

THE PECIA SYSTEM AND ITS USE
IN THE CULTURAL MILIEU OF PARIS, c1250-1330

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I, Alison Joan Ray, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own.

Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Signed,

ABSTRACT

This thesis is an examination of the *pecia* system in operation at the University of Paris from c1250 to 1330, and its use in the cultural milieu of the city during this period. An appendix (1) lists the manuscripts with user notes on which the thesis is primarily based. As the university community rose as a leading force in theology and philosophy, so too did the book trade that supported this network. The *pecia* system of book production mass-produced texts efficiently and at a low cost to its users, mainly university masters, students, preachers, and visitors to the Paris cultural community. Users interacted with *pecia* manuscripts by leaving a wide range of marginalia in works. Marginalia are classified according to a devised user typology scheme and include ownership marks, passage summaries, and comments on the main text. We have two further surviving sources for the Paris system: bookseller lists of *pecia*-produced works from 1275 and 1304.

Chapters 1 to 10 examine separate genres of texts available on the *pecia* lists, theological and philosophical works as well as preaching aids. That Paris *pecia* manuscripts were used in action as preaching aids is one of the conclusions the user notes help to establish. Another is that Paris *pecia* manuscripts were important in English intellectual life (Chapter 11). The codicological and textual examinations of individual manuscripts and user notes present within reveal the function and intended audience of each genre as a whole, providing unique insight into the workings of the medieval cultural community at Paris in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

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Introduction

This thesis explores the numerous ways that members of the Parisian cultural milieu used textbooks produced through the *pecia* system which operated in the city in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Paris was a city of international importance during this period, its standing due in part to the prestigious university located there. Scholars at the University of Paris enjoyed an unrivalled reputation in all subjects other than medicine, with scholars travelling from across Europe for the opportunity to learn from these great men and to exchange ideas and knowledge with one another.

The thesis has also been structured with the intention of connecting the cultural history of the university at Paris with the codicology and study of written features present in *pecia* texts. There are several excellent works on *pecia* texts, yet these focus primarily on the physical examination of the manuscripts as well as demonstrating the workings of the production system.¹ The thesis goes beyond that

¹ J. Destrez, *La pecia dans les manuscrits universitaires du XIII^e et du XIV^e siècle* (Paris: Éditions Jacques Vautrain, 1935); R.H. Rouse and M.A. Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris 1200-1500* (Turnhout: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2000); G. Pollard, 'The *pecia* system in the medieval universities', in *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays presented to N.R. Ker*, M.B. Parkes and A. Watson (eds.) (London: Scolar Press, 1978) pp. 145-161; L.-J. Bataillon, B.G. Guyot, R.H. Rouse (eds.) *La production du livre universitaire au moyen age: exemplar et pecia* (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1988); L.E.

by the user notes and marks that are found in a wide variety of texts, such as commentaries, distinction collections, decretals and philosophical works, found inpecia manuscripts.

User notes and other evidence of reader reception have for a generation attracted the interest of cultural historians. The Würzburg School of Kurt Ruh brought codicology to bear on reception history in a series of volumes of which Hans-Joachim Schiewer's on the *Schwarzwälderprediger* is an impressive example.² Furthermore, Parkes highlighted the changes to reader practices during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as part of wider developments in method of scholarship and attitudes to study.³ The physical appearance of the book saw great change in this period with the introduction of scholarly apparatuses to meet the practical needs of readers, such as rubrics, running titles, tables of contents, and text divisions

Boyle, 'Peciae, apopeciae, and a Toronto ms. of the Sententia Libri Ethicorum of Aquinas', *The Role of the Book in Medieval Culture: Proceedings from the Oxford International Symposium 26 September – 1 October 1982*, ed. P. Ganz (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986) pp. 71- 82.

² H.-J. Schiewer, *Die Schwarzwälder Predigten: Entstehungs- und Überlieferungsgeschichte der Sonnetags- und Heiligenpredigten* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1996). See pp. 192 and 195 for Schiewer's study of marginalia present in thirteenth-century German language preaching aids of likely Franciscan authorship.

³ M.B. Parkes, 'The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio* on the Development of the Book', *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, eds. J.J.G. Alexander and M.T. Gibson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976) pp. 115- 141.

including chapters and paragraph marks. The concept behind these new apparatuses was to 'indicate and emphasise the organisation of the subject matter inherent in the text', allowing the reader greater access towards the structure and essential arguments of the text, what became known as the *ordinatio* of the work.⁴ By the thirteenth century a new form of writing called '*compilatio*' by Parkes developed, which presented extracts from the Church Fathers and other authorities in a clear systematic format with accompanying alphabetical indexes and other reference tools for ease of reader access to the material.⁵ Recent medieval and early modern book historians have made further forays into the field of reader reception⁶, but it has not yet been tried onpecia manuscripts.

Surviving pecia manuscripts are today scattered in library collections throughout Europe and the United States. Most of these works are copies that contain pecia indications and many texts are pecia exemplars, although they survive in smaller numbers. As discussed below, exemplars were the manuscript quires of a

⁴ Parkes, 'The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio* on the Development of the Book' p. 117.

⁵ Parkes, 'The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio* on the Development of the Book' p. 127. See Chapter 7 on florilegia and anthology texts for further discussion.

⁶ W.H. Sherman, *The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995); E. Kwakkel and S. Partridge (eds.), *Author, Reader, Book: Medieval Authorship in Theory and Practice* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012); L. Jardine and A. Grafton, "'Studied for Action': How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy", *Past & Present*, 169 (Nov. 1990), pp. 30- 78.

work kept by university stationers and rented out to scribes and users. They survive in small numbers as they saw active use and were likely disposed of after much wear and tear. The pecia indications of text copies are present in the margins beside the main text and mark the points in the exemplar where one quire ended and another began. The number of surviving pecia manuscripts is colossal, particularly when it is taken into consideration the likely high loss rate of works not preserved in a library.

Jean Destrez was the first modern researcher to examine pecia texts and published the first major work on the system in 1935.⁷ As part of his research he sought out pecia indications in manuscript collections across Europe and additional texts have been identified since his original work.⁸ Approximately 2800 pecia manuscripts survive today: too many to be studied here. In any case, these represent only a tiny proportion of those that must have been reproduced.⁹ This means that precise quantitative statistics on surviving manuscripts would be worthless. Nonetheless, a close quantitative analysis of a substantial and rationally selected subset can yield interesting results. I have focused on pecia texts with user written

⁷ *La Pecia dans les manuscrits universitaires du XIII^e et du XIV^e siècle* (Paris: Éditions Jacques Vautrain, 1935).

⁸ Murano produced an invaluable bibliography guide to known pecia manuscripts: *Opere diffuse per exemplar e pecia* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005).

⁹ D.L. d'Avray, *Medieval Marriage Sermons: Mass Communication in a Culture without Print* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) pp. 17- 18; D.L. d'Avray, *Medieval Marriage: Symbolism and Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) pp. 50- 51.

marginalia in French and English libraries, and I have listed individual works examined in Appendix 1 (Source Base). A basic principle of the thesis has been to demonstrate the workings of the pecia system through the evidence of user notes, but two main themes have presented themselves in the course of my research.

Firstly, the English and French manuscript sample set reveal that a high proportion of pecia texts are likely to have been useful to preachers who worked outside the immediate confines of academic life. Appendix 1 summarises several key findings, and is organised by genre of text examined. A high number of these genres are orientated towards preaching with sermon collections, saints' lives, distinction collections, *De proprietatibus rerum* and other reference texts such as definite examples, but also less obvious genres such as bibles and biblical concordances. The bible and accompanying concordances obviously had multiple uses in academic learning, however the composition of sermons involved frequent quotations from the Scriptures and makes clear the value of these works to preachers alongside the other genres mentioned. User marginalia found in these manuscripts and the other works more obviously intended for sermon composition support the view that pecia texts were useful preaching aids.

Secondly, it has become apparent that the Paris pecia system was of striking importance for English intellectual culture. As discussed in Chapter 11, it was once thought that Oxford operated its own pecia system, yet this has since been disproved. Instead, the evidence of user notes, the provenance of individual manuscripts, and the use of Anglicana script in copying works and marginalia

demonstrate that the use ofpecia texts by Englishmen was extremely common. Collectively, the user written marginalia studied here show the major influence of the Paris system on the English, both for preaching and for academic purposes. That too is thoroughly exemplified in the appendix.

The broad institutional context is the rise of the schools that turned into universities from the twelfth century onwards. Education had been very different in the preceding period. Some young men received an informal apprenticeship or socialisation in the household of their families or guardians. Others were doubtless spotted and educated by their parish priests. Those that did formally study attended monastic or cathedral schools which had existed across Western Europe for centuries. Although monastic schools continued in practice, a trend arose during the eleventh century that saw centres of learning develop in urban areas and towns in Northern Europe.¹⁰ These were cathedral schools of a new sort, consisting of loosely organised gatherings of students and masters. As little written evidence survives from the eleventh-century cathedral schools, it is assumed that teaching was conducted orally.¹¹ The schools progressed in the twelfth century towards an education based on the use of texts such as the Bible, the works of the Church Fathers and the writings of Aristotle and other ancient texts that had begun to be

¹⁰ R.C. Dales, *The Intellectual Life of Western Europe in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 1995) pp. 147-168.

¹¹ I.P. Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris: Theologians and the University c.1100-1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012) p. 8.

introduced to Western Europe through translation. Private schools were also established in Northern France during this period, in particular in the towns of Paris, Orléans, Laon, Rheims, and Chartres.¹² These developed organically from the loose gatherings of masters and their followers into the formal institutions that together with cathedral schools of the new type would later be known as universities. Various locations across Northern Europe also saw the rise of these institutions: Bologna (1088), Oxford (1167); with institutions founded formally by charter from the thirteenth century onwards: Cambridge (1209), Padua (1222), Toulouse (1229), and Siena (1240).¹³

Paris and Bologna firmly established themselves as major centres of learning; the former as a centre of theology and the arts, the latter as a centre of canon and civil law. Both towns were successful locations for thriving academic and cultural communities, for similar reasons as outlined by Southern.¹⁴ Paris and Bologna firmly

¹² R.N. Swanson, *The Twelfth-Century Renaissance* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999) pp. 12-39; R.W. Southern, 'The Schools of Paris and the School of Chartres', *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, eds. R.L. Benson, G. Constable, and C.D. Lanham (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991) pp. 113-137; Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris: Theologians and the University c.1100-1300*, pp. 9-17.

¹³ See O. Pedersen, *The First Universities: Studium generale and the origins of university education in Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) R. North, trans; R.W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995) vol 1.

¹⁴ R.W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, pp. 198-204.

established themselves as major centres of learning; the former as a centre of theology and the arts, the latter as a centre of canon and civil law. Both towns were successful locations for thriving academic and cultural communities, for similar reasons as outlined by Southern.¹⁵ Several notable factors led to the rise of the university at Paris. King Philip Augustus (1180- 1223) transformed the city during his reign by encircling the city with walls and additional fortifications, as well as completing the building work of Notre-Dame cathedral. The king aided the development of a commercial centre in Paris with the construction of the Halles, two large warehouses surrounded by a wall to protect merchants' goods from thieves and weather damage.¹⁶ Philip also made Paris the seat of his royal administration, bringing new life to the capital city. The growing commercial population could efficiently support a large academic community, and the increasing presence of the royal household, as well as clerics at the new cathedral, was a unique attraction to draw scholars and visitors to Paris.¹⁷

Philip Augustus furthermore showed favour to the academic community at Paris by granting students and masters the privilege of ecclesiastical authority in the

¹⁵ R.W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, pp. 198-204.

¹⁶ J.W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and his Circle* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970) p. 65.

¹⁷ Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, p. 200; Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and his Circle*, pp. 65-6.

royal charter dated July 1200.¹⁸ Under this charter Paris scholars were also exempt from taxes, tolls and military service. The privileges for members of the university were strengthened further in the 1215 statutes issued by Robert of Courson as papal legate, which recognised the university as a legal corporation.¹⁹ The 1215 statutes regulated various aspects of academic life, and in particular the granting of licences to teach. Before this the granting of teaching licences was controlled solely by the Chancellor of Notre-Dame cathedral, John of Candeilles, and under the statutes Paris masters were given greater rights in the selection of new masters.²⁰ These rights were again re-confirmed by Pope Gregory IX in a series of papal bulls, including *Parens scientiarum*, which were issued in April and May 1231 to resolve a two-year academic strike and also recognise the university as a legal corporation.²¹ In the early

¹⁸ N. Gorochov, *Naissance de l'université: les écoles de Paris d'Innocent III à Thomas d'Aquin (v. 1200- v. 1245)* (Paris: Honoré Champion éditeur, 2012) p. 40.

¹⁹ Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and his Circle*, pp. 75-6; I.P. Wei, 'From Twelfth-Century Schools to Thirteenth-Century Universities: The Disappearance of Biographical and Autobiographical Representations of Scholars', *Speculum* 86 (2011) pp. 42-78; p. 57.

