces left by the support for the clasp linked to a chain. The manuscript has 154 leaves, organised in thirteen quires, written in two main scripts: fols 1 to 36 are in a late fourteenth-century

28 Some of the most significant additions can be found on fols 5<sup>r</sup>, 6<sup>v</sup>, 9<sup>v</sup>, 12<sup>r</sup>, 13<sup>r</sup>, 18<sup>v</sup>, 47<sup>r</sup>, and 129<sup>r</sup>. See Appendix 3, fig. 2.

29 'Et sic non intelligitur'

30 The excerpt of the answer to the second question of the seventh distinction appears in MS 120 as follows: 'Unde secundum artem distinguendum est quando dicitur Filius non potuit generare, quia non potest tenere privative; et tunc est sensus, non potuit, id est impotens fuit; et tunc negatur potentia, et relinquitur aptitudo, sicut de truncato dicitur, quod non potest gradi [*Insertion mark.*] de filio quia non habet ad hoc aptitudinem.' [*In the margin, in a fourteenth-century hand: 'Et sic non intelligitur.'*] MSS 123 and 124 have the same text, with a slight variant: 'non potest gradi *hec modo non potest dici* de filio quia non habet ad hoc aptitudinem.' MS 125 has a late marginal correction as follows: 'Et tunc negatur potentia et relinquitur aptitudo sicut de truncato dicitur quod non potest gradi [*Insertion mark.* *In the margin, by a fifteenth-century hand: 'quia aptus natus est ad contradicendi et generandi non potest hoc modo non potest dici'*] de filio quia non habet ad hoc aptitudinem.' The established version of the text is as follows: 'Unde secundum artem distinguendum est, quando dicitur, Filius non potuit generare: quia non potest tenere privative; et tunc est sensus, non potuit, id est, impotens fuit; et tunc negatur potentia, et relinquitur aptitudo, sicut de truncato dicitur, quod non potest gradi quia aptus natus est ad gradiendum et non potest gradi; hoc modo non potest dici de filio, quia non habet ad hoc aptitudinem.' See Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia*, 1, 140.

31 'Nota que hic Magister non tenetur.'

32 Abate and Luisetto, *Codici e manoscritti della Biblioteca Antoniana*, 1, 163-64.

gothic cursive hand with strong signs of a notarial training, while from fol. 37 the script shifts to a more formal, gothic bookhand, most probably Italian and highly abbreviated.<sup>33</sup> The text is organised in two columns, decorated with coloured titles in red and blue with the initials of the chapters in blue, and paraphs.

MS 123 also has three types of marginal comment. The first are references to locate some passages and to summarise contents. For example, on fol. 1<sup>v</sup> a late hand wrote three references in order to locate the summary of three books of the work in the introduction.<sup>34</sup> On fol. 12<sup>r</sup> there is another example of this type of reference. In order to indicate the passage of the third distinction where Bonaventure explains the types of memory, a fifteenth-century hand writes in the margin: 'memoria triplex'.<sup>35</sup> Further, on fol. 18<sup>v</sup> another reader elaborated a complex scheme in the margin of the text to summarise the contents of the passage, specifically, the types of necessity according to the first question of the sixth distinction.<sup>36</sup> These marginal references are very frequent throughout the first half of the volume.<sup>37</sup> Corrections to the text are also frequent in MS 123. For example, on fol 19<sup>r</sup> there is a marginal correction to the third question of the sixth distinction, where Bonaventure considers the generation of the Son as part of the Trinity.<sup>38</sup> There is another example on fol. 38<sup>r</sup>, in the second question under the first article of the fourteenth distinction.<sup>39</sup> Bonaventure concludes that it is appropriate to attribute a twofold process to the Spirit, eternal and temporary. Part of his argumentation was revised and corrected by a reader of the fifteenth century.<sup>40</sup>

33 See Appendix 3, fig. 3.

34 'Nota hoc primi liber sententiarum/ Nota hoc secundi liber/ Nota hoc tercii liber.'

35 Bonaventure discusses whether the reckoning of the image is attained in the memory, intelligence and will in the first question of the first article of the second part. He explains that one type of memory is receptive and retentive of past and sensitive things, the second kind of memory is merely retentive of past things, either sensitive or intelligible, while the third memory is retentive of the species, that is, of the abstract qualities: 'Memoria accipitur tripliciter: uno modo prout est receptiva et retentiva sensibilium et praeteritorum; alio modo prout est retentiva praeteritorum, sive sensibilium sive intelligibilium; et tertio modo prout est retentiva specierum, abstraendo ab omni differentia temporis, utpote specierum innatarum.' See Cullen, *Bonaventure*, p. 56.

36 See description of MS 120, fol. 23<sup>r</sup> above.

37 Some examples on fols 19<sup>v</sup>, 20<sup>r</sup>, 16<sup>v</sup>, 20<sup>v</sup>, 23<sup>v</sup>, 24<sup>r</sup>, 40<sup>v</sup>, 41<sup>r</sup>, 41<sup>v</sup>, 42<sup>v</sup>, 44<sup>v</sup>, and so on. Their frequency decreases on the second half of the manuscript.

38 The text is corrected as follows: 'sed quos fit vel datur ex liberalitate [*Insertion mark, in the margin, another hand*: 'et sic creaturae procedunt a Deo; alio modo sicut illud quod est ratio liberalitatis] ut amor et sic procedit.'

39 Appendix 3, fig 4.

40 The correction states that a twofold way of calling things is not equivocal, but analogical and proceeds as follows: 'Scilicet autem quia duplex modus dicendi numquid equivocus [*Insertion mark. In the margin, in late hand*: 'nec univocus sed analogicus'] et per hoc pars sequens de homine picto et vero quia illi non est analogia sed equivocacio pura'.

Comments can also be found in the margins of MS 123. One example is fol. 14<sup>r</sup>, where a fifteenth-century reader comments on the subject of having knowledge of God by referring to another source of authority, Master Richard of St Victor.<sup>41</sup> On fol. 15<sup>r</sup> a marginal reference comments on the third question of distinction four, where Bonaventure discusses whether according to the rules of grammar, that is, logically, it could be said that there are many gods. Bonaventure mentions the words 'phoenix' and 'sun' as examples in one of his arguments. These examples prompted a reflection on the relation between potency and act, according to what a reader wrote at the bottom of the leaf.<sup>42</sup> On fol. 37<sup>v</sup> there is another comment, this time on the second question under the first article of the sixteenth distinction.<sup>43</sup> There, Bonaventure discusses whether the eternal and temporary processions of the Spirit should be considered as two different processions.<sup>44</sup> The consideration of the arguments against the proposition includes an analysis of the nature and origin of such processions.<sup>45</sup> One reader wrote in a fifteenth-century script a complementary marginal comment on the same subject.<sup>46</sup> Another example of personal comments may be found on fol. 46<sup>v</sup>, where there is a marginal comment on distinction seventeen, question two. Bonaventure discusses whether charity is to be loved out of charity: 'Utrum caritas diligenda sit ex caritate.' A fifteenth-century hand followed the argument and commented on the first forms and the reflection of their properties upon themselves.<sup>47</sup> A final example is fol. 66<sup>r</sup>, where the third question of the twenty-third distinction discusses whether the term 'essentia' is properly employed to describe the divine, as well as the differences between essence, subsistence, substance, and person. In order to comment on the introduction to the question, a fifteenth-century hand corrected the text and wrote a personal reflection on the relation between the

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41 'Ricardus de sancto V[ictore] dicet quod est vera essentiam gratiam, sed vero tenetur in hic capi.'

42 'The form is multiple: in potency and act, as in the form of a man. In potency, but not in act, like in the form of the phoenix. In potency of the form but not in act, due to lack of material potency, like in the form of the Sun. And finally, neither in potency nor in act but only in the intellect like the form of the Chimera.' The reference was composed as follows: 'quodam est forma multiplex/ -potentia et actu, ut forma hominis./ -potentia sed non actum ut forma fenicis./ -potenti forme sed non actu propter deficiens potentie materiali ut forma solis./ -nec potentia ne actu sed solo intelleri [sic] ut forma chimere.'

43 Appendix 3, fig. 3.

44 'Secundo queritur, utrum processio temporalis ponat in numerum cum aeterna. Et quod sic videtur.'

45 'Item. Processio temporalis et aeterna si differunt, aut hoc est ex hoc, quod sunt diversae emanationes, aut quia diversus modus emanandi.'

46 'Ad hoc qui aliquod numerentur requiritur distinctio <...> cum participatione eiusdem nature.'

47 'Nota quod prime forme seu intentiones sunt hec scilicet veritas, bonitas, unitas et entitas et reflectuntur super se nam bonum dicens veritas est vera, unitas est una et sicut significatis.'

names and the communicability of the essence of things.<sup>48</sup>

The third copy of Bonaventure's commentary on the *Sentences* is MS 124, a parchment volume of 306 x 215 mm, written during the early fifteenth century.<sup>49</sup> Like the former volumes, this manuscript has a binding of wooden boards covered in leather with traces of having been a chained volume. It is composed of 156 leaves gathered in thirteen quires plus two separate leaves. This manuscript was written in a more formal gothic script than the former, certainly a non-Italian script, with a significantly high proportion of abbreviations. The text is organised in two columns, with spaces for initial letters, decorated in red and blue, and with paraphs in red and blue.

Compared to the other copies of the *Commentary*, there are two main distinctive characteristics of this manuscript. Firstly, this copy has a remarkably high-quality parchment and manufacture; and, secondly, it has fewer traces of interactive reading.<sup>50</sup> The manuscript contains marginal references such as the word 'Nota', numbers to indicate subdivisions in selected arguments, and corrections and comments. Some of the corrections consist of the insertion of capital letters or of missing words.<sup>51</sup> Other corrections are more extensive, as happens on fol. 55<sup>r</sup>, where, in the introduction to the first question under the second part of the seventeenth distinction, the author explains how he intends to explore whether charity is the Holy Spirit and whether spirit increases with charity.<sup>52</sup>

The manuscript has a disruption in the transcription of the text. On fol. 71<sup>v</sup>, in the twenty-third distinction, a marginal reference warns of a problem of legibility, and informs the reader where to find the missing part: 'autem ille rationes et precedentes et

48 'Utrum nomen essentie [*Insertion mark, in the margin: vere dici*] debeat in divinis.' The same hand that corrects writes a comment: 'Nam communicabile potest signum in abstractione et sic dicitur essentialiter vel in concrezione.'

49 Abate and Luisetto propose that the book was written during fourteenth century. Abate and Luisetto, *Codici e manoscritti della Biblioteca Antoniana*, 1, 164.

50 Abate and Luisetto propose as a centre of production an unspecified high-level atelier. See Abate and Luisetto, *Codici e manoscritti della Biblioteca Antoniana*, 1, 164.

51 For example, on fol. 17<sup>v</sup>: '[*Inserted: quarto et*] ultimo', or on fol. 18<sup>r</sup>: '[*Inserted: tercio queritur utrum hoc sive utrum congrue po*]ssit.'

52 'In order to understand this part there is the consideration of the increasing of charity and on that matter four questions will be considered: first, whether charity might [increase; second, of the form of increase of this charity; third, there is the consideration of the opposite increase of charity, that is, the decrease, or whether charity can decrease.] The text is corrected as follows: 'Ad intelligentiam hoc parit est hic quo de augmento [sic] caritatis et circa hoc quaeruntur quatuor. Primo queruntur utrum caritas possit [*Cancelled: 'diminui'*] Above the word: 'augeri.' *Insertion mark, and in the margin, in a early fifteenth-century cursive: 'Secundo de modo augmenti ipsius caritatis. Tertio queritur de opposito augmenti ipsius, scilicet diminutione utrum caritas possit diminui.'*] See Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia*, 1, 307. See also Appendix 3, fig. 5.

sequentes locuntur de substantia prout equivalet ypostasi sui supponito [*insertion mark*] non dependet. [*In the margin*: 'Hic deficit. Quere in sequenti folio ad hoc signum: +'] The proper continuation of the text is to be found on fol. 72<sup>v</sup>, col. b. The portion of text from fols 71<sup>v</sup> to 72<sup>v</sup> belongs to a further section, as is shown by the marginal reference on fol. 73<sup>v</sup>: 'Quere retro tertio folio de XXIII ad hoc signum: +' All the revisions and corrections of this type were made by a cursive hand from late fourteenth or early fifteenth-century.

Comments on the text may be found, for example, on fol. 3<sup>v</sup>, where a reader notes that the sources of Bonaventure's prologue are patristic, namely, the *De Trinitate* by Augustine, and Hilarius of Poitiers.<sup>53</sup> On fol. 8<sup>v</sup>, there is a marginal comment on the negative answer to the question whether there could be many gods. The reader uses as a source the Arabic philosopher Abu Masar, but his works were not among the books held in the Biblioteca Antoniana. This suggests that this comment was made before the arrival of the manuscript in Padua, in an academic context, maybe Paris, which would be consistent with the script of the text.<sup>54</sup> Another comment is found on fol. 22<sup>r</sup>, in the context of the sixth distinction, where the consideration of the nature and types of necessity establishes that there are three types of necessity, according to which principle necessity comes from. The comment states that necessity can be inadequate, deficient, or convenient and sufficient.<sup>55</sup>

The final copy of Bonaventure's commentary on the first book of *Sentences* is MS 125, a parchment manuscript of 348 x 232 mm, produced during the fourteenth century. Its binding consists of wooden boards covered in red leather that has traces of having been chained. The manuscript has 143 leaves organised in twelve quires, but lacks the first leaf of the prologue. The text was written in a gothic bookhand, organised in two columns with initial letters coloured in red and turquoise. The paragraphs are easily identified thanks to paraphs in alternate red and blue.

The manuscript has a significant number of notes, marks, *maniculae* and other signs

53 'Nota que qui totus iste prologus trahitur ex prologo Augustinus III De Trinitati vel ex prologo Hilairi X De Trinitate [sic] propter illa quod summetur de Biblia.'

54 'Ad hoc est facit que dicit Asbumassar in libro de Magisterio astrologicum: Laus Deo celi qui creavit celum et terram cum omnibus qui in eis sunt ex mirabilium suis et posuit stellas et sequitur unde igitur alius deus propter eum solum et nullus modo habet principium.'

55 See the description of MS 120, fol. 23<sup>r</sup>, and MS 123 fol. 18<sup>v</sup> above. The text of the comment is as follows: 'Necessitas triplex/ -quedam eius est perveniens ex principio disconveniente/ -quedam ex principio deficiente./ -quedam ex principio conveniente et sufficiente.'

to quickly locate specific contents. The references are mainly marginal comments on the contents or cross-references. For example, on fols 1<sup>r</sup> and 2<sup>r</sup> there are a couple of marginal comments written by a fourteenth-century hand that identifies Aristotle as the source for the writer's consideration.<sup>56</sup>

The text has also several comments that complement the discussion or indicate sources or cross references. For example, on fol. 2<sup>v</sup>, there is a marginal comment on the third question of the *Proemium* that discusses theological science as both speculative and practical knowledge. The comment, written in a cursive Italian script from the fifteenth century, refers to the relationship between measure and symmetry.<sup>57</sup> On fol. 4<sup>r</sup> there is a marginal reference to Aristotle and Augustine as sources for the part concerning the second question of the first distinction, namely, whether everything created is susceptible to be used.<sup>58</sup> On fol. 5<sup>v</sup>, there is the first question under the third article of the first distinction, and its subject is whether God is to be enjoyed. Bonaventure answers affirmatively, and during his exposition explores the relation between convenience and reason. As a result, a fifteenth-century hand wrote a complementary comment on the margin.<sup>59</sup>

Another feature of MS 125 are the ownership inscriptions. One of them, written in a fifteenth-century hand, barely legible, appears on fol. 141<sup>v</sup>, and attributes the use of the manuscript to a brother Francis: 'Liber fratris Francixi de Ordine Minorum'.<sup>60</sup> A set of two almost identical ownership inscriptions poses the problem of the number of times this manuscript was conceded *ad usum* to a friar. On fol. 127<sup>v</sup>, there is an inscription stating that the manuscript was conceded on long-term loan to friar Guido in 1283.<sup>61</sup> Further, on fol. 143<sup>r</sup>, there is another ownership inscription that apparently confirms the

56 On fol. 1r: 'Philosopus [sic] tertio *De anima*', and: 'Philosopho X *De problematis*.' On fol. 2r: '*Secundo philosophicorum* philosophus.'

57 'Assimetrens non est commensurabili coste, hoc ad rationem quia quadrate quod debet essere commensurabilia [*Insertion mark. Above the line: summa quatuor latera debent essere commensurabilia*] debent se habere.'

58 'Philosophus in secundo quarto methaphisice [*Above: et commentator eius*] et Augustinus in liber de 28 c. 73 *De libero arbitrio*.'

59 The fifteenth-century reader states that convenience, or better, adequateness is multiple because even when stating its absence there is a form of attributing adequateness; and adds afterwards that the intellect is not altered by external observation due to a threefold reason. The comment was written as follows: 'Nota quod conveniencia multiplex est etiam quoniam intelligit quamdiu ad dicendum nulla est conveniencia quo modo est conveniencia.' Further adds: 'Nota quod intellectus non corrumpitur ab observatione exterioris ratione triplici.'

60 See Appendix 3, fig. 10.

61 'Iste liber datus est ad usum fratris [sic] Guidonis anno MCCLXXXIII.' See Appendix 3, fig. 9.

former, and that is followed by some excerpts from the *Summa Theologiae* of Thomas Aquinas.<sup>62</sup> The notes describe in almost identical words the manuscript's loan for life to a friar. However, while the script of the first note is a late thirteenth-century one, the script of the second is a cursive of the late fourteenth century. There are two possible interpretations. First, the note on fol. 143 may simply be a copy of the former note, in which case there would be only one Guido, a reader of the *Commentary* during the thirteenth century. It remains unexplained, however, why a second hand would have copied just that single note almost one hundred years later.<sup>63</sup> The second interpretation suggests that two friars, both named Guido, borrowed the manuscript in different periods. In this case, the first note would confirm that MS 125 was an early copy of Bonaventure's treatise and that, as such, it would have been swiftly made available for loan as soon as newer copies were acquired.

When one considers the question of the practices of reading for the set of copies of Bonaventure's commentary on the first book of *Sentences*, it becomes clear that all the books were used for study. However, not all the volumes were available at the same time. An analysis of the corrections of the manuscripts has allowed me to establish the dynamics of circulation of these copies of the *Commentary*. MS 125 was the first volume to arrive in the library, and it is not unreasonable to think it was produced internally. Naturally, the volume was chained to a bench, and it was available for consultation only. Afterwards, MS 120 arrived, and it was immediately corrected using MS 125 as a model. Then MS 125 was 'released' for loan, and MS 120 was left for consultation only. Later, MS 123 arrived in the library, and it was corrected using MS 125 as a model and was chained. Most probably MS 120 was made available for loan at that moment. Finally, a high-quality copy of the commentary, MS 124, arrived. Apparently, it was quickly revised and was chained immediately. This dynamic suggests that from a group of four copies of one fundamental work for the Franciscan discipline of study, possibly only one, the first, was produced internally. This is consistent with the increasing importance of bequests, donations and external acquisition of books during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>64</sup>

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62 'Iste liber est concessus ad usum fratris Guidonis de Padua ordinis fratrum minorum.' See Appendix 3, fig. 11.

63 As proposed by Fontana, *Fratri, libri e insegnamento*, pp. 119-20.

64 For a detailed summary of the process of textual verification and correction of the copies of the *Commentary*, see Appendix 2.



There are grounds to propose a second period of revision and correction of this set of copies. In fact, there is a common hand that revises and inserts corrections in all the manuscripts of this set. This hand, an Italian gothic book-hand from the late fourteenth or fifteenth century, is by comparison remarkably similar to the hand that wrote MS 573, that is, the 1449 inventory of the library. This suggests that the hand that swiftly revised and corrected the set of copies was that of the fifteenth-century librarian of the Antoniana, perhaps as part of the preparation of the inventory of the library.

### 3.1.2. *The Collection of Sermons of Luke of Bitonto*

The French twelfth-century theologian Alan de Lille described preaching as public instruction in faith and morals, straight from the source of authority. This definition underlined the public nature of preaching, as well as its purpose of reforming humanity, and contributed decisively to the development of the conception of preaching as the highest calling of a priest.<sup>65</sup>

Although the first Franciscan preaching was a call to penance, it developed into complex forms, and adapted to very different audiences, especially after friars' engagement with the scholastic culture in the universities, which was justified, formally, by the need of having the best preparation for preaching.<sup>66</sup>

A master of theology should be capable of discussing passages of the Bible using proper tools of interpretation, and therefore preaching was encouraged by the medieval university.<sup>67</sup> Usually, sermons produced in the universities had a deep theological

65 'Praedicatio est, manifesta et publica instructio morum et fidei, informationi hominum deserviens, ex rationum semita, at auctoritatum fonte proveniens.' Alan de Lille, *De arte praedicatoria*, PL, 210, col. 111. See Marianne Briscoe, 'Artes Praedicandi', in *Artes Praedicandi and Artes Orandi* ed by Marianne G. Briscoe and Barbara H. Jaye (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992), p. 21. Recent studies discuss medieval preaching as a communication event whose contents were delivered to the audience through an oral or written text which could have two forms: the homily or the sermon. While the homily had its roots in patristic culture and survived in monastic environments, the sermon was linked to scholastic culture and was mainly developed by the mendicant orders. The study of the medieval sermon, its definition, its development and its typology is based on evidence that, in some cases, was a memory-based reconstruction of speech or even the transcription of speech that never took place. See Kienzle, 'The Typology of the Medieval Sermon'.

66 Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, pp. 144-88.

67 Peter Cantor summarised the duties of a master of theology in terms of reading, discussing and preaching: 'In tribus igitur consistit exercitium sacrae Scripturae: circa lectionem, disputationem et praedicationem. Cuilibet istorum mater oblivionis et noverca memoriae est nimia prolixitas.' Petrus Cantorus, *Verbum abbreviatum*, PL, 205, col. 25. See Phyllis B. Roberts, 'Medieval University Preaching: the Evidence in the Statutes', in *Medieval Sermons and Society: Cloister, City, University, Proceedings of the International Symposia at Kalamazoo and New York*, ed. by J. Hamesse and others (Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, 1998), pp. 317-28 (p.

content, and were addressed mainly to an audience of university students or masters.<sup>68</sup> There was, however, another kind of sermon, whose main purpose was to instruct and persuade the laity, instead of discussing deep theological questions with university scholars. These sermons took place in public spaces and were addressed to a wide and mixed audience, and mendicant friars played a fundamental role in their development. Finally, there was an intermediate type of sermon, designed to be addressed to neither an audience of masters in theology nor the public in general, but to fellow friars, and was used mainly as a tool for education within the convents. Although such sermons did not have the deep complexity of the university ones, they were sound enough to guarantee a proper preparation for preaching.<sup>69</sup> One representative example of this type of sermon are those composed by the Franciscan friar Luke of Bitonto. His figure, influence and legacy in the convent of Sant'Antonio will be considered in what follows.

### 3.1.2.1. Luke of Bitonto and his Controversial Legacy

Luke of Bitonto was one of the most influential authors of sermons within the Franciscan order, as the *Cronica* of Salimbene of Adam testifies.<sup>70</sup> In spite of his fame and influence, there is little available information on his life. It is known that he was born in the thirteenth century in Bitonto, near Bari, in the south of Italy, and it can be assumed that he followed the normal programme of education for his time, that is, that he pursued studies in one of the cathedral schools of his city.<sup>71</sup>

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318).

68 O'Malley, 'Introduction: Medieval Preaching', pp. 7-11, and Roberts, 'Medieval University Preaching: The Evidence in the Statutes', p. 320.

69 Lombardo, 'La Production homilétique franciscaine', pp. 85-87, and O'Malley, 'Introduction: Medieval Preaching', p. 10.

70 'Et tunc vivebat frater Lucas Apulus ex Ordine Fratrum Minorum, cuius est sermonum memoria, qui fuit scholasticus et ecclesiasticus et litteratus homo et in Apulia in theologia eximius doctor, nominatus, sollemnis atque famosus; cuius anima per misericordiam Dei requiescat in pace! Amen.' Salimbene de Adam, *Cronica* 1, 262.

71 Two manuscripts, MS Vienna, National Library 1349 and 1364, identify him as 'Parisiensis' and 'Parisinus', and a third one identifies him as 'eximii sacrae theologiae doctoris Lucae de Bitonto'. These references have laid the grounds for assuming that Luke received the title of magister at the University of Paris, as proposed by Moretti in Felice Moretti, *Luca Apulus. Un maestro Francescano de secolo XIII* (Bitonto: Arti Grafiche Nuovo Sud, 1985), and in 'I sermoni di Luca da Bitonto fra cattedra e pulpito', *Il Santo*, 40 (2000), 49-69. However it seems that the attribution of 'Parisiensis' could be the result of a scribal error by assuming that the title 'Doctor' was equivalent to 'Magister'. 'Doctor' was a title employed mainly in Italy to address those who had completed theological studies, but not necessarily to the highest levels in the university, while in the Transalpine region, 'Magister' implied completion of the highest levels of theological learning, especially in the University of Paris. See Jean Désiré Rasolofoarimanana, 'Luc de Bitonto, OMIN, et ses sermons', in *Predicazione e società nel medioevo: riflessione etica, valori e modelli di comportamento: Atti del XII Medieval*

It is certain that Luke became a friar before 1220, when Francis appointed him as minister for the eastern province, succeeding Elias.<sup>72</sup> After a while, he went to Rome and moved to his native province, becoming the 'lector' of the local convent. His sermons became renowned within the order, so much so that they were apparently better known and more studied than those of Anthony of Padua.<sup>73</sup> The fact that he was appointed to deliver a sermon at the funeral of the son of Emperor Frederick II suggests that Luke was a respected and famous preacher.<sup>74</sup> Very soon his works became part of the collection of the most important libraries of the order. For example, the library of the convent at Assisi had at least seven different volumes of his sermons distributed between the 'libraria publica', that is, the collection available for consultation, and the 'libraria secreta', that is, the volumes available for loan.<sup>75</sup> This swift popularity of Luke's sermons is consistent with their use as a tool in the training of preachers from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries.<sup>76</sup>

Luke composed a very influential cycle of sermons, known as 'Narraverunt', after its *incipit*: 'Narraverunt mihi iniqui fabulationes.' Apparently, due to Luke's fame as theologian and preacher, the general minister, probably Aymo of Faversham, asked him to compose this set of sermons in order to be used in the training of the friars.<sup>77</sup> Unfortunately, the sermons 'Narraverunt' were very soon attributed to others. The accusation that Elias was an ally of the emperor, his deposition, and his later

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*Sermon Studies Symposium*, ed. by Riccardo Quinto and Laura Gaffuri (Padua: Centro Studi Antoniani, 2002), pp. 239-47, (p. 240).

72 Girolamo Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'oriente Francese*, 5 vols (Quaracchi: Tipografia del Collegio di S. Bonaventura, 1906-1927), I (1906), p. 97.

73 Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, I (1906), pp. 128-29, II (1913), pp. 283-84. See also, D'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars*, p. 156.

74 Salimbene of Adam, *Cronica*, I, 122-23.

75 The 'libraria publica' had two manuscripts of sermons *Super epistolas et evangelia dominicalia*. The 'libraria secreta', on the other hand, had two collections of sermons *Super epistolas et evangelia*, two collection of sermons *Dominicales, quadragesimales et festivi*, and a volume on loan to friar Iacobus de Bictonio. See Cenci, *Bibliotheca Manuscripta*, I, pp. 91-92, 144, 329-30, and 378.

76 Jean Désiré Rasolofoarimanana, 'La tradition manuscrite des sermons de fr. Luca de Bitonto, OMin.', *AFH*, 97 (2004), 229-74; 99 (2006), 33-131 (p. 272); and Jean Désiré Rasolofoarimanana, 'Un sermon anonyme et inédit attribué à Luca da Bitonto, OMin.', *AFH*, 102 (2009), 391-418.

77 In the prologue Luca declares: 'Narraverunt mihi iniqui fabulationes quare cum imperitiam meam videam et insufficientiam recognoscam, ad insipientiam mihi mandato superioris urgente, nec non quorundam fratrum desiderio impellente, opusculum sermonum dominicalium coactus sum annotare. Et licet super hoc multorum preclara opera iam sint edita, dignum duxi eorum satisfacere voluntati, ne viderer subterfugere cum possem proficere, non de meo confisus ingenio, sed de gratie celestis auxilio, de obedientie merito, de fraterne suffragio caritatis. Suscipe, digne pater tocius ordinis minorum minister, auctoris tui licet inculti operis rudimenta, paternaque benevolentia quod minus est supple, quod plus abrade, quod hirtum come, quod obscurum declara, quod vitiosum emenda; sic tibi opus per te sine menda.' See Moretti, *Luca Apulus*, p. 166. See also Lombardo, 'Ecclesia huius temporis', pp. 123-24.

excommunication seem to have been powerful reasons for a deliberate confusion as to the authorship of the sermons composed by Luke of Bitonto in favour of Luca Belludi or Luca Lector, both friars of the Paduan convent. Nevertheless, recent scholarship has established beyond doubt that Luke of Bitonto was the rightful author of the 'Narraverunt' cycle.<sup>78</sup> The set of copies of this cycle preserved in the Biblioteca Antoniana will be described in the following section.

### 3.1.2.2. *Manuscripts of Luke of Bitonto in Padua*

The fifteenth-century inventory of the Biblioteca Antoniana of Padua reports that there were six copies of the sermons of Luke of Bitonto: four were chained, one was available for loan and one had already been on loan for at least 25 years.<sup>79</sup> Four of those manuscripts have survived and are extant in the current collection of the library as MSS 417, 418, 419 and 527. These volumes constitute the second set of manuscripts that will be considered in the analysis.

MS 417 is a collection of *Sermones dominicales*. It is a parchment manuscript of 303 x 208 mm produced in the second half of the thirteenth century. It still has its original binding of wood plates covered in leather, with traces of the clasp, which suggests it was a chained volume. It has 218 leaves organised in eighteen quires. The sermons were copied using a gothic book-hand script, in two columns.<sup>80</sup> The only examples of decoration are the initials of the main chapters in red, and the coloured number of the sermons in the running heading.

A note on fol. 1<sup>r</sup>, written by a later hand, attributes the sermons to Luca Lector of Padua, but the *incipit* of the manuscript: 'Narraverunt mihi iniqui fabulationes', shows that these are the sermons of Luke of Bitonto.<sup>81</sup> Apart from a heavy presence of

78 Rasolofoarimanana, 'La Tradition manuscrite des sermons de fr. Luca de Bitonto, OMin', and Fontana, *Frati, libri e insegnamento*, pp. 147-49. However, the attribution has not always been accurate, as shown by the case of some anonymous sermons 'De sanctis' found in Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale, MS 505 and Rome, Biblioteca del Pontificio Ateneo Antonianum, MS 24. See Jean Désiré Rasolofoarimanana, 'Sermons anonymes *De Sanctis* attribués à Luca de Bitonto, OMin', *AFH*, 96 (2003), 301-72.

79 The volumes were distributed as follows: on the ninth right-hand bench, two chained copies of the *Sermones dominicales*; on the tenth right-hand bench, one chained copy of his sermons, attributed to Luca Lector; on the eleventh right-hand bench, a chained collection of sermons on the Gospels and the sermons 'Narraverunt'; on the eight left-hand cupboard, there was a copy of a collection of sermons available for loan, and there was another copy of his sermons already on loan, at least from 1423. See Humphreys, *The Library of the Franciscans*, pp. 84, 85, 88, 138, and 183.

80 The script seems to me more a fourteenth-century script than a thirteenth-century one.

81 'Sermones beati Luce de Padua ordini minori conventuali qui fuit lector' This attribution was

marginal comments and corrections, there is another type of note that links the topics of a specific sermon with other sections, creating internal cross references between the different sermons.<sup>82</sup> There is also a set of lines, drawn to identify the connections between the main topics in the different paragraphs revealing the hierarchy of concepts in the text.<sup>83</sup> This reading resource suggests an intensive practice of study, and underlines the usefulness of the manuscript as a tool to develop skills for argumentation. The final *Tabula* on fols 213<sup>r</sup>-15<sup>r</sup>, composed by a fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century hand organised the sermons alphabetically, and constituted a complementary resource to locate quickly the sermons within the volume.

The traces of use are also interesting testimonies of the practices of learning in the convent. For instance, the system of lines used to identify the structure of the sermon reveals that not only the contents, but the way in which they were organised were the subject of study and practice, since Luke was particularly effective in adapting complex theological questions to the structure of sermons for didactic purposes.<sup>84</sup>

The second manuscript with the sermons of Luke of Bitonto is MS 418, a parchment volume of 293 x 204 mm, produced during the second half of the thirteenth century.<sup>85</sup> The binding consists of plates of wood covered in leather, with traces of being a chained volume.<sup>86</sup> The manuscript has 176 leaves organised in twenty-six quires, and is written in a gothic hand-book script. There are some variations in the distribution of the script: from fols 1<sup>r</sup> to 16<sup>v</sup> the text is distributed across the page, but from fol. 17<sup>r</sup> the distribution of the script shifts into a two-column pattern, while the dimensions of the quire also change.<sup>87</sup> Two hands are visible in the transcription of the sermons.<sup>88</sup> The manuscript lacks decoration, although there are some spaces reserved for capital letters

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reproduced by the ancient inventories of the library. For instance, the 1396 inventory registers on fol. 11<sup>v</sup>: 'Item sermones fratris Luce lectoris Padue dominicales cum tabulis et corio çallo ad ligaturas cum cathena', and the inventory of 1449 quotes: 'Sermones dominicales fratris Luce lectoris de Padua cum tabulis copertis coreo nigro et claviculis. Cuius principium Ecce veniet. Secundus quinternus incipit primum dicit. Finis vero ultimus eternam. Amen.' See Humphreys, *The Library of the Franciscans*, pp. 31 and 85.

82 For example, on fol. 2<sup>r</sup>: 'Sermo 3 adventus', a note that links the topics of the first and third sermons.

83 Rasolofoarimanana, 'La Tradition manuscrite des sermons de fr. Luca de Bitonto', p. 252.

84 Lombardo, 'Ecclesia huius temporis', pp. 126-32.

85 Abate and Luisetto, *Codici e manoscritti della Biblioteca Antoniana*, I, 347. See also Rasolofoarimanana, 'La tradition manuscrite des sermons de fr. Luca de Bitonto', p. 253.

86 According to a note written on the inside of the front plate, the binding was restored in 1926 by the 'Officina di restauro della Biblioteca Vaticana', thanks to Pope Pius XI.

87 See Appendix 3, figs 14 and 15.

88 The second hand appears from fol. 175<sup>r</sup>.

that were not intended to be very elaborate.