²⁰ Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and his Circle*, pp. 75-6; Wei, 'From Twelfth-Century Schools to Thirteenth-Century Universities: The Disappearance of Biographical and Autobiographical Representations of Scholars', p. 67.

²¹ Wei, 'From Twelfth-Century Schools to Thirteenth-Century Universities: The Disappearance of Biographical and Autobiographical Representations of Scholars',

thirteenth century the University of Paris enjoyed significant freedom from local authoritative control and held essential powers of self-regulation as a collective body.

From the location of learning, we look at what that learning consisted in. From the mid-eleventh century onwards the schools developed a distinctive mode of thought and method for interpreting authorities (*auctoritas*) from a wide range of disciplines.²² Works of particular interest include the texts of the Scriptures, works of the Church Fathers, as well as writings of Aristotle and other philosophical thinkers as the translation and transmission of Greek and Muslim texts into the Latin West occurred throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This distinctive mode of study consisted of using analysis of tensions within authoritative works to examine such universal truths as the nature of God, the purpose of Man, and the relationship between the temporal and spiritual spheres. This method was observed in the oral teachings of the masters, as well as in written texts that complemented masters' lectures.

One of the earliest texts in this genre was the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, a prominent master in the cathedral school at Paris. The *Sentences* were composed

p. 58; Gorochoy, *Naissance de l'université: les écoles de Paris d'Innocent III à Thomas d'Aquin (v. 1200- v. 1245)*, pp. 454-7.

²² Further reading on scholasticism: R. Schönberger, 'Scholasticism', *Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages*, ed. A. Vauchez (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co., 2000) pp. 1316-7; D. Knowles, *The Evolution of Medieval Thought* (London: Longman Group Ltd, 1976) pp.87-90; and R. Quinto, *Scholastica* (Padova: Il Poligrafo, 2001) pp. 414-419.

c1150-52 and can be described as an academic textbook due to its ordered format. This work summarising the works of Church authorities is divided into four books. The books are made up of chapters, which contain individual questions and sub-questions. All questions relate to matters of Christian doctrine and practices, and students of theology were required to study Lombard's work to obtain their degree, as discussed below.

This 'scholastic' format (as we may call it as a convenient shorthand) was followed by many successive masters in Paris, including Thomas Aquinas a century later: it structures his great work, the *Summa Theologiae*.²³ The purpose of the scholastic question (*quaestio*) is to reach the truth, which is done by taking authorities that seem to contradict one another and reconciling them through logic or dialectic (*ratio*).²⁴ This method is seen in the *summa* when Aquinas asks whether or not over-eating is a sin.²⁵ At first we are confronted with two opposing propositions on this idea. St Augustine argues that gluttony is not a sin as one cannot avoid immoderation in food, 'Who is it, Lord, that does not eat a little more than

²³ U.G. Leinsle, *Introduction to Scholastic Theology*, trans. M.J. Miller (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2010) pp. 42-3; Knowles, *The Evolution of Medieval Thought*, pp. 76 – 82; Quinto, *Scholastica*, pp. 64 – 72.

²⁴ R. Schönberger, 'Scholasticism', *Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages*, A Vauchez (ed.) (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co., 2000) pp. 1316; Knowles, *The Evolution of Medieval Thought*, p. 79.

²⁵ Thomas Aquinas, *Secunda Secundae*, Question 150 on 'Gluttony'.

necessary?²⁶ By contrast, St Gregory proposes that gluttony is a sin as it is one's inner enemy that must be tamed.²⁷ Aquinas reconciles these conflicting authorities by reasoning that the true difficulty lies not with how much we actually eat, but why we are eating excessively to begin with. Over-eating is not a sin in itself as this can be attributed to poor judgement, or to what Aquinas kindly refers to as inexperience in eating. Yet there are those who knowingly exceed their limits in food and drink with a conscious desire to do so, and herein lies the true sin of gluttony.

The height of scholastic activity coincided with the rise of the universities, from the mid-twelfth to the mid-fourteenth century, although the mode of study varied between universities across Western Europe. This occurred as establishments differed in their specialty subjects: Oxford specialised in mathematics, Bologna in law, Salerno in medicine, Paris in theology, etc. However, it is important to note that not all books used by academic communities were scholastic in form. This is evidenced by surviving works, which varied considerably in genre and purpose, as discussed below.

Now we must examine those who studied and created these textbooks in the first place. This thesis is concerned with two groups that were central to Paris university life, the academic community and the wider cultural community that provided academics with the necessary support and infrastructure to operate. The academic community consisted of those who were directly involved in the process of

²⁶ St Augustine, *Confessions*, X, 31.

²⁷ St Gregory, *Morals*, XXX, 18.

research and/or teaching, such as masters, students, visiting scholars and invited guests. From the mid-thirteenth century onwards the University of Paris was formally organised into the separate faculties of theology, canon law, medicine, and arts. The arts faculty was by far the largest, as students were generally required to undertake his undergraduate degree in this subject before progressing onwards to theology, law or medicine.²⁸ Friars did not go through the arts faculty unless they had done so before converting. The exact size of the faculties during this period is uncertain due to the irregularity of surviving records, but it is possible to estimate as Pederson notes that there were fifteen masters of theology in 1254, ten masters of medicine in 1274, at least fourteen in law in 1248, and approximately 120 masters of liberal arts in 1283-4.²⁹ The university steadily increased in size, and this is reflected in the numbers of 1348; 32 masters of theology, 18 of law, 46 of medicine, and 514 of arts.³⁰ If students wished, they proceeded to their second degree. The degree in theology was ten years in length, with the main focus of the course on the study of the Bible and its themes. This course was roughly equivalent to the modern continental habilitation, preliminary to a professorial chair. The final years were spent studying Lombard's *Sentences* and students also prepared their own

²⁸ Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and his Circle*, pp. 77.

²⁹Pedersen, *The First Universities*, p. 196.

³⁰Pedersen, *The First Universities*, p. 197.

commentaries on the text. These students were also ambitious as they were likely to pursue prominent careers in academia or in the Church.

In order for the academic community to thrive, it was necessary to belong to a wider cultural community which provided essential services and support. We know of the close interactions between scholars and others such as craftsmen and merchants as these relations were tightly regulated by the university authorities in Paris.³¹ Accommodation was also monitored by the university, as rented properties were scouted out by a rental commission for student use.³² Other “service providers” independent of the university and frequently used by students included baths, laundries, barbers, doctors, notaries and so on. As well as services, scholars required the use of material goods. Merchants provided suitable clothing and attire, linens, fuel and lighting, and other miscellanies necessary in everyday life. Additionally, the thirteenth-century scholars of Paris certainly required the use of books and writing materials in the course of their studies, which were supplied by university booksellers, known as stationers.

Commercial book providers had been present in Paris most likely since the twelfth century, and grew steadily as a trade throughout the medieval period. Multiple types of craftsmen were involved in the book trade, from scribes,

³¹ See R.C. Schwinges ‘Costs of living and learning’, in H. Ridder-Symoens (ed.) *A History of the University in Europe: Universities in the Middle Ages*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) pp. 235-242.

³² Pederson, *The First Universities*, p. 225.

illuminators, binders to parchmenters, quill and ink suppliers, and the stationers themselves. By the mid-thirteenth century stationers were required to swear an oath to the university and operate under strict guidelines provided by authorities, such as the types of books that could be carried and at which prices the texts could be sold.³³ In return, they later received favours in the form of exemptions from paying the *taille* and performing watch-duty in the royal guards. If the stationers failed to follow the guidelines, they would lose their licences to practice as well as their exemptions. The largest form of book trade in Paris was the used book trade, but stationers supplied new copies of works also. This was done through a system whereby a customer could rent an exemplar of the work they wished to have and copy it out. If the customer could afford to do so, they could hire a scribe or student to copy the text for them. This thesis examines texts produced through one such rental system, the *pecia* system.

The *pecia* system was devised by the university community as a means of speeding up the copying of books at a low cost to the consumer. This system is believed to have originated in the Italian city of Bologna and was first employed by Dominican scholars in the early thirteenth century. The earliest known record of the *pecia* system is a reference found in the Vercelli contract of 1228. This contract was

³³ See 'University Jurisdiction over the Book Trade: The Family of Guillaume de Sens', in R.H. Rouse and M.A. Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris 1200-1500* (Turnhout: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2000) pp. 73-97.

signed 4 April 1228 between several masters from the University of Padua who wished to secede from their institution and the commune of Vercelli that wished to attract a new university to the city. The contract includes a number of privileges that the commune were willing to provide to the new university, such as 'two *exemplatores* who are to have exemplars in both laws and in relevant theology, correct in both text and gloss, so that the scholars may pay for their copies at a price set by the rectors'.³⁴ Pollard argues that the *pecia* could not have originated in either Vercelli or Padua, as these institutions had been just recently established. Instead, he believes the system began in the older university at Bologna c1200.³⁵ This is most likely as the system spread from Bologna to Paris in the mid-thirteenth century through the agency of the Dominican Order. The first signs of use of the *pecia* system in Paris occurred c1250 as a private in-house production method in the Dominican convent in St-Jacques, before its adaption as a commercial book production system in the stationers in this area and its final implementation by the university-licensed stationers of the city. Although the *pecia* system flourished in the universities of Northern Italy until the introduction of printing in the late fifteenth century, the system was present only for a short period of time in Paris, from c1250

³⁴ H. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, vol 2. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936) p. 340.

³⁵ G. Pollard, 'The *pecia* system in the medieval universities', in M.B. Parkes and A. Watson (eds.) *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays presented to N.R. Ker* (London: Scolar Press, 1978) pp. 145-161.

until c1330. The cause of its initial decline is unknown, yet the outbreak of the Hundred Years War in 1337 as well as the arrival of the Black Death in 1347-8 ensured the demise of the system.³⁶

From the origins and timeline of the *pecia* system, we now examine how the system operated. The *pecia* system differed from other exemplar rental services in that instead of renting out the complete text, the stationer rented out sections of the text, known as pieces or *peciae*. In this manner, the stationer was able to rent out the text to multiple customers at once, producing several copies of the text during the same amount of time it would take to produce a single copy. Thus this system of mass-production could be described as a medieval form of photocopying, as its aim was to reproduce works in multiple copies. The following is based on Pollard's ideal type summary of the system,³⁷ and describes the operation of the system neatly in four stages:

1. The Author's Autograph: The original text as composed by the authors themselves. This only applies to contemporary authors.

³⁶ See R.H. Rouse and M.A. Rouse, 'The Dissemination of Texts in *Pecia* at Bologna and Paris', *Rationalisierung der Buchherstellung im Mittelalter in der frühen Neuzeit*, P. Rück and M. Borghardt (eds.) (Marburg an der Lahn: Institut für Historische Hilfswissenschaften, 1994) pp. 69- 77.

³⁷ Pollard 'The *pecia* system in the medieval universities', p. 151-2.

2. The Apograph: This manuscript is a copy or final draft of the original work which has a direct relationship with the author. There are four ways in which this could occur:
 - a. A copy composed by the personal secretary or scribe of the author.
 - b. A copy containing the author's corrections.
 - c. A copy dictated by the author to the scribe.
 - d. Presentation copies of the text made for the author's public or private circles.

3. The Stationer's Pecie: The exemplar that consists of the quires of the work in question. These quires are the pieces the stationer rents out to the customer.
4. The Pecia Copy: The manuscript of the work copied by the customer, or a scribe on the customer's behalf. This is the final copy of the work intended for the customer's use.

There is a divide between the stages associated with the author and the stages associated with the customer, as there is no evidence to demonstrate the link between them.³⁸ However, stationers can be described as both bookseller and publisher, so it is most likely that the stationers themselves had a direct relationship

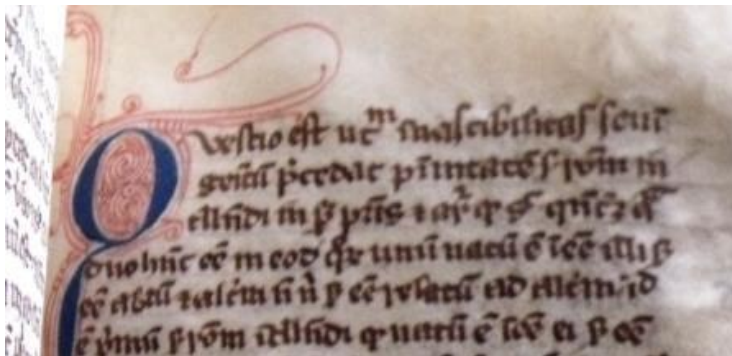
³⁸ See L.-J. Bataillon and R.H. Rouse, 'Introduction', in *La Production du livre universitaire au Moyen Âge: exemplar et pecia: actes du symposium tenu au Collegio San Bonaventura de Grottaferrata en mai 1983*, L.-J. Bataillon, B.G. Guyot, R.H. Rouse (eds.) (Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1988) pp. 9-12.

with thirteenth-century authors present in Paris, or their representatives, who brought in their work to be produced. There is nothing further to suggest that a third party was involved in this process.