The text has corrections and comments written by a later hand that employs a very light, fast and cursive script. Some of the comments are simply corrections to the text, as on fols 5<sup>r</sup>, 6<sup>v</sup> and 9<sup>r</sup>, where the word 'hylaritas' is crossed and replaced by 'humilitas' in the margin, or on fol. 9<sup>v</sup> where 'scriptas' is followed by an insertion mark and the marginal annotation 'in divinis libris', or on fol. 10<sup>r</sup> where 'deponit' is changed to 'disponit' and 'insertiva' changed to 'materia'. There are other kinds of marginal references, such as the word 'Nota', in order to identify a particular passage. However, the marginal commentaries do not contain cross-references or theological reflections. Perhaps this was a copy destined to be read and used by its own scribe, who bequeathed it to the convent. This use of the MS is supported by the low quality of the parchment, and therefore, it could be an example of the ideal Franciscan book proposed by recent scholarship: it was produced with a low level of sophistication in a Franciscan place by a Franciscan scribe; it contained a Franciscan work, was preserved in a Franciscan library, and was used as a tool in preparation for preaching.<sup>89</sup>

MS 419 is the third volume that will be described in this section. It is a parchment volume of 221 x 167 mm produced during the thirteenth century.<sup>90</sup> The volume has a modern binding in wood covered in leather.<sup>91</sup> The ancient binding has been preserved apart, and a close examination reveals that it has traces of the supporting device for the chain. The MS has 224 leaves, organised in nineteen quires, and it was written in a very tight gothic script by, at least, two different hands: the first hand is German, and transcribed from fol. 1<sup>r</sup>-122<sup>v</sup>. The second is an Italian hand that transcribed from fol. 123<sup>r</sup>. The decoration of the volume consists of rubrics at the beginning of the main sections and some initials.

As happened with MS 417, a fourteenth-century hand attributed the text to a different author.<sup>92</sup> However, as with MS 417, this volume contains the sermons 'Narraverunt' that are certainly by Luke of Bitonto. Concerning the presence of notes and commentaries, the manuscript has two parts: the first has a small number of notes and commentaries,

89 See the Introduction to this thesis. See also Giovè Marchioli, 'Il Codice Francescano, l'invenzione di un'identità'.

90 Abate and Luisetto, *Codici e manoscritti della Biblioteca Antoniana*, 1, 348. See also Rasolofoarimanana, 'La Tradition manuscrite des sermons de fr. Luca de Bitonto', pp. 254-55.

91 The binding was restored in the late nineteenth century by a 'Gabinetto di Restauro del libro'.

92 On fol. 224<sup>v</sup> it wrote: 'Isti sermones fratris Lucae lectoris paduani sunt sacri conventus Paduae, videlicet fratrum minorum de Padua.'

mostly corrections to the text, while in the second, particularly from fol. 110<sup>r</sup> onwards, commentaries and notes are more frequent. The volume ends with a 'Tabula' on fols 210-18. Although the catalogue of Abate and Luisetto describes the manuscript as having traces of heavy use, I find that apart from the few commentaries described above, the manuscript has no traces of deep interaction with the text. This is consistent with the higher quality of the parchment employed in the making of the manuscript: MS 419 seems to be a copy of a corrected original, most probably MS 417.

MS 527 is the last of the available volumes containing the sermons of Luke of Bitonto. It is a parchment volume of 198 x 145 mm, produced during the fourteenth century.<sup>93</sup> It has a modern binding with wood plates covered in leather, but the last leaves of the MS have traces of the clasp, which suggest the volume was chained at a certain point. Its 364 leaves are distributed into thirty-three quires. Two different hands employed a gothic script.<sup>94</sup> The text is arranged into two columns of script, and its decoration consists of initial letters in red and rubrics at the beginning of the sections.

The manuscript has few marginal notes, most of them are spelling corrections or references, complemented by a few *maniculae* to point out some of the most important passages. There is an almost total absence of marginal commentaries, cross references or similar forms of interaction. These few traces suggest that, as happened with MS 419, this was a later copy of a corrected text, used as a secure reference.

In summary, this set of manuscripts of the sermons of Luke of Bitonto is composed of one heavily used and annotated manuscript, and three more copies with relatively few traces of commentaries or intensive interaction with the text. I propose two possible explanations. The first is that MS 417 was the model for the transcription and correction of the others. As the earliest of the manuscripts that compose the set, it is reasonable to suppose it was the first to arrive in the library. The absence of traces of interaction on the remaining three volumes implies that they shared the same place of production, namely, the Paduan convent, according to the notes of possession found in them. The second hypothesis assumes that the volumes were independent, and arrived in the convent at different moments. In this case, too, it seems that MS 417 became the

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93 Abate and Luisetto, *Codici e manoscritti della Biblioteca Antoniana*, 1, 547-48. See also Rasolofoarimanana, 'La Tradition manuscrite des sermons de fr. Luca de Bitonto', pp. 255-56.

94 The hands, probably German, alternate as follows: the first hand wrote fols 1-6; 11-12; 143-148; 307-15; 358-62. The second hand wrote the other parts of the manuscript.

model for the correction of the others. In any case the set seems to be composed of two distinct types of manuscripts: a volume used to establish the text, the structure and the quality of the transcription; and a group of 'secure copies'. In any case, and as happened with the volumes of Bonaventure's commentary, this set of copies show that the friars followed a programme of revision and correction of their manuscripts.

### *3.2. Manuscripts from the Library of the Convent of San Francesco Grande*

As discussed in Chapter 2, the observant convent of San Francesco Grande was founded by the family Bonafari in Padua. When Sibila Bonafari made her last will, she established that the convent should be occupied exclusively by observant friars.<sup>95</sup> The convent became one of the most important centres of the Observance in northern Italy, and offered education at high levels. There is not enough evidence to allow us to confirm whether there was a double collection of books in the library of the convent.<sup>96</sup> The earliest inventories available do not register the presence of chained and/or unchained books, and the absence of the original bindings makes it difficult to establish whether the volumes were chained or not. Most probably, all the books were available for consultation and loan.

As with the Biblioteca Antoniana, apart from general thematic descriptions, there are no studies of the typology of the manuscripts contained in the library of San Francesco Grande. Therefore, it is possible only to confirm that the main groups around which the library was organised were the Bible, the tools useful for the education of the preacher such as postils, commentaries, compilations, treatises on the vices and virtues, and miscellanies that included Dominican masters such as Thomas Aquinas or St Antonino of Florence, as well as collections of sermons.<sup>97</sup> There were also other materials such as lives of saints, treatises on canon law, and copies of the *Decretals*, as well as theological treatises, important for the education of the friars. The writings of the Fathers were present mainly in volumes containing commentaries on biblical books or treatises on Christian spirituality such as the *Scala Paradisi* of John Climacus. There were also

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95 Collodo, *Una società in trasformazione*, pp. 490-91, 520, and Pantarotto, *La biblioteca manoscritta del convento di San Francesco Grande*, p. 10.

96 See Chapter 2.

97 Kaeppli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevii*, I (1970), pp. 80-100.



copies of the Constitutions, the bulls of the popes Nicholas III and Clement V, the Franciscan rule and commentaries on the rule and the founder's *Testamentum*. Apart from these works, there were books of reference and manuals of grammar, rhetoric, a few classical texts and books on natural sciences.

It is important to note that a thematic description of the manuscripts in the library would be misleading, because it would produce the impression that the book collection was composed mainly of volumes containing single works or anthologies of works arranged by topic. In fact, I have been able to establish through a preliminary exploration of the surviving manuscripts that most of the volumes were produced according to particular needs, reflecting the experiences, requirements and expectations of the scribes, and therefore were, more often than not, miscellanies that gathered together works of different genres, both in Latin and the vernacular. Accordingly, the set of manuscripts that I have established for comparison reflects the purpose of these anthologies. I have selected two main groups of manuscripts to explore: tools for confession and tools for the composition of sermons. A closer examination of the tools for confession has allowed to me classify them into two groups: anthologies on moral subjects and practical anthologies of cases and prescriptive excerpts, focused mainly on the practice of confession.

### 3.2.1. *A Selection of Treatises on Morality*

The first volume to be described is Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 1030, an anthology of excerpts and moral treatises.<sup>98</sup> It is a paper volume, in quarto, of 211 x 153 mm, produced during the second half of the fifteenth century. It has a modern stiff binding, and shows no traces of being a chained volume. The 109 leaves of the manuscript were written by a single hand that used a semigothic cursive script distributed into two columns on the page. The decoration is limited to capital letters coloured in red.

The manuscript contains a selection of authorities.<sup>99</sup> According to an ownership

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98 Pantarotto, *La biblioteca manoscritta del convento di San Francesco Grande*, p. 138.

99 The selection includes, among others: the treatise of Albert de Brixia *De amore et dilectione Dei*; the *Epistola consolatoria ad patrem et ad matrem* and *De oboedientia* of Bernardino of Siena; the *Soliloquium* of Hugh of Saint Victor; *De vita Christiana* by Augustine; excerpts from the *Commedia* by Dante, specifically from *Paradiso* XI. 28-139, and *Inferno* IV. 121-147; excerpts from various authorities; and the *Prophetia de beato Francisco* of Joachim of Fiore. From fol. 83<sup>r</sup> to fol. 113<sup>v</sup>, there

inscription, the manuscript was conceded on long-term loan to friar Francis of Padua, who wrote it by its own hand and who intended to bequeath it to the convent.<sup>100</sup> It is worth noting the absence of comments on the text, apart from a few corrections. The programme of corrections suggests a careful revision by the reader, who shows particular interest in identifying St Dominic in a marginal note to a passage of the eleventh canto of *Paradiso*, on fol. 78<sup>r</sup>. The comment describes Dominic as a companion of Francis in the task of supporting the pastoral care of the pope.<sup>101</sup>

The inscription 'ad usum' by friar Franciscus on fol. II<sup>v</sup> confirms that the manuscript was a personal volume. Additionally, the absence of comments suggests that this was not a volume of study but rather a tool of reference. The anthology gathers together a collection of texts on moral matters, but there are no excerpts discussing theological, or even 'Franciscan', topics such as poverty and humility. The selection reflects the intention of having an efficient personal tool of reference containing a collection of authoritative sources, among which there is a place for contemporary masters like Bernardino of Siena, Dante's *Commedia* or the *Laude* of Jacopone da Todi.<sup>102</sup> Another feature of interest is how texts written in vernacular share the same level of importance as those written in Latin. Usually works in the vernacular such as the *Commedia* or the *Laude* of Jacopone of Todi were considered of lower status than Latin treatises, but in this manuscript they have the same level of authority as the Fathers and their reflections on Christian life. This suggests that the manuscript was employed as a source for external pastoral care, a feature reinforced by the portability of the volume, as confirmed by its dimensions, in contrast to materials for preaching such as those present in the library of Sant'Antonio that were heavier, bigger and written exclusively in Latin.

This anthology was a manual of reference for the practice of pastoral care, instead of a tool for the preparation of sermons. However, the manuscript does not include normative or prescriptive texts such as treatises on specific sins, on confession, or even

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is a selection under the title *Flores auctoritates*, among which there are excerpts from Jerome, Augustine, Bernard, Anselm, Innocent, followed by the *Constitutio basiliensis de conceptione Virginis Marie*, the *Concordia maiori di septem ordinibus sic scribit de beato Francisco* by Joachim of Fiore and the treatise of Chrysostomus *Super Matheum*.

100 Fol. II<sup>v</sup>: 'Hic liber est ad usum fratris Francisci minorite de civitate Patavii quem propria manu conscripsit et post mortem ipsius pertinet ad locum Padue.'

101 The lines are *Paradiso*, XI. 118-20: 'Pensa oramai qual fu colui che degno /collega fu a mantener la barca / di Pietro in alto mar per dritto segno.' On which the scribe comments in the right-hand margin: 'Hic loquitur de beato Domenico qui fuit collega beati Francisci et in eodem tempore.'

102 The poems of Jacopone da Todi were registered in the *Tabula* of contents, but that section of the manuscript is lost.

popular works such as Antonino of Florence's or Bernardino of Siena's versions of the treatise *De restitutionibus*. This suggests that the selection was focused on moral topics, taking a descriptive approach instead of a prescriptive one focused on practical questions concerning confession, penitence or the absolution of sins.

Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 548, is the second example of a selection of texts on moral topics. It is an anthology of moral treatises contained in a paper volume in quarto of 214 x 142 mm, produced in the first half of the fourteenth century. It has a modern stiff binding, and there are no visible traces that suggest that the volume was chained. The 106 leaves of the manuscript were written in a semigothic cursive script, and the whole decoration could be described as basic, limited to some capital letters coloured in red and green.<sup>103</sup>

The manuscript contains a group of treatises on moral questions and hagiography. The main section reproduces the vernacular translation by Gentile da Foligno of the *Scala Paradisi* of John Climacus, a sixth-century monk from the region of the Sinai.<sup>104</sup> The second work is also a vernacular version of another treatise by John Climacus, the *Sermo ad Pastorem*, followed by Daniel Monachus' *Vita Iohannis Climaci*, also in its vernacular version. The compilation ends with excerpts from the *Actus S. Francisci et sociorum eius* in Latin.

The manuscript has few notes, comments or references, most of them corrections made by the same hand that wrote the main text. The only additional note appears on fol. 43<sup>v</sup>, where a *manicula* was drawn to identify a passage of the *Scala Paradisi*. The excerpt from the *Actus S. Francisci* focuses on the figure of Bernard of Quintavalle, his conversion after listening to Francis's preaching, his exemplary devotion and commitment to Francis's example and his role in the first community.<sup>105</sup> The 'Bernardian' perspective certainly underlines the closeness of Bernard to Francis, and suggests that the *Actus* could have been easily interpreted as a prefiguration of

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103 Pantarotto, *La biblioteca manoscritta del convento di San Francesco Grande*, p. 110.

104 The *Scala Paradisi* was a popular treatise on the ascending degrees required to reach spiritual perfection, as explained in the introduction on fol 1<sup>r</sup>: 'Lauto nome sia sancta scala, perciò che in esso se dimostrano tucti li gradi per li qualiter l'anima sali pervenire alla sumità et alteza dela perfectione spirituale ordenatamente componendo uno grado sopra l'altro, ad modo della scala.' See John Climacus, *The Ladder of Divine Ascent*, trans. by Colm Luibheid and Norman Russell (New York: Paulist Press, 1982), pp. 1-6.

105 Bernard of Quintavalle, a wealthy man from Assisi, is commonly acknowledged as the first disciple and companion of Francis. See Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, pp. 10-11, and Merlo, *Nel nome di san Francesco*, pp. 21-22.

Bernardino of Siena, one of the pillars of the Observance. The excerpt fit perfectly to be used for pastoral care within the convent, since its topics were directly related to the identity of the community. In more general terms, the anthology reflects the intention of assembling a group of texts with a substantial moral and devotional content instead of a selection of specific cases for confession and advice. Therefore, as with MS 1030, the moral anthology is an alternative type of aid to pastoral care. Additionally, the predominant presence of non-Latin versions in the arrangement of the works transcribed should be underlined, since three out of four works were written in vernacular. This use of different levels of the language underlines the flexibility of these manuscripts that could be used to undertake pastoral care within or outside the convent.

### 3.2.2. *A Selection of Tools for Confession*

The first apostolic activity of the early Franciscan community was preaching, but very soon the care for the salvation of others developed into institutionalised forms of pastoral care such as offering advice, listening to confessions and absolving from sins. Therefore, pastoral care became one of the main tasks of the Franciscan community.<sup>106</sup> The library of San Francesco Grande offers some interesting examples of the tools employed by Observants in the fifteenth century in order to perform their duty of pastoral care efficiently.

The first example is Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 586, an anthology of treatises and cases. It is a paper manuscript in quarto of 217 x 156 mm, produced during the fifteenth century. The volume has a modern stiff binding from the nineteenth century, and does not have traces of being a chained volume. The manuscript has 195 leaves written by two different hands in a semigothic cursive script, distributed in two columns, while its decoration remains basic, that is, limited to paraphs.<sup>107</sup> Most probably, the volume was left to the library by friar Francis of Sacco, who received it in concession thanks to the authorisation of friar, Ludovicus of Vicenza.<sup>108</sup>

106 Grado Giovanni Merlo, 'Storia di Frate Francesco e dell'Ordine dei Minori', in *Francesco d'Assisi e il primo secolo di storia francescana* (Turin: Einaudi, 1997), pp. 3-32 (pp. 8-27), and Merlo, *Nel nome di san Francesco*, pp. 31-52.

107 Pantarotto, *La biblioteca manoscritta del convento di San Francesco Grande*, p. 112.

108 A late nineteenth-century inventory of the Biblioteca Universitaria reports an ownership inscription written on an unspecified 'in principio', most probably the ancient binding, now lost: 'Hic liber concessus est per me fratrem Lodovicum de Vincentia [...] S. Antonii vicarium et servum indignum ad usum fratris Francisci a Sacco de eadem provincia confessoris, et post cum pertinet loco S. Ludovici

The volume contains an anthology of treatises of very different nature, ranging from cases of commercial affairs to theological treatises on the nature of the Trinity, or the answers of John of Capistrano to important questions regarding the observance of the Franciscan rule.<sup>109</sup> This apparent discordance in the selection of the topics is the result of the practical nature of the volume. Although there is a remarkable diversity, all the works were arranged around confession. The works that form the compilation could be classified in two types: authorities and cases. One might expect the authorities to be the writings of the masters of the order transcribed in Latin. However, it is worth noting the presence of treatises written in the vernacular such as the *Spetii di busie*, or *Mirror of Lies*, and the *De la sanctissima trinitade*, as part of a compilation of authorities, which suggest that they were considered at the same level as works of masters such as John of Capistrano, St Antonino of Florence, Alexander of Alexandria or Thomas Aquinas. The cases, or examples, are of a practical nature, mainly commercial interactions such as buying, selling, and giving things on loan. This type of treatises had the purpose of providing practical guidance for confession, particularly to accurately identify usury.<sup>110</sup> MS 586 includes one of the most popular works on the subject, the *Opus contractuum* by Angelus of Clavasio, an observant friar renowned by his *Summa de casibus conscientiae*, a compilation of articles on moral theology from which the *Interrogationes in confessione* was extensively used by the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>111</sup> The presence of additional tools such as a table of sins and their definition at

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apud Rever die XVII iunii 1509.' See Pantarotto, *La biblioteca manoscritta del convento di San Francesco Grande*, p. 113.

109 The manuscript contains the following works: Angelus of Clavasio, *Opus contractuum venditiones; De restitutionis [sic]* and *De ornatu et habitu mulierum* by St Antonino of Florence; a collection of excerpts presented as *Additiones in supplemento*; a selection of *Extracta de restitutionibus*, the treatise *De livellis; Casus* by Clarus de Florentia; a vernacular treatise under the title *Spetii de Busie*; the treatise *De la sanctissima Trinitade; Confessionale 'Defecerunt'* by St Antonino of Florence; *Tractatus excommunicationum* by Francis of Platea; *Dubia*, by John of Capistrano; excerpts from the *Summa Monaldi; Casus* by Angelus de Castro; a selection of *Casus in quibus potest sacerdos defficere per negligentiam*; an excerpt from the case 'De sepulturis', which is part of the *Summa* by St Antonino of Florence; an excerpt from the *Summa Astensis*; a collection of excerpts from different authorities on commercial affairs under the title *Qualiter potest vendi ad credentiam*; a collection of excerpts from different masters; a *Tabula definitiones [sic] peccatorum*; and the manual of reference *Brevis per confessionem*.

110 On the scholastic reflection on usury and the role of manuals for confession, see John T. Noonan, *The Scholastic Analysis of Usure* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1957); Miriam Turrini, *La coscienza e le leggi: morale e diritto nei testi per la confessione della prima età moderna* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1991); Odd Langholm, *Economics in the Medieval Schools: Wealth, Exchange, Value, Money and Usury, According to the Paris Theological Tradition, 1200-1350* (Leiden: Brill, 1992); and Odd Langholm, *The Merchant in the Confessional: Trade and Price in the pre-Reformation Penitential Handbooks* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2003).

111 Thomas B. Deutscher, 'Angelo Carletti', in *Contemporaries of Erasmus: A Biographical Register of*

the end of the volume underlines the purpose of this manuscript and, as happens with MS 548, the selection of mixed material suggests the flexibility of the book as a tool for internal and external pastoral care. Additionally, the almost total absence of marginal notes or comments, except for a few corrections, is consistent with a volume whose main purpose was not to support intensive study. Nevertheless, there is a specific excerpt on the use of books, on fol. 164r, where the answer of John of Capistrano to a question concerning books may be found.<sup>112</sup> He established that friars should not sell books by themselves without the intervention of the order's procurators. They were allowed instead, to exchange their books according to the principles of the rule.<sup>113</sup> This suggests that books were part of the daily life of observant friars, and that in spite of Observants' purpose of keeping a strict adherence to the rule, the prescription concerning the friars 'nescientes litteras' was no longer applicable.

The second example of a volume focused on pastoral care is Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 736, an anthology of treatises and cases. This is a paper manuscript in octavo of 143 x 107 mm, produced in the mid-fifteenth century.<sup>114</sup> The volume has an old stiff binding, and has no traces of being a chained volume. The 118 leaves are written in a semigothic cursive script, whose decoration is limited to coloured capital letters.<sup>115</sup>

The anthology is a collection of excerpts and treatises concerning pastoral care,

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*the Renaissance and Reformation*, ed. by Peter G. Bietenholz and Thomas B. Deutscher, 3 vols (Toronto; Buffalo; London: University of Toronto Press, 1985) 1, 268. See also Giacomo Todeschini, 'Credito ed economia della civitas. Angelo da Chivasso e la dottrina della pubblica utilità fra Quattro e Cinquecento', in *Ideologia del credito fra Tre e Quattrocento: dall'Astesano ad Angelo da Chivasso. Atti del convegno internazionale, Asti, 9-10 giugno 2000*, ed. by B. Molina and G. Scarcia (Asti: Centro Studi sui Lombardi e sul Credito nel Medioevo, 2001), pp. 59-83.

112 See Appendix 3, fig. 16.

113 'Whether the friars of our order can sell, alienate or exchange goods by themselves within or outside the order without the [intervention of the] procurator of the order. I answer that friars cannot sell by themselves within the order or outside from it, unless through the procurator; exchange, nevertheless, [is allowed] with the permission from the prelates, as for example is the case of exchanging one book for another without adding or lessening any price, and anything else they do, do it according to the rule.' The text is as follows: 'Utrum fratres nostri ordinis possint vendere alienare vel commutare aliquid in ordine vel extra ordinem per se ipsos absque procuratore ordinis. Respondeo quod fratres non possunt aliquid vendere per se ipsos in ordine vel extra, nisi per procuratore commutare autem sic sed de licentia prelatorum sicut esset commutare unum librum in alium non addere vel minuere aliquid pretium et qui aliter facit facit secundum regulam.'

114 The manuscript was produced between 1454 and 1462. The *Summa* of St Antonino of Florence was completed in 1454, while on fol. 117<sup>v</sup> there is an ownership inscription that declares that the volume was given 'ad usum' by the observant convent of Padua to Friar Simon of Parma: 'Hic liber pertinet ad locum S. Francisci apud hospitale Paduae concessum ad usum fratris Simonis de Parma ordinis Minorum die X iuli 1462.' See Kaeppli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevii*, 1, 92.

115 Pantarotto, *La biblioteca manoscritta del convento di San Francesco Grande*, p. 123.

focused entirely on confession. There is one normative text, John of Capistrano's *Dubia*, a set of answers to dubious cases of the proper interpretation of the Franciscan rule such as the legitimacy of trading, especially books. Even in this case, the prescriptions of Capistrano had an illustrative value as reference cases. The exemplary nature of the anthology is reinforced by the description of more than 240 sins under the title *Peccata cordis, oris et operis et obmissionis*.<sup>116</sup>

The manuscript has a remarkable consistency in terms of its palaeographical and codicological features. A distinctive characteristic is the small size of the handwriting if compared with similar volumes produced during the same period and held in the library. Another interesting feature appears on fol. 117<sup>r</sup>, where the scribe left a significant space blank for further writing without additional comments.<sup>117</sup> This is consistent with the case of a volume written to be used exclusively by its scribe and bequeathed afterwards to the convent to be lent, as the ownership inscription shows.<sup>118</sup>

As a personal volume, there is no doubt that MS 736 was a tool of reference in the performance of pastoral care, supported by cases of a distinctly practical nature, as shown by sections such as the *Dubia circa confessionem*, *De debito coniugali*, and *De impedimentis matrimonii*, based upon the dispositions of canons and the discussion of masters. The presence of the Dominican master Antonino of Florence is worth mentioning, especially because he has the role of a definitive source of authority for a reformed Franciscan practice.

The third example of a tool for confession is Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 1159, an anthology of treatises, questions and cases. It is a paper manuscript in octavo of 154 x 102 mm, produced during the fifteenth century. The volume has a modern rigid binding, and has no traces of being chained. The manuscript has 188 leaves

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116 The works contained in the manuscript are: John Peckham, *Summa confessionum*; Clarus de Florentia, *Casus*; an anthology of cases under the title *Utrumque sit licitum vendere ad credentiam*; John of Capistrano's *Dubia*; St Antonino of Florence, *Confessionale Defecerunt*; a list and a description of sins under the title *Peccata cordis, oris et operis et obmissionis*, and a selection of excerpts of St Antonino of Florence under the title *Excerpta summa Antonini*. For the *Dubia* of Capistrano and concerning the exchange of books, the manuscript reproduces exactly the same prescriptions that were on MS 586. On fol. 71<sup>r</sup>: 'Utrum fratres nostri ordinis possint vendere, alienare vel comutare aliquid in ordinem vel extra ordinem per se ipsos absque procuratore ordini? Respondeo quod fratres non possunt aliquid vendere per se ipsos in ordinem vel extra ordinem nisi per procuratore comutare autem sic sed de licentia prelatoris sicut comutare unum libro in aliud non addendo vel minuendo aliquod precium et qui aliter facit facit coram regulam.'

117 See Appendix 3, fig. 19.

118 See n. 114 above.

written a cursive script, while the decoration consists of rubrics and capital letters coloured in red.<sup>119</sup>

The manuscript contains a great number of cases and excerpts from authorities and a note on fol. 188<sup>r</sup> reveals that the volume was given on a long-term loan to friar Anthony of Padua.<sup>120</sup> The text does not have corrections, marginal additions or comments, which is consistent with its character of a reference manual instead of a tool of doctrinal study. As with MS 736, the selection of texts reflects a very practical approach to the performance of pastoral care, especially confession. The anthology is carefully crafted in the selection of excerpts where the authors discuss particular cases. This approach, centred on the cases, but strongly supported by the doctrine of the masters, makes this manuscript a more prescriptive tool than the former ones, even though it keeps its functional nature. The influence of Antonino of Florence as the main source for the cases in light of an authoritative view in this manuscript is worth underlining.

This brief exploration of five examples of manuscripts from the library of the convent of San Francesco Grande centred on pastoral care is useful for formulating some questions. The first regards the role of the vernacular. Apparently, it is linked to non-prescriptive works on morality and devotion, such as the *Commedia* and the *Laude* of Jacopone da Todi, but there are instances where it becomes equivalent to Latin in the manuscripts concerning practical cases of pastoral care.

The second question concerns two elements shared by the manuals on pastoral care.

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119 Pantarotto, *La biblioteca manoscritta del convento di San Francesco Grande*, p. 149.

120 'Ad usum fratris Antonii de Padua.' On fol I' and II' there is a *tabula materiae* with a wide range of cases. The main topics are: De absoluteone, De electione, De vicariatu et de subdiaconatu, De baptesimo, Dubia circa confessionem, De contritione, De concubitu matrimoniali, De tribus casibus Capistrani, De debito coniugali, De decimis, De indulgentiis, De ignorantia, De itineratione, De ieiunio, De mendatio, De ornatu mulierum, De voto obedienciae, De voto castitatis, De voto professionis, De voto paupertatis, De uxore fornicaria, De diffinitione matrimonii, De papalibus excommunicationibus, De episcopalibus excommunicationibus, De audientia confessionis, De ignorantia, De usura, De obligatione voti, De sumaria omnium contractuum, De venditione ad credentiam, De symonia, and so on. The works transcribed in the volume are: an anonymous treatise under the title *Merchatum*; Clarus of Florence, *Casus*; Thomas Aquinas, *De secreto*; Jacobus de Marchia, *De impedimentis matrimoni*; the following treatises and excerpts by St Antonino of Florence: *De ornatu et habitu mulierum*, *De castitate*, *De professione*, and *De paupertatis*; Alexander de Bologna, *Additiones in supplemento*; Francis de Mayronis, *De iuramento et periurio*; John de Prato, *Additiones in supplemento*; a treatise entitled *De emptione et venditione*; another treatise under the title *De usura*, followed by *De contractibus societatis*; Alexander de Alexandria, *De usura* (excerpta); St Antonino of Florence, *Extracta ex Summa*; the treatise *Qualiter potest vendi ad credentiam ex dictis Alexandri de Alexandria, Iohannis Duns Scoti, Landulfi Caracioli, Thomae Aquinatis, Richardi de S. Victore, Bernardi Senensis et Francisci de Platea*; the treatise *De livellis*; Alexander de Nievo, *Casus*; Francis of Nardo, *Determinatio*; and Francis de Platea, *Quesitum de ornatu mulierum*. See Appendix 3 fig. 20.



First, the works by the St Antonino of Florence. The constant presence of the Dominican master in the tools used as a reference for the practical approach to pastoral care exemplifies the Observants' flexibility in accepting Dominican masters as legitimate sources of authority on the same level as John of Capistrano, Bernardino of Siena or Duns Scotus. The second element in common is the prescriptive work of John of Capistrano on the rule, especially in the passages concerning the trade in books. The reiteration of the prescriptions concerning buying and selling books suggests that these were common practices of Observants, in spite of their best intentions of following the rule in a stricter form. A third observation regards the authorities. There are two types of authority in these anthologies: on the one hand, the Fathers of the Church and the Franciscan masters provide moral advice; on the other, the observant masters, the Dominican masters and the cases in their own right provide practical suggestions for pastoral care are.

This first set of considerations will be complemented in the next section where I will explore the other type of manuscripts produced and used in the library of the convent of San Francesco Grande: the tools for the composition of sermons.

### *3.2.3. A selection of Tools for the Preparation of Sermons*

Preaching, confession and penitence were understood by Observants as three inseparable features of pastoral care, since penitence and confession were seen as the natural outcome of proper preaching.<sup>121</sup> Preaching was of fundamental importance to the 'pillars' of the Observance, especially to Bernardino of Siena and John of Capistrano, whose activity as preachers had a significant impact on the cities where their pastoral activity took place.<sup>122</sup> The importance of preaching was also reflected in the

<sup>121</sup> Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education*, pp. 315-16. See also, Lester K. Little, 'Les Techniques de la confession et la confession comme technique', in *Faire croire: modalités de la diffusion et de la réception des messages religieux du XII<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle: table ronde organisée par l'École Française de Rome, en collaboration avec l'Institut d'Histoire Médiévale de l'Université de Padoue, Rome, 22-23 juin 1979* (Rome: École Française de Rome; Turin: Bottega d'Erasmus, 1981), pp. 87-99 (pp. 88-89).

<sup>122</sup> Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education*, pp. 303-05. See also Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, pp. 458-72, and Merlo, *Nel nome di san Francesco*, pp. 336, 354-62. On the importance and influence of Bernardino of Siena, see Iris Origo, *The World of San Bernardino* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1963); Raoul Manselli, 'L'osservanza francescana: dinamica della sua formazione e fenomenologia', in *Reformbemühungen und Observanzbestrebungen im spätmittelalterlichen Ordenswesen*, ed. by Kaspar Elm (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1989), pp. 173-87; Duncan B. Nimmo, 'The Franciscan Regular Observance: the Culmination of Medieval Franciscan Reform', pp. 189-205; Gary Dickinson, 'Revivalism and Populism in the Franciscan Observance of the

constitutions of 1443, composed by John of Capistrano. He proceeded to define preaching as one of the fundamentals of the Christian faith, the light of truth, the school of virtues, the door of heaven and, ultimately, as the instruction of all rational souls.<sup>123</sup>

The main purpose of observant preaching was to reach the widest audience possible, and therefore observant friars privileged effectiveness in their sermons. However, the characteristic simplicity of their preaching did not mean lack of theological depth.<sup>124</sup> The observant preparation for preaching included the development of the skill of presenting the complexities of dogmatic questions in understandable forms, normally in the vernacular, to a lay audience, and whenever preachers had not already learned the local language, they used interpreters, as happened with the friars who preached in Germany.<sup>125</sup>

Some scholars think that Observants were not inclined to rely on the rules of the *Artes praedicandi* in order to develop their preaching skills, since they were sceptical regarding the *Sermo modernus*, that is, the type of sermon developed in the universities, characterised by a thorough division and further subdivision of the main topic, a technique useful to persuade learned audiences. Observants, instead, preferred to use models taken from their most renowned masters in the training of their preachers.<sup>126</sup> However, it has also been shown that under the apparent simplicity of the observant masters's sermons there was a complex structure of thought that was characteristic of the university sermon.<sup>127</sup> In any case, by the second half of the fifteenth century Observants had produced a remarkable number of their own collections of sermons and

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Late Quattrocento', in *Revival and Resurgence in Christian History: Papers Read at the 2006 Summer Meeting and the 2007 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. by Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory (Rochester, NY: Boydell, 2008), pp. 62-76; and Carlo Delcorno, 'Quasi quidam cantus': *Studi sulla predicazione medievale*, ed. by Giovanni Battetti and others (Florence: Olschki, 2009), pp. 291-326.

123 'Praedicationis officium est substentamentum fidei christianae, lumen veritatis, schola virtutum, ruina vitiorum, via salutis, doctrina orum, camera sanctitatis, tribunal iudicii, cruciatus daemonum, clausura infernorum, ianua coelorum, confirmatio iustorum, reductio peccatorum et instructio omnium rationabilium animarum.' *CHL*, p. 106.

124 Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education*, pp. 307, 309-10. See Carlo Delcorno, 'L' "ars predicandi" di Bernardino da Siena', in *Atti del simposio internazionale cateriniano-bernardiniano: Siena, 17-20 aprile 1980*, ed. by Domenico Maffei and Paolo Nardi (Siena: Accademia Senese degli Intronati, 1982), pp. 419-49.

125 Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education*, pp. 311-13. See Delcorno, 'La lingua dei predicatori: tra latino e volgare', in *La predicazione dei frati dalla metà del 200 alla fine del 300: Atti del XXII convegno Internazionale, Assisi, 13-15 ottobre 1994*, ed. by E. Menestò (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1995), pp. 19-46 (pp. 33-34).

126 Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education*, p. 309.

127 Delcorno, 'L' "ars predicandi" di Bernardino da Siena', pp. 419-25.

materials useful to preaching. The following section will consider three examples of these materials, taken from the Library of San Francesco Grande in Padua.

The first example that will be discussed is the volume Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 1789, an anthology of materials useful for the composition of sermons. It is a paper manuscript, in quarto, of 169 x 120mm, produced during the fifteenth century. The manuscript has a modern binding and has no signs of being a chained volume. It has 238 leaves, written in a rapid semigothic cursive script with the intervention of two main hands. The first hand writes until fol. 152<sup>v</sup>, while the second starts on fol. 153<sup>r</sup>. Although both hands are similar, the first has a more marked notarial style, while the second has a higher level of sophistication. A section with an anthology of sermons starts on fol. 176<sup>r</sup>.<sup>128</sup> This section has significant variations in the hands of the scribes, although all of them employed a semigothic cursive script. The most evident variation is found in the scribe's intention to write more or less rapidly, depending on each particular case. The decoration of the manuscript is limited to highlighting some capitals. However, in the anthology of sermons there are rubrics, capital letters decorated in red and some passages underlined in red.

The manuscript starts with a list of the contents and a heading that shows clearly that this is a work related to preaching: 'Iste sunt predicationes facte in loco'. An anthology of treatises on devotional topics begins on fol. 3<sup>r</sup> and continues until fol. 37<sup>r</sup>.<sup>129</sup> This anthology constitutes a first section of the manuscript, and could be described as a gathering of notes on penitence and moral edification.<sup>130</sup>

An excerpt from the *Distinctiones* of Alexander of Hales that explores practical examples and questions starts on fol. 38<sup>r</sup>. This section is followed by an extract from a work on the virtuous fear of God on fol. 42<sup>r</sup>. On the same folio there is a marginal reference that suggests to look for excellent additional insight on the topic in the treatise on the fear of God by friar Robert.<sup>131</sup> Most probably the reader refers to a popular works on the subject: *De timore iudicio dei* by friar Robert of Lecce.<sup>132</sup>

128 See Appendix 3 fig. 30.

129 Some of the treatises are incomplete or partially developed. For example, on fol. 33<sup>r</sup>: 'Scripture comminatio'; on fol. 33<sup>v</sup>: 'Mortalitatis nostre conditio', and 'Proximi edificatio'; on fol. 34<sup>r</sup>: 'Sanctorum intercessio', and 'Vite eterne expectatio'. See Appendix 3 fig. 21 and 22.

130 Some of the topics of this section are: 'De resurrectione Christi; 24 fructus penitentiae; 24 catene qui ligant pectorem cum penitentia', and '24 tube qui vocant peccatorem ad penitentiam.'

131 'Vide hanc materiam in libro de timore Domini fratris Rubertus carte 28. 42. Optime.'

132 A useful biographical profile of Robert of Lecce is Serafino Bastanzio, *Fra Roberto Caracciolo di Lecce, predicatore del secolo XV* (Isola del Liri: M. Pisani, 1947). On his activity as a preacher, see

A section with a selection of excerpts clearly focused on the preparation of sermons starts on fol. 43<sup>v</sup>, where the manuscript offers a treatise on the topic of death and a detailed description of its features: deceitful, powerful and most cruel.<sup>133</sup> The purpose of assuming a more practical approach, oriented towards the composition of sermons, is illustrated by a dramatic resource employed to describe the 'crudelissima mors', that is, a dialogue between man and death. Death comes to meet a man. When he reveals that he is afraid of dying and asks important questions trying to buy some time, Death answers leaving no space for doubt.<sup>134</sup> Finally, the man acknowledges the power of reason and peacefully embraces death.<sup>135</sup> At this point, a marginal comment underlines the usefulness of this section by declaring that it is possible to make a complete sermon on death in the day of St Jerome.<sup>136</sup>

Another example of the usefulness of dramatic resources in the preparation for preaching can be found on fol. 46<sup>r</sup>, where the rubric 'On the battle of demons against God almighty' introduces the narration of how a group of demons gathered and moved against God.<sup>137</sup> The demons chose four powerful weapons: vanity, avarice, luxury and gluttony.<sup>138</sup> However, they were defeated by the action of four great preachers: John the Baptist, Paul the Apostle, Francis of Assisi and Bernardino of Siena. The demons

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Ludovico Gatto, 'I temi escatologici nelle prediche di Roberto Caracciolo da Lecce', in *L'attesa dell'età nuova nella spiritualità della fine del medioevo* (Todi: Accademia Tudertina, 1962); and Oriana Visani Ravaoli, 'Testimonianze della predicazione di Roberto da Lecce a Padova', in *Predicazione francescana e società veneta nel quattrocento: comittenza, ascolto, ricezione. Atti del II Convegno Internazionale di Studi Francescani, Padova 26-28 marzo 1987* (Padua: Centro Studi Antoniani, 1995), pp. 185-220. On the manuscript tradition of his works, see Laura Gasparri, 'Sulla tradizione manoscritta delle prediche di Roberto da Lecce (con due sermoni inediti)', *AFH*, 73 (1980), 173-225, and Oriana Visani Ravaoli, 'Roberto Caracciolo e i sermonari del secondo Quattrocento', *Franciscana* 1 (1999), 275-317.

133 'Fraudentissima, potentissima et crudelissima.' See Appendix 3 fig. 23.

134 'This is the dialogue between Death and a man: Man: "what is going to happen to my inheritance?" Death answers: "Should you worry about what suits you?" M: "what will my sons do?" D: "[The same] you [did] after the death of [your] father." M: "And my beloved wife, whom I leave behind?" D: "It is not to say she is yours, because death makes her not yours any more. If she was not good, rejoice, because your binding to her will be dissolved; if she was good, then there are two possibilities: either she [will be under the dominion of] another, or she will go free." M: "And I die without any daughters!" D: "Then you will die even more pleasantly, because you will not have worries about them." The transcription of the text is as follows: on fol. 43<sup>v</sup>: 'Hic fac dyalogus inter mortem et hominem [...] On fol. 44<sup>r</sup>: 'H[omo]: quid de patrimonio meo erit? R[espondit]: quid curas de tibi accomodato? H: quid facient filii mei? R: Quid tu post obitum patris. H: En uxoram [sic] meam dilectam relinquo. R: Non dictis tuam, quod mors faciet non tuam. Si non bona fuit, gaude quod eius iugo solveris. Si bona, e duobus: aut altius subieriet [sic], aut libera vagabitur. H: En morior sine filiis. R: Moreris letior quod de eis non dolebis.' See Appendix 3 fig. 24.

135 On fol 44<sup>r</sup>: 'I wan to die because you have truly persuaded me.' 'Volo mori quod persuasisti veraciter.'

136 'Hic potes facere sermonem ad mortem die de Ieronymo, in transitu et post.'

137 'Proelium demoniorum contra deum omnipotentem.'

138 'vanitas, avaritia, luxuria et gula.'

answer by choosing twelve captains to fight against the twelve apostles, but in the end they are doomed to fail against the strength of the grace of God.

Additional resources assembled in MS 1789 can be found on fol. 52<sup>r</sup>, where there is an anthology of topics written in the vernacular under the heading: 'Prerogative sancti Iohannis Baptiste que sunt 12.' Some of the headings are: 'El foe sancto nel ventre de la madre; El foe attinente di Christo, El foe mazor e piu degno fiolo de lialtri, el batezoe el filiolo de Dio', etc. Two features of this section should be underlined: first, it was written in the northern local vernacular, more precisely, of the Paduan area as shown by the words 'mazor', 'fiolo'; and second, some of the headings are not developed at all, which shows its character as a work in progress. Further, on fol 67<sup>v</sup>, there is an example of the interaction between different linguistic layers in the preparation for preaching.<sup>139</sup> On the left-hand side of the written space, there is the heading 'O sancta religio paradisus mundi', which introduces a list of oppositions between afflictions and joys.<sup>140</sup> On the right-hand side of the page, and under the title 'O stato mundano inferno temporale', there is a short poem praising the practice of confession, written in the vernacular.<sup>141</sup> Finally, there is a marginal note by the same hand that states that on fol. 78 there is the treatise on the joys of Paradise; the actual reference corresponds to the current fol. 80<sup>r</sup>.<sup>142</sup>

On fol. 68<sup>r</sup> there starts a short section in which the scribe remembers Bonaventure's words concerning ten activities that endanger any religious order, but particularly the Minors: multiplicity of affairs, the poisoned water of vices, the wandering of comforts, the eagerness for and great expense in buildings, the inconvenient request of honours, the multiplication of acquaintances, the irrational onset of duties, the usurpation of the rights to administrate last wills and burials, the frequent changes of place, and the excess in expenses.<sup>143</sup> This admonition is followed by a section that discuss forty of the

139 See Appendix 3 fig. 25.

140 Under the subheading 'Tu non' the following afflictions are listed: 'Mors, Dolor, Furor, Infamia, Afflictio'. In an opposite column, there is the subheading '[Paradisus] mundus es' under which the respective opposite joys are listed: 'Vita, Gaudem [sic], Tranquilitas, Sapientia, Letitia.'

141 The text of the poem, composed of two stanzas in *ottava rima*, is as follows: 'O tu chi me resguardi, pensa bene / E poni la mente chi devi tornare / Che dove io sto venire te conviene / E non say lo ponto de lo traspasare // Io te consiglio che tu faci bene / E delito y peccati te voglia confessare / E far la penitentia in questa vita / Se voy sicuro camino alla partita // Se lo mio consiglio tu non voray fare / Zoe de mendare toa vita dolente / Ne lo inferno te bisognera andare / In quella gran pena e in quello foco ardente // Che cum li demoni staray ad habitare / Insieme cum loro eternalmente / Mendatine per Dio e non spetate la morte / Che ley viene presto e gia e sulle porte.'

142 'Require in hoc libro cartam 78 ubi reperies principium.'

143 'Nota qui dominus Bonaventura asserit X esse qui destruunt religiones. 1. Negociorum multiplicitas

most intense joys of paradise on fols 80<sup>r</sup>-83<sup>r</sup>.<sup>144</sup> At the end of the section, the scribe wrote a quick marginal note that refers to the Book of Esther 1. 5-8, where the magnificent banquet of King Ahasuerus is described.<sup>145</sup> Further, on fols 88<sup>v</sup>-94<sup>v</sup>, the scribe transcribed a treatise on false prophets, wizards and witches, followed by another on the last judgement on fols 95<sup>r</sup>-100<sup>r</sup>.

On fol 100<sup>r</sup> there is the transcription of a poem in *terza rima* on the occasion of the death of Dante Alighieri's son, Iacopo, under the title 'Versus mortis domini Iacobi filii Dantis de Florentia'.<sup>146</sup> In the poem, death personified claims that all the preoccupations and distractions of man are absurd and dangerous, especially because they lead his soul away from virtue. Death addresses the generic figures of the soldier, the nobleman, the young man and the sinner, explaining how all of their earthly efforts are useless and superfluous, and that all of them will face judgement in the end.<sup>147</sup>

It is difficult to praise the literary virtues of the poem, but it is worth underlining three important features of this section. First, it is a piece of poetry that complements perfectly the poem on fol. 67<sup>v</sup>, and it is reminiscent of the previous encounter between man and Death. Second, although it is a literary piece composed originally in the Tuscan vernacular, it shows a strong influence of the northern Venetian vernacular in the

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qua pecunia nostri ordinis paupertati fratribus omnia inimica avide petitur [...] 2. Ociositas sentina vitiorum [...], 3. Evagatio solatii [...], 4. Edificiorum curiositas et sumptuositas [...], 5. Importuna petitio [...], 6. Multiplicatio familiaritatum [...], 7. Improvida commissio officiorum [...], 8. Sepulturarum et testamentarum invasio [...], 9. Mutatio locorum frequens [...], 10. Sumptuositas expensarum.'

144 The introductory rubric to the treatise states: 'On the forty joys of Paradise. The joys in Paradise are so many that all the arithmetic of this world cannot number them, all geometrics cannot comprehend them, neither all grammar, dialectics and rhetoric can explain them through words. Nevertheless, we will speak about the best forty among them.' The original text is as follows: 'De 40 gaudii paradisi. Tot et tanta sunt in paradiso gaudia quod omnis arismetica huius mundi non possent numerare, omnis geometria inserare, omnis gramatica dyialectici et rhetorica non possent sermonibus explicare. Tamen de 40 summum ad paradisis loquimur.' Nevertheless the scribe adds three more items at the end.

145 'Hic potes competere convivium Assueri regis in figuram paradisi primo cape.'

146 See Appendix 3 fig. 26.

147 Some verses of the poem: 'Io sum la morte principessa grande / Che la superbia humana in basso pone / Per tutto el mondo el mio nome se spande // Trona la terra tuta nel mio sono / Li re e gran maestri in pericol hora / per lo mio guardo cagion del suo trono // La forza iovenile non li demora / che subito non vada in sepultura / tra tanti vermi che cossi el divora // Soldato che te val tua armatura / Che la mia falce non te sbata in terra / E che non faci la partenza dura?[...] E tu che credi havere la zentileza / per esser nato de gran parentato / e per havere del corpo la bellezza // Pegio che porco nato nel contato / El gran macello cum desio te aspecta / Se non ferai de virtu ornato // O zoveneto dalla çaçareta / Che non cognosci li to gran pericli / E in quanti modi porai morire in freta [...] Guardame in faccia o latio iocatore / Che te sconfunda el nostro gran spavento / E piu a te che sey biastematore // O quanti son che se pascono di vento / E per seguitare lo honor e le ricchezze / Ne mai se trova alguno contento [...]' The poem was published in *Rime da Cino da Pistoia e d'altri del secolo XIV*, ed. by Giosuè Carducci (Florence: Barbèra, 1862).

transcription. Third, it is clearly written with the *Commedia* as a model, not only in terms of the use of *terza rima*, but also in the discussion of the topic, in the description of the sinners, their sins and the afterlife, and in the perspective of the narration that proposes a constant ascent from sin towards a final admonition to experience the supreme good and virtue.<sup>148</sup> In this sense, the poem offers clues on the way in which the work of Dante was read in the context of the preaching of observant friars, that is, as a moral treatise. A final observation on this section regards the writing. The hand remains the same, but the script becomes remarkably more formal in the transcription of the poem, and abandons the swiftness of other sections of the volume. This suggests that the poem was an important piece of writing and the scribe carefully took his time transcribing it.

The poem is followed by another section. On fol. 109<sup>r</sup> there starts a treatise on the love of God, and particularly on the part where it discusses contrition, the scribe added marginal cross-references.<sup>149</sup> The amount of notes and comments with references to other places in the work increases from this point. A selection of excerpts on the topic 'De contemptu mundi' starts on fol. 117<sup>r</sup>, but very quickly ends on fol. 118<sup>r</sup> and is followed by an excerpt in the vernacular with the initial exhortation of a sermon against superfluity and luxury that suddenly shifts into Latin.<sup>150</sup> This linguistic alternation reflects the nature of the excerpt as a preparatory material for preaching. Another example can be found on fol. 134<sup>v</sup>, where the scribe reproduces the 'Prohemium de nobilitate anime'. The *Prohemium* is a short treatise in the vernacular on the proportions of the heavens and celestial bodies, and the place for the blessed souls in this arrangement. A characteristic feature of MS 1789 is the presence of unfinished topics that are listed as headings or rubrics, but have no further development, as happens on

148 The two final stanzas: 'E alma toa semper sera dannata / per uno poco de dolceza temporale / perde la gloria e la vita beata // Ma quello che in virtute semper sale / desprecia el mondo e fuze suo veneno / cercando Dio lassa l opere mala / Stara nel celo perpetuo sereno.'

149 For example: 'look for chapter 148 where there is another introduction on the legend of [St] Leo; on fol. 109<sup>v</sup>: 'Look in chapter 147 where there is more; on fol. 110<sup>r</sup>: look this topic in master Leonard in St Blas who clearly explains [on Augustine of Hippo].' The original comments are: on fol. 109<sup>r</sup>: 'Aliud prohemium require cape 148 autem in legenda Leonis!'; on fol. 109<sup>v</sup>: 'Require cape 147 verbi est alia quod'; on fol. 110<sup>r</sup>: 'Require hanc materiam in magistro Leonardo in sexto Sancti Blasii quod optime dicit Ipone'. See Appendix 3 fig. 27.

150 The sermon starts: 'O cittadini mei! Reputaresti savio qolui el qual desiderasse tuti li piaceri de questo mundo come sono richeze, honor, bella dona, fioli, nobilità, reputatione et huius modi e che questa electione fosse libera, zoe senza alguno contrario et non seria bene stulto che in tanti beni luy se elegesse contrarietà alguna. O pazo mondo! O stulta gente! Ma qolui che se eleze richeza, honor et cetera quo se eleze se non pena, affani, tormenti, pro malo. Tria sunt in hoc modo, videlicet primo est appe[ti]tus est quedam passio quae numquam saturatur [...]' See Appendix 3 fig. 28.

fol. 119<sup>r</sup>, and especially on fol. 157<sup>v</sup>, where a new section with unfinished paragraphs starts under the heading: 'Twelve paths or the ladder that leads to Paradise'<sup>151</sup>

On fol. 175<sup>r</sup> there is a *Tabula* with the contents of the manuscript, however, some of the items listed are to be found on leaves located further in the volume.<sup>152</sup> This suggests that the additional items belonged to another manuscript, or that they were deliberately put in a different section, separated by the table of contents. In any case, the texts placed after the *Tabula* are predominantly complete sermons or complete sections of sermons. There are significant variations in the codicological characteristics of this selection such as the use of rubrics, the variations in the hand of the scribe, and from fol. 199<sup>v</sup>, a change in the mise-en-page to a two-column layout. The main topics of these sermons are the danger of vices, the good effects of penitence, the mortal sins and admonitions addressed to women.<sup>153</sup>

From fol. 206<sup>r</sup> the manuscript proposes again the compilation of useful materials and therefore the lists of virtues, vices and admonitions.<sup>154</sup> The main text finishes with a sermon on hope, from fols 230<sup>r</sup>-37<sup>v</sup>. All the complete sermons are written in Latin, and the presence of different codicological features for this section suggests that most probably the sermons come from another volume. If that were the case, their inclusion here was not casual, since there is complete consistency in the topics of both sections of the manuscript. Summarising, MS 1789 is a complex tool for the composition of sermons, offering a wide range of materials in different genres, languages and textual typologies.

The second tool for the composition of sermons that will be considered is the volume

151 'First, examination of conscience; second, affliction of the heart; third, true confession; fourth, reconciliation with others or apologise; fifth hearing to the word of the Lord; sixth, endurance when in distress; seventh, overcoming of temptations; eight, opposing to sins, that is, to be humble; ninth, to look carefully; tenth, communicating the good news; eleventh, the way of love; twelfth, to persevere in all of the former.' The headings of each paragraph to be written are: '12 vie sive scala eundi paradisum. Prima: conscientie examinatio; Secunda via est cordis contritio; Tertia via est vera confessio; Quarta via, proximi reconciliatio sive satisfactio; Quinta via est verbi dominum auditio; Sexta via, tribulationum supportatio; Septima via, temptationum superatio; Octava via, peccatorum oppositio est esse humilem; Nona via previsio; Decima via Bonorum communicatio; Undecima via per dilectionem; Duodecima, omnia predictarum perseveratio.'

152 See Appendix 3 fig. 29.

153 On fol. 175<sup>r</sup>: 'De ambitione', on fol. 182<sup>r</sup>: 'De superbia', on fol. 183<sup>r</sup>: 'De nobilitate', on fol. 186<sup>r</sup>: 'De contritione', on fol. 187<sup>v</sup>: 'De eadem', on fol. 194<sup>r</sup>: 'De adulteris', on fol. 198<sup>v</sup>: 'De luxuria et incontinentia', on fol. 199<sup>r</sup>: 'De incautu aspectu', on fol. 199<sup>v</sup>: 'De aviditate mulierum', '12 mulierum magna fide', 'De sapientia mulierum', 'De pietate mulierum', 'De fortitude mulierum', 'De falacis mulierum', 'De stiloquio mulierum', 'De superfluo ornatu mulierum'. See Appendix 3 fig. 31.

154 On fol. 206<sup>r</sup>: 'De 8 impedimenti eundi ad vitam eternam', on fol. 208<sup>r</sup>: 'De 8 remedii ad dissolvendum anteriora impedimenta', on fol. 214<sup>r</sup>: 'De 27 vocationibus divinis', and so on.



Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 1851, an anthology of different materials, mainly treatises on devotion. It is a manuscript in quarto of 215 x 154 mm, produced during the fifteenth century. The volume has a modern stiff binding and does not have traces of being chained. It has 282 leaves, written in a very cursive script, heavily abbreviated, whose distribution varies from a full page to a two-column layout. The decoration of the manuscript is limited to the use of rubrics, initial letters decorated and some passages that are underlined in red.<sup>155</sup> The hand that transcribes the text is the same that writes the comments and marginal references of the text. On fol. 1<sup>r</sup> there is an incomplete table of contents and an inscription that states that the manuscript was given on long-term loan to friar Pellegrinus.<sup>156</sup>

From fol. 1<sup>r</sup> to fol. 170<sup>v</sup> the manuscript contains the transcription of fragments of sermons and treatises by Iacopo della Marca, organised by topics and complemented by marginal comments.<sup>157</sup> On fols 84<sup>v</sup>-86<sup>v</sup>, there is a 'Tabula peccatorum', a tool for quick reference, followed by a short sermon on the festivity of St Bernardino.<sup>158</sup> On fols 171<sup>r</sup>-176<sup>r</sup> there is a selection of sermons by Robert of Licio, very similar to the former sermons by Iacopo della Marca, followed by a sermon on the festivity of Francis of Assisi, on fol. 186<sup>r</sup>.<sup>159</sup>

From fol. 266<sup>r</sup> to fol. 278<sup>v</sup> there is a selection of texts under the heading 'Authorities, excerpts and examples', assembled as a quick reference resource.<sup>160</sup> Among the texts there is a selection of fables by Aesop with specific indications as to their application, for example: 'Against the ungrateful, The wolf, against envy, The fox' and so on.<sup>161</sup> The final leaves of the manuscript, fols 279<sup>v</sup>-82<sup>v</sup>, contain the transcription of some excerpts from the *Summa de esentia* by Bonaventure.

In spite of gathering together numerous works of very different types, the selection of texts of MS 1851 is characterised by offering brief excerpts with essential information

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155 See Martina Pantarotto, *La biblioteca manoscritta del convento di San Francesco Grande*, p. 192.

156 'Libri ad usum mei fratris Pellegrini'. See Appendix 3 fig. 32.

157 Some of the headings are: De fide, de iustitia, de predicatione, de penis inferni, de intemperantia, de blasfemia, de correctione fraterna, de virtutibus, de ligno vite, de caritatis ordine, de amore proximi, de mercantiis, de sacrilegio, de pace, de nomine Yesu, de vanagloria, de mendacio, de septem peccatis mortalibus, de lingua, de gracia et eius fructibus, de causis, de misericordia dei, de divite apulone, de mortuis, de morte, de confessione.

158 'In solempnitate sancti Bernardinis.' See Appendix 3, fig. 33.

159 'In solempnitate Patris nostri Francisci.'

160 'Auctoritates, excerpta and exempla.'

161 'Contra ingratos, dum lupum; Contra invidiam, dum vulpem'.

concerning the topic. This feature, and the absence of long single treatises on morality, pastoral care or consideration of cases such as the works of Antonino of Florence, suggest that this volume had the function of being a quick, efficient source of primary material for examples, admonitions and exhortations. The manuscript has traces of intensive use, especially in terms of cross references to other sections of the text, *maniculae*, and marginal references indicated by the words 'Nota bene'.

Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 2103, an anthology of materials for the composition of sermons, is the third example to be considered. This is a paper manuscript in quarto of 218 x 152 mm, produced during the fifteenth century. The volume has a modern binding, and does not have traces of being chained. It has 74 leaves, written in a swift semigothic cursive script, carried out by several hands. The first writes from fol. 1<sup>r</sup> to fol. 20<sup>r</sup>: it is a very light hand, with notarial training, heavily abbreviated. The second hand writes from fol. 21<sup>r</sup> to fol. 25<sup>r</sup>. This is a more organised and formal hand that uses a larger script, with a more book-hand style, less abbreviated. A third hand writes from fol. 25<sup>r</sup> to fol. 43<sup>v</sup>. This is a light, quick hand. A fourth hand writes from fol. 43<sup>v</sup> to 70<sup>v</sup>. This hand has a more clear gothic influence, very stylised, less abbreviated, being much more a book-hand script, probably German, as the scribe does not use the characteristic Italian abbreviations. The system of decoration in the volume consists of decorated initials and rubrics on fols 72<sup>v</sup>-74<sup>v</sup>.<sup>162</sup> On fol III<sup>r</sup> there is an ownership inscription that attributes the manuscript to master Augustine of Blaise.<sup>163</sup>

On fol 1<sup>r</sup>-20<sup>v</sup> there is a selection of excerpts, notes and comments organised by topics or cases. The source for the selection is the *Coronula persuasiva ad sermocinandum inventa*, written during the fourteenth century by John Calderinus. The work focuses on the practical application of scriptural excerpts. For example, under a heading that introduces how to persuade the head of a house to come to a certain place there is a selection of several biblical quotations.<sup>164</sup> A table of quick reference of the topics was

<sup>162</sup> See Pantarotto, *La biblioteca manoscritta del convento di San Francesco Grande*, pp. 208-09.

<sup>163</sup> 'Iste liber est mei Augustini magistri Blasii'

<sup>164</sup> Therefore, under the heading 'Ad invitandum aliquem dominum ut ad aliquem locum veniat' there are references such as 'Venite pone manum tuam super eam et vivet: Mathei VIII', or 'Veniat dominus qui illuminabit abscondita: Ad Corinthi, 4', or 'Venite bene dicte patris miei percipite regnum: Marcus XXV'. Most probably this last reference is an error of the scribe, since the reference corresponds to Matthew, chapter 25, as confirmed by a quick comparison with Cologne, Historisches Archiv der Stadt, MS Best 7002, HS 146, fol. 301<sup>r</sup>. Another examples are: under the heading 'Ad acceptandum et promittendum ad aliquem locus' there are references such as 'Ego veniam et curabo eum: Mathei VIII', or 'Et surgens penitus est eum: Mathei VIII'. Under the heading 'Ad excusandum se ab ambasiata [sic] vel alio officio' there is the reference 'Quis ego sum ut vadam ad pharaonem?: Exodus III'. Other

prepared and included on fol. 69<sup>v</sup>.<sup>165</sup> From fol. 71<sup>v</sup> to fol. 74<sup>v</sup> there are other texts and excerpts, mainly a selection from the Fathers of the Church. In this particular section, the texts are introduced by rubrics. The manuscript has a large number of marginal references, especially the marginal 'Nota' to identify passages of interest. There are some *maniculae*, such as on fol. 19<sup>v</sup> to highlight the passage on how to protect people from the peril of dangerous vice.<sup>166</sup>

The main characteristic of MS 2103 is that it is very fragmentary, and therefore it does not offer a single complete work or a complete cycle of sermons. Instead, it presumably had a significant role as a very practical tool of reference for composing sermons and treatises, organised by cases and with strong support from biblical references.

The three examples of aids to preaching are all tools for quick reference for the composition of sermons. It is not possible to find in any of them a complete cycle of sermons, or a complete anthology of the main works of a famous preacher. Instead, some of them are focused on devotional and moral questions, while others have a clear function of being a guide to the selection and first exploration of the topics for preaching. None of them is constructed around a single concept, problem or situation. Another characteristic feature of this group of manuscripts is that they offer a perspective on the multi-linguistic environment in which Observants developed their pastoral care and on their remarkable adaptability. The use of Latin and the vernacular in the sources for the preparation of sermons is an example, not only of the adaptability of the Observants as preachers, but also of their flexibility concerning the practices of reading and study. The presence of literary works composed in the vernacular within the treatises on moral and devotional authority show that Observants acknowledged the value of literary expressions as an important element of the cultural environment of their audience. On the other hand, the actual practice of observant preaching to a wider audience remains uncertain and is still a matter of discussion. For some scholars, when preaching, Franciscan friars shifted from Latin to the vernacular according to the

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headings are: 'Ad impetrandam gratiam et ad recomendandum se vel alios; ad exortandum per habundantiam virtutis; ad filios servos et quoslibet minores se ad aliquid agendum; ad suplicandum elemosinam fieri; ad pacem facendam et mantendam; ad exortandum guerram contra iniquos opprimentes se vel amicos; ad confortandam gentem accedentem ad bellum; ad corripiendum populum de aliquo enormi vicio; ad preveniendum aliquem turbantes comune bonum', and so on.

165 See Appendix 3 fig. 35.

166 'Ad corripiendum populum de aliquo enormi vicio xxvi.'

audience of their sermons; for others, they used a mixed language with traces of Latin and vernacular in their preaching, as suggested by some manuscript evidence.<sup>167</sup>

However this very same manuscript evidence may be considered as material for personal study and preparation.<sup>168</sup> It is unquestionable, however, that different linguistic layers were present in observant sources for their preparation for preaching, and that sometimes it was difficult to establish in the same single source the linguistic boundaries between Latin and vernacular. There is no reason to believe that, in their practice of preaching to a wide and very mixed audience, observant preachers did not shift between different linguistic registers, literary genres and rhetorical resources.

### *Conclusion*

This chapter has explored the physical evidence of the Franciscan manuscripts in Padua, and has shown how the manuscripts are a source of valuable information on the works they contained, and also on the form they were used in the libraries. The analysis also offers evidence on the need of a typology of the Franciscan manuscript based, not upon the subject, but upon the practices of use. Even more interesting is the fact that this typology is substantially different for each library. The library of the convent of Sant'Antonio collected works to be studied such as theological treatises, manuals, and collections useful for the composition of sermons. The library of the observant convent of San Francesco Grande had a different approach. Its books were mainly portable volumes written by their own readers, and were, for the most part, compilations useful for internal or external pastoral care, or compilations useful for preaching, containing topics, models of sermons, cases and 'exempla'. This substantial difference is underlined by some linguistic features. The Biblioteca Antoniana kept almost exclusively a collection of works written in Latin, while the manuscripts of San Francesco Grande show a wider variety, with works in the vernacular and in Latin, and different genres, such as poems, sermons, cases and treatises. The presence of two different approaches to production, study, use and collection of manuscripts in the same place, at the same time, within the Franciscan order could be summarised by saying that if reading was oriented towards learning in the convent of Sant'Antonio, reading was

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<sup>167</sup> D'Avray discusses the relation between language, transmission of sermons and audience in D'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars*, pp. 90-131.

<sup>168</sup> See Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education*, pp. 311-12.

oriented towards practical pastoral care in San Francesco Grande. In any case, it is clear that there was a great distance between the ideal conception of the role and purpose of the Franciscan manuscript as conceived by the rule and the actual practices of scholarship and preparation for preaching in the convents, especially concerning ownership of manuscripts, and practices of writing and reading.

Sometimes, manuscripts reveal fragments of their own history, for example, through the presence of inscriptions 'ad usum', showing that long-term loans were common practice in both convents. The manuscripts from the library of San Francesco Grande were, or had been, personal copies that satisfied the needs and expectations of an individual, a scribe who had produced a portable library 'per se ipsum'. In a sense, they were artefacts in which their creators left an imprint on their intellectual history. On the other hand, there were manuscripts which were less personal, but nonetheless intriguing, as shown by the sets of volumes from the Biblioteca Antoniana. Both are the result of an optimisation of the bibliographical resources by 'releasing' manuscripts for loan as soon as other copies were available for consultation. This practice also constitutes a substantial difference between the libraries. In fact, the library of Sant'Antonio was an old, well-established library with a double collection of books, and a cycle of circulation according to which incoming manuscripts, after having been corrected, were chained, while the old copies became part of the collection for loan, as shown by the copies of Bonaventure's commentary on the *Book of Sentences*. There were no traces of such a practice in the library of San Francesco Grande, as suggested by the absence of traces of chains in its manuscripts. Most probably, the observant library did not have a double collection, and all its books were available for loan.

The analysis of Franciscan regulations has shown in Chapter 1 that there was also a formulation of an ideal concerning the role of books in Franciscan convents. The study of Franciscan libraries, in Chapter 2, revealed that they were not only repositories of the book collection, but also spaces of study and production, and that they had a determining role in the development and intellectual success of the Franciscan order. This chapter has offered a more detailed picture of the actual manuscripts produced, read, and studied by Franciscans from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries in Padua. The evidence shows that, in spite of being Franciscan manuscripts, these books had an enormous variety of formats, genres, scripts, topics, and, most importantly, roles. The

study has shown also that the manuscripts provide information on the interaction between readers and text, and, consequently, are an excellent resource to gain a better understanding of the forms of interaction between these manuscripts and their readers. This is the question that will be considered in detail in the next chapter.

## Chapter Four

*Reading Franciscan Manuscripts in Padua**Introduction*

During the second half of the fourteenth century, William Langland wrote *Piers Plowman*, an allegorical work written in Middle English that narrates the quest of its eponymous hero for the true Christian life. This poem had a strong impact on popular culture, as shown by the large number of related compositions that appeared shortly after. One of *Piers Plowman's* sequels was a poem known as *Jack Upland*, a polemical work arranged around a set of questions that aimed at condemning the hypocrisy of the religious, particularly the mendicant orders. At a certain point Jack, the main character, asked a sycophantic friar: 'Friar, what charity is it to gather up the books of God's word, many more than you need, and place them in your treasure room, and thus imprison them from secular clerks and curates, so that they are prevented from knowing God's word and from preaching the gospel freely?'<sup>1</sup> The excerpt provides an interesting depiction of the relationship between friars and books. In fact, according to the poem, friars were guilty of at least two sins, namely, avidly treasuring books and afterwards restricting access to them, in an unusual display of uncaring egoism.

Shortly after the poem's composition, between 1389 and 1396, the Franciscan friar William Woodford, a master at Oxford, prepared a threefold answer to these accusations.<sup>2</sup> William argued that friars restricted access to books, firstly, because that

1 *Jack Upland, Friar Daw's Reply and Upland's Rejoinder*, ed. by P. L. Heyworth (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 70. A discussion of the passage and the sequel may be found in Mary A. Rouse and Richard H. Rouse, *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991), pp. 410-19.

2 M. A. Rouse and R. H. Rouse, *Authentic Witnesses*, p. 416.

was the common practice within other orders, especially monastic ones. Secondly, friars needed to protect their books from mutilation and loss, and therefore they could not make them available to everybody. Thirdly, friars had the need and obligation to study, and therefore books should always be available to them.<sup>3</sup>

As William's answer underlined, friars protected their books because Franciscan convents had become centres of study, that is, places where books were written, kept, and, most importantly, read. The essential role of reading for purposes of learning in Franciscan life is well illustrated by the example of the Paduan convents, and this will be the main topic to be discussed in this chapter. So far this work has explored three dimensions of the manuscripts produced, studied and kept by the Franciscans in Padua from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century. The first chapter explored the development of the relation between Franciscans, learning and books through their regulations, as well as how this relationship developed in the environments of the Paduan convents in this period. Chapter 2 explored Franciscan libraries in general, and considered the development and organisation of the Franciscan libraries in Padua in further detail. The third chapter discussed and compared examples that illustrate the characteristic features of the manuscripts held in those libraries. Regulations, libraries and manuscripts provided interesting evidence for the important role of books in the life of the communities, not only as tools for study and preaching, but as an element of Franciscan life. Nevertheless, in order to have a more complete idea of the role of the Franciscan manuscript, a further dimension needs to be explored, namely, the use, or more precisely, the practices of reading the manuscripts available in the convents. Therefore, if Chapter 3 focused on the material evidence and on Franciscan manuscripts as physical objects, this chapter will consider the traces of the interaction with the reader.

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3 'Respondeo et dico, primo, quod pars prima huius questionis queri potest ab abathiis et prioratibus monachorum et canonicorum, a communitatibus collegiorum et unitatibus, et a cathedralibus ecclesiis equale sicut secundum a fratribus. Nam quilibet predictorum habet librarias ad custodiendum libros in eisdem, tam de sacra scriptura quam de scientiis aliis, qui clauduntur, ita ut seculares ab eis excludantur pro maiori parte. [...] Quod fratres claudunt libros tales ad cautelam ut impediunt sacerdotes seculares a predicatione verbi Dei est manifeste falsum. Nam illa de causa, sic non faciunt fratres plus quam ecclesie cathedrales vel alii collegii, sed propter duas causas faciunt, quarum una est ut libri habeantur in sacra custodia ne furto exponantur; nam in quibusdam locis ubi libri in loco aperto iacebant et sacerdotes seculares accessum liberum ad eos habuerunt, libri frequenter fuerunt furtive sublatis, non obstante quod ipsi fuerunt fortiter catenati, et quaterni aliqui librorum fuerunt abscisi et catene cum asseribus relicte remanserunt [...] Alia causa est quod fratres servant libros suos sub custodia clausos ut magis essent in promptu pro fratrum usibus ad custodiendum ut fratres ipsi studeant in eis et illi libri non possunt simul servire fratribus et secularibus.' Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 703, fols 54<sup>v</sup>-55<sup>r</sup>. Transcribed in Rouse and Rouse, *Authentic Witnesses*, p. 417.