The most telling evidence that survives from the stationers of Paris is the existence of the pecia lists. These are two lists, one of 1275 the other of 1304, that survive in the university records, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*.³⁹ Both lists contain the prescribed reading of the university curriculum as well as popular works from current thinkers and non-academic materials such as preaching aids. The texts are divided under the headings of theology, canon law, and philosophy. Names of writers are also used as category headings: the 1275 list features Thomas Aquinas, Peter of Tarentaise, and Bonaventure, whereas the 1304 list features Nicolas de Gorran, Giles of Rome, and Richard of Middleton. Within these categories, titles of the texts are listed as well as the number of peciae contained in each and the rental price per pecia. The 1275 list contains the titles of 138 works, and the 1304 list contains 156.

³⁹ Both lists contained in *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, H. Denifle and E. Chatelain (eds.) (Paris: 1889-97). The list of 1275 is misdated to 1286 and appears as item 530 in volume 1, pp. 644-650. The list of 1304 appears as item 642 in volume 2, pp. 107-112.

Each of the texts produced through the stationers of Paris has a uniform layout that is easily identifiable by a scholar.⁴⁰ The size of the manuscript itself is an initial clue to its origin, as Paris manuscripts are generally compact to allow ease of use and transport by its owner.⁴¹ Within the manuscript the written text appears in double columns to save space on the page and as a time-saving technique the text is also heavily abbreviated. Texts copied at the University of Paris are also written in a standard hand used by scribes known as Textualis Semi-Quadrata, an example of which can be seen below. This script is a Gothic book hand, clear to ensure ease of reading:

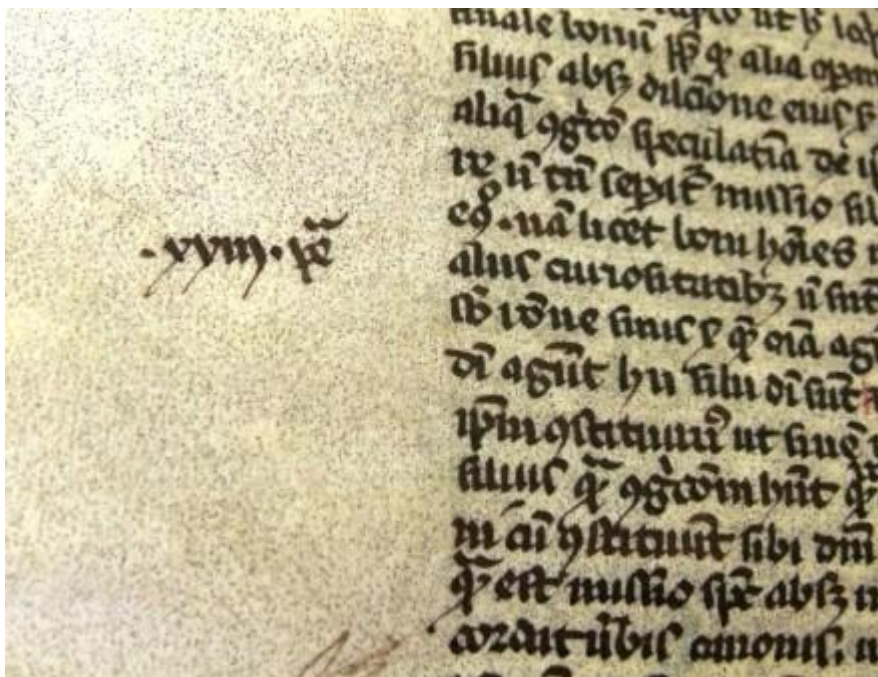


1. Oxford, Magdalen College MS 217, f. 341r

⁴⁰ Destrez was the first scholar to recognise and comment on these features, see *La Pécia dans les manuscrits universitaires du XIII^e et du XIV^e siècle* (Paris: Éditions Jacques Vautrain, 1935).

⁴¹ As an indication, portable Bibles produced in Paris in the thirteenth century measured an overall size of less than 380 mm. See C. Ruzzier, 'The Minaturisation of Bible Manuscripts in the Thirteenth Century: A Comparative Study', *Form and Function in the Late Medieval Bible*, E. Poley and L. Light (eds.) (Leiden: Brill, 2013) pp. 105-27, p. 107.

To keep the pecia copy at a low price for its user, manuscripts feature very little decoration and generally contain chapter headings, initials, and paragraph marks in red and blue inks, while the main text remains in black ink. The most distinctive feature of pecia copies is the pecia mark located on the edges of folio leaves, an example of which can be seen here:



2. Cambridge, Pembroke College MS 121 f. 79v

These marks often contain the letter 'p' or the complete word 'pecia', accompanied by a number in roman numerals (sometimes there is just the number). This number refers to the number of the pecia the text was copied from, in order for the scribe to keep track during the rental process. As pecia marks are placed on the edges of folios, they have usually been cropped during the binding process and today only a few remaining marks tend to be found in each manuscript. These are

the features found in a standardpecia copy. For additional expense and completion time, more elaborately decorated manuscripts could be produced.

The varying quality of surviving pecia manuscripts suggests that they were produced for a diverse range of users. Higher-grade manuscripts were most likely produced on behalf of senior members of the university or prosperous prelates, such as Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.4.19 (133). MS B.4.19 contains pecia copies of *Catena super Lucam* and *Catena super Johannem* of Thomas Aquinas, with inhabited initials and illuminated hunting scenes on the opening folio of each work. This manuscript was produced in Paris and then possibly presented in England as a gift to Simon Mepham, Archbishop of Canterbury (1328- 1333), a known owner of the text.⁴² However, the majority of surviving pecia texts are low-grade manuscripts, intended for use by students or preachers who attended courses at the University of Paris. These were cheaply produced texts to be made affordable to students on tight budgets and they were mass-produced so that multiple copies could be made simultaneously, possibly for all of the attendees of one course. The average student or researcher at Paris was a visitor studying for a short length of time, on average three to four years, as only a small number of student friars sent to Paris to study were expected to proceed to a degree.⁴³ Visitors travelled to Paris from the French

⁴² See The James Catalogue of Western Manuscripts as digitised by Trinity College, Cambridge: <http://trin-sites-pub.trin.cam.ac.uk/james/index.php> .

⁴³ D.L. d'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars: Sermons diffused from Paris before 1300* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985) pp. 134-5.

provincial schools and other centres of learning across Italy, Germany and England, and further afield. This can be seen in the high number of surviving *pecia* works in locations across Europe, totalling over one thousand extant manuscripts.

In this thesis, chapters 1 to 9 are ordered by genres of texts available on the Paris *pecia* lists: commentaries on Lombard's *Sentences*, books of saints' lives, Aristotelian logical works, biblical reference aids, sermon collections, distinction collections, anthologies, quodlibets, and decretals. The genres represented in the *pecia* lists mostly relate in one way or another to the three main activities practised at the university, namely lecturing (*lectio*- which also means reading and studying), disputations (*disputatio*), and preaching (*predicatio*).⁴⁴ The goal of this training was to produce well-educated preachers, needed by the thirteenth-century Church. In 1215 the Fourth Lateran Council called for every metropolitan church to employ a theologian to teach Scripture to priests and instruct them in matters pertaining to the cure of souls.⁴⁵ Educated theologians were in short supply, and Paris's influence as an intellectual centre grew to meet this demand. In the bull entitled *Parens scientiarum* issued by Gregory IX in 1231 he addresses Paris as the 'parent of sciences' and describes how the university's transformative power could produce

⁴⁴ S.E. Young, *Scholarly Community at the Early University of Paris: Theologians, Education and Society, 1215-1248* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014) p. 3.

⁴⁵ *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. and trans. N.P. Tanner, 2 vols (Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1990), vol. 1, p. 230; Young, *Scholarly Community at the Early University of Paris*, p. 27.

preachers, assisting the Church in its pastoral mission.⁴⁶ This reputation of the university as an esteemed centre of learning continued throughout the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.

In order for student theologians to train in academic reading, debating and preaching, they required the broad range of works available on the Paris *pecia* lists. As arts and theology were the dominant faculties at the university, the majority of works that feature on the lists are academic theological works and practical preaching aids. The user notes present in *pecia* texts show that these manuscripts were consulted as working reference texts. The remainder of list entries included on the *pecia* lists are university textbooks, including legal works and natural science texts. However, the *pecia* lists do not necessarily reflect the university curriculum. Although Paris had a medical faculty, no medical works appear on the Paris lists. Instead manuscripts were likely imported from the larger faculties of Montpellier and Salerno. Moreover, a high proportion of surviving Paris *pecia* copies are not included on the lists. We may only speculate on how booksellers selected works for inclusion on the lists: these may have been chosen as likely popular works, or there may have also been alternative lists that have not survived from the period.

As mentioned above, chapters 1-9 represent separate genres of texts available on these lists, yet not all *pecia* works can be described in simple terms as belonging

⁴⁶ *Chartularium*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1889-97) no. 79, pp. 136-9; Wei, 'From Twelfth-Century Schools to Thirteenth-Century Universities: The Disappearance of Biographical and Autobiographical Representations of Scholars', p. 77.

to a single genre. One such text is the medieval bestseller *Summa theologiae* of Thomas Aquinas, an all-inclusive work intended to act as an instruction manual for student theologians in the Dominican Order. It addressed a wide range of topics in general theology and was designed to instruct beginners to the subject, crossing textual genres to serve its purpose as an ultimate reference aid.⁴⁷ Thus Aquinas's text is discussed separately from the individual genres in Chapter 10. Chapter 11 explores in detail the influence of Paris on English intellectual life and the debate over the existence of an independent Oxfordpecia system. This chapter also examines the marginalia of early modern scholars that survive in pecia copies.

Appendix 1, as mentioned above, presents the source base of manuscripts examined for this study and is arranged by genre of text consulted. Appendix 2 serves two purposes: first, it features both pecia lists of 1275 and 1304 in full. These lists have not been revised since they first appeared in Denifle's *Chartularium* in the nineteenth century.⁴⁸ Denifle's lists may be described as transcriptions, as they appear in their original Latin form unedited. Inaccuracies appear throughout both lists, as authors' names are often omitted and titles of works may be incorrect. Denifle included footnotes in the transcriptions to identify several works, yet not to the full extent necessary for a modern researcher to consult the lists without

⁴⁷ L.E. Boyle, 'The setting of the *Summa theologiae* of Saint Thomas', *The Gilson Lectures on Thomas Aquinas*, J.P. Reilly (ed.) (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2008) p. 19.

⁴⁸ See G. Murano, *Opere diffuse per exemplar e pecia* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005).

difficulty. With this purpose in mind I have re-presented the Paris pecia lists with identified authors and titles, while retaining the original order in which list entries appear and accompanying details of piece length and price of texts. Second, I have included in these lists summary manuscript descriptions of the examined pecia texts. These descriptions are useful to any researcher in this field as they include remarks on individual users and pecia features of each text, providing an accurate picture of the manuscripts produced through the pecia system. Following next is a user note typology, a classification system I have devised to identify the wide-ranging forms of user marginalia present in pecia works.

Typology of User Notes

I. Historiography

This thesis is essentially a survey of the user annotations and marginalia found in pecia manuscripts produced between the mid-thirteenth and the mid-fourteenth centuries. In order to analyse these notes effectively it is important to understand the historiography of this particular type of research and how this individual study fits into the general historiography. There are several scholarly works that focus on the topic of reader reception and examine medieval and early modern user written marginalia⁴⁹, yet this approach has not yet been applied to manuscripts produced through the pecia system.

In terms of investigating the pecia system, the main focus of research can be divided into two areas: the examination of the university book trade and the study of the physical book. The former has been expertly researched by the Rouses in their two-volume work, which carefully details the development of the Paris pecia system through the evidence of the local stationers, including the history of the Sens

⁴⁹ As previously mentioned in Introduction: Parkes, 'The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio* on the Development of the Book' p. 115-141; Sherman, *The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance*; Kwakkel and Partridge (eds.), *Author, Reader, Book: Medieval Authorship in Theory and Practice*; Jardine and Grafton, 'Studied for Action': How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy', pp. 30- 78.

family.⁵⁰ Codicologists such as Destrez⁵¹ and Pollard⁵² have closely examined the physical features of manuscripts such as pecia marks, page layout, and scribal evidence in order to demonstrate the operation of the system. In both of these areas the primary focus of research has been the makers of pecia texts, rather than the users. Thus, it is necessary to take a look at other research fields where studies into user marginalia have been undertaken.

One recent work that is particularly relevant is Susan L'Engle's study of marginal notes in Roman law texts from the late eleventh to the first half of the thirteenth century.⁵³ She examines the pictorial evidence left by users in the margins of the *Digestum vetus* and other works, and analyses their use as reference marks and memory aids. Her purpose in doing so is to provide an insight into how legal texts were taught and studied in the classroom at the University of Bologna in this period. L'Engle's work focuses on medieval works written in Latin, yet the majority of research on user notes occurs in the field of Middle English texts. For example,

⁵⁰ R.H. Rouse and M.A. Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris 1200-1500* (Turnhout: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2000).