In order to discuss the use of the Paduan manuscripts, it is necessary first to explore the meaning that terms such as 'reading', 'reader' and 'interpretive community' will have in this chapter. Afterwards, a brief discussion of the development of medieval reading and the types of medieval reader will be introduced in order to provide the context for the consideration of a set of questions proposed by the cultural historian Robert Darnton as key concepts at the core of a history of the book. Darnton's set of methodological questions will be applied to the manuscripts of the Franciscan convents in Padua in order to discuss whether there were distinctive forms of reading in the convents, and whether there was a relationship between practices of reading and the manuscripts used and produced in the convents. Finally, this chapter will apply the typology of the medieval reader proposed by Celine Van Hoorebeeck in order to outline the profile of the Franciscan friars as readers of manuscripts.<sup>4</sup>

#### *4.1. Reading and Readers in the Middle Ages*

One of the the most elementary, and effective, definitions of reading describes it as 'lifting information from a page'.<sup>5</sup> In spite of being extremely simple, and perhaps reductive, this definition points to the fact that reading is, essentially, an action. It is possible to improve this definition by considering two key elements implicit in the action, namely, the agent, the reader, and the object, the text. Reading, therefore, can also be seen as a process of interaction between the reader and the text that results in a passage of information from one to another. Depending on which element the theory focuses on, there are different models and conceptions of the process of reading.

The discussion of reading from the perspective of the reader is the central question of reception theory.<sup>6</sup> According to reception criticism, the text, which assumes the form of written words, is contained by a physical object, usually a book. The process of reading

4 Céline Van Hoorebeeck, 'Du livre au lire. Lectures et lecteurs à l'épreuve des catégorisations sociales', in *Lecteurs, lectures et groupes sociaux au Moyen Âge: actes de la journée d'étude organisée par le Centre de recherche "Pratiques médiévales de l'écrit" (PraME) de l'Université di Namur et le Département des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Bruxelles, 18 mars 2010*, ed. by Xavier Hermand, Étienne Renard, and Céline Van Hoorebeeck (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 123-31.

5 Robert Darnton, *The Kiss of Lamourette: Reflections in Cultural History* (London: Faber and Faber, 1990), p. 187. This process implies much more than the ability to decipher the units (letters, words) of the linguistic code employed to compose the text. See Michel de Certeau, 'La lecture absolue', in *Problèmes actuels de la lecture*, ed. by Lucien Dällenbach and Jean Ricardou (Paris: Clancier-Guéhaud, 1982), pp. 65-80 (p. 66).

6 Wolfgang Iser is perhaps the most influential scholar who considers reading from the point of view of the effect on the reader and the subsequent aesthetic response. See Wolfgang Iser, *The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response* (Baltimore; London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978).

creates in the reader an inner space for the universe of the text, allowing the text to become part of the world of the reader. During this process, the reader becomes the subject of the reality proposed by the text, and assumes the identity, or at least the voice, of the author. This means that, through reading, the reader and the author become someone different from themselves. It is necessary, however, to keep in mind that the author is a textual entity, that is, the subject of the text, and should not be confused with the writer, or the physical, historical person who arranged the words of the text. The writer is as alien to the real meaning of the text as the reader him- or herself before the experience of reading. Therefore, the effect of reading on the reader is the assumption of the identity of the author, not that of the writer, and this explains why any previous knowledge of the context of the writer does not contribute to or essentially improve the experience of reading.<sup>7</sup> Naturally, the assumption of the identity of the author cancels out the distance between the text and the reader, allowing the latter to construct his or her own sense of the text, that is, to interpret it.<sup>8</sup> This reception approach has been of great importance for the understanding of reading as a complex process that implies more than decoding a fixed meaning contained in a book. However, this approach has also been controversial because it attributes a secondary role to the context. In this sense, one of the main criticisms addressed to reception theory argues that it 'erases the concrete modality of the act of reading and characterises it by its effects, postulated as universals'.<sup>9</sup>

In fact, a better understanding of specific forms of reading can be achieved with the study of groups of readers in particular places and periods of time. From that point of view, which may be called 'historical', the reader is not an archetypical individual, but a member of a community of fellow readers who share socio-historical circumstances, and whose interaction determines the practices of reading of each one. Clear examples of such communities are groups that share a programme of education or intellectual training, as happens with religious orders. Even though the criticism from the historical point of view reveals some significant limitations of the theory of reception, some of the notions proposed by reception criticism are relevant to a consideration of medieval

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7 Georges Poulet, 'Phenomenology of Reading', *New Literary History*, 1 (1969), 53-68 (pp. 54-58).

8 Ross Chambers, 'Le texte "difficile" et son lecteur', in *Problèmes actuels de la lecture*, ed. by Lucien Dällenbach and Jean Ricardou (Paris: Clancier-Guéhaud, 1982), pp. 81-93 (p. 82).

9 Roger Chartier, 'Labourers and Voyagers: From the Text to the Reader', in *Readers and Reading*, ed. by Andrew Bennet (London; New York: Longman, 1995), pp. 132-49 (p. 134).

practices of reading, for example, the understanding of the reading experience as an individual, personal interaction, even though the subject can be member of a community with shared values and purposes, or the conception of the reader as an active player in the interaction between the reader and the text.<sup>10</sup> Although the historical approach will be prevalent in this work, the methodological notion of reading as a process of personal interaction will be assumed in order to gain a better understanding of Franciscans' interaction with their manuscripts. Therefore, in the context of this analysis, it can be assumed that reading is a process in which a single member of the community of Franciscan friars interacted with a textual source, a manuscript, in the specific historical context of the convent.<sup>11</sup> In what follows, the topics of reading in the Middle Ages, medieval readers, and the Franciscan community of readers will be outlined more clearly, in order to explore in further detail the process of reading undertaken by Franciscan friars in the Paduan convents.

#### *4.1.1. Reading in the Middle Ages*

Concerning reading in the Middle Ages, one of the first questions discussed by scholarship was whether reading aloud was preferable to silent reading or not. It has been argued that silent reading was practically unknown in late Antiquity, and that the situation remained unchanged during the high Middle Ages. Silent reading had then disseminated with the 'scholastic turn' during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. However, this assumption has been questioned, for example, by Armando Petrucci, who argues that excessive importance has been attributed to reading aloud during late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, that silent reading was already common practice during Antiquity, and that therefore it cannot be considered as a medieval invention.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, it can be said that there was an effective transition to silent reading for purposes of study during the high Middle Ages, in spite of the fact that, as will be seen, not all readers had developed writing skills.<sup>13</sup>

10 Burt Kimmelman, 'The Trope of Reading in the Fourteenth Century', in *Reading and Literacy in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. by Ian Frederick Moulton (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 25-44 (p. 28).

11 There were practices of reading that took place in locations different from the library such as, for example, the refectory, where friars shared common reading.

12 Armando Petrucci, *Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy: Studies in the History of Written Culture*, ed. and trans. by Charles M. Radding (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 133.

13 With the introduction of the practice of personal reflection on the Scripture, there were at least three different types of reading: reading *sotto voce*, or 'meditari litteras', namely, reading in a whisper; there

Although silent reading is not an innovation that can be attributed to scholastic culture, it certainly was employed with an innovative purpose by medieval universities. Schematically, one can say that scholasticism took reading out of the monastic cell or library, and found new spaces for silent reading with purposes of study, contributing significantly to the development of universities and schools. While reading in the monastic tradition was characterised by the 'ruminatio' of the sacred Scripture, scholastic reading was aimed at the effective retrieval of information in the written text, and was circumscribed by specific and pre-determined ways of interacting with the text, for example, by adding written marginal glosses and references.<sup>14</sup> More importantly, scholastic culture introduced a shift in the final purpose of reading. While monastic reading was aimed at obtaining wisdom through reflective reading, scholastic reading was aimed at achieving knowledge through the development of specific techniques to retrieve and process information.<sup>15</sup>

Naturally, the development of scholastic culture and its practices of learning depended on the availability of copies of manuscripts for personal reading. As we have seen, medieval libraries organised their book collections around the needs of their users, and provided places for personal reading in order to guarantee the availability of manuscripts for individual study.<sup>16</sup> These spaces were characterised by silence: books were studied individually, in a place located in a common room where the reader shared the space with fellow readers.<sup>17</sup>

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was also a different kind of private reading, in silence, as described in chapter 48 of the Rule of St Benedict, or in Isidore's *Libri sententiarum*, III. XIV. 8 and 9: 'Saepe prolixa lectio longitudinis causa memoriam legentis oblitterat. Quod si brevis sit, submotoque libro sententia retractetur in animo, tunc sine labore legitur, et ea quae lecta sunt recolendo memoria minime exciduntur. Acceptabilior est sensibus lectio tacita quam aperta; amplius enim intellectus instruitur quando vox legentis quiescit et sub silentio lingua movetur. Nam clare legendo et corpus lassatur et vocis acumen obtunditur.' *Isidorus Hispalensis Sententiae*, ed. by Pierre Cazier (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), p. 240, and finally reading aloud, as happened with the common reading in the refectory of religious houses. See Malcolm B. Parkes, 'Reading, Copying and Interpreting a Text in the Early Middle Ages', in *A History of Reading in the West*, ed. by Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier, trans. by Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999), pp. 90-102 (pp. 92-93).

- 14 Naturally, scholastic culture recognised the value of reading aloud, for example, during the 'lectio', that is, reading aloud in the class with the help of guided explanation and commentary. Nevertheless, personal reading with the purpose of study was carried out in silence. See Hamesse, 'The Scholastic Model of Reading', pp. 105-10.
- 15 The university provided specific and demanding training to develop abilities in order to explain and comment on the text (legere), to discuss specific topics (disputare) and to discuss in public its spiritual dimension (praedicare). See Hamesse, 'The Scholastic Model of Reading', pp. 110, 112.
- 16 See the discussion on the development of university and mendicant libraries in Chapter 2. See also, Paul Saenger, 'Reading in the Later Middle Ages', in *A History of Reading in the West*, pp. 120-48 (pp. 134-37, 141).
- 17 Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier, 'Introduction', in *A History of Reading in the West*, pp. 1-36

The changes in the forms of reading also affected the development of the forms of writing. In fact, during the high Middle Ages writing did not necessarily imply the ability to gain a full understanding of the text, which was presented in a continuous form, without separation between the units of sense, and without elements that provided guidance in reading. Writing was then an end by itself, and was related to, but clearly separated from, reading.<sup>18</sup> To a certain extent, the early medieval scribe's indifference to reading was the result of his lack of familiarity with the its hard and laborious practice.<sup>19</sup>

With scholastic culture, reading and writing became the inseparable skills of the learned man. Writing became more compatible with individual intellectual activity thanks to developments that guaranteed the individual, silent legibility of the text. From the twelfth century, writing and reading became closely bound together, since both were necessary to study.<sup>20</sup> There was a diffusion of word-separated script, along with resources that helped to identify sections of the text such as rubrics, paraphs, chapter titles, commentaries, summaries, concordances, indexes and tables, all of which satisfied the need for individual, silent reading. In fact, the structure of the page and of the whole text from the fourteenth century onwards pre-supposed a reader who read only with his eyes.<sup>21</sup> In time, the demand for written material produced the figure of the professional scribe who, in spite of being a qualified reader, had a technical approach to writing. In this sense, the professional scribe was not different from the early medieval one, apart from the fact that the professional scribe was able to read critically the contents of his writing, although for professional reasons did not do so.<sup>22</sup> Nevertheless, students who copied their own books through the 'pecia'-system represented a very different kind of scribe, that is, a writer who wrote his own reading material, and who could freely leave signs of his interaction with the text in the margins of the work he

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(p. 19); Petrucci, 'Reading in the Middle Ages', p. 139.

18 Armando Petrucci discusses Paul Saenger's assessment of the contribution of the high Middle Ages to the history of literacy in terms of the introduction of the separation of words in the written text. See Paul Saenger, 'Silent Reading: Its Impact on Late Medieval Script and Society', *Viator*, 13 (1982), 367-414, especially pp. 377-79. See also Petrucci, 'Reading in the Middle Ages', p. 134.

19 The case of the monastery of St Gall during the second half of the tenth century suggests that writing was secondary to reading, since the less talented young were assigned to the copying of manuscripts. See Petrucci, 'Reading in the Middle Ages', pp. 135-36.

20 Petrucci, 'Reading in the Middle Ages', pp. 138-39; Cavallo and Chartier, 'Introduction', p. 18.

21 Saenger, 'Reading in the Later Middle Ages', p. 125; Cavallo and Chartier, 'Introduction', p. 19; Kimmelman, 'The Trope of Reading in the Fourteenth Century', p. 36.

22 Saenger, 'Reading in the Later Middle Ages', p. 129. In this sense, the admonition expressed by the regulations of Dominican friars against using valuable study time in the activity of copying texts is perfectly understandable.

had copied.<sup>23</sup> These works, usually written in an efficient script – a light, cursive version of the gothic script –, were expected to be read in silence, in an individual, personal fashion, instead of being read aloud to a community; and their authors, aware of this situation, began to address their works to the reader, not to a community of listeners. During the last part of the Middle Ages many scribes assembled and copied their own reading materials, as shown, for example, by the miscellanies composed by Franciscan observant friars.<sup>24</sup> All these developments of the forms of reading and writing responded to a simple need, that is, making reading as effective as possible; and this certainly also contributed to the further diffusion of reading in non-scholastic environments at the end of the Middle Ages.<sup>25</sup>

#### 4.1.2. The Reader

The reader as a key element of the process of reading can be seen in many different ways, for example, as a historical entity, as the agent and recipient of perception, as a selective cultural agent, or even as an individual who does not exist, but is simply an effect of the act of reading.<sup>26</sup> From the point of view of the reader, the text guides the reading, and the reader is affected by the text. Therefore, the act of reading implies a double role for the reader: he is an agent while he reads, but at the same time he is transformed, not only by what he reads, but mainly by the act of reading itself. The

23 Saenger, 'Reading in the Later Middle Ages', p. 132; Boyle, 'Peciae, Apopeciae, Epipeciae', pp. 39-40; Hugues V. Shooner, 'La Production du livre par la pecia', in *La Production du livre universitaire au Moyen Âge*, pp. 17-37; Jean Destrez, *La Pecia dans les manuscrits universitaires du XIII<sup>e</sup> et du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Jacques Vautrain, 1935); Kimmelman, 'The Trope of Reading in the Fourteenth Century', p. 35; and Paul Saenger, *Space Between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), p. 257.

24 Petrucci, 'Reading in the Middle Ages', p. 142.

25 Cavallo and Chartier, 'Introduction', p. 17. See also, Donatella Nebbiai, 'Lecteurs, bibliothèques et société. Observations pour un premier bilan', in *Lecteurs, lectures et groupes sociaux au Moyen Âge: actes de la journée d'étude organisée par le Centre de recherche "Pratiques médiévales de l'écrit" (PraME) de l'Université de Namur et le Département des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Bruxelles, 18 mars 2010*, ed. by Xavier Hermand, Étienne Renard, and Céline Van Hoorebeeck (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 195-98.

26 An effective synthesis of the main approaches to reading and the role of the reader can be found in the introduction to *Readers and Reading*, ed. by Andrew Bennet (London; New York: Longman, 1995). A summary of the approach to the reader as a historical figure can be found in Chartier, 'Labourers and Voyagers'. As mentioned before, the discussion of the central role of the reader in the process of reading can be found in Iser, *The Act of Reading*. Some of the most important principles of the criticism proposing that the reader does not exist as an individual, but rather as an effect of reading may be found in Jacques Derrida, *Acts of Literature*, ed. by Derek Attridge (New York: Routledge, 1992), and in Shoshana Felman, 'Turning the Screw of Interpretation', *Yale French Studies*, 55-56 (1977), 94-207. M. de Certeau explores the conception of the reader as a qualified decoder of cultural products in Michel de Certeau, 'Reading as Poaching', in *Readers and Reading*, pp. 150-61.

criticism of reception theory is centred on that assumption.<sup>27</sup> For reception theory, the reader unfolds a network of connections from the text and selects some of them as significant. This selection is determined by the familiarity of the text to the reader's experience, and precisely through reading, the text itself becomes part of the whole experience of the reader. As a result, when the reader believes he is perceiving the thoughts of the author of the text, the subject of those thoughts is the reader himself.<sup>28</sup>

One of the main criticisms made of the theory of reception is that reading cannot be understood completely without a proper discussion of the context that affects the reader and his performance. In this sense, an understanding of the historical circumstances is essential to discuss the uniqueness of reception phenomena. However, reception criticism does not fully explore this dimension because it focuses on the atemporal aspects of reading.<sup>29</sup> As a response, historical criticism proposes the discussion of the reader as an individual who perceives the text in a specific context that determines his form of reading.

For historical criticism, the first discussion of the reader as the subject of analysis derived from the need to distinguish the history of reading from the history of what was read. The reader emerged as an individual who perceived the contents of the book, and whose perception was conditioned by external factors. For example, when discussing reading during the Ancien Regime, Michel de Certeau argued that reading was characterised by the independence of the text from its reader, a consequence of the control of the institution (the Church) through clerks. This setting favoured a uniform interpretation, namely, uniformity in reading. According to this interpretation, reciprocity in the interaction between the text and its readers developed only when the institution began to weaken.<sup>30</sup> The discussion of Certeau's approach has shown that such a determinism is insufficient to explain complex phenomena such as practices of reading.<sup>31</sup> One of the most interesting principles of historical criticism proposes that a

27 Iser, *The Act of Reading*, pp. 107, 134, and 163. See also, Iser, 'Interaction Between Text and Reader', in *Readers and Reading*, ed. by Andrew Bennet (London; New York: Longman, 1995), pp. 20-31.

28 Iser, *The Act of Reading*, pp. 126, 153. See also Iser, 'Interaction Between Text and Reader', p. 21.

29 Chartier, 'Labourers and Voyagers', p. 134.

30 Certeau, 'Reading as Poaching', p. 157.

31 Certeau aimed to challenge the assimilation of reading to passivity by underlining the autonomy of the reader as an achievement of modernity. The reader of the Ancien Regime, according to Certeau, would be the product of a controlled system of social relations. However, reception criticism has shown that the reader has enjoyed a great level of autonomy, even when the readable products were under control. See Certeau, 'Reading as Poaching', p. 155; Chartier, 'Labourers and Voyagers', p. 135. See also *A History of Reading in the West*, p. 3.

text is invested with new meaning and being when the physical form through which it is presented for interpretation changes.<sup>32</sup> In the context of the medieval manuscript, for example, the impact of the changes in the physical form is significant not only because of the changes in the techniques of writing, but also because the changes are related to features such as portability, as shown in Chapter 3. In fact, recent historical criticism has found analytical tools in disciplines such as textual criticism, bibliography, and cultural history in order to define and describe the role and practices of the reader.<sup>33</sup>

For the purpose of this dissertation, it is therefore necessary to establish the difference between the study and reconstruction of the processes of the perception of the text and the practices of reading. The former is the field of study of theories of reception and literary criticism, while the latter is discussed in further detail by historical criticism. In fact, for reception criticism the text is at the centre of the discussion, while the material support has a secondary role. However, a study of the medieval Franciscan practices of reading cannot overlook the physical support of the text, not only because the support may contain evidence of specific interactions between the reader and the text, but also because the specific form of the support, usually a manuscript, is the result of particular needs of the readers such as portability, flexibility, comprehensiveness and even personalisation of the texts. Therefore, a comprehensive, interdisciplinary historical approach is the best option for this analysis based upon manuscript evidence.

#### *4.1.3. The Medieval Reader*

To describe the medieval reader and his practices of reading is a complex task that requires the consideration of: textual factors such as the contents and the linguistic layers; material factors such as the physical characteristics of the text; and factors concerning the reader such as his familiarity with the written word and his relation to writing. An attempt to take into consideration socio-historical factors and a precise approach to the readers' actual practices of reading has been proposed by Céline Van Hoorebeek. Based upon the study of the tradition and diffusion of works considered as fundamental in medieval culture, she aims to narrow the field delimited by the notions

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32 Chartier, 'Labourers and Voyagers', p. 134.

33 Chartier, 'Labourers and Voyagers', p. 132-34.



of communities and social groups of historical criticism by focusing on their relation with the book and the practices of reading. She proposes that, in general terms, the medieval reader can be described as one of two possible different types: the 'professional reader', or the 'amateur reader'.<sup>34</sup>

The professional reader follows the models of scholastic and humanistic training. His type of reading is personal, private, in silence, and is to be found in a context where books are always available for consultation. Consequently, the library is for this reader a tool of work. More often than not, this reader handles copies of books written 'manu propria' which shows his specialist relationship to writing. This relation is also reflected in the traces he leaves on manuscripts, such as 'notae bene', corrections, comments and annotations. Usually the material characteristics of the books used by this kind of reader reflect his relation to reading: volumes in regular or small formats, in paper, and full of notes and comments.<sup>35</sup> By contrast, the amateur reader would prefer reading out loud, or public readings; his books of reference have a large format and are mainly objects, not tools of work. Finally, he would leave practically no textual traces in the manuscripts that would characterise his interaction with the text.<sup>36</sup> This proposal prudently foresees some instances where the proposed types do not exclude each other, and can even coexist.<sup>37</sup> But before considering manuscript examples from the Franciscan convents of Padua, it is necessary to explore an important methodological tool that will be employed in their description, that is, the notion of interpretive community.

#### *4.1.4. The Reader and the Interpretive Community*

When considering the importance of the context, it is necessary to take into account that the reader is not an isolated individual, but, as a cultural agent, is part of a community. The reader's community can be described from different points of view such as the

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34 A more detailed description of the general traits of each one of these types of reader may be found in Van Hoorebeeck, 'Du livre au lire', p. 128.

35 Van Hoorebeeck, 'Du livre au lire', pp. 128-29.

36 Van Hoorebeeck, 'Du livre au lire', p. 130-31. She argues that the amateur reader would leave some marginal glosses and *maniculae* to identify specific passages of the text. However, there is a significant number of instances in the manuscripts from the Franciscan convents in Padua where professional readers leave *maniculae* or glosses in the margins of the text. This would suggest that the use of *maniculae* is not a distinctive sign of non-professional reading. See Chapter 3 for a detailed description of some of these examples.

37 See Van Hoorebeeck, 'Du livre au lire', p. 131. Unfortunately, she does not offer examples.

economic, sociological, the historical, and even the political angle. However, for the purpose of this study, the most relevant perspective is the historical, because it is the only one that can explain the complexities of the development of the community both in a synchronic and diachronic sense. Michel de Certeau had a strong intuition of its importance when he described the reading mechanisms of Ancien Regime, although he focused on the power and extent of the influence of the institution rather than on the role of the community of readers as the determining factor in the interpretation carried out by the reader.

An attempt to develop a comprehensive theory of reading from the perspective of reception criticism was proposed by Stanley Fish through the notion of the interpretive community. This concept introduces into the theory the context of reading that intervenes in the interaction between the reader and the text. As the agent of interpretation or recreation, the reader assumes an interpretive strategy in order to interact with the text. However, the interpretive strategies employed by the reader are not his, but derive from the interpretive community to which he belongs. From this perspective, the interpretive community is at the centre of the meaning the reader finds in the text. The interpretive community consists of a group of individuals who share a common cultural background, as well as interpretive strategies, not only for reading, but mainly for writing texts. The strategies of interpretation are prior to the act of reading and determine what is read.<sup>38</sup>

The notion of an interpretive community can be a very useful tool in order to explore medieval practices of writing and reading. For instance Roger Chartier proposed a study of modes of reading that identified and described communities of readers and their respective traditions of reading. In this sense, it would be necessary to explore, for example, the different levels of reading competence within the community, the significant contrasts and variations between the norms and conventions concerning reading, the actual uses of the book, the practices of reading, the instruments and procedures of interpretation, as well as the interests and expectations of the community concerning reading.<sup>39</sup> One example of this approach to the discussion of reading within a community is the study of the 'mystical reader' carried out by Michel de Certeau,

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38 Stanley Fish, *Is There a Text in this Class? The Authority of Interpretive Communities* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press, 1980), pp. 14, 167-73, and 338-55.

39 Chartier, 'Labourers and Voyagers', pp. 134-35.

when he discussed the experiences of reading in the context of illuminated or mystical spirituality during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the context of mysticism, reading, determined by norms and habits, invested the book with novel functions: to replace ecclesiastical institutions, to disseminate prayer, and to indicate practices through which spiritual experience was constructed.<sup>40</sup> The mystical reading experience, as described by Certeau, reinforced the role of the individual as member of a community with a set of shared values such as the perception that words are a real extension of physical presence. In this sense, silent individual reading was a form of engaging in a personal interaction with the superior, spiritual entity of the author.<sup>41</sup>

In the case of the Franciscan convents of the city of Padua, it is possible to explore their interpretive communities at different levels. The first and most general is the wider Franciscan community of friars, that is, a religious community that shared a set of institutional values and attitudes towards writing and reading, as established by their regulations and masters, and who also shared a distinctive ethos. In a very broad sense, within this community the main purpose of reading was to study in order to follow a programme of preparation for two activities: preaching and pastoral care.<sup>42</sup> A more specific interpretive community is constituted by the individual convents in the city. Each convent constituted a community characterised by devotion to study, an activity supported by their libraries and by the practice of writing.<sup>43</sup> Specific differences concerning the practices of writing and study became clear with the examination of the manuscript evidence on chapter 3. For example, the manuscripts from the convent of Sant'Antonio correspond to the format and configuration of the 'university manuscript', that is, parchment volumes of regular size – usually between 300/330 x 200/220 mm –, written in Latin with a gothic script, and with a mise-en-page organised in two columns.<sup>44</sup> A much more modest, smaller version of these manuscripts, usually in paper, written in cursive script, with a mise-en-page more flexible and with excerpts in the vernacular and in Latin appeared later, and was typically used by the observant friars

40 Certeau, 'La lecture absolue', pp. 65-80.

41 Kimmelman, 'The Trope of Reading in the Fourteenth Century', pp. 28-30.

42 Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education*, pp. 272-89; Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, pp. 117-46.

43 Humphreys, *The Book Provisions of the Medieval Friars*, pp. 108-09; Humphreys *The Library of the Franciscans*, p. 18; Pantarotto, *La biblioteca manoscritta del convento di San Francesco Grande*, pp. 11-12.

44 Giovè Marchioli, 'Il codice Francescano, l'invenzione di un'identità', pp. 392-93; See also Nicoletta Giovè Marchioli and Stefano Zamponi, 'Manoscritti in volgare nei conventi dei Frati Minori', p. 312.

of the convent of San Francesco Grande.

The following section will explore the manuscript evidence for reading and forms of reading in the Franciscan convents of Padua. It will follow a historical approach, taking into account the Franciscan convents as interpretive communities. The analysis aims to explore distinctive elements of the practices of reading in the convents, and to verify and discuss, if necessary, the typology of medieval reader proposed by Céline Van Hoorebeeck. It will not attempt to reconstruct the history of the Franciscan reader in Padua or to establish a definitive phenomenology of Franciscan reading, but describe practices of reading and their relation to the particular interpretive community of the convent as elements useful to the reconstruction of the Franciscan approach to books.

#### *4.2. Some Important Questions*

The first steps in the exploration of the practices of reading in the Franciscan convents in Padua can follow what Robert Darnton considers as essential questions for the history of reading, namely, who reads, what does he/she read, where does he/she read and when does he/she read. Two additional questions imply further analytical work, namely, why does the reader read, and how does the reader read.<sup>45</sup> The questions may be related to theoretical approaches, for example, 'who reads?' is at the centre of the reception theory, while 'when' and 'where' are questions that point to the context of reading, as well as to reading as a process in terms of a developing action characterised by disruptions and movements forwards and backwards in the texts.<sup>46</sup> In the specific case of this study, the answer to the first question is that the reader is an individual member of the interpretive community of Franciscan readers and writers in the city of Padua from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. The context of the friar as a reader is determined by the nature of the Franciscan order as a community devoted to study for purposes of preaching and pastoral care. At the same time, depending on whether the friar belongs to the unreformed Community or to the observant movement, his perception of the written culture may change, because the manuscripts that he read and eventually wrote would have had distinctive characteristics.<sup>47</sup> At this point, key methodological observations of

45 The study of the external history of reading as a social phenomenon helps to answer these questions satisfactorily and to constitute a solid base from which to explore the more difficult questions of why and how. See Darnton, *The Kiss of Lamourette*, p. 157.

46 Cavallo and Chartier, 'Introduction', p. 13.

47 See Chapter 3.

Darnton, even though referring to printed books, are relevant to the particular case under discussion: the physical appearance of the book is suggestive for the history of reading, since factors such as binding, typographical design/script, layout, paragraphing, punctuation, and so on hold clues to historical developments in reading.<sup>48</sup> In manuscript culture, many significant developments in writing and reading were conditioned by specific needs such as the scarcity of the materials or the necessity of getting the best of the resources at one's disposal, or improving efficiency in reading, as shown by the development of scripts such as the cursive forms of gothic.<sup>49</sup>

In order to describe more accurately who reads, the catalogue of the library is useful for outlining the profile of the reader, even if a single reader cannot read all the books available in the repositories of a library. In fact, it is not the number of books read or held in the collection that becomes relevant for constructing the profile of a reader, but the type of books collected in the library, because the typology of books usually reflects the expectations of the interpretive community of readers. This information is revealed by the catalogues of the libraries. In the case of the Paduan libraries, the catalogues of the libraries have been useful to establish a common purpose for the collection of both communities, that is, the training of the preacher, although the composition of each collection shows significant differences in terms of the dynamics of the typology of books read.<sup>50</sup> Finally, based upon the characteristics of the interpretive community to which the friar belongs, one would expect the Franciscan friar to be a professional reader, a student who uses the library as a place for reading and writing, a reader who takes an active role in his interaction with the text and who is willing to leave traces of his dialogue with the text in the manuscript that becomes his object of study. It is also expected that this reader will be capable of writing his own material of study if required. We will see further on whether the manuscript evidence from the Paduan convents supports this description of the Franciscan friar as a reader.

The 'where' not only tells us the location in which reading takes place, but is also helpful also for understanding whether reading was a communal activity or not. In the case of the Paduan convents, it is necessary to take into consideration that the practices

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48 Cavallo and Chartier, 'Introduction', p. 8. Darnton, *The Kiss of Lamourette*, pp. 182-86.

49 Bernhard Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, trans. by Dáibhí Ó Cróinín and David Ganz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 127-45; Giorgio Cencetti, *Lineamenti di storia della scrittura latina* (Bologna: Pàtron, 1997), pp. 184-98.

50 For a description of the role and function of the libraries of the Paduan convents, see Chapter 2.

of reading were oriented towards spiritual edification and study. For the convent of Sant'Antonio, there was a common place for studying, the library, which offered a collection of books chained to the benches, and there were also books available for loan, as shown by the earliest inventories available.<sup>51</sup> This suggests that the reader in the convent of Sant'Antonio could count on a space devoted exclusively to personal silent reading. The situation for the convent of San Francesco Grande is more difficult to establish. As Chapter 2 shows, it is certain that there was a library, as the earliest inventories available show, but unfortunately it has not been possible to establish whether there was a collection of chained books.<sup>52</sup> The absence of physical evidence for chaining on the examined surviving manuscripts does not allow us one to confirm such a practice in the observant convent. This addresses the question of whether the library was a space for silent, personal reading. For the moment, it is possible only to offer an incomplete answer, based upon evidence present in the surviving manuscripts, that is, cross-references and internal quotations, which suggests intensive personal study that could be carried out only in a silent space in the convent.

Apart from the questions already discussed, there are another two about reading manuscripts in the Franciscan convents that are characterised by greater complexity: why did friars read, and how did they read? The answer to why has to do with the role of Franciscans as professional readers, and with the nature of their interpretive community. Franciscans devoted themselves to study with the purpose of acquiring complete training as preachers and agents of pastoral care, in accordance with the declared ideal for their education. Nevertheless, it is worth remembering that, as shown in Chapters 1 and 2, Franciscans' engagement with the highest levels of scholastic culture abundantly exceeded the levels of literacy required for preaching and pastoral care, and, as proposed by Şenocak, they reflected the characteristic medieval glorification of learning. Therefore, these complex reasons should be also considered when answering why Franciscans assumed the task of reading at a professional level. In order to determine how Franciscan friars read, it is necessary to take into account two dimensions of the friars as readers. On the one hand there was the ideal scholastic model of reader. On the other hand, there was the actual practice of reading in the

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51 The current Padua, Biblioteca Antoniana, MS 572, a fourteenth-century inventory, and Padua, Biblioteca Antoniana, MS 573, a fifteenth-century inventory.

52 Pantarotto, *La biblioteca manoscritta del convento di San Francesco Grande*, pp. 10, 14-15, 18-33.

convent, conditioned by the availability of the manuscripts and the particular circumstances of pastoral care. In any case, the evidence provided by the manuscripts shows that, at least the observant Franciscan friars were highly skilled professionals and intellectuals familiarised with writing and reading in a multilingual environment.

A detailed reconstruction of medieval practices of reading is difficult because sources do not describe learned readers at work. The pre-printing experience of reading has been described as 'intensive', that is, readers tended to read the same few books many times. An 'extensive' experience of reading should be characteristic of modern times when, thanks to social and cultural transformations, readers could enjoy a wider possibility of choices.<sup>53</sup> This distinction is not helpful for understanding the context of the Franciscan convents, where friars used to read several manuscripts on diverse matters simultaneously, and where, if required, they could create personal anthologies of texts of different genres and languages, as shown by the evidence described in Chapter 3. Therefore, in order to balance the lack of accuracy in the description of the practices of reading in the sources, it is necessary to refer to the context of reading already studied through the convents, libraries and manuscripts.<sup>54</sup>

### *4.3. The Manuscript Evidence*

In order to outline a profile of the friars of the convents of Padua as readers, this section will examine some textual evidence found in a set of manuscripts held in the libraries of the convents during the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries.

It has been established that Franciscans, as readers, were professional agents familiar with writing in the vernacular and in Latin, who read with the purpose of studying to preach or to prepare for pastoral care. Accordingly, the manuscripts that will be considered in the analysis will include works for spiritual edification and devotion, works useful for pastoral care (such as compilations of cases, rules and treatises on confession and penance), works for study, and works useful for preaching and writing sermons. Except for the books for study, I shall describe examples of each type of book

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<sup>53</sup> Darnton, *The Kiss of Lamourette*, p. 165, 157.

<sup>54</sup> Jonathan Topham argues that the object of book history is to reintroduce social actors engaged in social practices with respect to material objects into a history in which books have too often been understood as disembodied texts. Jonathan Topham, 'BJHS Special Section: Book History and the Sciences. Introduction', *British Journal for the History of Science*, 33 (2000), 155-58 (p. 153).

in both Franciscan libraries in Padua. I shall adopt the comparative approach by presenting the books present in the Biblioteca Antoniana first, and then those held in the observant library of San Francesco Grande.

#### *4.3.1. Manuscripts from the Biblioteca Antoniana*

The first manuscript to be discussed is a book read as a source of spiritual edification and devotion: Padua, Biblioteca Antoniana, MS 267, a glossed volume containing the Gospels of Luke and John. This manuscript was part of a Bible in twenty-five volumes donated by Egidius, canon of the cathedral, to the Franciscan library in 1237.<sup>55</sup> It is a parchment volume of 355 x 240 mm, written during the thirteenth century. It has a stiff binding of wooden boards covered in leather, and some traces of the clasps for the chain in the binding suggest that this volume was chained. It has 145 leaves written in an elegant form of gothic book-hand described as 'littera parisiensis'.<sup>56</sup> The script is distributed in three columns: the central one contains the main text and the two adjacent columns contain the gloss, plus an interlinear gloss to the main text. The initials of the manuscript are decorated in blue and red.