⁵¹ J. Destrez, *La pecia dans les manuscrits universitaires du XIII^e et du XIV^e siècle* (Paris: Éditions Jacques Vautrain, 1935).

⁵² G. Pollard, 'The pecia system in the medieval universities', in *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays presented to N.R. Ker*, eds. M.B. Parkes and A. Watson (London: Scolar Press, 1978) pp. 145-161.

⁵³ S. L'Engle, 'The Pro-active Reader: Learning to Learn the Law', in *Medieval Manuscripts, their Makers and Users: A Special Issue of Viator in Honour of Richard and Mary Rouse* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011) pp. 51-75.

Alison Wiggins has recently examined the annotations found in Renaissance printed copies of Chaucer.⁵⁴ Like L'Engle, Wiggins conducts a systematic study of the marginalia found in a significant number of surviving works. She analyses the written notes of readers to explore the broad trends in the post-medieval reception of Chaucer as well as what the notes reveal about the types of readers who engaged with these texts. This same approach has also been taken by Kathryn Kerby-Fulton and others researching English readers from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century.⁵⁵ Along the lines of these recent works, I am also conducting a systematic study of a significant number of surviving works, namely the texts of the Paris pecia system. However, in order to build a revealing image of the pecia manuscript user I have chosen to examine a wide range of texts from varying genres and writers, in contrast to the current method of studying the work of a single author.

⁵⁴ A. Wiggins, 'What Did Renaissance Readers Write in their Printed Copies of Chaucer?', in *The Library: The Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, 9 (March 2008) pp. 3-36.

⁵⁵ See K. Kerby-Fulton and M. Hilmo, *The Medieval Professional Reader at Work: Evidence from Manuscripts of Chaucer, Langland, Kempe, and Gower*, ELS Monograph Series, No. 85 (2001).

II. Typology

To begin with, it is essential to point out my use of the term 'user' rather than 'reader' when describing those who possessed manuscripts produced through the pecia system. The scholarly community at Paris actively engaged with texts produced through the pecia system. These books were not merely objects, but working reference texts with an intended function and audience. Thus these texts were used, rather than recreationally read. Of course, in practice, it was common for pecia copies to be produced for casual reading or to be given as symbolic gifts rather than as actively used texts. Yet overall the majority of the texts I have consulted contain evidence of active use to varying degrees.

As well as defining the user, it is important to have a precise understanding of the types of user notes found in pecia manuscripts. Carl James Grindley has created a useful typology to classify the printed and written marginalia in two manuscript copies of the *Piers Plowman* C-Text; Huntington Library, MS HM 143 and British Library, MS Add. 35157.⁵⁶ I have adapted and modified this classification system to apply to user notes of pecia manuscripts, beginning with separating notes into two basic types as follows:

⁵⁶ For the complete outline of Grindley's classification system, see C.J. Grindley, 'Reading *Piers Plowman* C-Text Annotations: Notes toward the Classification of Printed and Written Marginalia in Texts from the British Isles 1300-1641', *The Medieval Professional Reader at Work*, K. Kerby-Fulton (ed.), pp. 73-142.

Type I: Comprises marginalia present in the manuscript that do not engage with the textual content.

Type II: Comprises marginalia that directly engage the textual content contained within the manuscript.

Type I:

This type is divided into four categories as follows:

- i. Ownership Marks (I-OM): The name of an individual or institution is commonly found on the flyleaves or main folios of a manuscript.
- ii. Doodles (I-DO): Simple drawings which are clearly the work of the user with no relation to the text. This category excludes all professionally created illuminations, including decorated initials and border designs.

Illustrations with direct textual relevance are considered as Type 2 marginalia.



3. Cambridge, Peterhouse MS 131 f.5r

- iii. Pen Trials (I-PT): Pen tests commonly occur in manuscripts.
- iv. Sample Texts (I-ST): Short works added in an unplanned or haphazard manner to a non-related text.

Type II:

This type also contains fourteen categories:

- i. Error Corrections (II-EC): Users often correct text errors such as copying out omitted passages in the margins.
- ii. Marks of Attribution (II-MA): An identifying note to attribute work to a specific author, often accompanied by title. Note that these may be correct or false identifications of the work.
- iii. Tables of Contents (II-TC): User-added tables of contents generally feature in the front or back flyleaves of a manuscript containing a single work. In a manuscript containing multiple works the contents table may also be found in the folios at the beginning of separate works.
- iv. Additional Texts (II-AT): Separate from Sample Texts (I-ST), these are separate works added by the user that are thematically related to texts contained in the manuscript.
- v. Reference Mark (II-RM): Users often highlight passages of interest in the text by placing a reference mark such as 'N' or 'Nota' in the margin of the text. Pictorial reference marks are classified as Graphical Responses below.

- vi. Cross-Reference Mark (II-CRM): Users may place in the margins of passages a cross-reference note to locate another passage within the text that deals with the same topic of interest.
- vii. Topic (II-T): An annotation to indicate the general theme or subject of a particular passage of text, such as 'justicia'.
- viii. Passage Division (II-PD): The user may add additional reading aids to clearly divide the text, such as separating passages into separate arguments, or dividing an argument into sections like 'ordinatio', 'respondeo', and so on.
- ix. Source (II-S): Texts often contain quotations from separate works such as the Church Fathers and the Bible, and users will place the source reference in the margins.
- x. Citation (II-C): The reverse of a Source (II-S) annotation, users will often copy out the direct quotation of an authority when the text only provides the source reference.
- xi. Summation:
 - a. Text Summation (II-TS): A user annotation that quotes the text directly, selecting a passage of interest to copy that summarises a particular topic.
 - b. Paraphrased Summation (II-PS): The user paraphrases the text to summarise the passage of interest. These notes can also serve the

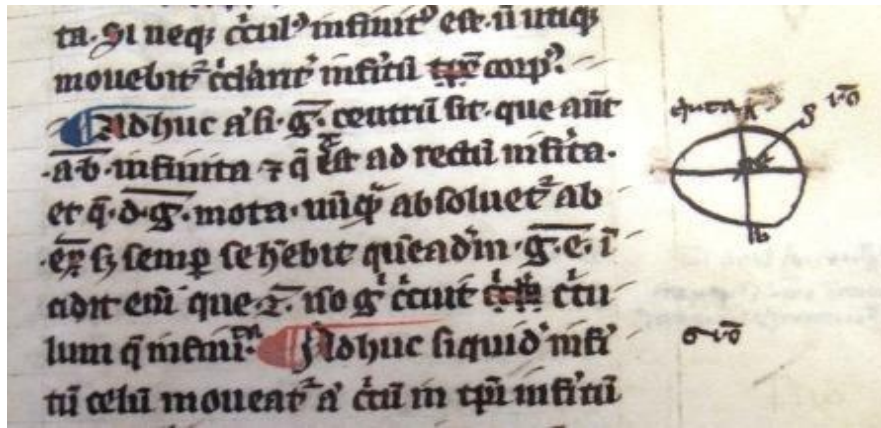
function of clarifying a particularly complicated portion of text for the user.

- xii. Further Enquiry (II-FE): Questions that occur to the user from reading a particular passage of interest.
- xiii. User Viewpoint (II-UV): The user may express his own views on a particular topic, either supporting or disagreeing with the argument of the author.
- xiv. Graphical Responses:
 - a. Pictorial Reference Marks (II-PRM): Like Reference Marks (II-RM), these images are used to mark or highlight passages of interest to the user. These are generally images of hands or faces pointing towards the particular passage.



4. Oxford, Lincoln College MS Lat. 113 f.28r

- b. Graphical Aids (II-GA): Diagrams that directly engage or demonstrate the written text, particularly found in works of natural science.



5. Cambridge, University Library MS 106/II II 10 f.55r

This system for classifying user notes is a method of analysing pecia manuscripts produced in Paris between 1250 to c1330. It is also important to note that this typology can also be applied to scribal (as well as user) notes found in pecia manuscripts, with the following additional category:

Type III: Comprising marks that relate to the production of the manuscript.

Type III:

This is divided into five categories:

- i. Construction Marks (III-CM): Marks that are used to number quires in order to arrange them correctly. These marks are often still visible on the bottom margin of folios such as 'a1', 'a2', a3', etc.
- ii. Catchwords (III-CW): Also used to order quires correctly, the last folio of one quire most likely features in the lower margin the opening words of the following quire.
- iii. Pecia Marks (III-PM): A major identifying feature of pecia manuscripts, a mark to correctly order pieces for copying and binding such as 'pecia xvii'.
- iv. Piece Corrections (III-PC): Scribes correct errors in the text such as omission of passages or grammatical errors.
- v. Colophon (III-CO): Scribes may identify themselves in a colophon upon completion of the manuscript. This is generally located below the explicit of the text.

This classification system should be considered as an ideal type rather than a fully encompassing list, since the wide variety of user notes cannot be captured by any schematic list. However, the majority of user notes fall into these categories and this typology is a useful way of defining the contents of the annotations.

III. A note on transcriptions

I provide transcriptions of user notes discussed in this thesis, and follow the spelling of the manuscripts where possible. I normalise 'c' and 't' (since, for example, *grā* can be transcribed as either *gracia* or *gratia*), as well as 'u' and 'v'. I do not use 'j'. I transcribe users' abbreviations for books of the Bible, and extend these when necessary. I include symbols used such as paragraph marks, brackets and lines. When a unique mark is drawn in the manuscript, this is denoted in the transcription by [Special sign].

Chapter 1:

Commentaries on the *Sentences*

I. The *Sentences* of Peter Lombard

Peter Lombard was born in the northern Italian region of Novara sometime between 1095 and 1100. Rosemann states that although his early life and education are unknown, he completed his studies in Rheims before travelling to Paris the same year.⁵⁷ He was most likely a master at the cathedral school of Notre Dame and by 1144 he was a well-respected theologian in the city. He continued to rise in his career, having been made bishop of Paris in 1159. However, this position was brief as he died the following year.

Lombard wrote several works for public distribution during his lifetime, including the *Book of Sentences*, thirty-five known sermons, and glosses on the Psalter and Letters of St Paul. The *Sentences* were composed in several key stages: a first version was produced after Lombard visited Rome in 1154; the next version was produced in the academic year 1157-8 as Lombard taught a course on the *Sentences*;

⁵⁷ On Lombard's life and works: P.W. Rosemann, *Peter Lombard* (Oxford: Oxford University Press) pp. 34-39; I. Brady's *Prolegomena* to his edition: *Magistri Petri Lombardi, Sententiae in IV libris distinctae*, ed. I. Brady, O.F.M., vol. I, part I, *Spicilegium Bonaventurianum* 4 (Grottaferrata: Editiones Collegii S. Bonaventurae Ad Claras Aquas, 1971) pp. 118- 122); J. de Ghellick, S.J. 'Pierre Lombard', *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, vol. XII, part 2 (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1935) pp. 1941– 2019.

the final version was produced after he taught this course a second time in the academic year 1158-9.⁵⁸ Lombard's work on the *Sentences* was influenced by his knowledge of the writings of the Church Fathers, in particular Augustine, and early medieval theologians, such as John of Damascus.⁵⁹ He also drew heavily from the works of contemporary scholars as sources, including the *Decretum* of Gratian, *De sacramentis christianae fidei* of Hugh de St Victor, the anonymous Victorine *Summa sententiarum*, and two works by Peter Abelard, the *Theologia Scholarium* and *Sic et Non*.⁶⁰ Lombard prepared his work on the *Sentences* because he was dissatisfied with limitations placed on the field of theology, with works generally ordered in a chronological and lengthy order from the time of creation onwards. Instead, Lombard organised his work in a rational order within a coherent structure.⁶¹ This is reflected in his prologue to the text, as he wrote that he intended for his work to be used 'so that someone who is looking will not have to search through numerous books. The brevity [of my compilation] offers him what he is looking for without

⁵⁸ Rosemann, *Peter Lombard*, p. 55; M.L. Colish, *Peter Lombard*, vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1994) pp. 25.

⁵⁹ See the detailed study on the sources from the Church Fathers: J.-G. Bougerol, 'The Church Fathers and the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard', *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West: From the Carolingians to the Maurists*, ed. I. Backus (Leiden: Brill, 1997) pp. 113- 164.

⁶⁰ Rosemann, *Peter Lombard*, pp. 55-6; J. de Ghellick, S.J. 'Pierre Lombard', *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, pp. 1985- 87.