The manuscript offers only a few but nevertheless significant instances of readers' interaction with the text. The main interventions by the readers take the form of notes, references to other biblical books, and complementary comments on the gloss. For example, on fol. 3<sup>v</sup>, in the first chapter of the Gospel of Luke, in the passage where Gabriel announces to Zachary that he will conceive a son, a fourteenth-century reader added a cross reference to biblical sources.<sup>57</sup> These references are intended to comment on the text of the gloss, which discuss the specific role of Zachary in the divine plan, the role of priests in ancient Israel as well as their figurative role in the Christian community. In the same margin, there is another marginal note on the gloss which comments on the miraculous conception of Elizabeth as an example of how the laws of nature can be modified by the messengers of God in order to fulfil the divine plan of

55 There is a note on the pastedown: 'Iste liber est de conventus Padue et in eodem conventus debet permanere de voluntate eius cuius fuit. Si fuit autem ipsum alienaverit anathema sit et sunt Lucas et Iohannes in isto volumine.' See *I Manoscritti datati della provincia di Vicenza e della Biblioteca Antoniana di Padova*, p. 53. See also Abate and Luisetto, *Codici e manoscritti della Biblioteca Antoniana*, 1, xxvii.

56 Abate and Luisetto, *Codici e manoscritti della Biblioteca Antoniana*, 1, 263.

57 'Ad Hebreos capitulus VII'; 'In Prima ad Timotheum, capitulus I', and further: 'Mala labia sacerdotem capitulus et ceterae.' See Appendix 3 fig. 12.



salvation. The comment states that concerning Elizabeth's case, it is to be understood that the natural law was 'in hand', that is, it was subject to the the purpose of the angelic mediator, who could alter the principles of nature, which means that the law is subject to the ministry of angels.<sup>58</sup>

On fol 4<sup>r</sup>, in the left margin, a reader wrote a number of comments, references and interpretations to complement the gloss on the visit of angel Gabriel to Mary.<sup>59</sup> There is also a comment on the symbolic meaning of the conception: God wanted to be born and be nourished in a small city, giving a hint of his own crucifixion; similarly, small things allow the faithful to prefigure bigger sacrifices.<sup>60</sup> In the right margin the same hand comments on the gloss on the conception of Elizabeth, adding that such mystery, namely, how she could conceive in her old age, was not to be unveiled to her, but it was revealed in a clear form to the blessed Virgin.<sup>61</sup> These traces suggest an interaction that aims to establish useful references for personal, spiritual edification and devotion, and therefore the marginal comments do not point to topics for preaching or theological study.

Another example of manuscripts employed as materials for devotional purposes is Padua, Biblioteca Antoniana, MS 112, a copy of the *Life of Francis*, or *Legenda Maior*, written by Bonaventure of Bagnoregio. This is a parchment manuscript of 390 x 280 mm, written during the thirteenth century. It has a stiff binding of wooden boards covered in leather with traces of the clasps, which suggests that the manuscript had been chained at a certain point. The volume has 67 leaves written in an elegant gothic script organised in two columns. Apart from the rubrics, the text is decorated with some

58 'Thus [it is to be understood that] the law was 'in hand', that is, [subject to] the capability of the mediator, who could alter the law, that is add something or lessen the divine. Of the law itself, I say "ordained law", that is given in an ordered fashion, and given through angels, namely, by the mystery of angels.' After divine law, ordained law was the second most important type of law in medieval jurisprudence, because it flowed from the operation of the divine law. The text of the marginal comment is: 'Ita <construe> lex erat in manu, id est potestate medi [sic. Most probably for 'mediatoris' as appears in the text of the gloss] qui poterat legem mutare vel addere aliquid vel minuere <divinem>. Ipsi legi. Lex dico ordinata, id est ordinate data et data per angelos, id est misterio angelorum.'

59 'In Genesis capitulum XVIII: postquam senui et dominus meus vetulus est voluptati operam dabo? [Genesis 18. 12]' 'In Exodo XXIII: ne coques edum in lacte matris. [Exodus 23. 19] Id est, Christum ignorantie passionis est in die conceptionis'; and further: 'Ecclesiaste IIII [sic]: est temporis vacandi ab amplexibus [Ecclesiastes 3. 5]', and 'In Joel, capitulum II: Egrediatur sponsus de cubili suo. [Joel 2.16]' See Appendix 3 fig. 13.

60 'Per hoc que dominus voluit in parva civitate nasci et nutriri et imaginem crucifigi innuit velle nos in parvis <de lectari> ad magna pervenientes crucifigamus.'

61 'Quia non dum revelatum ei misterium conceptionis scilicet per quo misterio datum esset ei in senectute concipere quae post ea revelatum est ei <iam distinctu> beate virginis.'

initials in red and turquoise.

The text contains little evidence of written interaction with the readers. There is a set of comments that provide orientation on a misplacement of some quires. On fol. 10<sup>v</sup> there is a sign that indicates that the continuation to the text is to be found below, on fol. 58<sup>r</sup>. In fact, after fol. 10<sup>v</sup>, it follows fol. 18<sup>v</sup>, where a note can be found: 'Require in fine lectioni reperies hic signum'. On fol. 57<sup>r</sup> there is another annotation informing that there is one miracle missing, and that it can be found at the end of the manuscript.<sup>62</sup> Apart from these annotations, the manuscript does not offer further textual signs of interaction between the reader and the text, a feature explained by the fact that this was a text with a twofold value: as a source of devotional inspiration and as a cornerstone of the Franciscan identity. Abate and Luisetto suggest, without further detail, that this manuscript was employed 'per uso di lettura pubblica', that is, as a manuscript to be read aloud in public. One may suppose that it was used as a text to be read in the refectory and that the public character of this text was limited to the audience of friars, and eventually to commemorative ceremonies.<sup>63</sup> In this case, it is not the presence, but the absence, of signs of interaction through intensive reading which constitutes an element of analysis in order to discuss significant features of the medieval Franciscans as readers. If the absence of textual marks is the result of the interaction with amateur readers, one may argue, on the one hand, that devotional reading may not have left traces and, on the other hand, that the absence of marks does not imply that the reader of this manuscript was not a professional reader. It is necessary, then, to take into account the interpretive community.

One significant example of books used by the friars of Sant'Antonio for purposes of study is Padua, Biblioteca Antoniana, MS 125. It is a parchment manuscript that contains the commentary on the *Book of Sentences* by Bonaventure of Bagnoreggio.<sup>64</sup> The manuscript has evidence of the interaction between the reader and the text in the form of corrections, marginal annotations and *maniculae* to identify passages in the text. Apart from this, there are additional forms of evidence, constituted by resources to identify parts of the text, cross references and ownership inscriptions referring to the concession of the manuscript 'ad usum'.

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62 'Hic deficit unum miraculum. Require illud in fine libri.'

63 Abate and Luisetto, *Codici e manoscritti della Biblioteca Antoniana*, 1, 146.

64 For a detailed description of this manuscript see Chapter 3, section 3.1.1.

On fol. 10<sup>v</sup>, apart from corrections to the text, there can be found marginal notes to identify the main parts of Bonaventure's argument in the form of '1m' (primum), '2m' (secundum), '3m' (tertium), and so on.<sup>65</sup> In order to identify the objections to these arguments, a fourteenth-century reader added in the margin 'Ad 1m', 'Ad 2m', 'Ad 3m', and so on. Similar corrections and resources to identify parts of the argument as well as objections can be found throughout the manuscript.

Concerning the comments and marginal notes, fol. 6<sup>r</sup> provides evidence of the fact that this manuscript was still used as a tool for study during the fifteenth century. In the part where the author discusses the supreme and absolute goodness of God, a marginal note written by a fifteenth-century hand comments that goodness and virtuous are stated as twofold, and that integrity is delightful.<sup>66</sup> Further, on fol. 10<sup>v</sup>, there is another example. There, in order to clarify the argument of the third distinction, a fourteenth-century reader wrote on the margin that it was to be noticed how image and trace differ.<sup>67</sup> The same reader commented further that the ascension to God is twofold.<sup>68</sup> And once again this reader wrote marginal corrections and additions to the text on fol. 23<sup>r</sup>, as well as on fol. 43<sup>r</sup>, where the text reproduces the first question of the second article of the fourteenth distinction. Bonaventure discusses how the holy ghost gave himself in person, which constitutes divine grace, and then explains that what is given belongs to the recipient, following the principle that something is given to someone with a purpose.<sup>69</sup>

The ownership inscriptions of this manuscript are a source of additional information on the history and use of the volume. As already mentioned in Chapter 3, one of the inscriptions, written by a late thirteenth-century hand, appears on fol. 127<sup>v</sup>, and is followed by a second one, almost identical, on fol. 143<sup>r</sup>, written almost one century later.<sup>70</sup> Additionally, there is another ownership inscription from the late fifteenth century on fol. 141<sup>v</sup>.<sup>71</sup> This set of ownership inscriptions suggests an intensive and

65 See Appendix 3 fig. 6.

66 'Nota quod bonum honestum dicitur aliquid esse duplex et nota quod honesto sit fruendum.'

67 'Nota quomodo differunt ymago et vestigium.'

68 'Nota quod ascensus in deum duplex est.'

69 'Nota quod aliud datus alicui ad ita.' See Bonaventure, *Opera omnia*, 250; see also Appendix 3 fig. 7 and 8.

70 On fol. 127<sup>v</sup>: 'Iste liber datus est ad usum fratris [sic] Guidonis anno MCCCCLXXXIII', and on fol. 143<sup>r</sup>: 'Iste liber est concessus ad usum fratris Guidonis de Padua Ordinis Fratrum Minorum.' See Appendix 3 fig. 8 and 10.

71 'Liber fratris Francixi de Ordine Minorum.' See Appendix 3 fig. 9.

continuous use of this manuscript for reasons of study during three centuries with, at least, two concessions 'ad usum', that is, long-term loans, usually for life.<sup>72</sup>

An example of books employed as source material in the preparation of sermons is the set of manuscripts of the sermons of Luke of Bitonto, namely, manuscripts 417, 418, 419, and 527 of the Biblioteca Antoniana.<sup>73</sup> In this section, particular attention will be paid to manuscript 418, a parchment volume of 293 x 204 mm with a rigid binding that has traces of being chained. The text is written gothic book-hand script by, at least, two hands from the thirteenth century who added no decoration to the text.

A particular feature of this manuscript appears in the transition from fol. 16<sup>v</sup> to 17<sup>r</sup>, where the distribution of the written text changes from across the page to a two-column layout.<sup>74</sup> Most probably, the alteration of the *mise-en-page* is due to a significant change in the format of the folio. In fact, the first quire measures 293 x 228 mm, while the format changes to 280 x 200 mm from the second quire on. The hand remains the same, and the continuity of the text has no alteration, which suggests that the manuscript is not a composite volume, that is, a volume formed by pieces of different manuscripts, but a unitary one whose variations in format are the result of the availability of the parchment, a feature in complete accordance with the nature of the volume as a non-luxury book.

The manuscript shows traces of interaction between the reader and the text in the form of corrections and comments written in cursive script by a late fifteenth-century hand. Apart from the examples of fols 5<sup>r</sup>, 6<sup>v</sup>, 9<sup>r</sup> and 10<sup>r</sup> described in Chapter 3, there is an annotation that verified the continuity of the text from fol. 16<sup>v</sup> to 17<sup>r</sup>. The original text reads: 'per fidem quamvis per speculum [fol. 17<sup>r</sup>] in enigmatē'. A cursive fifteenth-century hand only corrects above: 'et imaginatione', which suggests that the change in the size of the folio did not change substantially the fluency of the text. There are a few other corrections and interventions of this kind, for example, on fol. 16<sup>v</sup>, in the left margin, the same fifteenth-century cursive hand corrects the first two words of the line: '[ad si]ni decli' for: '[ad si]num declinat', and on fol. 17<sup>r</sup> it corrects in the left margin 'dispensatio eorum' for 'disputationem'. Similarly, the hand corrects words from the text, 'ipsios' for 'istis', and so on. This kind of corrections might be the result of a revision of

<sup>72</sup> For a discussion of the long-term loans, or concessions 'ad usum', see Chapter 2.

<sup>73</sup> The description of their physical characteristics can be found in Chapter 3.

<sup>74</sup> See Appendix 3 fig. 13 and 14.

the text in order to establish a reliable version of the sermons, most probably for long-term personal use once the manuscript, after being chained, became a volume destined for loan, and eventually for loan 'ad usum'.

#### 4.3.2. Manuscripts from *The Library of San Francesco Grande*

The library of the convent of San Francesco Grande had a remarkable collection of works useful for the purposes of pastoral care and for the preparation and writing of sermons. In what follows some examples of the practices of reading these two kind of manuscripts will be described.

The first example is Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 736, a miscellany of treatises useful for pastoral care. This is a paper volume in octavo, from the mid-fifteenth century, written in a small semi-gothic cursive script, whose decoration consists of modest ornaments on some capital letters. The text offers an anthology of excerpts, treatises and cases on confession, among which the treatise on confession by Antonino of Florence. Most probably this was a personal selection of items, and that is why it has been described as a volume of reference.<sup>75</sup>

The manuscript has only a few but nonetheless significant corrections and additions, all of them written by the same hand as the main text. For example, on fol. 1<sup>r</sup> there is a marginal note that identifies the prologue to the treatise on confession, and stated that it was prepared by friar John of the order of Friars Minors in the penitentiary.<sup>76</sup> On the same folio there is another marginal note written with the purpose of identifying the first of the four preventive actions suggested by the author on confession and penance: those who confess should first take action.<sup>77</sup> Another example may be found on fol. 71<sup>r</sup>, where there is an addition under the form of a heading, useful to identify the section, namely, the *Dubia* of John of Capistrano.<sup>78</sup> Finally, on fol. 117<sup>v</sup> there is an ownership inscription that allows one to establish that the manuscript was completed between

<sup>75</sup> For a detailed description see Chapter 3. See also Pantarotto, *La biblioteca manoscritta del convento di San Francesco Grande*, p. 123.

<sup>76</sup> 'Incipit prologus formale confessionum <edite> a fratre Iohannes de Ordine Fratrum Minorum domini propter pennenciario.' See Appendix 3 fig. 17.

<sup>77</sup> 'Prima est quidem hiis qui confesint debet procedere.'

<sup>78</sup> 'These are some questions as were proposed. Friar John of Capistrano answered them thoroughly, each an every one, as shown below.' The transcription of the heading is: 'Infrascripta sunt quidam dubia quae fuerunt proposita. Responsit <...> Johanni de capistrano qui respondit omnibus et singularis pro, ut infra patebit videlicet.' See Appendix 3 fig. 18.

1454, the date of completion of the work of Antonino of Florence on confession, and 1462, when it was conceded in a long-term loan to friar Simon of Parma.<sup>79</sup>

The manuscript overall has a small number of notes, comments or further evidence of professional reading. The fact that the marginal notes and comments were written by the same hand that wrote the main text suggests that once the apparatus required to locate the information efficiently was completed, it was not necessary to add anything further, except for the last folio, where there is an additional excerpt and the ownership inscription. This suggests that the manuscript was employed as a tool of reference and not as a manuscript of intensive study, or professional reading.

Another example of a manuscript employed as a reference tool for pastoral care is Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 1159, a miscellany of treatises and cases on pastoral care. This is a paper manuscript, in octavo, written during the fifteenth century in cursive gothic script. The decoration of the manuscript is limited to paraphs in red and some capital letters also highlighted in red.<sup>80</sup> On fol 188<sup>r</sup> there is an ownership inscription, written in a late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century script which confirms that the volume was given on a long-term loan.<sup>81</sup> In spite of being a volume that was given on loan 'ad usum', and in spite of being a collection of excerpts of representative treatises and cases, the main characteristic of MS 1159 is the absence of traces of interaction with the reader. This feature is consistent with the nature of the volume as a tool, and therefore, it was used with the specific purpose of reference by the friars as professional readers, but not for doctrinal study.

Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 1511 offers a collection of treatises used for pastoral care by the observant friars at Padua. The manuscript contains a miscellany of treatises and materials, among which are works by Antonino of Florence, Bernardino of Siena, and Jacopone da Todi.<sup>82</sup> This is a paper manuscript, in octavo of approximately 141 x 103 mm, written during the second half of the fifteenth century. The volume has a hard modern binding with no traces of being chained. The manuscript has 168 leaves

79 'Hic liber pertinet ad locum sancti Francisci apud hospitale Padue. Concessus ad usum fratris Simonio de Parma Ordinis Minorum die X julii 1462.' See Appendix 3 fig. 19.

80 For a detailed description of the characteristics and contents of the volume, see Chapter 3. See also Pantarotto, *La biblioteca manoscritta del convento di San Francesco Grande*, p. 149.

81 'Ad usum fratris Antonii de Padua.'

82 Pantarotto, *La biblioteca manoscritta del convento di San Francesco Grande*, p. 167. The works included in the miscellany are: St Antonino of Florence, *Confessionalis 'Defecerunt'*, plus excerpts from various works; Bernardino of Siena, *De restitutionibus*; Clement V, *Declaratio in regulam Fratrum Minorum*, transcribed in a version in the vernacular, and Jacopone da Todi, *Laudi*.

written in gothic cursive script by two different hands, the second of which started writing at fol. 155r, where there is also a shift from a two-column mise-en-page to a full-page script. The overall decoration of the manuscript consists of few paraphs, rubrics and initials in red.

This miscellany has the characteristics of a personal anthology of treatises on virtue, the nature of the Franciscan order, its spirituality and some elements of theological doctrine, as shown by the presence of dispositions concerning the order, its discipline, and the proper way of living according to Franciscan principles. The excerpts from Jacopone da Todi's *Laudi* are a complement to the former texts as a source for spiritual edification. The presence of sections written in the vernacular and in Latin suggests a high level of flexibility on the part of the writer and eventual readers of the manuscript. Nevertheless, as with MS 1159, this manuscript is characterised by the absence of comments, notes, or even corrections as signs of interaction between the reader and the text. On fol. 165<sup>v</sup>, there is a set of recipes. The first one is written in the vernacular and is intended to cure diverse ailments such as abdominal pain and fever.<sup>83</sup> The second recipe is written in Latin and its text transcribes an alternative formula to cure the same illness.<sup>84</sup> This section of the manuscript provides evidence that the volume was used by a fifteenth-century reader who employed it as a portable device of reference that was meant to be consulted swiftly rather than intensively studied.

Another miscellany useful for the writing of sermons is Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 1851. This is a paper manuscript in quarto, produced during the fifteenth century. The manuscript does not contain complete works, but instead a selection of materials such as excerpts of sermons and treatises, especially by Jacopo della Marca. This set is complemented by a selection of 'auctoritates et exempla'. It has 282 leaves written in gothic cursive script. The decoration of the text consists of rubrics

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83 'Colico, mal di fianchi, stitico e quam lomo dubita de febre.'

84 The text of the recipes is as follows: 'Colico, mal di fianchi, stitico e quam lomo dubita de febre. [Below] Recipe: zedoaria/meligrete/ peverlongo/ canella/ zenzeviro /garofoli/ aloepaturo / zafrano/ eleboro negro. Mescola e pesta sutilmente e tamisa tante volte che de tute cavi la substantia e tolli mezo cuchiareto per volta a piu e meno secundo li corpi robusti e la etade cum un poco de vino a dezuno et ancho da altra hora qui non potesti indubiar.' Further down there is a second recipe: 'Recipe. Radices infra scriptas, videlicet, gencianam, trementillam, ditamum, bistortam, terram sigilatam ante uncia una. Terra sigillata est quedam terra alba que venduntur in apotecis. Item quilibet per se pistentur in mortario brazino et tamisentur suptiliter. Postea iugentur in simul ut supra dictum est.' And below: 'Item de isto pulvere accipitur tempore necessitatis dragma una statim quod sentit cum modico de vino albo optimo calido et quod sit bene copertus usque ad effusionem sudoris et sanabitur. Et caveat que non evomat.'

and coloured initials.<sup>85</sup>

The manuscript has evidence of the interaction between the reader and the text in the form of marginal comments and annotations, written by the same hand that wrote the main text. For example, on fol. 1<sup>r</sup> the text is organised in two columns, and it reproduces the beginning of the treatise on the nature of faith by Jacobus della Marca, as stated by the scribe with a very small script on the top of the page.<sup>86</sup> There is also a marginal rubric on the second column with the purpose of locating a specific passage of the text that discuss the role of Jews as those who, having previously abandoned God, are abandoned by him to their deities.<sup>87</sup> And further on the same page, at the margin of the first column the same hand wrote a similar synthesis of the topic, this time referring to the will of God of saving Jews from themselves.<sup>88</sup> Further, at the bottom of the folio, the scribe wrote an excerpt intended to complement the main topic. Most probably, this part was added later, as suggested, on the one hand, by the faintness of the ink employed and, on the other, by the fact that the writing occupies the full extent of the page, instead of the original two column *mise-en-page*. The added text refers to the contents of the exchange between two rabbis that was found in an unspecified volume containing works translated from Arabic, and has the purpose of supporting the main arguments of the treatise.<sup>89</sup>

On fol. 8r there is another example of interaction with the text. The main argument of this passage is the nature of preaching, and the text is enclosed by marginal notes added by the same hand that wrote the main text. Most of the notes are references to other texts and comments. There is, for example, a marginal annotation to clarify the

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85 A detailed description of the manuscript and its contents can be found on Chapter 3. See Pantarotto, *La biblioteca manoscritta del convento di San Francesco Grande*, p. 192.

86 'Fratris Jacobi de la Marcha in parte 3 post LXXam.' See Appendix 3, fig. 32.

87 '<Communicatio> dei contra Judeos qui derelinquunt di sunt a deo.'

88 'Vocat omnes Judeos.'

89 The incipit of the excerpt states: 'One Jew wrote to another. It was found in a certain translation from Arabic [it is said they wish to be found] into Latin by friar Alfani who, once received the short work from a Jew, gave it to the Great Pontiff. And the first thing to be understood is that among Jews it is seen as a great glory that the Arabic language overcomes Latin [...]'. The transcription of the text is as follows: 'Unus judeus scribebat ad alium judeum. Reperitur in quadam translatione de Arabico in Latinum fratris Alfani cum datur cumdam [sic] libelli unus judei, ad <summi> summum pontificem. Et primo sciendum quod quae inter judeos multis gloriantur qui arabicam infimat latinam [...]'. Silvana Collodo suggests that the polemic tone of some of the late fifteenth-century sermons in Padua is a reaction to a growing interest in Jewish scholarship and culture in the city. See Collodo, *Una società in trasformazione*, p. 561. See also Anna Antoniazzi Villa, 'A proposito di ebrei, francescani, Monti di pietà: Bernardino de' Bustis e la polemica antiebraica nella Milano di fine '400', in *Il Francescanesimo in Lombardia. Storia e arte* (Milan: Silvana, 1983), pp. 49-52.



argument of the treatise: 'De verbo divino', where the writer transcribed notes and excerpts on the nature of preaching, as well as useful topics on which to write homilies according to the time of the year. On the right margin there is a *manicula* and a cross reference: 'Libro 9'. Further, on fol. 84<sup>v</sup> there is an excerpt containing a set of rules and procedures to be considered in the preparation for confession and penance, complemented by a comment on the perils of the temptations of the flesh in the left margin.<sup>90</sup> The layout of this page allows us to understand the original *mise-en-page* of the manuscript, with wide blank margins, which suggests that there was an intention to complement the text with additional comments, annotations, and references.

Finally, on fol. 187<sup>v</sup> there is a recipe against the plague.<sup>91</sup> As with MS 1511, this feature reflects a practical purpose for the manuscript. The fact that there is only one hand commenting and complementing the text, and that this hand is the same one that wrote the main text, is consistent with a personal volume that was part of a set of personal manuscripts, as suggested by the presence on fol I<sup>r</sup> of a heading that allows us to suppose that the scribe, friar Pellegrinus, intended to make a list of his books.<sup>92</sup>

Manuscript 1851 is an example of miscellanies used for the composition of sermons that show traces of active interaction with the text in the form of comments, aids to identify significant parts of the text, additions, corrections and cross references. These marks constitute evidence of the use of the manuscript as material for study by professional readers. At the same time, this manuscript has strong similarities with volumes containing treatises on devotion or works for pastoral care such as portability, flexibility, being part of a personal set of works of reference, and eventual concession on long-term loans. However, even more significant are the differences between these manuscripts, as will be discussed in what follows.

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90 The rules are to be found under the heading 'Here we will offer twelve exceedingly useful rules to confession' The original heading states: 'Duodecim utlissimas regulas et necessarias <dabimus> ad confessionem.' See Appendix 3 fig. 33.

91 Under the heading: 'Recepta contra pestem cum in omni alia infermitatem possit infirmo dare spes salutis in sola pestilentia'. See Appendix 3 fig. 34.

92 'Libri ad usum mei fratris Pellegrini.'

## Conclusion

Reading during the Middle Ages has been studied by disciplines such as the history of education, religious history and the history of literacy. Nevertheless, an approach from the perspective of the history of the book is still a relatively unexplored field. In this sense, there is a striking parallel with the history of the printed book. The medieval manuscript has been considered mainly from the perspective of the development of its physical form and the scripts employed by scribes. A very similar approach has been undertaken for the printed book, whose history has been, until very recently, the history of typography and forms of physical composition of the volumes, isolated from the developments of societies, cultures and groups of readers.<sup>93</sup> The following few conclusive observations concerning the forms of reading manuscripts in the medieval Franciscan convents of Padua aim to identify significant elements of the interaction between the friars and their manuscripts, in the context of their interpretive community, from the perspective of the history of the medieval manuscript.

A swift comparison between two manuscripts from the observant library of San Francesco Grande will be helpful to explore the relation between the purpose of the manuscripts and particular ways of reading them. This chapter has shown that MSS 1511 and 1851 were personal, portable, sophisticated and efficient devices used as tools of reference, that is, as sources of practical information. While the first volume was written in a very clear script and was used for pastoral care, the second was written in a very cursive gothic script and was employed as a source for the writing of sermons. However, the most significant difference between them regards the traces of interaction with their readers. MS 1511 has no comments, annotations or references, while MS 1851 is intensively annotated and commented. In fact, it shows strong similarities with the practices of reading employed in the university, that is, the main text appears surrounded by an apparatus of comments, references, revisions, and corrections.<sup>94</sup> In this particular case, the hand that added references and corrected the text was the same that wrote the main text.

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93 Brian Richardson 'Inscribed Meanings: Authorial Self-fashioning and Readers' Annotations in Sixteenth-Century Italian Printed Books', in *Reading and Literacy in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. by Ian Frederick Moulton (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 85-104 (p. 85).

94 Some other examples, are Padua Biblioteca Univeritaria, MSS 1098, 1789, and 2103. See also Giovè Marchioli, 'Il codice francescano', pp. 403-04; and Hamesse, 'The Scholastic Model of Reading', pp. 114-16.

If one takes into account the traces of interaction and applies a typology of readers to describe the friars and their community, one may find that although Franciscans were professional readers and active agents of the scholastic culture through writing, there were instances where they left very few traces of interaction in their manuscripts.<sup>95</sup> This suggests that, at least for the observants of Padua, the text determined the reading, and that therefore the types of reading were determinant within their interpretive community. This allows us to understand Franciscans as flexible readers, who could perfectly undertake different forms of reading, according to the nature of the text, their particular interests, and the purpose of their reading, as shown by their variable approach towards texts of devotion, spirituality, pastoral care, theology or preparation for preaching.

The consideration of friars as readers who are keen to write allows us to discuss the role of Franciscans as scribes of their own books, as suggested by the ownership inscriptions, particularly those from the observant convent of San Francesco Grande. In this sense, the Franciscan friar as member of his interpretive community challenges the ontological distinction between writer and reader established by reception theory, and demands a more articulated approach to his agency in the context of the history of reading and the history of the book.<sup>96</sup>

Franciscan libraries played a fundamental role in the development of Franciscans' reading skills. Loans 'ad usum' favoured active interaction with the text because they allowed the friars to build a long-term relationship with the book. The reader was able to verify the contents and reliability of the manuscript, and to correct it in order to establish the best possible version of the text. The cases where active interaction has left traces reflect a scholastic approach to the text, but this does not necessarily imply that professional reading was carried out exclusively with manuscripts of study or for

95 To be highly skilled readers and writers was at the core of Franciscan identity, as shown by Bonaventure's description of Franciscans as 'Fratres scribentes vel legentes.' See Bonaventure of Bagnoreggio, *Opera Omnia*, VIII, 350.

96 When discussing the physical aspects of the contemporary printed book, Roger E. Stoddard proposed a clear distinction between the authoring and the writing of a text. Writing was possible only as a pre-modern form of producing books: 'Whatever they may do, authors do not write books. Books are not written at all. They are manufactured by scribes and other artisans, by mechanics and other engineers, and by printing presses and other machines. Most manuscript books made before, say 1600 are copies. Each manuscript copy was transcribed from a particular manuscript exemplar, copied word for word, perhaps line for line.' This suggestive conception of writing, and therefore of reading, as far as I know, has not been fully explored by the phenomenology of reading, or the history of the book. See Roger E. Stoddard, 'Morphology and the Book from an American Perspective', *Printing History*, 9 (1987), 2-14 (p. 4).

the preparation of sermons. In fact, manuscripts for spiritual edification or pastoral care were also conceded 'ad usum', as examples from the Paduan libraries show.

Perhaps because of the need to be as comprehensive as possible, theoretical approaches tend to propose sets of unique and separate forms of reading, and tend to conceive the reader as capable of a unique type of reading, restricting dramatically the possibilities of his agency.<sup>97</sup> Nevertheless, it has been shown that, as happens with any contemporary 'professional' reader who assumes different types of reading, for example, when reading a printed newspaper, a Wikipedia webpage, a printed novel, or a fine piece of scholarship, Franciscans could also shift from an 'amateur' style of reading to a 'professional', or better, a scholastic style of reading, depending on the purposes and characteristics of the text, their expectations and the conditions set by their interpretive community. This allows us to understand that as there is need of a typology of the Franciscan book in terms of its purpose, as pointed out in chapter 3; a typology of the Franciscan book in terms of the practices of reading would be a remarkable tool in the study of the history of the medieval book.

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97 Chartier, 'Labourers and Voyagers', p. 134.

## *Conclusions*

This study has explored four aspects of the manuscripts written and read by Franciscan friars in the convents of the city of Padua from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. The first aspect is the ideal that these manuscripts should aim for, as expressed by the regulations on study and the use of books. In order to do so, the first chapter has explored the development of these regulations in regard to how the Franciscan rule had constructed a specific ideal relationship with books and a specific image of the book allowed into the community. That relationship did not allow space for dedication to study. After the death of Francis, in order to provide space for study and continuous learning within the order, the friars interpreted the rule differently, although always with reference to what they thought Francis intended. As a consequence, there was a set of official explanations or interpretations of what the rule really meant to say, as well as more detailed regulations such as the acts of general and provincial chapters which were meant to clarify these issues. The analysis in the chapter showed that even the interpretations of the most rigorous movements of reform found a place for study and the use of books within the order, and all found legitimacy for the role of learning in the preparation for preaching and pastoral care. Nevertheless, the extent of Franciscans' intellectual achievement surpassed their declared intentions. As a result, there was a gap between the ideal book, as proposed by the Franciscan rule, and the actual books used by the friars. The ideal book should be produced outside the community, was intended to be a support for the performance of the divine offices, and should be available only to those friars who were already able to read at the moment of their arrival in the order. The most eloquent statements of the distance from such an ideal were the Franciscan libraries themselves, which were places where the original ideal developed, changed and adapted to the needs of a community who shared devotional, pastoral and intellectual expectations.

The second aspect explored is the space, represented by the Franciscan libraries. The second chapter used an innovative approach by comparing the Franciscan libraries of Padua. In fact, until now, there have not been any attempts to compare the book collections of two Franciscan libraries, one from the Community, the other from the observant reform, at different levels in Italy. One of the common features in the libraries was the concession of long-term loans of books, or concessions 'ad usum'. This was an extraordinary mechanism that allowed the user of a manuscript to establish a long-term relationship with the book, usually for life, and favoured the exercise of analytical study, since it was a process that permitted frequent re-reading of some passages, and the opportunity to interact with the text by writing comments and references on the margins.

Concerning the differences between the libraries, the analysis of the fifteenth-century inventory of the Biblioteca Antoniana showed that, by the second half of the fifteenth century, this Franciscan library was firmly established and had a complete set of tools for studying theology, philosophy and natural sciences. The layout of the library, as revealed by the sources, showed that there was a double collection of books, one for consultation and one for loan. The palaeographical and codicological analysis of the copies of the commentary on the *Book of Sentences* by Bonaventure revealed, for the first time, the mechanism of circulation within the two collections of manuscripts in the library: the availability of chained books and copies for loan was guaranteed thanks to a system of 'relay'. As soon as a new copy arrived in the library, it was corrected using the chained copy as a model. Once the text of the new copy was established, it was chained, and the older chained copy was released to be conceded on loan. Although further attempts of comparing medieval libraries established in the same location could be limited in number, the principles of analysis employed in this study could be applied in order to describe single medieval libraries with the purpose of undertaking, for example, comparative studies between Franciscan libraries and Dominican or monastic libraries, both in male and female communities.

The organisation of the volumes in the library of Sant'Antonio followed a principle of balance, reflected in the location of the books for loan on the opposite side of their respective chained volumes, most probably in order to guarantee a uniform distribution of the volumes in all the repositories. Although the sources on the observant library do

not allow us to reconstruct the distribution of the volumes in the space of the library, they reveal that there were significant differences from the library of the unreformed friars. While the Biblioteca Antoniana had a strong emphasis on collections of sermons and theological and philosophical literature, the main part of the collection of the library of San Francesco Grande was dedicated to treatises on pastoral care, confession, and the preparation of sermons. Most importantly, the collection of this library was constituted mainly by paper manuscripts, smaller in size, and containing miscellanies of texts. These manuscripts, as shown in Chapters 3 and 4, were examples of personal, portable libraries that reflected the expectations, needs and intellectual background of their owners who, more often than not, were also their scribes. In this sense, they challenge the notion of the humanist reader as the first figure who employed a personal library, and even though the humanist employed a collection that involved several volumes rather than one personal miscellany, a comparison between the agencies of the friar and the humanist stands as a very interesting question for further research.

The third aspect of the Franciscan manuscript that has been explored in this thesis is the purpose of the manuscripts, as revealed by a detailed examination of the physical evidence they contain. This comparative analysis revealed the relationship between the convents and the type of books that were collected in their libraries. The books collected in the library of Sant'Antonio were parchment volumes of regular dimensions, usually between 300/330 x 200/220 mm that frequently contained complete treatises or topical collections of texts. The manuscripts coming from the observant library were small, portable paper manuscripts containing miscellanies of different genres and written both in Latin and the vernacular. This feature, very common in manuscripts used for the preparation of sermons, reveals that the observant friars were well aware of the composition of their audiences, and they adapted to this circumstance by including a wide variety of textual genres in their materials.