⁶¹ Rosemann, *Peter Lombard*, pp. 57- 65.

effort [on his part]' (Prologue: I, 4).⁶² The *Sentences* was divided into four books: book 1 examined God and the Holy Trinity, book 2 looked at creation in Heaven and on Earth, book 3 concerned Christ and virtues of Man, and book 4 examined matters of Church doctrine, such as the sacraments and judgement.⁶³

It is impossible to overstate the role of Lombard's *Book of Sentences* in the development of medieval theology, as from the twelfth century onwards this work was arguably the most influential textbook in schools across Europe. One of the reasons behind the text's success was the accessibility of the work to its readers. Its rational and coherent organisation presented theological issues and authoritative analysis in a clear and logical order that was easily understood by its users. This was particularly useful to students of the twelfth-century cathedral schools, some of whom at least hoped to train as professional theologians and masters themselves. Yet Lombard's work was not unique in terms of its sophisticated organisation, as contemporaries also employed similarly structured formats in their texts, including Rupert of Deutz, author of *On the Trinity and its Works*. The purpose of these writers' works was to improve their own monastic communities, rather than to consider the scholastic method which was gaining momentum in the schools.⁶⁴ The *Sentences*

⁶² P. Biller, *The Measure of Multitude: Population in Medieval Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) p. 30.

⁶³ Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris*, pp. 47-8; Rosemann, *Peter Lombard*, pp. 60-1.

⁶⁴ Colish, *Peter Lombard*, pp. 35-42; Rosemann, *Peter Lombard*, pp. 57.

continued to be popular throughout the period, and acquired a significant role at the developing university at Paris in the thirteenth century. As previously mentioned, the final one to two years of the degree in theology were dedicated to the study of the *Sentences*.⁶⁵ This was a requirement for completing the entire course, important to the small number of students that undertook this degree to qualify as masters or pursue careers in the Church.

The *Sentences*, already divided into four separate books, were then subdivided between 1223 and 1227 by Alexander of Hales into individual sections known as distinctions. The reason for this reorganisation was to maximise the potential of the text as neatly packaged authorities (*auctoritates*), 'a user-friendly data-base designed for rapid retrieval' of information.⁶⁶ The text also benefitted from the general growth in use of reference tools, such as contents tables, running titles, and chapter titles and divisions.⁶⁷ These reforms had lasting effects, as all commentaries on the *Sentences* from this time onwards followed this format. The largest collection of commentaries was produced in 1947 by Frederich Stegmüller in his *Repertorium*, listing 1,407 different glosses and commentaries produced between

⁶⁵ D. Knowles, *The Evolution of Medieval Thought* (London: Longman Group Ltd, 1976) p. 174.

⁶⁶ Biller, *The Measure of Multitude: Population in Medieval Thought*, p. 30; Rosemann, *Peter Lombard*, pp. 65- 6.

⁶⁷ The layout of the *Sentences* was greatly influenced by the twelfth-century revision of the *Glossa Ordinaria*: C. de Hamel, *Glossed Books of the Bible and the Origins of the Paris Booktrade* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Brewer, 1984), pp. 14- 27.

the twelfth and sixteenth centuries.⁶⁸ Texts produced in the thirteenth century generally followed a similar format of examining the *Sentences* in the formulaic order in which it was written, with summaries of the original text accompanied by the author's commentary on each topic. It was a standard practice for the great theologians of the day to produce their own commentary, with scholastic theologians from a range of orders. The Franciscans were represented by Alexander of Hales, Bonaventure, Richard of Middleton and Duns Scotus; the Dominicans Albert the Great, Pierre de Tarentaise, Thomas Aquinas, Durand of Saint Pourçain, and Peter of la Palud; and the Augustinians Giles of Rome and Thomas of Strasburg.⁶⁹ The *Sentences* commentary developed as a prominent literary genre alongside other theological tracts, with each work influencing another.

⁶⁸F. Stegmüller, *Repertorium Commentorium in Sententias Petri Lombardi*, 2 vols. (Würzburg, 1947) supplemented by V. Doucet, *Commentaires sur les Sentences: supplément au répertoire de M. Frédéric Stegmüller* (Florence, 1954). For recent research on the commentaries, see the ongoing project of the Société Internationale pour l'Étude de la Philosophie Médiévale (SIEPM) to bring together research and information at <http://www.siepm.unifreiburg.de/index.php/commissions/projects>. Count of commentaries appears in P.W. Rosemann, 'Studies on the Tradition of Commentaries on the Sentences', in *Peter Lombard* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) p. 258.

⁶⁹ Biller, *The Measure of Multitude*, pp. 35-6.

II. Evidence of Manuscript Users

Although listed as item number 22 on the 1275 Paris list, only one knownpecia manuscript of *Sententiae in IV libris distinctae* has survived to the present day, Vatican MS Vat. lat. 679. One can only speculate as to the cause of this, considering the undoubted popularity of the text in the thirteenth century. It is most likely that many of the pecia copies did not survive the period due to overuse. Thus we must turn our attention to the thirteenth-century commentaries on the *Sentences* that remain to us. The commentary copies studied below are a selection of user annotated manuscripts from the works of Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventure, Giles of Rome, and Pierre de Tarentaise.⁷⁰ These texts have been chosen for examination, as they were listed on the pecia lists and manuscript copies survive today from the Paris pecia system.

a. The commentaries of Aquinas

Thomas Aquinas came to Paris in 1252 to lecture on the *Sentences* as a bachelor under the guidance of a master. He was required to teach for two to four years before he could be made a master of theology himself. He followed the scholastic method of lecturing on the *Sentences*, first presenting a passage of Peter Lombard's text before then analysing each point made. He also explained questions that arose from this textual analysis, the format of which can be seen in Aquinas's

⁷⁰ See Appendix 1 for the identification of user notes by scripts.

written commentaries on the *Sentences* that were composed 1252-56. Each distinction of every book was divided into questions (*quaestiones*), which in turn contained articles, and even sub-questions (*quaestiunculae*).⁷¹

The commentaries of Thomas Aquinas on the *Sentences* are present on both Paris peccia lists. In 1275 the four books of the *Sententiarum* are items numbered 42-45; in 1304 the first book *In primo* is item number 5, with the remaining three texts listed as items 22-24. Peccia copies of the Aquinas commentaries survive in varying degrees of quality, from standard working copies to high quality texts. Cambridge, Pembroke College MS 126 is a standard peccia copy, with no decoration above red and blue inks. This is an exemplar copy of *In secundo Sententiarum*.⁷² This manuscript was likely sold to an English user, because an English cursive script was used to compose the marginalia present throughout the work. Notes 1A and 1B were selected for examination, as they are representative of the user notes found in MS 126. In d. 23, q.1, the second article examines the question of whether God had to allow man to be tried or to sin: 'utrum Deus debuerit permittere hominem tentari, vel peccare'. Underneath the main text the user has composed user note 1A, classified as Type II-AT (Additional Texts). The first half of the passage is an extract

⁷¹ J. A. Weisheipl, O.P. *Friar Thomas d'Aquino: His Life, Thought and Works* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1975) pp. 70-1, 358-9.

⁷² Online resource consulted which features all four books of Aquinas's commentaries: <http://www.corpusthomisticum.org/> . This is a very useful initiative run by the Department of Philosophy at Universidad de Navarra, Spain.

from the work of the early Christian author Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagitus, *De divinis nominibus* IV, 33 (PL 122, cols 1145-6). This passage discusses providence as a divine energy and its role in salvation. The second half of the user passage is an extract from the commentary on Pseudo-Dionysius that features in the *Scholia* of Maximus the Confessor, translated by Eriugena (PG IV, Cols. 306D-7A).⁷³ The focus of the user on this particular article of the second book of the *Sentences* demonstrates his interest in the subject of divine providence, and it is possible to surmise that the user was a student of theology preparing a tract on the topic of his interest, or even his own commentary of the *Sentences* as part of his studies.⁷⁴

1A. Classification: II-AT, f. 87r

In right hand margin: Dio[nisii]

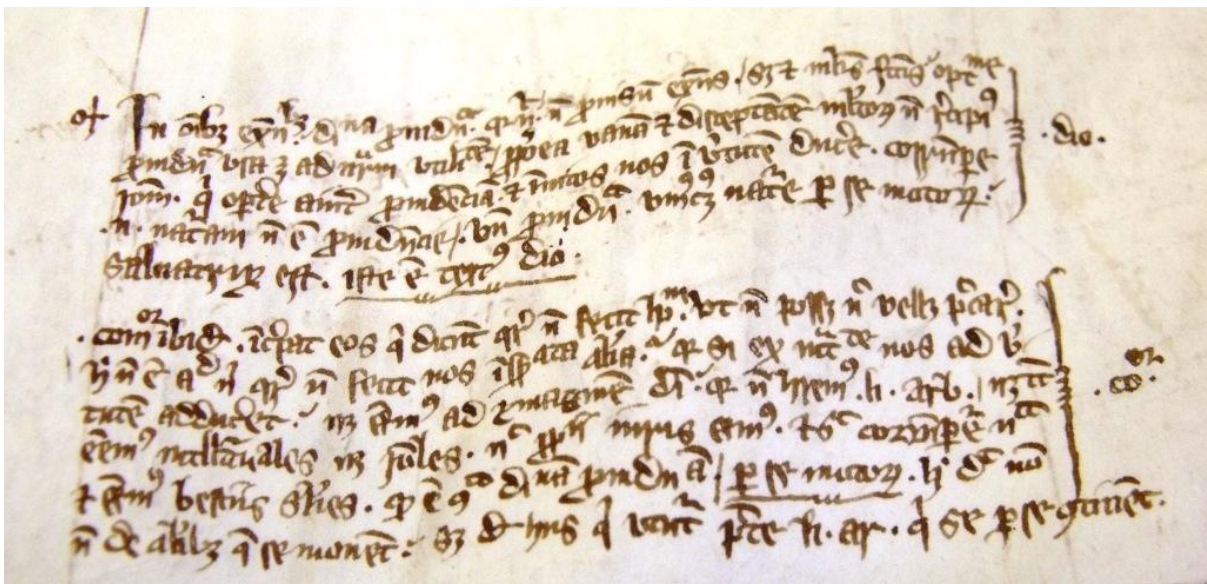
[Special Sign] In omnibus existentibus divina providentia, quia nichil non provisum existens; sed et malis [ml'is *ms*] factis optime providentia usa est ad nostram utilitatem. Propterea vanam et disceptantem multorum non recepimus rationem, qui oportere aiunt providentiam et invitos nos in virtutem ducere. Corrumpere enim naturam non est providentie. Unde providentia uniuscuiusque nature per seipsos motorum salvatrix est. Iste est textus Dio[nisii]

In right hand margin: Commentator

⁷³ Many thanks to David Luscombe for identifying this commentary.

⁷⁴ Knowles, *The Evolution of Medieval Thought*, p. 175.

Commentator ibidem increpat eos qui dicunt quare non fecit hominem ut non posset nec vellet peccare. Hoc non est aliud nisi quare non fecit nos insensata animalia, quia si ex necessitate nos ad virtutem adduceret, neque essemus ad ymaginem dei, quia non haberemus liberum arbitrium, neque tunc essemus intellectuales neque rationales nec proprii iuris essemus, et ita corrumpetur natura et essemus bestiis similes, quod est contra divinam providentiam. Per se motorum. Hoc dicit non non [sic] de animalibus que se movent, sed de hiis qui utuntur potestate liberi arbitri, qui se per se continent.



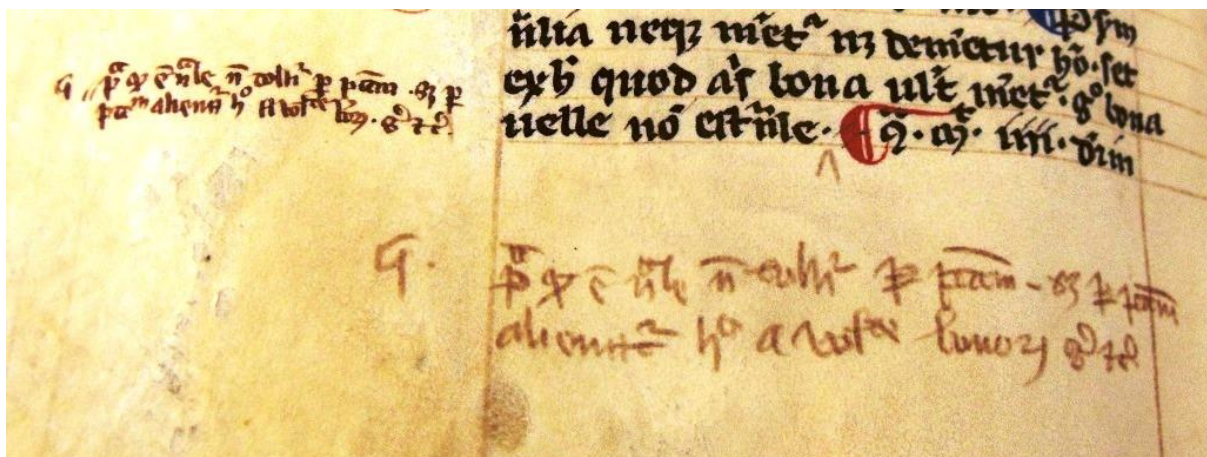
6. Cambridge, Pembroke College MS 126, f. 87r

Like 1A, Note 1B reflects the user's engagement with the text. 1B occurs in the lower margin of d. 39, q. 2, a. 1 and may be classified as Type II-EC (Error Correction). This is an omission note by the user, to supply a missing argument from

the article, that of argument 5. The same omission note is repeated in the margin by another hand. As this manuscript is an exemplar copy, this second hand is possible evidence of a text corrector. Under the late thirteenth-century statutes of the University of Paris, the regulations of the city's book trade covered the production and rental of pecia texts, including the corrected, or uncorrected, texts.⁷⁵ Omission notes such as these are evidence that texts were proofread and corrected to provide accurate pieces for renting.

1B. Classification: II-EC, f. 161v

Praeterea [illud] quod est naturale non tollitur per peccatum. Sed per peccatum alienatur homo a voluntate bonorum. Ergo etc.



7. Cambridge, Pembroke College MS 126, f. 161v

⁷⁵ R.H. Rouse and M.A. Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200-1500*, pp. 76-77.

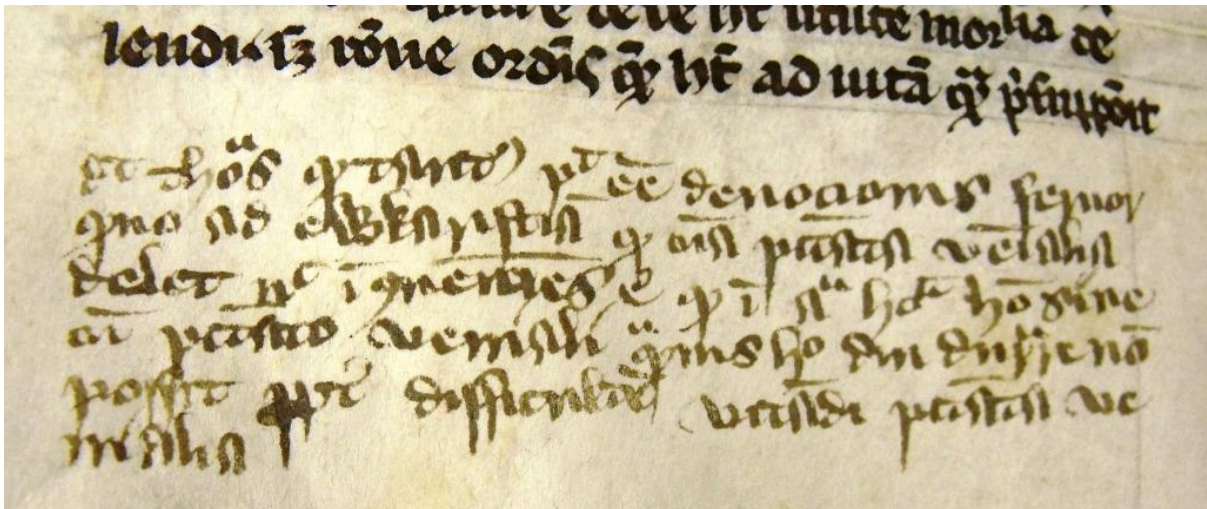
Similar to MS 126, Cambridge, Peterhouse MS 50 was also a working reference peccata text. This peccata copy contains the fourth book of Aquinas's commentary on the *Sentences*. Notes 2A and B demonstrate that the user has engaged with the main text, likely while preparing a classroom exercise. Both notes are classified as Type II-TS (Text Summation), as he copied out two passages of particular interest, both relating to the Eucharist. The first quote is on the relationship of the sacrament to venial sin, the text of d. 12, q. 2, a.2, qc. 1, ad 1 in which Aquinas states that devotion with respect to the Eucharist can be so great that it wipes out all venial sins. Passage two occurs on the same folio underneath the text of d.12, q.3, a.1, qc.2, s.c.1, a quotation falsely attributed to Augustine that says in his work *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus* he neither praises nor blames daily communion. In actual fact, *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus* (PL 58, cols. 979-1054) is a Pseudo-Augustine treatise, now widely attributed to the fifth-century Christian writer Gennadius of Marseilles.⁷⁶

2A. Classification: II-TS, f. 166v

Dicit Thomas quod tantus potest esse devotionis fervor quo ad
Eucharistiam quod omnia peccata venialia delet, nec inconueniens est
quod in aliqua hora homo sine cum [*sic* – added in error?] peccato

⁷⁶ K. Emery Jr. 'The Image of God Deep in the Mind', *Nach der Verurteilung von 1277/ After the Condemnation of 1277*, eds. J.A. Aertsen, K. Emery, and A. Speer (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2001) pp. 59- 124, p. 79.

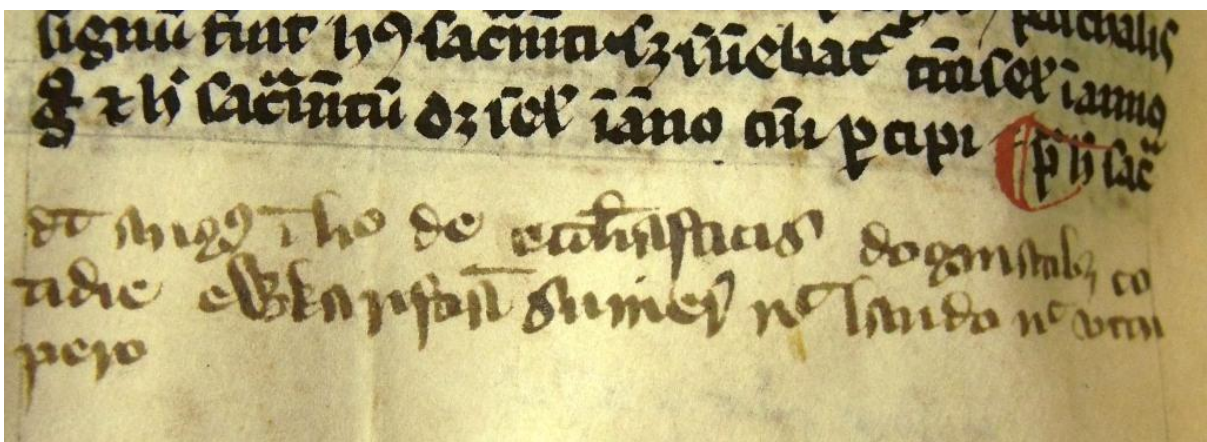
veniali quamvis hoc diu durare non possit, propter difficultatem
vitandi peccata venialia



8. Cambridge, Peterhouse MS 50, f. 166v

2B. Classification: II-TS, f. 166v

Dicit Augustino in libro de ecclesiasticis dogmatibus: 'cotidie
ewkaristiam sumere nec laudo nec vitupero'



9. Cambridge, Peterhouse MS 50, f. 166v

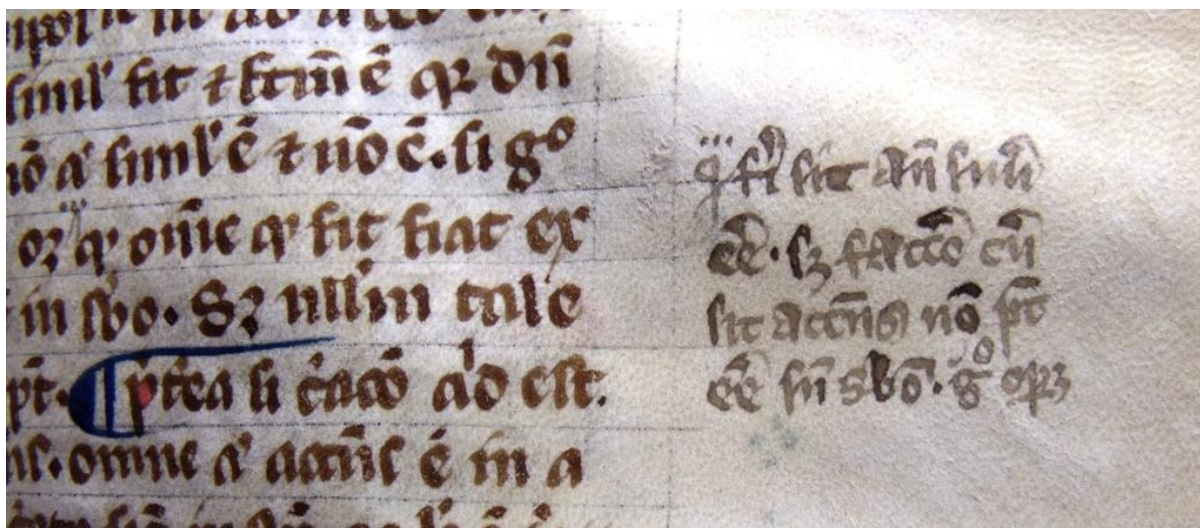
As seen in MS 126, scribes and proofreaders corrected errors present in exemplar copies. Users also proofread for errors in pecia copies, to ensure that any mistakes overlooked by the scribe will be corrected. These types of notes show that users looked for textual accuracy in their pecia copies and were willing to correct manuscripts themselves to achieve this. A typical Type II-EC (Error Correction) user note occurs in Cambridge, St John's College MS C.2. This manuscript contains both *In primo Sententiarum* (ff.1r-121r) and *In secundo Sententiarum* (ff. 123r-251v). In lib.2, d.1, q.1, a.2, arg. 3 the user has corrected an error commonly referred to as eye-skip, where the scribe has skipped a passage of text because of the similarity of words or phrases that occur on two lines. In the main text the scribe has copied the passage: 'Si ergo aliqua res permanens fiat a deo, oportet quod omne quod fit, fiat ex aliquo in quo sit factio sicut in subjecto'. The scribe has eye-skipped the phrase 'oportet quod' which occurs twice in the passage, and the user has supplied the omitted line. This omission note is evidence that this user had another copy of the commentary to hand to consult, and that it was the case that users of pecia texts compared manuscripts against one another for textual accuracy.

3A. Classification: II-EC, f. 124r

Below is the corrected passage, with the user note inserted:

Si ergo aliqua res permanens fiat a deo, oportet [quod fieri sit ante suum esse. Sed factio, cum sit accidens, non potest esse sine subjecto.

Ergo oportet] quod omne quod fit, fiat ex aliquo in quo sit factio sicut
in subjecto.



10. Cambridge, St John's College MS C.2, f. 124r

b. The commentaries of Pierre de Tarentaise

Another Dominican scholar who commented on the *Sentences* was Pierre de Tarentaise (Innocent V) (d.1276). A contemporary of Aquinas, he began his studies at a provincial convent in Lyons before moving to the Convent of St. Jacques, Paris in the summer of 1255 to complete his degree in theology. By his final academic year of 1259 he had completed and lectured on his four books of commentary on the *Sentences*. In June of that year Pierre completed his degree and officially received the title of Master of Theology.⁷⁷ He revised his commentaries on the *Sentences* into their

⁷⁷ Laurent, M.-H. *Le Bienheureux Innocent V (Pierre de Tarentaise) et Son Temps* (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1947) pp. 35-6.

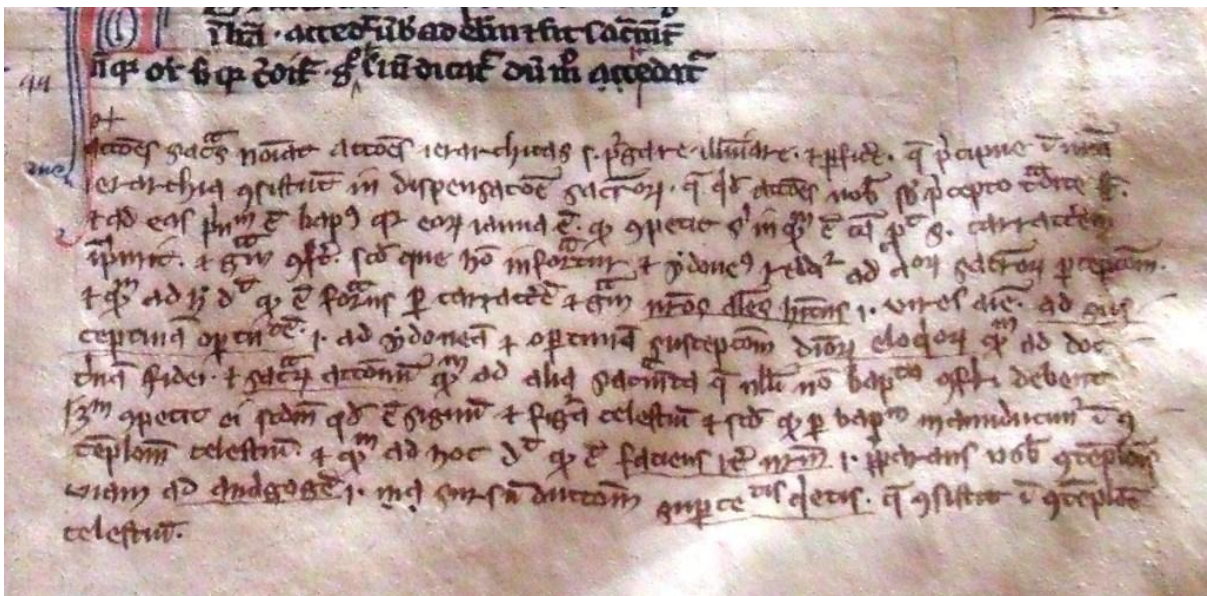
present form during his first term as regent master at Paris from 1259-64; he was regent again from 1267-69. The commentaries are listed as items 61-64 on the 1275 Paris peccata list. Like the works of Aquinas, the commentaries of Pierre de Tarentaise contain a wide range of user notes.⁷⁸ Oxford, Magdalen College MS 116 is a standard peccata copy of the *Super quartum librum Sententiarum* and it features several Type II-AT (Additional Text) user notes. One sample of this, Note 4A occurs in d.3, q.1, a.1, ad. 7, Pseudo-Dionysius's discussion on baptism. This passage is in fact an extract from the discussion on baptism in the commentary of Aquinas, in book 4, d.3, q.3. This extract is a clear indication that the user was working simultaneously with two separate commentaries, a valuable insight into the working methods of the user.