The discussion of the profile of Franciscan friars as readers in Chapter 4 has then shown that they were flexible readers that adapted their form of reading to the nature of the text and the purpose of reading. Using the tools of reception theory, the chapter has shown the mechanisms of different practices of reading within the Paduan convents. In spite of being highly trained readers, with a particularly intensive training as scholars, Franciscans adapted their performance of reading, depending on whether the text was a

devotional text, a text for study, a manual for preaching, a literary piece written in the vernacular, or a recipe against common ailments. This remarkable flexibility allowed us to apply the theoretical category of interpretive community in order to understand their choices within a set of different options of reading. The Franciscan friar was an active member of an international community of scholars, was trained in intensive techniques of reading with the final purpose of undertaking pastoral care, producing new texts, and engaging effectively with mixed audiences through preaching. The manuscript evidence studied in the chapter shows that friars were aware of the composition of their audience, as suggested by the presence of texts of different genres, both in Latin and in the vernacular, as reflected particularly in the manuscripts from the observant library. The study of Franciscans as readers also suggests that a similar approach could be followed to study other communities of writers/readers such as, for example, the humanist or the female members of religious orders. This is one of the main reasons this thesis has important implications for scholarship beyond male mendicant communities.

A scholarly assumption that is challenged by Franciscans as readers keen to write is the ontological distinction between writer and reader. This is particularly true for Franciscan manuscript culture, where a friar could be the scribe of his own miscellany books, as suggested by their ownership inscriptions. The Franciscan friar as a member of his interpretive community was writer and reader of the selection of texts he intended to use. This particular form of agency demands a nuanced approach from the perspective of reception theory in the context of the history of reading and the history of the book.

The consideration of these elements of the Franciscan manuscript leads to two main considerations. First, that this thesis proposes the investigation of the concrete and rich complexity of the Franciscan manuscript as opposed to the abstract Franciscan book. The study of the manuscripts written, studied and collected by Franciscan friars shows that, outside the theoretical level, the Franciscan book does not exist in reality, and that what exists, instead, is the wonderful arrangement of possibilities offered by the actual Franciscan manuscript. Second, this thesis has shown that a better understanding of the Franciscan manuscript as a cultural product can be achieved through the consideration of four of its dimensions: idea, space, purpose and interaction with the reader. This is a



new form of understanding that could be applied not only to Franciscan manuscripts, but to medieval manuscripts in general. The four-dimension model, as proposed here, has shown to be flexible, and allows one to undertake the study of a set of manuscripts, of a particular type of manuscript or to study manuscripts from the perspective of the interpretive community that produced and used them. In this sense, the innovative model proposed by this thesis is full of potentialities for research.



*Appendix 1**Padua, Biblioteca Antoniana MS 573**fols 64<sup>r</sup>-66<sup>v</sup>**Dated 1449*

[fol. 64r]

[...]

Infrascripti sunt debitores librorum habentes infrascriptos libros apud se a quibus nunquam potui habere ad perfectionem inventarii, in quolibet descripserim libros simpliciter tamen non potui designare et scribere qualitates et signa librorum. Ideo hic pro debitoribus inscripti sunt

[f. 65r]

In primis, frater Baptista guardianus habet hos libros:

Et primo textum libri De anima.

Item Bibliam unam in magno volumine.

Item librum super Predicamentis.

Item aliam Bibliam unam parvulam.

Item librum in quo sunt opera Francisci et Maronis.

Item Primum Scoti.

Item Questiones plures super Sententias.

Item Quolibeta Scoti in magno volumine.

Item quinque volumina coperta coreo rubeo ad ligaturas.

Item Legendas sanctorum.

Item unum breviarium.

Item libretos III secundum diversas materias.

[*Cancelled*: Sanctissimus Domini noster papa Nicolaus habet:

Summa theologie Henrici de Gandavo [*In the margin, by a different hand*: Dedit.

Restituit].

Magister Antonius de Rodigio habet:

Primum et secundum Scoti super Sententias.

Et Ugonem super secundum, tertium et quartum Sententiarum.

Item duos alios libros in theologia.

Magister Iohannes Lupatinus habet:

Textum Sententiarum de littera [*Cancelled*: antiqua] pulcra.

Item Summam Galensis.

Item Bonaventuram super Primo et Secundo et Quarto.

Item et super Omnes.

Item tabulam super Sententiis.

Item Augustinum De civitate Dei in pulcra littera.

Item Questiones varias in theologia.

Item Constitutiones regule.

Item Loycam Aristotilis.

Frater Nicolaus armarista habet:

Testus Sententiarum de littera antiqua.

Item unum breviarium.

Item parabolle Salomonis.

Frater Raynaldus habet:

Testum Sententiarum.

Frater Martinus de Cumis habet:

Testus Sententiarum [*In the margin: dedit*].

Frater Chatarinus habet:

Secundum Bonaventure abbreviatum.

Item miracula et exempla sanctorum.

Frater Laurentius Venetus habet: [*In the margin: dedit*]

Secundum Francisci Maroni.

Et transitum sancti Ieronimi.

Magister Franciscus de Firmo habet:

Quartum Francisci Maroni.

Frater David Anglicus habet: [*In the margin by a different hand: dedit*]

Mamotretum in pulcra littera.

Frater Lambertus habet:

Mamotretum

et Legendas sanctorum.

Item unum breviarium.

[f. 65v]

Frater Matheus condam sacrista habet:

Librum de Vitis patrum.

Et Quadragesimale Iacobi Capre.

Frater Allexander de Padua habet:

Summam Brocardi.

Dominus Cosmas Contareno habet: [*In the margin by another hand: dedit*]

Duas decretales antiquas.

Frater Marsilius habet:

Sermones festivos.

Librum de VII donis.

Allexandrum De uxulis [sic].

et Sermonale quadragesimale.

Reverendus dominus generalis de Rusconibus habet:

Constitutiones regule.

Frater Galvanus habet:

Constitutiones regule.

Presbiter Iohannes Cavaza Petrus habet:

Psalterium glosatum.

Et Danielelem glosatum.

Frater Bartholomeus de Veneciis habet:

Summam compendii theologie

et Danielelem glossatum.

et unum librum in quo sunt multi tractatus.

Frater Iohannes Petrus de Galçegnano habet:

Summam Iohannis Theotonici.

Magister Franciscus de Civitate Beluni habet:

Constitutiones generales et provinciales.

Item librum De ordine officii.

Item Constitutiones domini Benedicti pape.

Item Privilegia ordinis.

Item Regulas sancte Clare.

Item tabulam per alfabetum.

Item Marmotretum.

Frater Iohannes Pacientia habet:

Unum Voraginem.

Item sermonale festivum.

Item apostilam [sic] super Apocalipsim.

Item Tertium Scoti.

Frater Iacobus de Padua habet:

Unum sermonale.

Item unum breviarium.

Item unum Psalterium glosatum.

Frater Antonius a Nigra habet:

Libros duos in papiro.

Frater Bartholomeus de Pulveraria:

Boclum [sic] De consolatione.

Frater Bartholomeus a Sancto habet:

Quartum Bonaventure.

Item librum Spere.

Item quoddam principium Sententiarum.

Item Compendium theologie.

Item librum unum parvum cum tabulis.

Item Sermones dominicales.

Magister Dyatalis habet:

Librum Aristotilis De anima et Physicorum.

Item unum breviarium.

[f. 66r]

Frater Iacobus de Placentia habet:

Unu [sic] librum Confessionum.

Magister Franciscus de Savona habet: [*In the margin: dedit*]

Quartum Francisci Maronis.

Item Quolibeta Scoti.

Magister Iohannis de Rocligio habet: [*In the margin: dedit*]

Sermones predicabiles Francisci de Maronis.

Frater Raymondus de Allexandria habet:

Unum testum Sententiarum.

Infrascripti sunt debitores librorum, quos reperi in libro antiquo alterius armariste, non cancelatos usque ad tempus 1423.

In primis frater Antonius de Padue habuit de 1422:

Unum librum in quo sunt multi sermones.

Item habet Summam de penitentia.

Frater Beneventus de Trivissio habet:

Duo breviaria.

Frater Bartholomeus de Plebe Sacii habet:

Postilas Monchalerii.

Frater Bernardus Memo vendidit:

Duo breviaria.

Frater Paulus de Padua habet:



Unum breviarium.

Frater Bartholomeus de Padua habet:

Unum librum sine nomine.

Frater Antonius vicarius conventus habet:

Postilam Blanchi.

Frater Franciscus de Plebe habet:

Librum Patrum.

Frater Franciscus bachalarius habet:

Quartum Maronis.

Magister Iohanes de Plebe habet:

Scriptum Averois.

Frater Guido de Montesilice habet:

Sermones dominicales et super Epistolas et Evangelia et festivos.

Item allium librum sermonum.

Item postilla super Evangelia.

Frater Iohannes a Ferro habet:

Sermones Luce.

Item Sermones quadragesimales.

Item Sermones festivum.

Item allium librum sermonum.

Item legendas sanctorum.

Frater Iacobus de Curtorodulo habet:

Unum breviarium.

Frater Iohannes habet:

Secundum Bonaventure.

Item librum Dyonisii con Ystoria scolastica et Ricardo.

Frater Iohannes de Montagnana habet:

Unum Voraginem

Et unum Sermonale festivum.

Frater Iacobus de Padua habet:

Unum sermonale.

Frater Madalenus de Veneciis habet:

Decretales.

Item Secundum Ricardi.

[f. 66v]

Frater Paulus de Padua habet:

Unum par legendarum.

Prosdocimus Cornaia habet:

Librum de Vitis patrum.

Frater Peregrinus de Plebe habet:

Librum in quo est ystoria Balaam et Iosafat.

Item Tract[at]um magistri Petri.

Frater Thomeus de Padua habet:

Unam Bibliam.

Item Compendium Sacre Scripture.

Item unam aliam Bibliam in parvo volumine.

Item unum breviarium.

Suprascripti nominati in dicto libro antiquo pro maiori parte sunt mortui et tamen non sunt deperati in ipso libro.

Unum *Decretum* pulcrum et *Decretales* pulcre fuerunt pignorati 1407 14 iulii pro pecunia quam debebat [*In the margin:* habere] ser Andreas, factor molendinorum Turiselarum, pro frumento dato conventui.

[*Another hand writes:*] die 7 iulii 1489. Memoria qualiter fuerunt consegnati nonnulli libri numero 52 [causa] illos ponendi in libraria et factum fuit inventarium [in quodam] folio manu mei Pasqualini de Mast[ellariis] a Sancto Thomeo, posito in scrinio usque quo fiet novum inventarium omnium librorum.



*Appendix 2*

*The Set of Corrections of the Manuscripts of Bonaventure's Commentary  
on the First Book of Sentences  
Padua, Biblioteca Antoniana MSS 120, 123, 124 and 125*

The following table compares a set of corrections to the text of Bonaventure's commentary to the First Book of *Sentences* in four manuscripts of the Biblioteca Antoniana of Padua. Each row of the table reproduces an excerpt as it appears in the manuscripts. Textual interventions or corrections in MSS 120 and 125 appear underlined. The groups of similar corrections in MSS 123 and 124 are identified with **bold** type.

	<b>MS 120</b>	<b>MS 123</b>	<b>MS 124</b>	<b>MS 125</b>	<b>Comments</b>
Distinction 2 Commentarius: De unitate et Trinitate secundum quod creditur – Divisio textus	Fol 8 <sup>v</sup> : et in comparatione ad creaturas: [ <i>In the margin: 'in se, ratione trinitatis in comparatione ad creaturas'</i> ] ratione scientie, potentie et voluntatis.	et in comparatione ad creaturas: in se, ratione trinitatis <b>et unitatis</b> ; in comparatione ad creaturas, ratione scientie, potentie et voluntatis.	et in comparatione ad creaturas: in se, ratione trinitatis <b>et unitatis</b> ; in comparatione ad creaturas, ratione scientie, potentie et voluntatis.	et in comparatione ad creaturas: <u>in se, ratione trinitatis in comparatione ad creaturas</u> ratione scientie, potentie et voluntatis.	Two groups of MSS: a) MSS 120 and 125 b) MSS 123 and 124

	MS 120	MS 123	MS 124	MS 125	Comments
<p>Distinction 3, Part 1, Article 1, Question 2:</p> <p>'Utrum Deus sit cognoscibilis per creaturas'</p> <p><i>Whether God may be known through creatures</i></p>	<p>Fol. 12<sup>v</sup>: Ad illud quod ultimo queritur de <u>differentia</u> vestigii et ymagis [sic] quidam assignant, quod vestigium est in sensibus, [sic] ymago in spiritualibus. [In the margin: '<u>Sed hec differentia non valet.</u>'] <u>nam</u> unitas et veritas et bonitas in quibus consistit vestigium sunt conditione maxime universales et intelligibiles.</p>	<p>Ad illud quod ultimo queritur de <u>differentia</u> vestigii et ymaginis quidam assignant quod vestigium est in sensibilibus, ymago de spiritualibus. <b>Sed ista distinctio et positio non valet</b>, quia etiam vestigium est in spiritualibus. Nam unitas, veritas, bonitas in quibus consistit vestigium sunt conditiones maxime universales.</p>	<p>Fol. 12<sup>r</sup>: Ad id etiam quod ultimo queritur de <b>distinctio</b> vestigii et ymaginis quidam assignant quod vestigium est in sensibus, [sic] ymago in spiritualibus <b>sed ista distinctio et positio non valet</b> quia etiam vestigium est in spiritualibus. Nam unitas, veritas, bonitas, in quibus consistit vestigium, sunt conditiones maxime universales et intelligibiles.</p>	<p>Fol. 10<sup>v</sup>: Ad illud quod ultimo queritur de divina [Correction in the margin: '<u>differentia</u>'] vestigii et ymagine, [sic] quidam assignant quod vestigium est in sensibus, ymago in spiritualibus <u>sed hec differentia non valet.</u> <u>nam</u> unitas et veritas et bonitas in quibus consistit vestigium sunt conditiones maxime universales et intelligibiles.</p>	<p>MS 125 used to correct MS 120</p> <p>MS 123: differentia - distinctio</p> <p>MS 124: distinctio - distinctio</p>
<p>Distinction 3, Part 1, Question 2:</p> <p>'Utrum Deus sit cognoscibilis per creaturas'</p> <p><i>Whether God may be known through creatures</i></p>	<p>Fol. 13<sup>r</sup>: Alia differentia est penes ea in quibus reperiuntur. Quoniam enim omnis creatura [On top: 'comparatur ad Deum et in ratione causae et in ratione triplicis causae <u>ideo est umbra vel</u> vestigium sed</p>	<p>Fol. 10<sup>v</sup>: Alia differentia est penes ea in quibus reperiuntur. Quoniam enim omnis creatura comparatur ad Deum et in ratione causae et in ratione triplicis causae <b>ideo omnis creatura</b> est umbra vel</p>	<p>Fol. 12<sup>r</sup>: Alia distinctio est penes ea in quibus reperiuntur quoniam enim omnis creatura comparatur ad Deum et in ratione causae et in ratione triplicis causae <b>ideo omnis creatura</b> est umbra vel vestigium. Sed quoniam sola</p>	<p>Fol. 10<sup>v</sup>-11<sup>r</sup>: Alia differentia est penes ea in quibus reperiuntur quoniam enim omnis creatura comparatur ad Deum et in ratione causae et in ratione triplicis causae <u>ideo est umbra vel</u> vestigium.</p>	<p>MS 125 used as model to correct MS 120</p> <p>MSS 123 and 124 have the same variation</p>

	MS 120	MS 123	MS 124	MS 125	Comments
	quoniam sola rationalis creatura'] comparatur ad Deum ut obiectum, quia sola est capax Dei per cognitionem et amorem et ideo sola est ymago.	vestigium sed quoniam sola rationali creatura comparatur ad Deum ut obiectum, quia sola est capax Dei per cognitionem et amorem et ideo sola est ymago.	rationale creatura comparatur ad Deum ut obiectum, quia sola est capax Dei per cognitionem et amorem et ideo sola est ymago.	Sed quoniam sola rationale creatura comparatur ad Deum ut obiectum quia sola est capax Dei per cognitionem et amorem ideo sola est ymago.	
Distinction 7, Article 1, Question 2:  'Utrum potentia generandi sit in Filio'  <i>Whether the power of generating is in the Son</i>	Fol. 26 <sup>r</sup> : Et tunc est sensus, non potuit, id est, impotens fuit; et tunc negatur potentia, et relinquitur aptitudo, sicut de truncato dicitur que non potest gradi [Originally 'generandi', but the titulus was erased] de Filio quia non habet ad hoc aptitudinem.	Fol. 21 <sup>r</sup> : Et tunc est sensus, non potuit, id est, impotens fuit. Et tunc negatur potentia et relinquitur aptitudo sicut de truncato dicitur, que non potest gradi <b>hec modo non potest dici</b> de Filio quia non habet ad hoc aptitudinem.	Fol. 24 <sup>v</sup> : Et tunc est sensus, non potuit, id est, impotens fuit. Et tunc negatur potentia et relinquitur aptitudo, sicut de truncato dicitur quod non potest gradi <b>hoc modo non potest dici</b> de Filio quia non habet ad hoc aptitudinem.	Fol. 23 <sup>r</sup> : Et tunc est sensus, non potuit, id est, impotens fuit. Et tunc negatur potentia et relinquitur aptitudo sicut de truncato dicitur, quod non potest gradi [Insertion mark, in the left margin, by a late hand, 15 <sup>th</sup> century formal rotunda: 'quia aptus natus est ad contradicendi et generandi non potest hoc modo non potest dici'] de Filio, quia non habet ad hoc aptitudinem.	On MS 120, Insertion mark. In the margin, by a late hand, 15 <sup>th</sup> cent.: 'et sic non intelligitur'  The correction in MS 125 by late gothic hand, very close to the hand of the inventory of 1449. Perhaps the hand of the 15 <sup>th</sup> -century librarian  Was MS 125 a 'safe copy'?

	MS 120	MS 123	MS 124	MS 125	Comments
Distinction 14, Article 1, Question 2:  'Utrum processio Spiritus sancti aeterna et temporalis numerentur ut duae processiones'  <i>Whether the            eternal            procession of            the Holy Spirit            and the            temporal are            to be            numbered as            two            processions</i>	Fol 46 <sup>r</sup> : Scilicet, aut quia duplex modus dicendi, non equivocus. Et per hoc patet sequens de homine picto et vero, quia illi non est analogia, sed <u>equivocatio</u> pura.	Fol. 38 <sup>r</sup> : Scilicet aut quia duplex modus dicendi numquid equivocus [Insertion mark. In the margin, in late hand, 15 <sup>th</sup> century: 'non univocus sed analogicus] et per de [Correction over the 'd' to form an 'h'. It should be 'hoc'] patet sequens de homine picto et vero, quia illi non est analogia sed <b>equivocacio</b> pura.	Fol. 44 <sup>v</sup> : Scilicet aut quia duplex modus dicendi non equivocus. Et per hoc patet sequens de homine picto et vero, quia illi non est <b>analogica</b> , sed <b>equivoca</b> pura.	Fol. 43 <sup>r</sup> : Scilicet aut quia duplex modus dicendi, non equivocus. Et per hoc patet sequens de homine picto et vero, quia illi non est analogia sed <u>equivocatio</u> pura.	MS 124 was not used to correct MS 123
Distinction 16, Article 1, Question 1: 'Quid sit missio visibilis'  <i>What is a            visible            mission?</i>		Fol. 37 <sup>v</sup> , col. a: 'Omne quod temporaliter procedit [Insertion mark. In the margin, in late hand, 14 <sup>th</sup> -early 15 <sup>th</sup> century: 'ab alio habet initium essendi ex tempore; si ergo Spiritus sanctus temporaliter procedit'] ergo eius essere incipit.	'Omne quod temporaliter procedit ab alio habet initium essendi ex tempore: si ergo Spiritus sanctus temporaliter procedit ergo eius essere incipit.'		MS 125 used to correct MS 123  Paraphs absent in MS 123



	MS 120	MS 123	MS 124	MS 125	Comments
Distinction 17, Part 2, Article 1, Question 1, 'Tractatio questionum: Hic quaeritur, si caritas Spiritus sanctus est, cum ipsa augeatur et minuatur in homine'  <i>Whether            charity is the            Holy Spirit,            since it            increases and            diminishes in            man</i>	'Ad intelligentiam hoc partis est hic quaestio de augmento [sic] caritatis et circa hoc quaeruntur iiii uor. Primo queritur utrum caritas possit augeri. Secundo de modo augmenti ipsius caritatis. Tertio queritur de oppositio augmenti ipsius.'	Fol. 48 <sup>v</sup> : Ad intelligentiam hoc partis est quaestio de augmento [sic] caritatis et circa hoc quaeruntur iiii uor. Primo queritur utrum caritas possit augeri secundo substantiam. Secundo queritur de modo augmenti ipsius caritatis. Tertio queritur de oppositio augmenti ipsius <b>scilicet            diminutione,            utrum            caritas possit            diminui.</b> '	Fol. 55 <sup>r</sup> , col. b: 'Ad intelligentiam hoc partis est hic quaestio de augmento [sic] caritatis, et circa hoc queruntur iiii uor. Primo queritur utrum caritas possit [Cancelled: 'diminui'. <i>Above the            word:]</i> augeri [Insertion mark. On the margin, by a late hand, late 14th-early 15th: 'secundo de modo augmenti ipsius caritatis. Tertio queritur de oppositio augmenti ipsius <b>scilicet            diminutione            utrum caritas            possit            diminui.</b> ']	'Ad intelligentiam hoc partis es hic quaestio de augmento [sic] caritatis et circa hoc quaeruntur iiii uor. Primo queritur utrum caritas possit augeri. Secundo de modo augmenti ipsius caritatis. Tertio queritur de oppositio augmenti ipsius.'	MS 123 used as model to correct MS 124.



*Appendix 3*

*Images of manuscripts from Padua Biblioteca Antoniana and  
Padua Biblioteca Universitaria*





1. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Amiat. 1, fol. 2<sup>r</sup>

*Epistula Hieronymi ad Damasum*









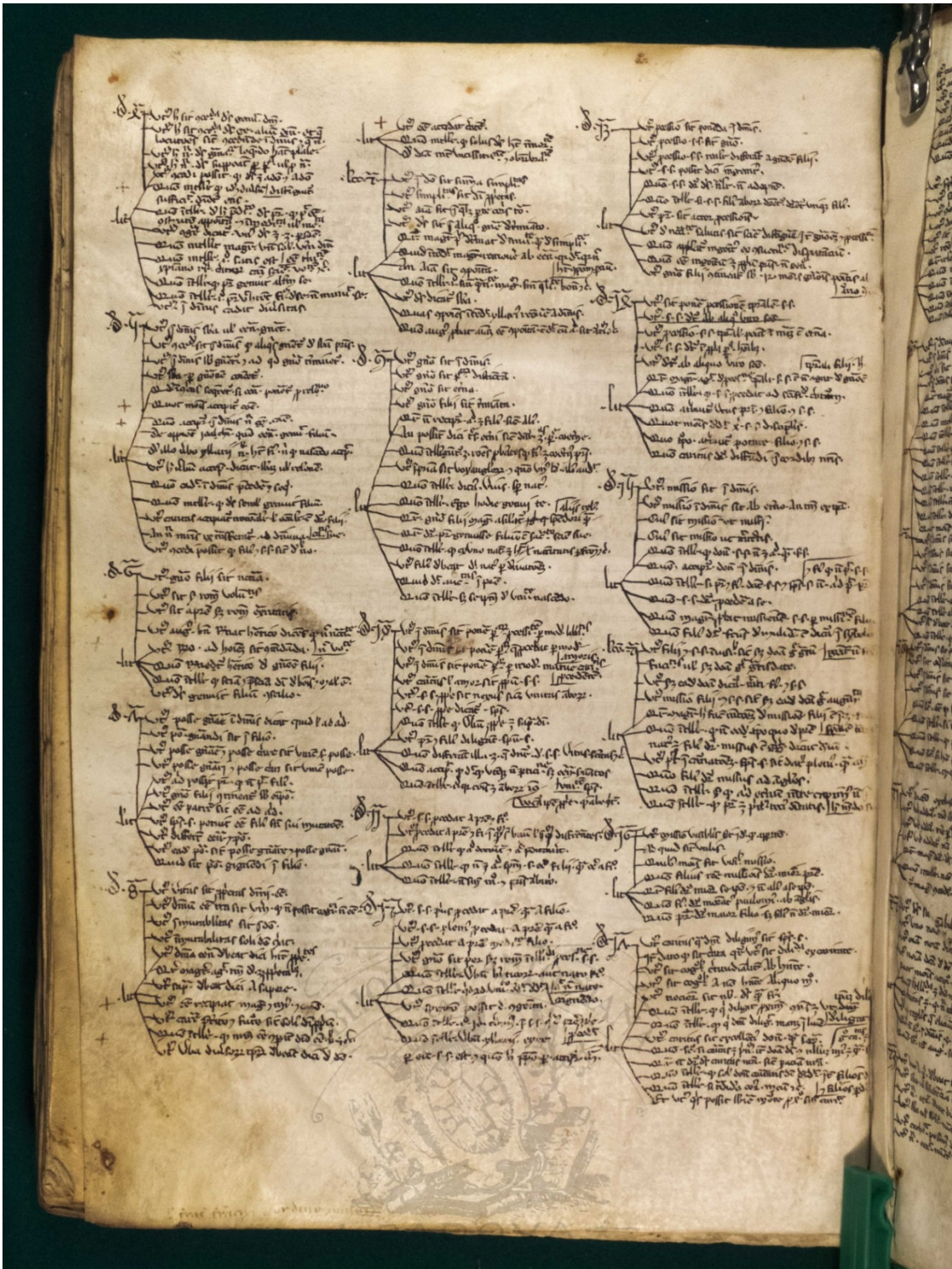






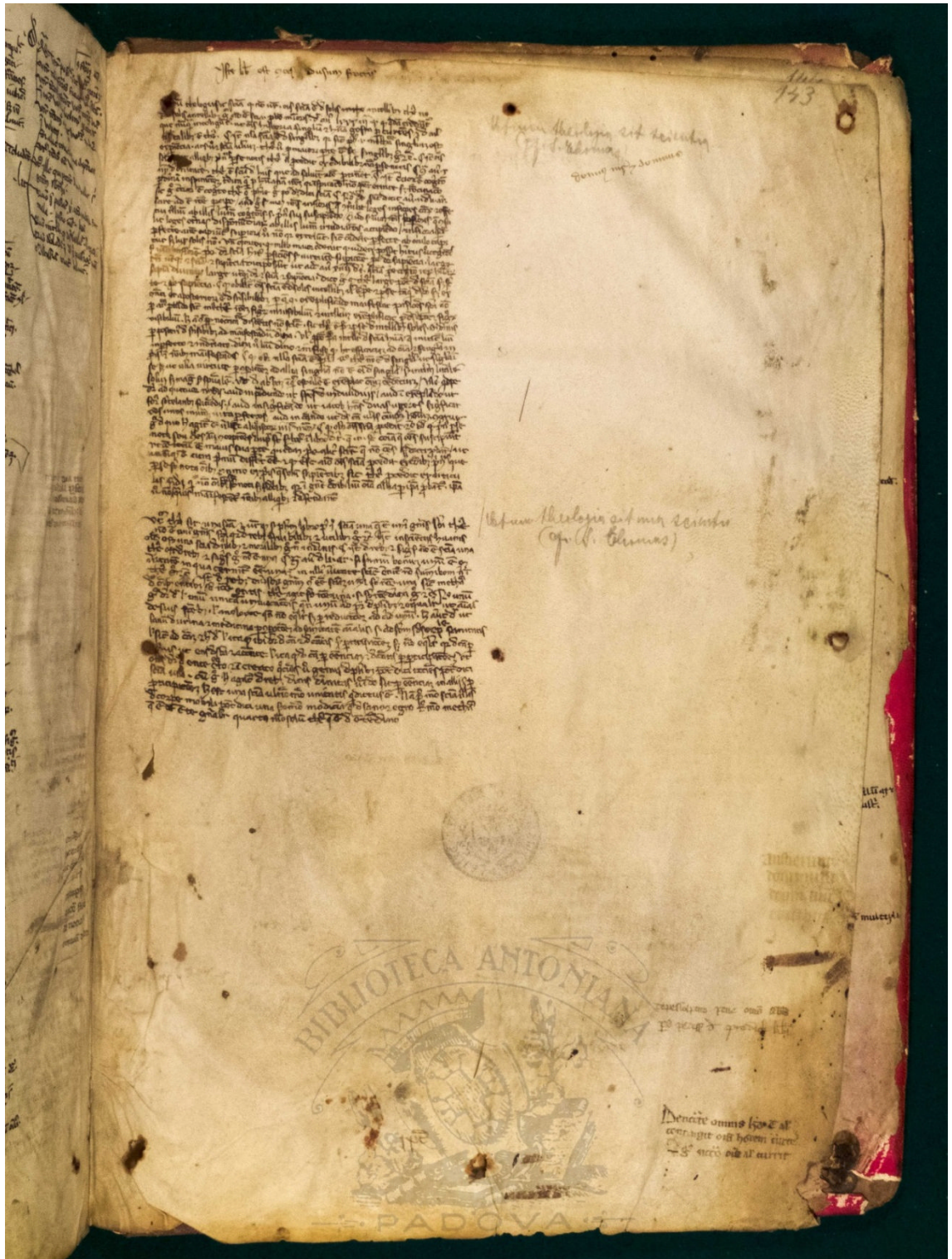






10. Padua, Biblioteca Antoniana MS 125, fol. 141<sup>v</sup>

Bonaventure, *In primum Sententiarum*

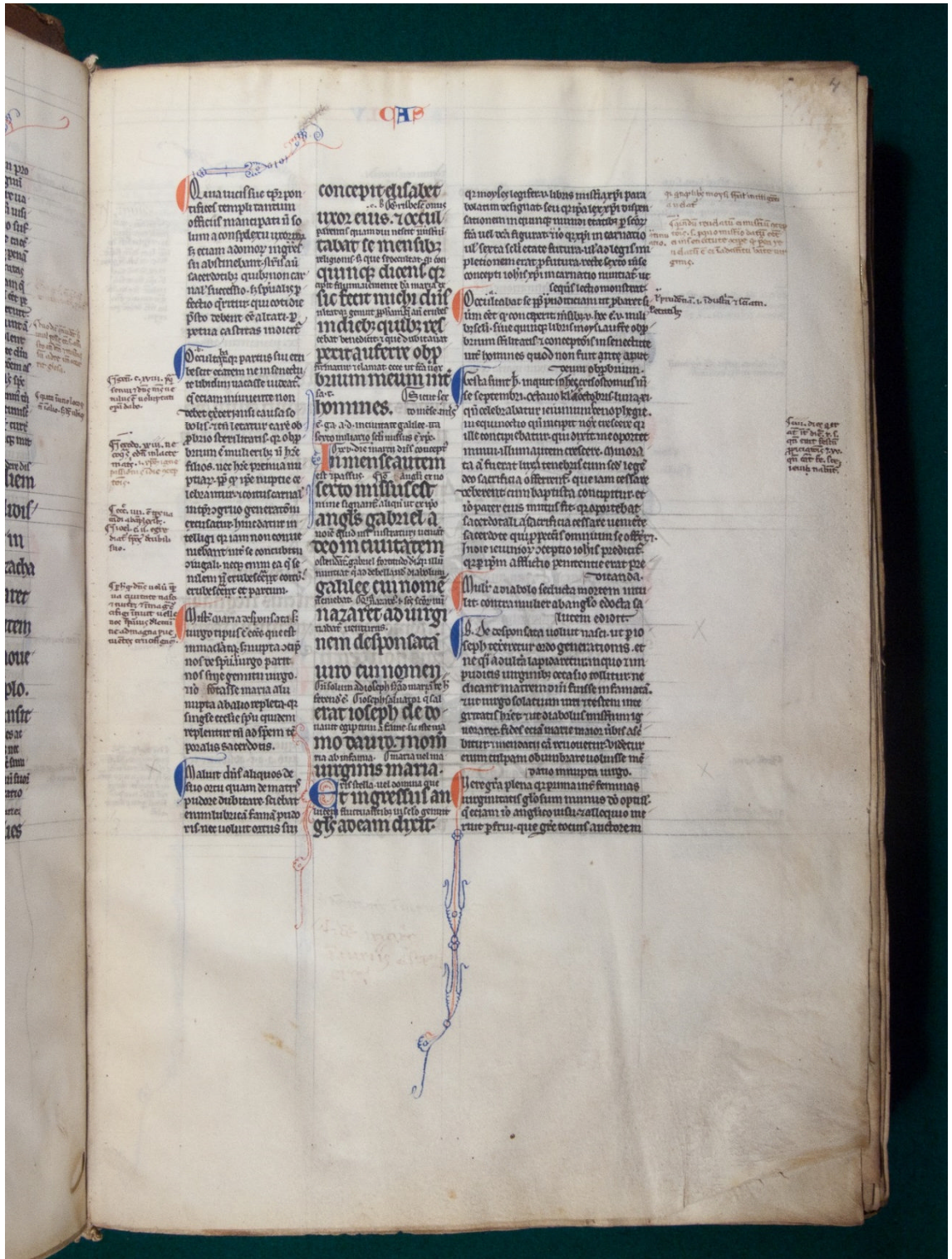


11. Padua, Biblioteca Antoniana MS 125, fol. 143<sup>r</sup>

Bonaventure, *In primum Sententiarum*







**Q**uia ual sine qz pon  
trahet tempu tantum  
officij mancipari il lo  
lum a conspectu uoz  
si etiam admodu ingret  
su abstinere. sicut au  
tae uoz: quibz non car  
nal succedo. s. spualit  
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pito uolent de altate p  
petua castitas inuierit

**D**icitur qz parus sui cen  
telet eamem ue in strectu  
re uoludm uacate uacat.  
q. etiam in uolente non  
debet q. etiam in causa so  
dolu. rei i. etatur eare ob  
prium strectu. q. obp  
dum emulterly. si hie  
stinos. ue hie puenia nu  
pna. p. q. ipe nuptie ce  
lebratur. comiscamal  
in q. g. riuo genitatu  
creatur. hinc datur in  
religi. q. iam non conue  
nietur. ue q. conuictus  
uigali. non enim ea q. se  
nitem. si erate se q. conu  
erteretur. et parum.

**M**ultas aia respoudata  
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n. o. s. i. n. e. g. e. m. i. t. i. u. r. g. o.  
r. i. d. s. i. c. a. s. t. e. m. a. r. i. a. a. l. i.  
n. u. p. t. a. a. b. a. l. i. o. r. e. p. l. e. t. a. q.  
s. i. n. g. l. e. e. c. c. l. e. s. i. p. u. q. u. a. d. e. m.  
r. e. p. l. e. n. t. u. r. e. i. a. d. s. p. e. m. r. e.  
p. o. a. l. i. s. s. o. c. e. r. d. o. u. s.

**M**aluit dñs aliquos de  
suo ortu quam de marri  
pudore dubitare. sic et  
enim in uera fama pnd  
rit. nec uoluit ornus sui

**concepit eius uer  
uxor eius. et ocul  
tabat se mensib;  
quinqz diebus qz  
sic fecit michi dñs  
indico: quib; res  
petra uferre obp  
dum meum in  
homines.**

**h**omines. **h**omines. **h**omines.  
h. o. m. i. n. e. s. h. o. m. i. n. e. s. h. o. m. i. n. e. s.

**h**omines. **h**omines. **h**omines.  
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**h**omines. **h**omines. **h**omines.  
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dotatem designat. seu q. rpa legi rpi uoz  
facionem in q. anq. r. u. u. d. e. c. e. n. t. i. s. p. l. e. b. i.  
f. a. u. e. t. e. a. s. i. g. u. a. r. i. o. q. r. p. i. m. a. r. i. a. n. o.  
u. l. t. e. r. a. s. e. l. l. e. c. t. a. t. e. f. u. r. u. a. u. l. a. d. l. e. g. i. m.  
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c. o. n. c. e. p. t. i. t. o. b. i. s. r. p. i. m. a. r. i. a. n. o. m. u. n. d. a. t. u. r.