4A. Classification: Type II-AT, f. 11r

actiones sacras nominat actiones ierarchicas, scilicet purgare, illuminare, et perficere, que precipue in nostra ierarchia consistunt in dispensatione sacramentorum, que quidem actiones nobis sub precepto tradite sunt, et ad eas principium est baptismus quia eorum ianua est, quod competit sibi in quantum est causa, prout scilicet carracterem imprimit et gratiam confert, secundum que homo informatur, et idoneus [*sic for idoneus*] redditur ad aliorum sacramentorum

⁷⁸ *Ed. Innocentii Quinti ... In IV. libros Sententiarum commentaria, etc.* [A photographic reprint of the edition bearing the imprint "Apud Arnaldum Colomerium: Tolosæ, 1652, 49, 51".] (Ridgewood: The Gregg Press Incorporated, 1964).

perceptionem. Et quantum ad hoc dicit quod est formans per
 carracterem et gratiam nostros animales habitans id est vires anime ad
susceptivam oportunitatam id est ad ydoneam et opportunam
 susceptionem divinorum eloquiorum quantum ad doctrinam fidei et
sacramentorum, actionum quantum ad alia sacramenta, que nulli non
 baptizato conferri debent. Tertium competit ei secundum quod est
 signum et figura celestium et secundum quod per baptismum
 manuducimur in contemplationem celestium et quantum ad hoc dicit
 quod est faciens iter nostrum, id est preparans nobis contemplationis
 viam ad anagogem, id est sursum ductionem supercelestis quietis que
 consistit in contemplatione celestium



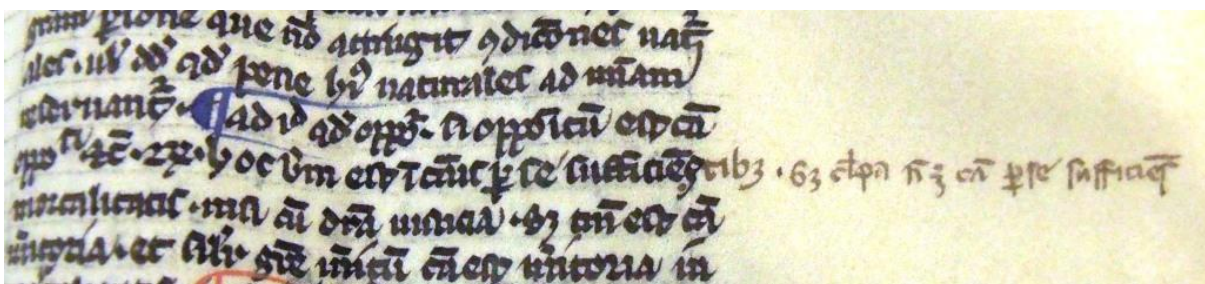
11. Oxford, Magdalen College MS 116, f. 11r

A second example of the working methods of text users can be found in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Laud misc 605. This is a pecea copy of the work *Super quartrum librum Sententiarum* by Pierre de Tarentaise. Like the users of Aquinas's commentaries, the user of this work has corrected scribal errors in the main text and copied Type II-EC (Error Correction) notes in the margins. In Note 5A the user has inserted an omission note into the text passage d.4, q.2, a.2, ad. 5, which debates the issue that penance is received by all through baptism. This correction note demonstrates the user's engagement with pecea texts, and further shows that separate copies of the same commentary were consulted during use to ensure accuracy of the text.

5A. Classification: Type II-EC, f. 18r

Below is the main text with the user correction note inserted:

Si oppositum est causa oppositi etc. Respondeo. Hoc verum est in causis per se sufficien[tibus]. Sed culpa hec est causa per se sufficiens mortalitatis, nisi cum divina iusticia, sed tantum est causa meritoria, et similiter gratie, meritum causa est meritoria immortalitatis.

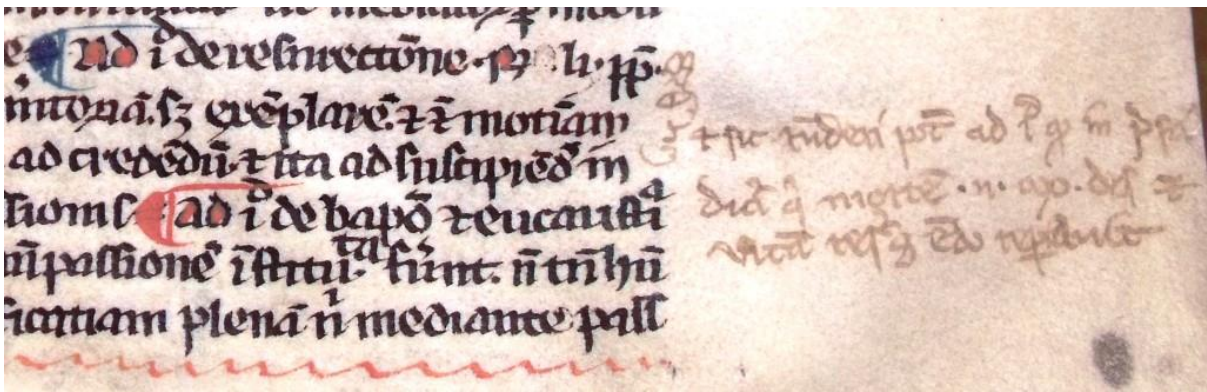


12. Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Laud Misc 605, f. 18r

As well as error corrections, users also engaged with the works on the *Sentences* by commenting on passages in margin notes. Like Notes 4A and B, Type II-AT (Additional Text) marginalia occur in Oxford, Merton College MS G.I.O. (105). This manuscript contains *Super quartum librum Sententiarium* (ff. 1r-159v) and *Super primum librum Sententiarum* (ff. 166r-300v). These works travelled together, as content tables for both texts appear together and in one English hand (ff. 160r-164r). In this manuscript the user copies quotations from separate works that relate to themes in the main text, possibly while he prepared a classroom exercise. Notes 6A-C are representative of these additional text notes, and the first appears in the margin of the fourth book, d.1, q.1, a.6, r.3, on the resurrection of Christ. This passage contains Pierre's response to the topic and highlights the influence of Christ's Passion: 'Li "propter", non dicit causam meritoriam, sed exemplarem, et etiam motivam ex parte nostra ad credendum, et ita ad suscipiendam influentiam passionis'. The user of the text has engaged with this theme by quoting a passage on Christ's resurrection found in the Preface for Easter, 'Who by dying hath destroyed our death: and by rising again hath restored us to life'.

6A. Classification: II-AT, f. 4r

et sic responderi potest ad illud quod in prefatione dicitur. Qui mortem nostram moriendo destruxit et vitam resurgendo reparavit.

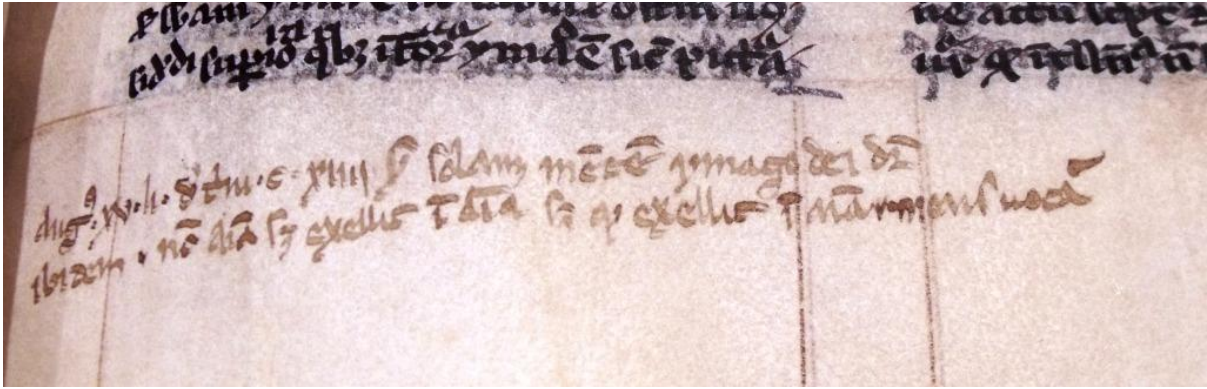


13. Oxford, Merton College MS G.I.O. (105), f. 4r

Note 6B occurs in the first book, d.3, q.5, a.2, relating to the subject of the soul's likeness to the Holy Trinity. This theme was likely of particular interest to the user, and in the margin of the main text he has copied a quotation from Augustine's *De Trinitate*, book 15, chapter 7, a. 11 (PL 42, col 1055) which discusses the Trinity in terms of the mind, body and soul of man.

6B. Classification: II-AT, f. 179r

Augustinus xv. li de trinitate, c. xiiii secundam solam mentem, ymago dei dicitur ibidem. Non anima sed exellit [*sic for* excellet] in anima sed quod exellit [*sic*] in anima mens vocatur



14. Oxford, Merton College MS G.I.O. (105), f. 179r

A similarly themed quotation occurs in the margin of d.3, q. 6, a 1, which examines the mind, knowledge, and love in relation to the soul. In Note 6C the user of MS G.I.O. (105) has quoted from the *Sentences* commentary of Bonaventure, a Franciscan contemporary of Thomas Aquinas at Paris. Bonaventure's commentaries on the *Sentences* were immensely popular works as seen in the large number of pecia copies surviving. To complete his degree in theology, Bonaventure lectured on the *Sentences* most likely in 1250-52 and revised his written commentaries into their present form during his term as regent master at Paris from 1253-57.⁷⁹ The four commentary books are item numbers 83-86 on the 1275 pecia list. This Type II-AT note contains an extract from d.3, p.2, a.1, q.2, of Bonaventure's first book of

⁷⁹ R.L. Friedman, 'The *Sentences* Commentary, 1250-1320. General Trends, the Impact of the Religious Orders, and the Test Case of Predestination', *Medieval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*, G.R. Evans (ed.) vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2002) pp. 41-128, pp. 44.

Sentences,⁸⁰ a response debating the conversion of the image in the soul into divine essence. Notes 6A-C demonstrate that users of *Sentences* commentaries also consulted a range of works to complete their coursework, including the Bible, works of the Church Fathers and alternative *Sentences* commentaries by other authors.

6C. Classification: Type II-AT, f. 181r (Opening lines 1-4)

Hec ratio est quia tria oportet supponere in ymaginis ratione. Primo expressam conformitatem ad ymaginatum. Secundo quod illud conformatur ymagini conformetur etiam ymaginato per consequens. Tertio quod anima secundum potentias suas conformis redditur hiis ad que secundum cognitionem vel amorem convertitur.

⁸⁰ Doctoris Seraphici S. Bonaventurae, *Opera Omnia*, eds. PP. Collegii A.S. Bonaventura, 10 vols. (Quaracchi: Ad Claras Aquas: 1882-1902). Note that the books of *Sentences* can be found in vols. 1-4.

i. lagru
 obz pma
 e. scāi
 ad ē yma
 u l q p q d
 m a r i e q m
 a i q p a t e
 q ē o b i o
 = ad ā p i
 f i a d a t e

hō est qz ea or superior i ymā fōi hō existit ofor
 ad ymā. sō qullō ofor ymā q d hō existit ofor
 fōi. et u q nā sōi sōi fōi hōi hōi hōi hōi hōi
 fōi hōi hōi hōi hōi hōi hōi hōi hōi hōi hōi
 est us p q u t d a r u t n y m a g i e l . o f f o r e e i s z f i c r e a t u r
 a f f o r e o n e t p d d i e d d i z e t y m a g o z f i c r e a t u r
 a f f o r e y m a g i n e hōi fōi r e p r e s e n t a t i o n e m
 qm aut gūte dā sup sōi cū ipā sic m ymā dī ofor dō
 ymā g m d i z fōi i p i y m a g i n e s o z f i c a c c e d i t a t
 ad ofor e t e r i z fōi hōi e t e r i e t y m a e l fōi d u c t i o
 fōi ad d m q d d e t e r i z f i c e x i s t i t i n f i m a g i n e m

15. Oxford, Merton College MS G.I.O., f. 181r

c. The commentaries of Giles of Rome

Giles of Rome (d.1314) entered the order of Augustinian Hermits in Rome in c1257 and was then sent to the Augustinian foundation at Paris in c1260 to begin his studies.⁸¹ Giles most likely lectured on the *Sentences* before 1271, yet he did not receive his master's degree until the late 1280s because he was suspended from the University of Paris for supporting allegedly unorthodox doctrine in his work. He composed a written commentary of the first book of *Sentences* between 1271-3, although his second book was not completed before 1309. The composition dates for the final two commentaries are unknown, but they survive in printed editions.⁸² As the latter three works were completed after the survivingpecia lists, the only text present is the first of Giles's commentaries as item 47 on the 1304 list. No pecia copies survive today of the three other commentaries, suggesting that the works might not have been produced through the system.