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u. r. e. h. o. m. i. n. e. s. q. u. o. d. n. o. n. f. u. i. t. a. n. t. e. a. p. u. r.  
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**Q**uia dicitur se p. p. n. o. m. a. n. i. u. r. p. u. r. e. h. e.  
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**Q**uia dicitur se p. p. n. o. m. a. n. i. u. r. p. u. r. e. h. e.  
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e. u. m. o. b. p. d. u. m.

**Q**uia dicitur se p. p. n. o. m. a. n. i. u. r. p. u. r. e. h. e.  
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q. moyses legitur. libens multa rpi para  
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c. o. n. c. e. p. t. i. t. o. b. i. s. r. p. i. m. a. r. i. a. n. o. m. u. n. d. a. t. u. r.

**Q**uia dicitur se p. p. n. o. m. a. n. i. u. r. p. u. r. e. h. e.  
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d. u. m. s. i. t. i. r. a. t. u. r. c. o. n. c. e. p. t. i. t. i. n. s. e. n. e. c. i. t. a. t. e.  
u. r. e. h. o. m. i. n. e. s. q. u. o. d. n. o. n. f. u. i. t. a. n. t. e. a. p. u. r.  
e. u. m. o. b. p. d. u. m.

**Q**uia dicitur se p. p. n. o. m. a. n. i. u. r. p. u. r. e. h. e.  
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d. u. m. s. i. t. i. r. a. t. u. r. c. o. n. c. e. p. t. i. t. i. n. s. e. n. e. c. i. t. a. t. e.  
u. r. e. h. o. m. i. n. e. s. q. u. o. d. n. o. n. f. u. i. t. a. n. t. e. a. p. u. r.  
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**Q**uia dicitur se p. p. n. o. m. a. n. i. u. r. p. u. r. e. h. e.  
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d. u. m. s. i. t. i. r. a. t. u. r. c. o. n. c. e. p. t. i. t. i. n. s. e. n. e. c. i. t. a. t. e.  
u. r. e. h. o. m. i. n. e. s. q. u. o. d. n. o. n. f. u. i. t. a. n. t. e. a. p. u. r.  
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u. r. e. h. o. m. i. n. e. s. q. u. o. d. n. o. n. f. u. i. t. a. n. t. e. a. p. u. r.  
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d. u. m. s. i. t. i. r. a. t. u. r. c. o. n. c. e. p. t. i. t. i. n. s. e. n. e. c. i. t. a. t. e.  
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q. moyses legitur. libens multa rpi para  
dotatem designat. seu q. rpa legi rpi uoz  
facionem in q. anq. r. u. u. d. e. c. e. n. t. i. s. p. l. e. b. i.  
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**Q**uia dicitur se p. p. n. o. m. a. n. i. u. r. p. u. r. e. h. e.  
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**Q**uia dicitur se p. p. n. o. m. a. n. i. u. r. p. u. r. e. h. e.  
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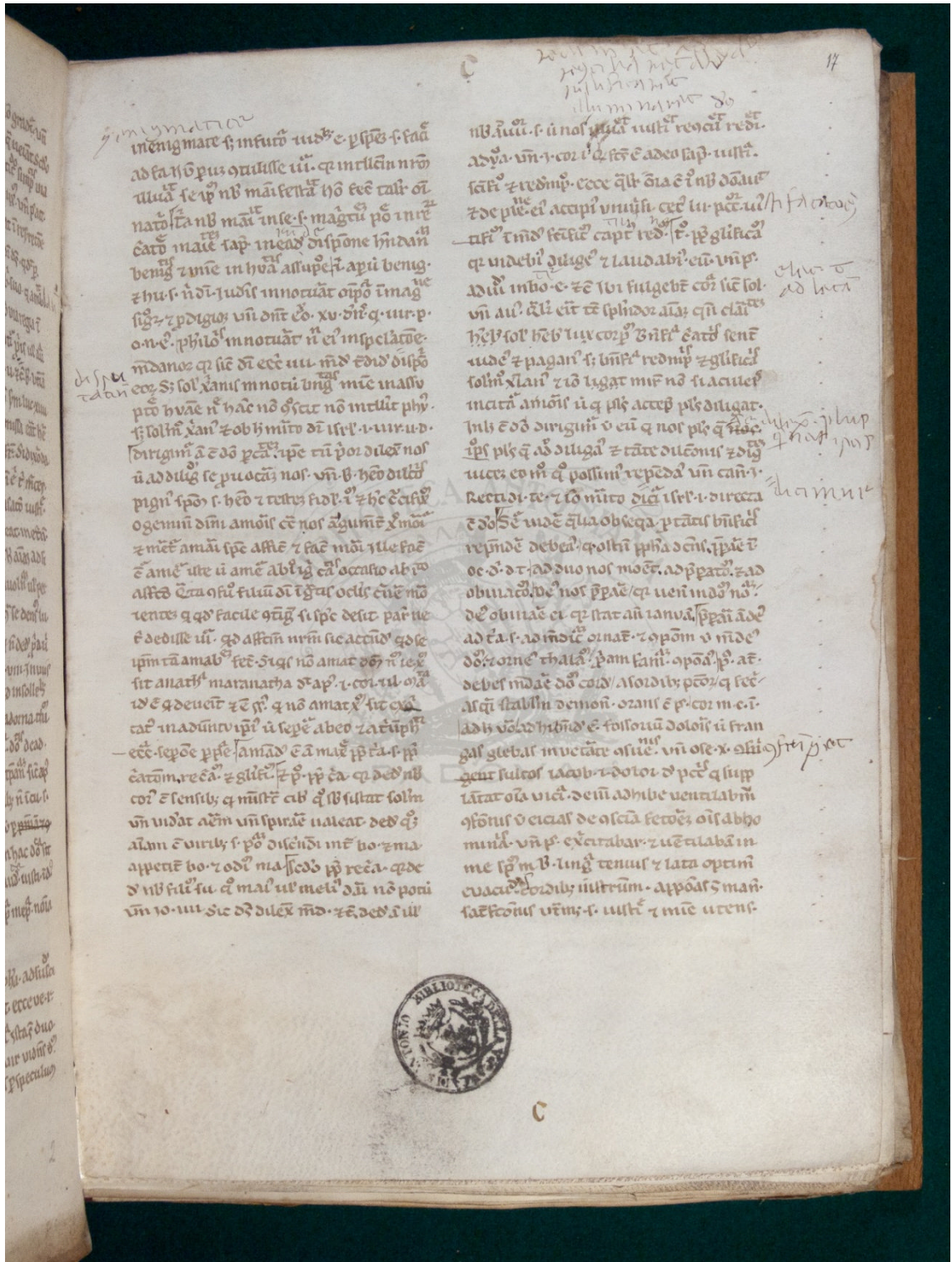
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**Q**uia dicitur se p. p. n. o. m. a. n. i. u. r. p. u. r. e. h. e.  
i. m. e. t. q. c. o. n. c. e. p. t. i. t. m. i. s. t. i. s. h. o. c. e. t. u. m. u. l. t.  
u. l. t. e. t. i. s. t. i. n. e. q. u. i. n. q. z. l. i. b. e. r. i. m. a. u. s. t. e. o. b. p.  
d. u. m. s. i. t. i. r. a. t. u. r. c. o. n. c. e. p. t. i. t. i. n. s. e. n. e. c. i. t. a. t. e.  
u. r. e. h. o. m. i. n. e. s. q. u. o. d. n. o. n. f. u. i. t. a. n. t. e. a. p. u. r.  
e. u. m. o. b. p. d. u. m.



13. Padua, Biblioteca Antoniana MS 267, fol. 4<sup>r</sup>  
Bible, Gospels of Luke and John





*inimicitia*  
 inenig mare s; infuro iud; e psp; f; fca  
 ad fa ho pur orulisse iij. q; inlcia nro  
 uua se ip nb mai fena ho ees tal; oi  
 nato; ta nb mai in se f; magru po iure  
 caro maie rap mead dispone hndan  
 beng; z iure in hua allupe; apu beng;  
 z hu; f; u di iudic innocuar oip; i mag  
 sig; z pdig; u; dnt co. xv. die q; iur; p.  
 o. n. e. philo; innocuar n ei inspelat; e.  
 mdano; q; sic di ees uu. md; edid; dispo  
 eoz; s; sol; xani; mnotu; bng; mie inasly  
 pto hvae n hac no ofcar no mclit; ph;  
 f; sol; h; xan; z ob h; mto di iur; i. i. u. r. u. d.  
 dirign; a; z ad pca; ipe tu poi dilex nos  
 u ad dilg; te puoca; nos. vñ. b. heo dilg;  
 pign; ip; f. heo z tatus fud; i. z h; e; ca; h;  
 ogemu; dmi amois; e; nos agum; e; xma;  
 z met; amai; ipe affie; z fac; mdi; nle; fac;  
 e; ame; ure; u; ame; ably; e; ca; oratio; ab; i;  
 affes; e; ca; q; h; f; u; u; di; i; g; r; o; c; l; i; e; h; e; n; o;  
 ientes; q; q; facie; q; u; g; f; i; p; e; desit; par; u;  
 e; dedisse; u; i; q; d; affen; urm; sic; accio; q; d; e;  
 ipm; ta; amab; f; e; d; i; q; n; o; amat; o; d; n; i; e; x;  
 fit; anath; maranatha; d; ap; i. cor; ul; o; a;  
 id; e; q; deueit; z; e; n; q; n; o; amat; e; fit; ex;  
 ca; e; in adun; v; ip; u; sepe; abeo; z; a; t; u; p;  
 e; e; e; sepe; de; p; p; e; samad; e; a; ma; e; p; p; a; f; p;  
 e; a; t; a; m; r; e; e; a; z; g; l; i; e; z; p; p; e; a; q; d; e; d; n; b;  
 cor; e; sensu; q; m; i; t; e; ab; q; u; s; u; l; t; a; t; solm;  
 vñ; u; d; a; t; a; d; m; u; n; i; s; p; i; r; i; t; e; u; a; l; e; a; t; d; e; d; q;  
 a; l; a; m; e; u; r; i; l; i; f; p; o; d; i; s; c; e; n; d; i; m; e; b; o; z; m; a;  
 apper; e; b; o; z; o; d; i; m; a; s; e; d; d; p; p; r; e; c; a; q; d; e;  
 d; n; b; f; u; i; t; u; a; m; a; l; u; l; m; e; l; i; d; a; n; o; p; o; n; i;  
 vñ; i; o; u; u; s; i; c; d; d; i; l; e; x; m; d; z; e; d; e; d; a; u; l;

*17*  
 n; b; a; u; l; i; f; u; n; o; l; i; a; u; l; t; i; r; e; n; a; t; r; e; d; i;  
 a; d; y; a; u; n; i; c; o; r; i; q; f; e; e; a; d; e; o; s; a; p; u; n; t;  
 f; a; t; i; z; r; e; d; i; m; p; e; c; c; e; q; l; t; d; i; a; e; i; n; b; d; a; u; t;  
 z; d; e; p; u; e; e; i; a; c; a; p; i; u; n; i; s; t; e; e; e; u; r; p; e; t; u; l; h; f; l; o; c; o;  
 a; t; i; t; m; d; f; e; t; u; e; c; a; p; t; r; e; d; i; f; e; p; g; l; i; f; i; c; a;  
 q; u; i; d; e; b; i; d; i; l; i; g; e; z; l; a; u; d; a; b; i; e; u; i; m; p;  
 a; d; u; i; m; b; o; e; z; e; l; o; i; f; u; l; g; e; b; i; t; c; o; r; s; i; c; s; o; l;  
 vñ; a; u; t; a; l; i; e; i; t; e; e; s; p; h; i; d; o; r; a; l; a; q; u; i; e; l; a; t;  
 h; e; l; s; o; l; h; e; l; l; u; x; c; o; r; p; b; i; n; t; e; a; t; s; e; n; t;  
 u; a; d; e; z; p; a; g; a; n; i; b; i; n; t; r; e; d; i; m; p; z; g; l; i; f; i; c; a;  
 s; o; l; m; x; l; a; n; z; i; d; l; y; g; a; t; m; i; r; n; o; f; i; a; c; u; l; e; t;  
 m; a; t; a; a; m; o; i; s; u; i; q; p; l; s; a; c; c; e; p; t; p; l; s; d; i; l; i; g; a; t;  
 i; n; h; e; o; d; d; i; r; i; g; u; n; i; o; e; u; i; q; n; o; r; p; l; s; q; n; o; e;  
 i; p; s; p; l; s; q; a; d; d; i; l; i; g; a; z; t; a; t; e; d; i; l; e; c; t; i; o; n; i; s; z; d; i; g;  
 u; i; c; i; e; e; o; m; q; p; o; s; s; i; m; r; e; p; e; d; a; u; n; c; a; n; i;  
 r; e; c; t; a; d; i; t; e; z; i; d; m; i; t; a; d; i; g; i; s; t; e; i; d; i; r; e; c; t; a;  
 e; d; d; e; u; i; d; e; q; u; a; o; b; l; e; q; a; p; r; a; t; i; b; i; n; t; i; c;  
 r; e; p; u; n; d; e; d; e; b; e; t; q; o; l; t; i; p; p; h; a; d; e; u; i; i; p; a; e; t;  
 o; e; d; i; t; a; d; d; u; o; n; o; s; m; o; d; e; a; d; p; p; a; t; i; z; a; d;  
 o; b; u; i; a; c; o; d; e; n; o; s; p; p; a; e; q; u; e; n; i; m; a; d; n; o; s;  
 d; e; o; b; u; i; a; e; e; i; q; z; s; t; a; t; a; n; i; t; a; n; u; a; l; i; p; p; a; i; a; d; e;  
 a; d; t; a; f; a; d; i; n; d; i; c; o; n; a; t; z; o; p; o; m; o; m; i; d; e;  
 d; d; z; o; m; e; t; h; a; l; a; p; a; m; f; a; n; i; o; p; o; d; a; p; a; e;  
 d; e; b; e; t; m; i; d; a; e; d; d; c; o; i; d; a; s; o; r; d; i; b; p; e; o; z; q; f; e; e;  
 a; s; q; i; s; t; a; b; l; i; n; d; e; m; o; n; o; r; a; n; t; e; p; i; c; o; r; m; e; t;  
 a; d; h; i; v; o; l; a; d; h; i; s; t; o; r; e; f; o; l; s; o; u; u; d; o; l; o; i; u; i; f; r; a; n;  
 g; a; l; g; l; e; b; a; t; i; n; u; e; t; a; t; e; a; s; u; e; vñ; o; l; e; x; a; s; t; i;  
 g; e; n; t; s; u; i; t; o; l; u; a; o; b; i; d; o; r; o; p; e; e; q; s; u; p;  
 l; a; t; a; t; o; l; a; u; i; e; t; d; e; m; a; d; h; i; b; e; u; e; n; t; a; b; i; n;  
 o; f; o; n; i; s; o; e; i; a; a; l; d; e; o; s; c; a; f; e; t; o; d; e; o; i; s; a; b; h; o;  
 m; u; n; d; a; vñ; p; e; x; c; a; t; a; b; a; z; u; e; t; a; l; a; b; a; i; n;  
 m; e; s; p; m; b; l; i; n; g; t; e; n; u; s; z; l; a; t; a; o; p; t; i; m;  
 e; u; a; c; a; t; e; o; r; d; i; b; i; u; l; t; r; i; m; a; p; p; o; a; t; s; m; a; n;  
 f; a; e; f; e; o; n; i; s; u; r; i; n; s; i; u; i; s; t; i; z; m; i; e; u; e; n; t;



15. Padua, Biblioteca Antoniana MS 418, fol. 17r  
 Luke of Bitonto, Sermons



+ yho

scilicet d. b. s. lo. cu. l. i. c. i. g. h. i. t. i. z. p. e. n. n. a. f. i. d. e. l. i. z. u. s. t. i. t. u. t. i. o. n. e.  
 e. s. x. p. i. u. s. u. t. r. e. i. t. a. t. n. o. p. a. n. n. i. s. d. e. c. o. s. i. l. i. y. q. z. p. o. s. t. u. l. i. t.  
 a. n. i. m. e. s. i. c. i. o. r. i. f. i. z. m. i. s. e. r. i. c. o. r. i. u. m. i. d. i. g. n. o. r. u. t. n. o. o. i. u. i. n. t. i. l. i.  
 p. n. i. o. d. n. i. p. u. t. d. e. d. a. l. i. q. u. i. f. o. r. m. u. l. a. i. s. c. r. i. p. t. u. r. e. d. u. c. t. a. e. v. e. n. i. t. i. n.  
 s. p. e. c. t. i. o. n. e. p. a. t. r. i. a. p. o. s. s. i. p. l. e. n. i. g. r. a. t. i. o. n. e. d. e. e. x. h. o. c. p. o. s. s. i. c. u. n. d. e. p. u. d. i. c. a.  
 d. f. a. n. t. u. l. u. s. u. e. n. i. a. p. m. e. n. i. t. u. r. e. p. e. n. e. n. i. a. n. n. u. e. l. n. o. e. x. p. r. e. s. s. i. t. h. o. b. e. n. e.  
 d. e. n. s. i. z. q. z. e. x. i. m. e. t. o. a. s. s. i. d. e. x. h. i. m. e. r. e. p. u. e. r. e. c. o. h. i. p. i. t. i. v. o. l. o. q. u. i. p. r. i. m. u. s.  
 s. e. n. t. i. s. p. o. z. f. a. c. i. e. d. e. p. o. c. u. p. a. r. e. s. i. c. d. e. i. n. p. i. p. o. e. f. d. i. g. e. t. e. t. i. o.  
 o. z. p. q. u. i. s. a. o. r. t. e. z. a. d. h. a. p. s. i. t. e. s. t. i. m. u. s. a. d. s. a. l. u. t. e. m. a. l. i. q. u. i. p. a. r. t. u. m. e. t. e. t.  
 q. z. u. e. n. i. e. n. t. a. d. q. u. o. d. d. i. c. i. t. u. r. V. i. u. s. q. z. s. a. n. t. i. p. r. e. d. i. c. t. u. s. q. z. p. u. e. r. u. m.  
 q. u. i. a. l. i. q. u. i. a. m. i. t. t. e. n. t. Q. u. a. z. d. i. c. i. t. u. r. q. n. o. g. r. a. n. d. i. u. s. q. u. i. p. e. r. t. u. a.  
 o. z. p. q. u. i. n. a. a. l. i. q. u. a. a. p. p. l. e. c. t. u. r. q. z. q. u. i. t. e. n. t. d. e. l. e. n. t. e. t. e. e. p. u. n. z. a. g. n. a. t.  
 z. r. e. g. i. d. A. g. n. i. t. u. r. p. m. i. z. z. q. u. i. t. e. n. t. p. p. h. o. z. q. q. u. i. s. t. i. o. n. e. a. l. i. q. u. i. q. u. i. e. t.  
 Q. u. a. e. t. d. i. c. i. t. u. r. p. e. t. h. e. q. u. i. s. t. i. o. n. e. s. q. u. i. s. t. i. o. n. e. s. i. o. a. l. i. q. u. i. p. e. d. i. t. u. r. n. o. q. u. i. s. t. i. o. n. e.  
 b. a. n. a. z. i. o. o. z. q. u. i. s. p. q. u. i. s. t. i. o. n. e. s. i. d. e. c. i. r. e. h. i. f. o. r. m. u. l. a. p. p. o. t. e. s. t. i. o. n. e. s.  
 d. o. q. h. e. l. u. r. p. i. m. a. p. p. e. t. e. d. e. h. y. s. q. i. q. u. i. h. a. n. t. p. e. c. c. a. t. o. r. e. s. d. e. h. y. s. q. u. i. e. t.  
 s. e. h. u. r. e. o. i. t. u. r. // 3. e. i. t. d. e. h. y. s. q. u. i. a. p. p. l. e. c. t. u. r. // 4. d. e. h. y. s. q. u. i. p. r. i. m. u. s.  
 q. u. i. s. t. i. o. n. e. // 5. d. e. h. y. s. q. u. i. p. r. i. m. u. s. q. u. i. s. t. i. o. n. e. // 6. q. u. i. t. e. n. t. u. n. i. q. u. i. s. t. i. o. n. e.  
 q. u. i. d. e. a. b. i. t. q. u. i. s. t. i. o. n. e. u. p. r. a. i. n. f. o. r. m. u. l. a. z. a. d. p. r. i. m. u. s. i. n. v. e. n. i. t. i. o. n. e. p. e. r. h. i. f. o. r. m. u. l. a.  
 r. e. d. u. c. t. A. d. i. t. u. r. a. u. t. q. u. i. s. q. l. e. g. e. r. i. t. o. r. d. i. c. a. t. o. r. q. u. i. d. e. i. l. l. p. e. n. i. s. s. o. d.  
 q. u. i. s. t. i. o. n. e. i. n. q. u. i. b. u. s. s. u. m. s. u. a. q. u. i. s. t. i. o. n. e. s. a. u. t. i. b. i. t. z. a. l. i. a. e. n. e. r. a. t. i. s. i. n. a.  
 q. u. i. i. n. q. u. i. b. u. s. s. e. i. n. d. i. c. a. u. i. t. s. u. m. o. r. t. e.

I. d. i. c. i. t. u. r. f. i. l. i. y. q. u. i. q. u. i. s. t. i. o. n. e. d. e. p. r. i. m. u. s. m. e. d. i. c. a. m. e. t. e. c. a. n. t. s. u. i. t. a. d. q. u. i. s. t. i. o. n. e.  
 p. r. i. m. u. s. a. d. s. e. p. a. r. a. t. i. o. n. e. c. o. l. l. e. c. t. o. r. z. d. e. f. e. n. s. i. o. n. e. h. u. i. u. s. c. o. r. p. o. r. e.  
 e. t. n. o. u. i. o. r. // 2. a. d. p. r. i. m. u. s. i. n. a. l. o. z. h. u. i. u. s. p. u. b. l. i. c. i. z. p. e. t. i. o. n. e. // 3.  
 a. d. p. r. i. m. u. s. i. n. a. l. o. z. h. u. i. u. s. f. u. t. u. r. i. n. o. i. c. o. r. p. o. n. e. n. t. // 4. a. d. c. o. n. f. i. r. m. a. t. i. o. n. e. d. o. m. i. n. i. z. p. r. i. m. u. s. // C. o. n. f. i. d. i. u. s. q. u. i. e. m. e. d. e. c. i. n. a. a. u. t. u. t. h. i.  
 q. u. i. s. t. i. o. n. e. // 5. a. d. q. u. i. s. t. i. o. n. e. o. z. p. r. i. m. u. s. q. u. i. s. t. i. o. n. e. p. r. e. d. i. c. t. a. // p. e. c. c. a. t. o. r.

Inap. pl. forle q. u. i. s. t. i. o. n. e.  
 e. d. i. c. i. t. u. r. a. f. i. d. e. s. o. d. e. o. r.  
 s. u. i. g. m. i. s. t. o. r. d. o. s. p.  
 p. e. n. i. t. e. n. a.  
 n. i. o.  
 2.

p.  
 e.  
 r.  
 r.



p. e. q. u. i. s. t. i. o. n. e. h. y. s.  
 i. f. q. u. i. s. t. i. o. n. e. d. e. b. e. t.  
 p. e. c. c. a. t. o. r.  
 n. o.

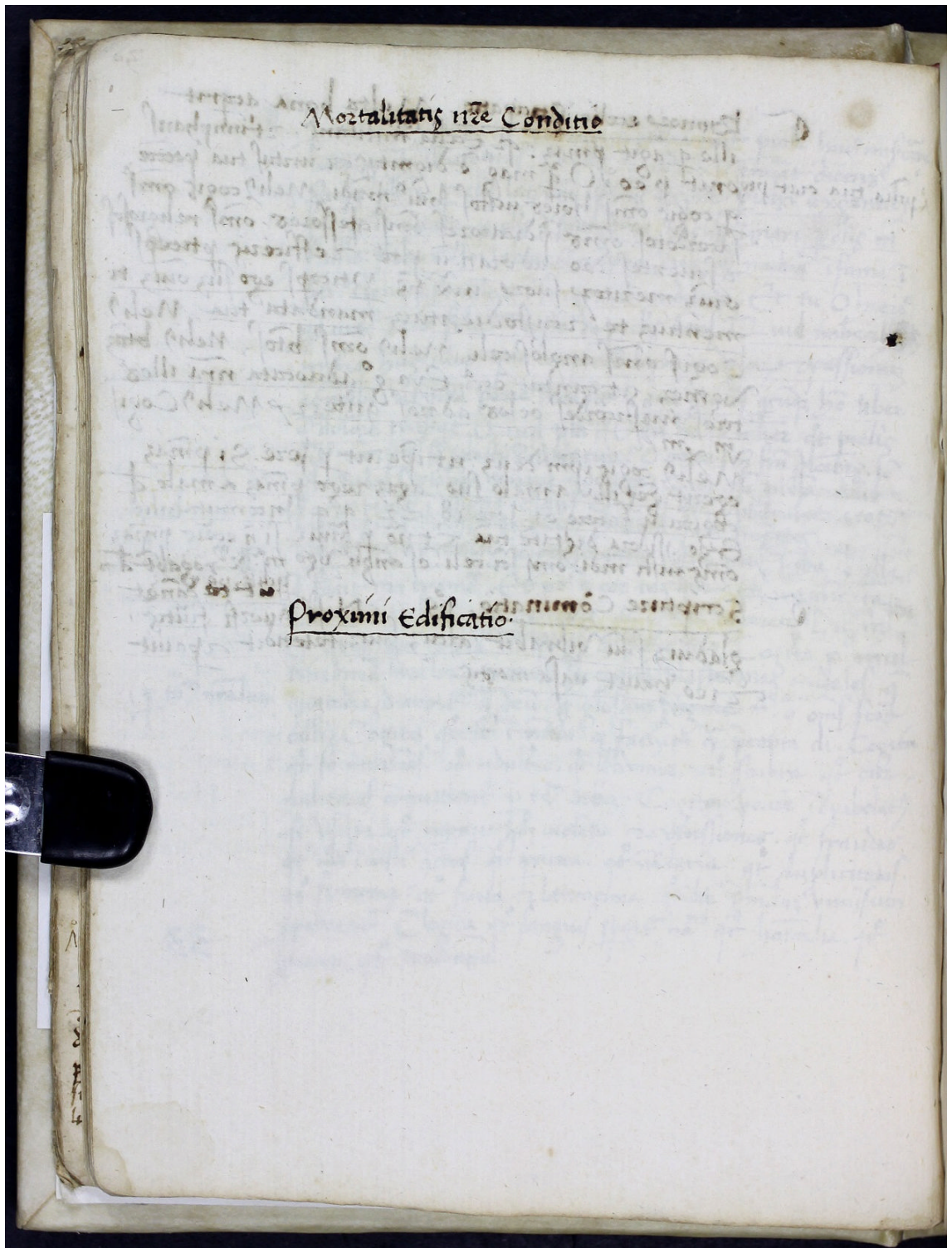
17. Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria MS 736, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>  
 Miscellany, John Peckham, *Summa confessionum*











Mortalitatis nre Conditio

Proximi Edificatio

**Beatorum Glorificatio.** Si unus hateret. x. fratres reges multum  
 gauderet. Si essent. c. magis gauderet. Cogita ergo quod quibus in beata  
 vita uidebitur quod infinitos reges. et sorores reginas. unum apoc  
 7. Vidi turbas quas dicitur. ps. ex o. tri. regem. apo. et im. stan.  
 an. tro. amicti. i. g. ag. stol. ul. rpal. ima. eo. rcla. di. Bndi.  
 rcla. rlap. r. g. ac. ho. vir. rlla. i. secta. secta. O si posses ui  
 deu una mor. aia. paradisi. omni regine istius mundi. et reges. et  
 ipatores. omni pulchritudo stellarum. sol. et lune. et omni creatura  
 est res turpissima. tenebrosa. et obscura. ad respectu istius aie  
 beate regine. Quid ergo erit uide scilicet patriarchas. prophetas. gloriosos  
 apolos. martires. beatissimas uirginis. confessorum. melius. Innumera  
 biles angelos. melius. Quid erit uide in melius. Quid erit  
 uide deum ineffabilem. O quod erit uide illa magnificentia aiaz  
 et gloria plenissima regine uirginis. O gaudium. O etia. O pulchritudo.  
 O letitia. et letitia totius paradisi. sed bene confortabit. per apolos suos  
 d. m. Gaudete et exultate quoniam mer. u. copi. e. i. ce. Et post  
 exultabit sancta in gloria. leta. i. cu. s. exulta. di. i. gut. eo.

**Scorum Intercessio.**

3. p<sup>o</sup>. Crudelestima. Hic fac dyalogus me moriturus et hoies.  
 p<sup>o</sup>. quid ipse uenit tamq<sup>uam</sup> ambulator, ut exeat de cor.  
 Cui ho. Quare. R<sup>o</sup>. Nisi mortis est, n<sup>on</sup> moreretur.  
 Ho. Quare mortis suz. R<sup>o</sup>. Vqz u<sup>el</sup> q<sup>uod</sup> i<sup>n</sup> reuolucio.  
 H. Tmeso mori. R<sup>o</sup>. Quare times cur om<sup>nes</sup> ides itez  
 facient. Si nuc<sup>u</sup> moreris, n<sup>on</sup> deinceps morte metues  
 n<sup>on</sup> optabis, n<sup>on</sup> dolebis, n<sup>on</sup> corpus auz de fecibus sb<sup>er</sup>acebis, n<sup>on</sup> reu<sup>er</sup>  
 tedis, at morbis, at sermo, at hom<sup>in</sup>u<sup>m</sup> dolis, at ad u<sup>er</sup>itate lullabis.  
 Letus qz id m<sup>er</sup>it<sup>u</sup> ee mortis debitu<sup>m</sup> solus, mo<sup>do</sup> m<sup>er</sup>it<sup>u</sup> ee libez.  
 H. Volebas diu uiuere. R<sup>o</sup>. Si optas diu uiuere, uita illa  
 q<sup>uod</sup>re u<sup>el</sup> ff<sup>er</sup> uiuere.  
 H. Morior diu bn age cogitabas. R<sup>o</sup>. Sic fozas appetuz  
 cogitasses. St q<sup>uod</sup> cogitat bn age, n<sup>on</sup> m<sup>er</sup>it<sup>u</sup> m<sup>er</sup>it<sup>u</sup>.  
 H. Potis diu uiuere. R<sup>o</sup>. Al<sup>iter</sup> no<sup>n</sup> q<sup>uod</sup>rat an tps solui, auct<sup>u</sup>z  
 carcere relaxari.  
 H. Morior diu magna parare so. Hec no<sup>n</sup> moris, s<sup>ed</sup> mo-  
 rietuz e<sup>st</sup> q<sup>uod</sup> breuissima uite telaz ta magno ordant.  
 H. Viridi morte morior. R<sup>o</sup>. uelut t<sup>u</sup> ang<sup>u</sup> marcescas senec  
 H. Veru<sup>m</sup> diu s<sup>ed</sup> expeeta donoc optaueris, damoz <sup>uite</sup>  
 domu<sup>m</sup> mea, at don<sup>de</sup> ha<sup>er</sup>z unu<sup>m</sup> filiu<sup>m</sup>, at multos filios meos,  
 at tradas m<sup>er</sup>ito filios meos, at optaueris q<sup>uod</sup>strone, at litiga<sup>m</sup> m<sup>er</sup>.  
 R<sup>o</sup>. Cuz res pt sensum queant, tu ff<sup>er</sup> sic cogitares, qz  
 expleto uno m<sup>er</sup>it<sup>u</sup> aliud.  
 H. fero morior. R<sup>o</sup>. multas ferri copia defuit, du optarent  
 gladio p<sup>er</sup>ire.  
 H. Morte ignimiosa morior. R<sup>o</sup>. h<sup>ic</sup> n<sup>on</sup> facit genus, at qualitas  
 s<sup>ed</sup> cu<sup>m</sup> supplicij. Neo n<sup>on</sup> bonus male, neo malus bn moritur:  
 honestaz morte no<sup>n</sup> corruptus facit: s<sup>ed</sup> honesta uita.  
 Om<sup>ne</sup> n<sup>on</sup> genus mortis honestate pt uirtus. Respice scos.  
 H. morte impuisa morior, n<sup>on</sup> cecidebas. R<sup>o</sup>. fit ut  
 p<sup>er</sup>uisa mors no<sup>n</sup> sit, cui impuida uita fuit.

41  
 h. In aliena p[ro]p[ri]a morior. R. Quid refert: cui[us] sit p[ro]p[ri]a.  
 q[ua]m e[st]udo sit tua. Non parentes gravabit te p[ro]p[ri]a sua.  
 nullus unicus gaudebit: leuius feret. Quid dicit: forsitas  
 ne i[n] p[ro]p[ri]a s[er]u[er]e. Aut no[n] cogitas q[uo]d o[mn]i[um] m[er]iti plaga p[ro]p[ri]a est.  
 N[on] uera p[ro]p[ri]a e[st] ubi dicitur i[n]moratur.

h. In peccatis morior. R. Hoc u[er]o no[n] nature, aut mortis: s[ed]  
 p[ro]p[ri]a tua culpa est. Gaude q[uo]d sic cogitas: q[uo]d forsitas obisses  
 sine tali sensu.

h. Nimis peccavi. R. Nullus mag[is] peccat q[uam] m[er]ita dei.

h. Peccat[us] sp[er]idit sp[er]es. R. Hoc peccat[us] o[mn]ib[us] est. Si peccasti  
 exultans, no[n] moraris de peccatis.

h. Quid de patrimonio meo erit. R. Quid curas de tibi accomodato.

h. Quid facient filij mei. R. Quid tu post obitu[m] p[ro]p[ri]a.  
 h. En uxor[em] meam dilectam relinquo. R. Non dicitur tuas:  
 q[uo]d mors faciet n[on] tua. Si n[on] bona fuit gaude, q[uo]d es i[n] uxo[re]  
 solus. Si bona eduob[us], aut alibi s[er]u[er]e a t[ibi] uagabit.

h. En morior sine filiis. R. inoreis letior, q[uo]d de eis n[on] dolebis.

h. Quid eueret p[ro]p[ri]a p[ro]p[ri]a me. R. No[n] dicitur p[ro]p[ri]a s[ed]  
 exiliu[m]. Instabilis n[on] erit, ut actemus fuit.

h. Quid de me dicent hoies. R. Q[uo]d ualis uita, talis finis erit.

h. Quid erit de corpore meo. R. hoc q[uo]d de alijs consp[er]is.

Tunc h. ait Volo mori, q[uo]d p[er]suasisti ueraciter. R. ne potes facere  
 p[ro]p[ri]a ad morte. Dic de serony: i[n]mittu. Et post seque. S[ed] dimitte  
 me n[un]c dulcat mori i[n] pace. Cui R. Volo q[uo]d hoies. 12.

dolores. Cui h. Quare. R. q[uo]d n[on] sic fieret me hoies  
 no[n] timerent ymo male facerent, ut morerent. Tunc h. dicit

i[n] Job. 30. fareturaz. n. suaz. Et dicit iteru[m] h. Qui R. hi do-

lores. R. apoc. 6. Et uidi euz apuiss.

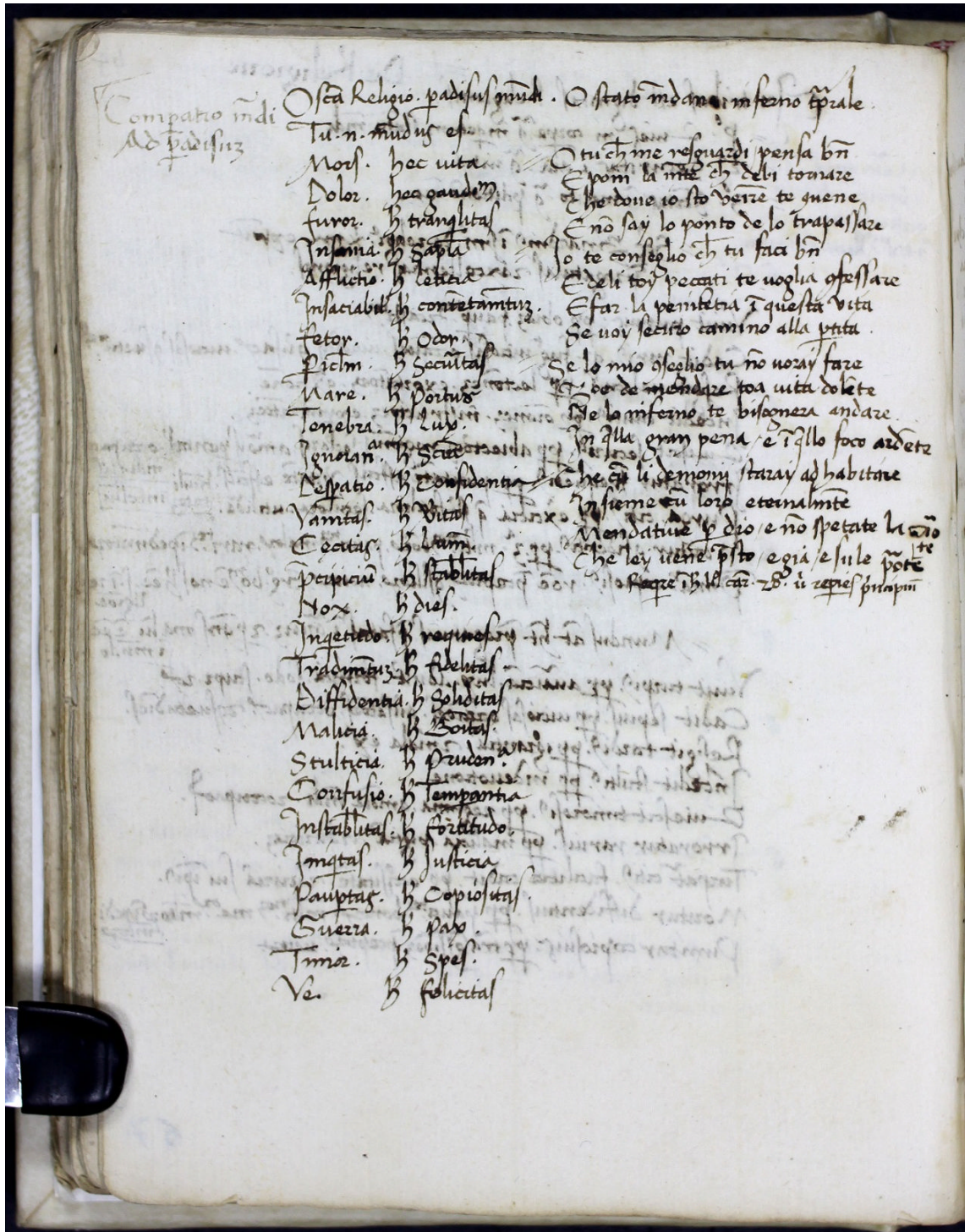
pm) Dolor Afflictio[n]is. ps 37. Afflict[us] suz et humiliat[us] suz nimis

2. Cogitatio[n]is.

amor s. sui r. hoies

timor morie[n]ti. ps. Timor et tremor ve. sup. me.

sp[er]es euadendi. ps. Viri san. et dolo. no[n] d[omi]nabit dies suos.



**Versus Mortis dñi Jaco filij Dantis de Florentia.** 106

**I**o sum la morte principessa grande.

Che la supbia humana è basso pona.

E tutto el mondo iel mio nome se spanda.

**T**rona la terra tuta nel mio sono.

Li re e gran maestri i spual hora

E lo mio guado cagion dall' suo trono.

**L**a forza iouenile non li demora.

Che subito non uada in sepultura

Tra tanti umi che casso el duca.

**S**oldato che te ual tua armatura.

Che la tua falce non te sbata i terra.

E che non faci la ptenza dura.

**C**he nara poi de questa toa guerra.

Se non tormenti guai e graz.

E forsi mancheray a meza seza.

**E** tu che credi haueze la zentileza.

Esser nato de graz parentato.

E p haueze del corpo la bellezza.

**P**eggio che porco nato nel contato.

El graz macello euz desio te aspecta.

Se non serai de vtu ornato.

**O** zoueneto dalla cagareta.

Che non cognosca li to graz piedi.

E in quati modi porai morire i freta.



Capitulum 243. miseria que uocatur bonorum Consumptio.  
 Iste filius prodigus & quicquid peccati dissipat &  
 consumit bona sua. Iteo ait. Dissipauit bona  
 sua uiuendo luxuriose. Et sic cetera peccata bona  
 omnia consumat: precipue tamen luxuria dissipat. 3.  
 bona. 3. P. dico dissipat bona corporalia consumat  
 Corporalia. P. corpus & deducit eum ad senectutes  
 Temporalia. P. infirmitates uarias & tandem ad mortem  
 Spiritualia. ut patet ex. de Absalon: q. abutens concubinis  
 patris sui: diuino iudicio suspensus est p. capillos in arbore.  
 Olofernes p. otupiscentia iudith, ab ea decapitatus est.  
 Herodes q. exarsit in uore furis sui  
 consumptus e a dimobz. Ite Amon miserabilis interfecit  
 e p. Tamar sore suaz. Ite Sichem p. dyna filia  
 patris interfecit e. Ite p. Ecce dissipato corporalis  
 que puenit p. luxurias.

2. Dissipat bona Temporalia qz deducit hoies ad  
 paupertate & modum maxiaz. prou. 30. 21. multu  
 scitum, pdit sbaz suaz. Ex. hemus

O Citadmi mei reputaresti sanio qm elal desiderasse tuti li  
 praceri de qsto mdo. come sono richze & honor. bella dona holi  
 nobilita. reputatoe ab hui mo. Ech qsta electoe fosse liba 30e  
 senza alguno qzio. No serua bn stulto ech i tati bezi hui se  
 esse quietate aliqua. O pazo mdo. O stulta qete  
 Na qm ech se elze richza. honor. q se elze se no  
 pena. affam. tormi. pualo. Iria st i h mdo 118  
 Appetitio p. appetit e qda passio q unq. natura. pua. Anaz unq. et satis. Ecce p.  
 Afflicto. Ad natura. oc. Mis. n. aut. ipe. au.  
 Moys. 2. Afflicto. Credas ex ipso Sator. d. it. ca. 2. Misericordia. et infime illi. c.  
 Cuncti dies ei doloribz. reuultis plerq. ne p. nocte intere qesat.  
 13. Moys. q. n. e. ceat. 13. q. n. p. appetenda. ista. boe. mlti. Regie. q. i. p. m. d. spe.  
 so ut ait huius. Quia deo regnare est.

28. Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria MS 1789, fol. 118r

Miscellany, on penance



De 24. fructibus p[ri]me ca. 1.	De Incantatoibus	84.
De 24. Cathenis q[ue] p[ri]maz. 12.	De Iudicio	101.
De 24. Tubis vocantibus ad p[ri]m. 26.	Prohemium Inferni	105.
De Elia	Laudes de morte	106.
De morte	De 24. malitatis lingue	109.
De p[ri]mo Demonu[m] d. d[omi]ni	Sonetus s. Bernardi	112.
De p[ri]ma cu[m] aliquib[us] dubijs	Laudes s. Nat[ur]e d[omi]ni	113.
De Conu[er]sio[n]e peccatoru[m]	De Chores	116.
De 12. p[ri]vilegijs. Jo. bap.	Prohemium de honor[um] p[er]tinetia	118.
De scissima Trinitate	Prohemium ad diu[er]sas malitias	119.
De Avaricia sine q[ue] Avaros	De 12. sig[is] si ho[m]o cogit ee i	120.
De Passio[n]e morte x.	amore aut i gra[ti]a dei	126.
De 23. doloribus x.	Prohemium de Iudicio	126.
De 7. bestedijs q[ue] 7. pecc. mor.	De Contemptu[m] mundi	127.
De 7. Anxialis Eundi i celis	De Iudicio	131.
De 12. gaudijs i morte sc[or]u[m]	Prohemium q[ui]n incipit p[ro]dicare	132.
De 40. gaudijs sc[or]u[m] i paradiso	i aliquo loco	132.
De 12. gaudijs p[ro]dicandi p[er] q[ui]s sc[ri]bo	De 18. domicellis d[omi]ni v[er]is	134.
De 2. signis q[ui]s p[er] ho[m]o d[omi]nat	repiendi s[ed] d[omi]ni eundi paradisi	134.
De 8. Domicellis sine b[us] rep[er]iendi x. 63.	De 7. demonib[us] q[ui] faciunt gemitu[m]	137.
De Religione nec distatib[us]	7. peccata mortalia	137.
De 2. abusiõib[us] q[ue] destrunt aliquos	Ex[tra] morale de p[ri]ma	142.
De Expositione s[er]m[on]i	De 12. fructib[us] fidei	143.
De 3. gaudijs paradisi	Prohemium de nobilitate d[omi]ni	144.
De Ieiunio sacro ac cu[m] fructu	De 12. gaudijs r[ati]ficatis sep[ar]atim	144.
De 40. gaudijs paradisi	Argumentus de gra[ti]a amor d[omi]ni	145.
De 12. ex[tra] i g[ra]tione corpus x. 81.	Prohemium de cruce passio[n]e x[rist]i	148.
De 12. fructib[us] siue benedictio[n]ib[us] corp[or]is	Ut bo[n]i videant malis i inferno	149.
De 12. maledictio[n]ib[us] cu[m] d[omi]ni i d[omi]ne	Ut d[omi]nati h[ab]eant nati. illoz q[ui] s[er]i	149.
De p[ri]ma reus utilitate	De Iudicio	149.
Prohemium de p[ri]ma	De s[er]m[one] Iudici	149.
De potentia siue Timore dei	De 12. fructib[us] Confessio[n]is	149.
De 12. abusiõib[us] q[ue] destrunt m[un]d[um]	De s. Clara	149.
	De Iudicio	149.

## De ambicione ff Amb. x.

**MANET** pmo decubuit i canis 7 p cathedras i synagoga  
 et salutatus i foro 7 uacua ab hoibz rabi. 23. Diffi  
 culam sane fore arbitror sup sumo tumefactos aie appetit  
 noxios posse refranare. cu cu quispi se ipz exultat sup id qd  
 e i se i uaria pta lobi necesse est. Et quis multa sunt pta  
 q ex supra gnaut. Verum i vobis ppositis de pta abiaciois  
 firmentio. Id eod de eo tua misteria possum qtemplare.

**P** diffinitio **P** misteriu di diffinitio. 7 dia pt sm. tho.  
**2<sup>m</sup>** distinctio 2. 2. q. 13. q. ambitio e iudicat appetit hono  
**3<sup>m</sup>** commissio us p caus declaratae 13<sup>el</sup> q. dicitur s. notade.  
**P** iudicatiois. **P** q. dicitur de iudicatiois. Na sm. tho.  
**2<sup>m</sup>** oppositiois. no simp ois appetit hono e pta. set  
**3<sup>m</sup>** offensionis. appetit iudicat. Ideo e aduerti q. honoat.  
 cu potat quada reuetaa alicui exhibitam iustioiu excel  
 lentie eius. Circa excellentia aut honois duo st attenden.

**P** qd qz i hz qd ho excellit no ht ho ase ipz. si e qz qdas  
 diuini i eo. 7 io ex h no debet sibi pni honor. s. deo. 7 2<sup>o</sup>  
 q. dicitur qd id iq ho excellit dat hono adeo. ut ex eo  
 alijs pfit. Vn itm dz ho place testu sue excellentie qd  
 ab alijs exhibet iqt ex h put sibi uia ad h qd alijs pfit.  
 Conigit qz 3<sup>o</sup> appetituz hono e iuldiatu. Nono qz as  
 appetit testu de excellentia qz no ht. qd e appetit honoz  
 sup sua patione. **Alio** p h q. honore sibi cupit non  
 referendo i deo. 7 no p h q. appetit ei i ipso hono gefat.  
 no referens honoz ad utilitates alioz. **Sz** q h arg<sup>o</sup> pt  
 q nlls peccat appetedo honore. quibz eis pt absqz uitio  
 appetit id qd sibi debet p pmo s. hono e pmois uitus.  
 Ut dt. p. 7 8. eth. 7 ambicio hono no e pmois uitu.  
 Ad h ruden pt s. tho. u. s. q. honoz no e pmois uitu.

*cu qd Ambicio*

*cu qd honoz*

piaz dan. dicitur misis relaxare. de amari punicarum ob-  
 lanaz unoy 7 mortuoy pacione iusta p frui debere mo-  
 derata dissolucioe qd dicitur. Ad 12<sup>m</sup> dicitur qd dan no est  
gnali intelligendum s3 tm de debito officio monachal.  
Ad 13<sup>m</sup> dicitur qd iteli d illis ecc<sup>is</sup> offitij q no pnt stare  
cuq discretae regle. sic e paptizare sepelire monachos. 7c.  
 3<sup>o</sup> pnt erare rae tumefactionis. qu s pp dignitate gradus  
 as despiciunt. sic faciebant phei i sumo naturalis qstantes  
 sine suum diligentes salutaaces i foro. 7 p cathedras in  
 synagogis. Ihs g modis ambitio suplos iudat quos  
 retrahit a diuina gratia / quam nobis qcedat 7c.  
 Amen:

### DE SUPERBIA

**Q**UA in avaritia excellentia euandisset a pparento certis sicut  
 dicitur de ligno uento conuolat. gn. 3. Dicitur e a deo dicitur hor  
 sup pisces aues 7 bestias gn. 1. Dicitur in p piscib maris  
 uolabundis celi 7 bestis gn. 9. Torres ue 7 tremo sit  
 sup cuncta gn. 10. **S**uperbia uolenti edificare turri usq ad  
 caelum dimnata fuit p confusione linguaz. gn. 11. **V**ox magna exat  
 coepisse se in actis dicitur gn. 16. **C**ontra etiam de omni  
 orditura. qd quim fuit natus in gn. 1. **S**u in gn. 25.  
 iuda fuit quito pntus rex filios gn. 20. **I**n gn. 10. **N**unquid fuit gn. 10.  
 natus fuit in effraim: qd eni fuit in auctione aextere. gn. 48. **S**u  
 fuit minimus in fces suos. 1. R. 16. **S**u gn. 16. **S**u gn. 16.  
2. R. 7. **S**u gn. 16. **S**u gn. 16. **S**u gn. 16. **S**u gn. 16.  
 nescio an: i uel no amittat. exo. 5. **S**u gn. 16. **S**u gn. 16.  
 facta soba moysen ex supbia processit. Na dixit illis moyses. nimis  
 exigitur fuit gn. 16. **S**u gn. 16. **S**u gn. 16. **S**u gn. 16.  
 remioctu gn. 16. **S**u gn. 16. **S**u gn. 16. **S**u gn. 16.  
 fu. gn. 16. **S**u gn. 16. **S**u gn. 16. **S**u gn. 16.  
 bo ueret. 1. R. 19. **S**u gn. 16. **S**u gn. 16. **S**u gn. 16.  
 in dauid fecit numeru gn. 16. **S**u gn. 16. **S**u gn. 16.







¶ ppuy de vobis ipote q filio qste seplano de albino

Basilus Sicut em ex carnalib estis alitur caro / ita ex di  
uine lectionib mteroz homis nutritur & pascatur Amen

De

Abstinencia. 8.  
Avaritia. 22.  
Acceptoe psonaz. 37.  
Amicitia & similitia. 39.  
Auxilio dei. 42.  
Auctoritate. 44.

De

Caritate. 1.  
Copunctoe. 6.  
Confessoe. 8.  
Cupiditate. 24.  
Cogitatioe. 29.  
Copassioe pmi. 32.  
Comunijs. 34.  
Coposio honoru & maloz. 38.  
Copolye. 40.  
Cotemptoe. 42.  
Curiostate. 43.

De

Dilectoe dei. 3.  
Decimis. 24.  
Disciplina. 24.  
Datorib. 24.  
Discordia. 28.  
De tractoe. 30.  
Disciplis & disciplina. 46.  
Diuitijs. 37.  
Defectis. 41.

De

Ebrietate. 23.  
Elate. 32.  
Elemosinis. 33.  
Exepho bonis ul malis. 44.

Et sic est finis huius operis deo quis

Fide. 27.  
Fletu. 34.  
Filijs. 36.  
Fornicate. 19.

De

Iustitia. 14.  
Inimice. 37.  
Indigentia. 4.  
Invidia. 14.  
Incuria. 18.  
Inceptate. 24.  
Iuramento. 28.  
Indumentis. 31.

De Gratia. 28.

De Humilitate. 4.

De Honore. 36.

De Ligatoe sui auctoritate. 44.

De Lectoib. 49.

De

anidi dimissioe. 12.  
antrio. 47.  
anastet & timoratis. 43.  
anpicoia. 31.  
an dias. 44.  
an dino. 29.  
an acis. 30.  
an unib. 33.

De Ozo. 7. 8 Oblatoib. 34.

De

Panetia. 2.  
Penitentia. 9.  
De Rectorib suis iudicib. 24. 44.  
Pulchritudine. 34.  
Risu. 34.

De

Silencio. 14.  
Sapientia. 17.  
Sullitia. 21.  
Semb & iuniorib. 42.  
Seruis. 38.  
Simplicitate. 44.  
Supbia. 16. 32.  
Securitate. 21.  
Spe. 27. 32.  
Septib. 38.





## Appendix 4

### Description of Manuscripts

This section offers a summary of the main codicological features of the manuscripts studied in this thesis. The following model shows the fields described:

#### Number of order

Manuscript Shelf mark	date
<i>Title</i>	
Material	Number of leaves
Quires / Mise-en-page	
Measurements in mm	
Lines / Written lines	
Script	
Decoration	
Binding	
Notes	
Bibliographical references	

#### 1. Manuscripts of the Biblioteca Antoniana

##### 1

112	13 <sup>th</sup> Century
Bonaventure, <i>Vita Francisci (Legenda maior)</i>	
Parchment	67 fols
II-67-II': 1 <sup>5</sup> -2 <sup>4</sup> [misplaced?], 3-7 <sup>4</sup> , 8 <sup>1</sup> , 9 <sup>3</sup>	
389 X 282 = 27 [281] 81 X 30 [87 (15) 90] 60	
33 lines ruled with hard point / 32 written lines	
Gothic (Textualis rotunda)	
Initials decorated with red and turquoise	
Stiff binding of wooden boards covered in leather with traces of the clasps	
Catchwords	
Abate and Luisetto, <i>Codici e manoscritti della Biblioteca Antoniana</i> , I, 146.	

220

2

120

14<sup>th</sup> Century

Bonaventure, *In primum Sententiarum*

Parchment

153 fols

1 - 12<sup>12</sup>, 13<sup>10</sup> (last folio missing)

332 X 231 = 26 [220] 77 X 32 [71 (10) 71] 47

46 lines ruled with hard point / 45 written lines

Gothic

Initials decorated with red and turquoise

Stiff binding of wooden boards covered in leather with traces of the clasps

Fol. III<sup>r</sup>: 'Iste liber primus Bonaventure deputatus est conventui Paduae Ordinis

Minorum per Capitulum Provinciale celebratum Veronae. Ad voluntatem  
ministrii pro exemplari ad tempus, propter studentes provinciales, tamen  
provinciae est liber Iste.

Catchwords

Abate and Luisetto, *Codici e manoscritti della Biblioteca Antoniana*, I, 61

3

123

14<sup>th</sup> Century

Bonaventure, *In primum Sententiarum*

Parchment

154 fols

1-11<sup>12</sup>, 12<sup>10</sup>, 13<sup>12</sup>

315 X 228 = 28 [214] 73 X 30 [68 (12) 68] 50

50 lines ruled with hard point / 49 written lines

Gothic

Initials in turquoise

Stiff binding of wooden boards covered in leather with traces of the clasps

Catchwords

Abate and Luisetto, *Codici e manoscritti della Biblioteca Antoniana*, I, 163-64

221

4

124

13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> Century

Bonaventure, *In primum Sententiarum*

Parchment

156 fols

1 - 4<sup>12</sup>, 5<sup>12</sup> (6<sup>th</sup> fol. missing), 6<sup>10</sup>, 7- 11<sup>12</sup>, 12<sup>11</sup>, 13<sup>12</sup>, 14<sup>4</sup>

306 X 214 = 24 [205] 77 X 26 [63 (11) 65] 49

53 lines ruled with hard point / 52 written lines

Gothic

Initials decorated with red and turquoise.

Stiff binding of wooden boards covered in white leather with traces of the clasps.

Catchwords

Abate and Luisetto, *Codici e manoscritti della Biblioteca Antoniana*, I, 164

5

125

Early 14<sup>th</sup> Century

Bonaventure, *In primum Sententiarum*

Parchment

143 fols

1<sup>12</sup> (missing 1<sup>st</sup> fol.), 2 - 11<sup>12</sup>, 12<sup>10</sup> + 2 fols

348 X 232 = 28 [220] 100 X 25 [69 (10) 70] 58

53 lines ruled with hard point / 52 written lines

Gothic

Initials decorated with red and turquoise

Stiff binding of wooden boards covered in red leather with traces of the clasps

Catchwords

Abate and Luisetto, *Codici e manoscritti della Biblioteca Antoniana*, I, 164

267 13<sup>th</sup> Century  
*Lucas et Johannes Glossati*  
 Parchment 145 fols  
 1 - 17<sup>8</sup>, 18<sup>9</sup>  
 352 X 234 = 40 [198] 114 X 30 [32 (5) 51 (5) 48] 63  
 Column A and C 48 lines ruled with hard point / 47 written lines  
 Column B 24 written lines  
 Gothic  
 Initials decorated in red and turquoise  
 Stiff binding of wooden boards covered in brown leather with traces of the clasps.

Abate and Luisetto, *Codici e manoscritti della Biblioteca Antoniana*, I, 263

322 1<sup>st</sup> half 13<sup>th</sup> Century  
 Joachim of Fiore, *Psalterium Decem Chordarum*  
 Parchment 239 fols  
 1 - 3<sup>8</sup>, 4<sup>6</sup>, 5<sup>9</sup>, 6<sup>5</sup>, 7<sup>8</sup>, 8<sup>6</sup>, 9<sup>8</sup>, 10<sup>8</sup>, 11<sup>6</sup>, 12-18<sup>18</sup>, 19<sup>3</sup>, 20<sup>5</sup>, 21<sup>8</sup> 22<sup>8</sup>, 23<sup>9</sup>  
 375 X 278 = 18 [312] 45 X 36 [84 (19) 86] 53  
 48 lines ruled with hard point / 48 written lines  
 Gothic  
 Initials decorated with red  
 Modern stiff binding of wooden boards. Back covered in brown leather. Traces of the clasps  
 Catchwords. At least three different hands  
 Abate and Luisetto, *Codici e manoscritti della Biblioteca Antoniana*, I, 290-92

417 2<sup>nd</sup> half 13<sup>th</sup> Century  
 Luke of Bitonto, *Semones Dominicales*  
 Parchment 216 fol  
 1 - 18<sup>12</sup>  
 303 X 208 = 17 [243] 43 X 21 [67 (13) 64] 43  
 48 lines ruled with hard point / 47 written lines  
 Gothic  
 Initials decorated in red and turquoise  
 Stiff binding of wooden boards with traces of the clasps. Traces of white and brown  
 leather in the back  
 Catchwords  
 Abate and Luisetto, *Codici e manoscritti della Biblioteca Antoniana*, I, 347

418 2<sup>nd</sup> half 13<sup>th</sup> Century  
 Luke of Bitonto, *Semones Dominicales*  
 Parchment 176 fols  
 1<sup>9</sup> (last fol. missing), 2-8<sup>8</sup>, 9<sup>6</sup>, 10<sup>8</sup>, 11<sup>2</sup>, 12-22<sup>8</sup>, 23-26<sup>2</sup>  
 Fol. 3<sup>r</sup>: 293 X 204 = 25 [216] 52 X 217 [144] 43  
 Fol. 29<sup>r</sup>: 276 X 192 = 118 [189] 69 X 15 [69 (9) 69] 30  
 Fol. 3<sup>r</sup>: 36 lines ruled with hard point / 25 written lines  
 Fol. 29<sup>r</sup>: 32 lines ruled with hard point / 31 written lines  
 Gothic  
 Blank spaces for some initials. There is no apparatus of decoration  
 Recent stiff binding of wooden boards covered in brown leather. Traces of clasps  
 Catchwords. Restoration in 1926 by Officina di restauro della Biblioteca Vaticana per  
 magnificenza di Pio XI.  
 Abate and Luisetto, *Codici e manoscritti della Biblioteca Antoniana*, I, 347

224

**10**

419

2<sup>nd</sup> half 13<sup>th</sup> Century

Luke of Bitonto, *Sermones Dominicales*

Parchment

224 fols

1-17<sup>12</sup>, 18<sup>8</sup>, 19<sup>12</sup>

221 X 167 = 98 [150] 52 X 19 [46 (11) 46] 45

45 lines / Variable number of written lines

Gothic

Blank spaces for some initials

Recent stiff binding of wooden boards covered in brown leather. Traces of clasps

Catchwords. At least two hands: the first possibly German and the second Italian.

Restoration by the Gabinetto di restauro del libro.

Abate and Luisetto, *Codici e manoscritti della Biblioteca Antoniana*, I, 348

**11**

527

14<sup>th</sup> Century

Luke of Bitonto, *Miscellany of Sermons*

Parchment

363 fols

1<sup>10</sup>, 2<sup>10</sup>, 3<sup>2</sup>, 4<sup>10</sup>, 5<sup>10</sup>, 6-12<sup>12</sup>, 13<sup>13</sup>(missing one fol.), 14-25<sup>12</sup>, 26<sup>12</sup>, 27-31<sup>10</sup>, 32<sup>11</sup>, 33<sup>8</sup>

198 X 145 = 18 [135] 45 X 11 [4/46 (7) 45/4] 28

33 lines with pencil / 32 written lines

Gothic

Initials in red

Modern stiff binding of wooden boards covered in brown leather at the back

Catchwords. Presence of at least two hands

Abate and Luisetto, *Codici e manoscritti della Biblioteca Antoniana*, II, 547-48

225

12

572 1396  
*Inventarium bibliothecae et sacristiae*  
Parchment 49 fols  
6<sup>8</sup> + 1 fol.  
288 X 200

Gothic (Textualis rotunda)

Modern stiff binding of wooden boards covered in white leather. Traces of clasps.

Abate and Luisetto, *Codici e manoscritti della Biblioteca Antoniana*, II, 595

K. W. Humphreys, *The Library of the Franciscans of the Convent of St Anthony*

13

573 1449  
*Inventarium librorum sacri conventus fratrum minorum Padue*  
Parchment 66 fols  
1-3<sup>12</sup>, 4-6<sup>10</sup> + 2 fols  
314 X 225 = 25 [209] 80 X 28 / 8 [146] 43  
34 / 33

Gothic (Textualis rotunda)

Rubrics in red. Three initials in colour and gold

Stiff binding of wooden boards. Traces of white and green leather. Traces of clasps

Abate and Luisetto, *Codici e manoscritti della Biblioteca Antoniana*, II, 595–96

226

14

720

1<sup>st</sup> half 13<sup>th</sup> Century

Antonius Patavinus, *Sermones*

Parchment

204 fols

1-8<sup>8</sup>, 9<sup>10</sup>, 11-22<sup>8</sup>, 23<sup>8</sup> (two last fols missing), 24-26<sup>8</sup>, 27<sup>4</sup>

327 X 244 = 16 [250] 61 X 26 [80 (10) 81] 47

47 lines ruled with hard point / 47 written lines

Gothic

Initials in red and green

18th-century stiff binding of wooden boards covered in leather with traces of the clasps

Catchwords

Abate and Luisetto, *Codici e manoscritti della Biblioteca Antoniana*, II, 656-57

## 2. Manuscripts of the Biblioteca Universitaria

15

548

1<sup>st</sup> half 15<sup>th</sup> century

*Miscellany*

Paper

106 fols

I, 106, I': 1-8<sup>12</sup>, 9<sup>10</sup>

In 4° 214 X 142 = 18 [151] 45 X 17 [97] 28

2 lines ruled in colour / 40 written lines, variable

Gothic cursive

Initials decorated with green and red

Stiff binding of cardboard.

Martina Pantarotto, *La biblioteca manoscritta del convento di San Francesco Grande*, p. 110



## 16

586

3<sup>rd</sup> quarter 15<sup>th</sup> century*Miscellany*

Paper

195 fols

II, 195, II': 1-2<sup>10</sup>, 3<sup>12</sup>, 4-7<sup>10</sup>, 8<sup>9</sup>, 9<sup>12</sup>, 10-18<sup>10</sup>, 19<sup>12</sup>

In 4° 217 X 156 = 20 [160] 37 X 17 [45 (14) 46] 34

2 lines ruled in colour / 36 written lines, variable

Gothic cursive

Initials decorated with green and red.

Stiff binding of cardboard from the 18th century

Two different hands

Martina Pantarotto, *La biblioteca manoscritta del convento di San Francesco Grande*,  
p. 112

## 17

736

15<sup>th</sup> century*Miscellany*

Paper

118 fols

II, 118 (117), II': 1-3<sup>12</sup>, 4<sup>22</sup>, 5-7<sup>16</sup>, 8<sup>12</sup>

In 8° 143 X 107 = 15 [100] 28 X 20 [57] 30

2 lines ruled in colour / 27 written lines, variable

Gothic cursive

Blank space for initials

Stiff binding of wooden boards covered with leather

Two different hands

Martina Pantarotto, *La biblioteca manoscritta del convento di San Francesco Grande*,  
p. 123

## 18

1030

15<sup>th</sup> century*Miscellany*

Paper

109 fols

II, 109 (114), II': 1-6<sup>10</sup>, 7<sup>7</sup>, 8<sup>9</sup>, 9<sup>3</sup>, 10<sup>16</sup>, 11<sup>14</sup>

In 4°; 211 X 153 = fols 1-81: 22 [147] 42 X 9 [48 (12) 48] 36

fols 83-114: 25 [148] 38 X 18 [95] 40

42 lines ruled in colour / 42 written lines

Gothic cursive

Initials decorated in yellow

Modern binding

Martina Pantarotto, *La biblioteca manoscritta del convento di San Francesco Grande*,

p. 138

## 19

1098

14<sup>th</sup> century*Miscellany*

Parchment

164 fols

I, 164, I': 1-13<sup>12</sup>, 14<sup>8</sup>

307 X 217 = 21 [214] 72 X 21 [63 (12) 63] 58

50 lines ruled with hard point / 49 written lines

Gothic cursive

Initials decorated with gold.

Modern binding

Martina Pantarotto, *La biblioteca manoscritta del convento di San Francesco Grande*,

p. 142-43

229

20

1159

15<sup>th</sup> century

*Miscellany*

Paper

188 fols

III, 188, I': 1<sup>18</sup>, 2<sup>14</sup>, 3- 4<sup>16</sup>, 5-12<sup>14</sup>, 13<sup>12</sup>

In 8°; 154 X 102 = 14 [99] 41 X 8 [76] 18

24 lines ruled in colour / Variable number of written lines

Gothic

Initials decorated with red

Modern binding

Martina Pantarotto, *La biblioteca manoscritta del convento di San Francesco Grande*,  
p. 149-50

21

1511

15<sup>th</sup> century

*Miscellany*

Paper

168 fols

I, 168, I': 1<sup>4</sup>, 2<sup>10</sup>, 3<sup>6</sup>, 4-5<sup>10</sup>, 6-7<sup>12</sup>, 8-17<sup>10</sup>, 18<sup>4</sup>

In 8°; 141 X 103 = fols 1-154: 9 [99] 33 X 9 [28 (6) 32] 28

fols 155-164: 9 [109] 23 X 13 [77] 13

33 lines ruled in colour / 32 written lines

Gothic cursive

Modern binding

Two different hands

Martina Pantarotto, *La biblioteca manoscritta del convento di San Francesco Grande*,  
p. 167-68

230

22

1789

15<sup>th</sup> century

*Miscellany*

Paper

238 fols

I, 238 (237), I': 1-9<sup>12</sup>, 10-11<sup>4</sup>, 12-16<sup>12</sup>, 17<sup>8</sup>, 18<sup>12</sup>, 19<sup>10</sup>, 20<sup>8</sup>, 21<sup>16</sup>, 22<sup>8</sup>

In 4° and 8°; 169 X 120 = fols 1-175: 6 [153] 10 X 30 [65] 25

fols. 176-85: 14 [122] 33 X 12 [75] 33; fols 186-237: 17 [135] 17 X 15 [80] 25

No ruled lines until fol. 175 / approx. 34 written lines, variable

fols 176-85: 21 lines / approx. 28 written lines, variable

fols 186-237: 37 lines / approx 37 written lines, variable

Gothic cursive

Initials decorated with green and red

Various hands

Martina Pantarotto, *La biblioteca manoscritta del convento di San Francesco Grande*,

p. 188

23

1851

15<sup>th</sup> century

*Miscellany*

Paper

282 fols

III, 282, III': 1<sup>11</sup>, 2<sup>9</sup>, 3<sup>16</sup>, 4-5<sup>12</sup>, 6<sup>10</sup>, 7<sup>12</sup>, 8<sup>16</sup>, 9<sup>11</sup>, 10<sup>12</sup>, 11<sup>14</sup>, 12-13<sup>12</sup>, 14<sup>15</sup>, 15-23<sup>12</sup>

In 4°; 215 X 154 = 23 [147] 45 X 25[50 (6) 53] 20

Number of written lines variable.

Gothic cursive

Underlined in red

Modern binding

Martina Pantarotto, *La biblioteca manoscritta del convento di San Francesco Grande*,

pp. 191-92

231

24

2103

14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> Century

*Composite*

Paper

74 fols

III, 74, III'; 218 X 152

Fols 1-20:

15<sup>th</sup> century

1<sup>12</sup>, 2<sup>8</sup>

In 4°; 218 X 152 = 20 [158] 40 X 20 [100] 32

32 lines ruled in colour / variable number of written lines

Fols 21-74:

Late 14<sup>th</sup>-early 15<sup>th</sup> century

1<sup>4</sup>, 2-6<sup>10</sup>

In 4°; 218 X 147 = 12 [177] 29 X 15[117] 15

2 lines ruled in colour. / 27 written lines, variable

Gothic cursive

Modern binding

Martina Pantarotto, *La biblioteca manoscritta del convento di San Francesco Grande*,  
pp. 208-09



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MS 3

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MS 4

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MS 127	MS 342
MS 128	MS 417
MS 129	MS 418
MS 130	MS 419
MS 131	MS 527
MS 213	MS 572
MS 267	MS 573
MS 274	MS 590
MS 276	MS 720
MS 277	

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MS B.P. 929



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