The commentary of Giles of Rome on the first book of *Sentences*⁸³ features similar user marginalia as the preceding manuscripts. Oxford, Magdalen College MS 186 is one working reference copy of this text and the user of MS 186 has highlighted

⁸¹ M.A. Hewson, *Giles of Rome and the Medieval Theory of Conception* (London: The Athlone Press, 1975) pp. 3-4.

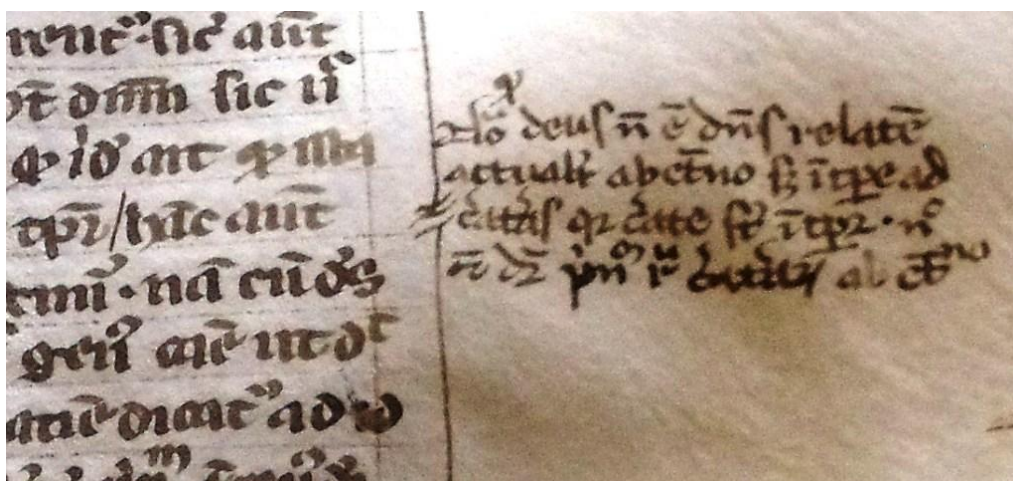
⁸² Friedman, 'The *Sentences* Commentary, 1250-1320. General Trends, The Impact of the Religious Orders, and the Test Case of Predestination', pp. 55-6.

⁸³ Giles of Rome, *Primus Sententiarum*, Venice 1521 (facsimile reprint, Frankfurt a. M. 1968).

various passages of interest and then noted short summaries in the margins of the text. These summarisation notes are classified as Type II-PS (Paraphrased Summation) marginalia, where the user has paraphrased the main text to summarise passages of interest. Summary notes may also be the user's attempt to clarify difficult portions of text. Notes 7A and B are representative of the notes found in MS 186. Note 7A is copied in the margin of the first article of d.30, q.1, and describes the eternal God in relation to creatures. Note 7B appears in the margin of the first response of d.30, q.3, and the user paraphrases Giles's philosophy of intellect within the context of the mind. Summaries such as these are important to examine as they reflect what information the user took away from the author's argument in the text.

7A. Classification: Type II-PS, f. 172r

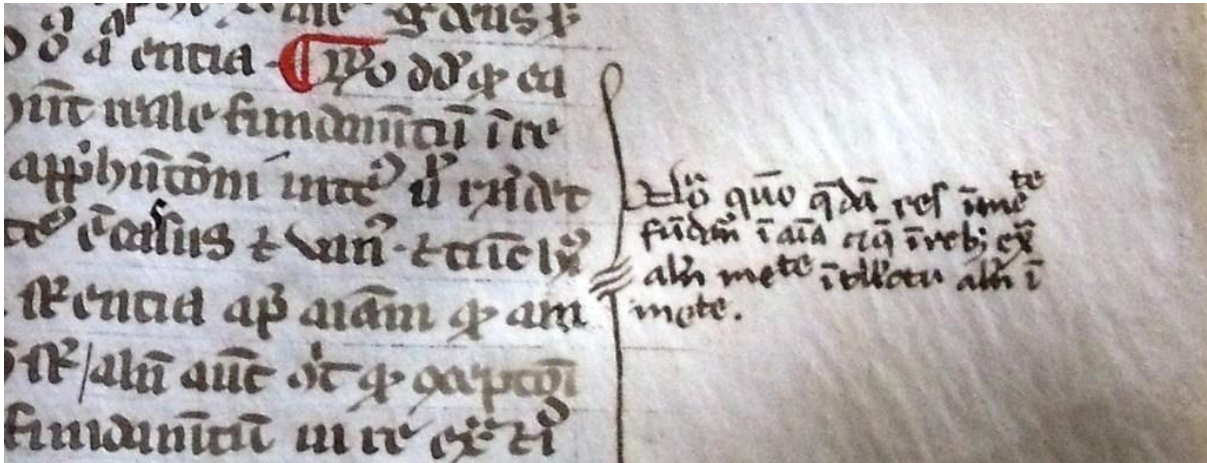
Nota \quod/ deus non est dominus relative actualiter ab eterno sed in tempore ad creaturas quia create sunt in tempore. Nec etiam dicitur principium respectu creaturarum ab eterno.



16. Oxford, Magdalen College MS 186, f. 172r

7B. Classification: Type II-PS, f. 174r

Nota quomodo quedam res immediate fundatur in anima et que in rebus extra aliquanto mediate, in intellectu aliquando immediate



17. Oxford, Magdalen College MS 186, f. 174r

These pecia copies of the thirteenth-century commentaries on Peter Lombard's *Book of Sentences* discussed above have preserved a wide range of user notes that can be described as extracts of the authorities; extracts of separate commentaries; omission and correction notes; and summary notes. Extracts of the authorities are common throughout pecia texts used at the University of Paris in the thirteenth century, and in particular in copies of commentaries on the *Sentences*. Lombard's original text followed a strict format of proposing a question, then proposing arguments for and against the proposition with evidence from a range of sources such as the Scriptures and Church Fathers. The majority of the quotations found in Lombard's *Sentences* are from Augustine, approximately nine-tenths of the

total citations found. Following approximately 1,000 quotes of Augustine, the next most numerous citations are from Hilary and Ambrose, with a comparatively little thirty to forty quotations between them. Several Greek Fathers are referenced in the *Sentences*, the most frequent being Chrysostom, Origen and the Cappadocian Fathers.⁸⁴ The authority now known as Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite also appears in Lombard's work. Pseudo-Dionysius was most likely a Syrian monk and composed his works sometime during the late fifth- to early sixth centuries, which were translated into Latin in the ninth century.⁸⁵ His works were popular during the thirteenth century, and the text *On Divine Names* was the subject of multiple commentaries by scholars, with William of Lucca, Thomas Gallus, Grosseteste, Albert the Great, and Thomas Aquinas all producing individual commentaries. Works of the authorities, such as Augustine and Pseudo-Dionysius, were consulted by users ofpecia copies of the *Sentences* commentaries during their readings of the text, as evidenced in Cambridge, Pembroke College MS 126, Peterhouse MS 50, Oxford, Magdalen College MS 116, and Merton College MS G.I.O.

As well as consulting the works of authorities, users of the commentaries produced through the pecia system also studied the commentaries of separate

⁸⁴Knowles, *The Evolution of Medieval Thought*, p. 180.

⁸⁵ Corrigan, K. and Harrington, L. M., 'Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite', *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Spring 2015 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), <<http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2011/entries/pseudo-dionysius-areopagite/>> Accessed 23 June 2015.

authors during their reading of an individual work. With around 70 commentaries with known authors surviving from the period 1250 - 1320, it was normal for commentators on the *Sentences* to be influenced by arguments presented in previous commentaries. Biller suggests that this established system of interchange and textual adaptation between authors was influenced by order, that is to say, that Dominicans tended to copy the work of other Dominicans, Franciscans consulted the works of Franciscans, and so forth.⁸⁶ This assumption is a simplification of the issue, as the interchange of ideas was much more fluid than this. Friedman points out that Pierre de Tarentaise's commentary was a moderated balance of both Thomas Aquinas's views (a fellow Dominican) and those of Bonaventure (a Franciscan).⁸⁷ He also goes as far as to say that Pierre leaned more towards Bonaventure in some instances.⁸⁸ Friedman's view is reflected in the user notes of peicia commentary copies. Magdalen College MS 116 contains a paraphrasing from the commentary of Thomas Aquinas, whereas in the user note of Merton College MS G.I.O. (105), an extract from Bonaventure's commentary has been copied into the margins of Pierre de Tarentaise's work.

⁸⁶ P. Biller, *The Measure of Multitude*, pp. 36-7.

⁸⁷ Friedman, 'The *Sentences* Commentary, 1250-1320. General Trends, the Impact of the Religious Orders, and the Test Case of Predestination', p. 49.

⁸⁸ Friedman, 'The *Sentences* Commentary, 1250-1320. General Trends, the Impact of the Religious Orders, and the Test Case of Predestination', p. 49.

Type II-EC (Error Correction) notes are by far the most frequent form of annotation found in pecia manuscripts, and are a welcome insight into the various stages of preparing a pecia text for use by a reader. The first of these stages occurs with the preparation of the pecia exemplar. The exemplar was most likely copied from a version of the text presented by the original author or compiler to the stationer, for the purpose of public distribution. Rouse and Rouse support this theory of the stationer also acting as publisher, as they discuss how the *De perfectione* of Thomas Aquinas must have been brought directly to the stationer upon completion in 1270.⁸⁹ As mentioned above, the university regulations required exemplars to be accurate, and Note 1B of Pembroke College MS 126 supports the hypothesis that a text corrector did in fact examine exemplars intended for use in the rental process. The next stage in the editing process took place during the copying of the text by a scribe on behalf of the user, and scribal correction notes are commonly found throughout most pecia texts. The final stage of editing the text took place when the reader received his manuscript. Reading through the text, the user could still find inaccuracies in the text. Rather than textual errors present the exemplar, common copying mistakes were the result of human error of the scribe's doing. Note 3A in St John's College MS C.2 was copied as the result of the scribe's eye-skip, and the scribe of Bodl. Lib. MS Laud misc 605 made a grammatical error, which the user corrected in Note 5A. In addition, these users must have consulted separate copies of

⁸⁹ M.A. Rouse and R.H. Rouse, *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991) p. 307.

the commentaries at the time of reading their texts to check for accuracy, possibly during a first reading.

Type II-PS (Paraphrased Summation) marginalia can be considered as notes of clarification by the user. These summary notes are often placed by a passage that the reader found difficult to understand or wished to highlight as a key point of the main text. Clarifying notes are easily differentiated from other annotations as they usually begin 'Nota', 'Id est', 'Dicit', etc. The user of Magdalen College MS 186 copied what he believed to be the relevant argument from Giles of Rome's complex passage on the mind, intellect and soul in Note 7B. The notes that feature in these *Sentences* commentaries were most likely copied by students preparing academic coursework. The following chapter on the genre of saints' lives examines another type of activity that required the use of *pecia* manuscripts, namely preaching.

Chapter Two:

Saints' Lives

I. Jacopo da Varazze and the Golden Legend

Many saints' lives collections were composed in thirteenth century Europe, including the notable works by the Dominican writers Jean de Mailly, who composed the *Abbreviatio in gestis et miraculis sanctorum* in the late 1220s, and Bartholomew of Trent, who wrote the *Epilogus in gesta sanctorum* in the mid 1240s.⁹⁰ This was a popular genre of texts at Paris and Dominican writers continued to produce works of saints' lives and other hagiographical collections into the fourteenth century.⁹¹ However, the only example of the saints' lives genre to feature on the Paris pecia lists is the *Legenda aurea* of the Dominican author Jacopo da Varazze.⁹² Numerous pecia copies survive of the *Legenda* and the text is listed as item 108 on the 1275 pecia list and item 73 on the 1304 list. Its presence on both lists demonstrates the work's continued popularity during this period at the university. Jacopo (c1229-1298), born in the Italian town of Varazze, was a Dominican friar who was a prior of the Lombard province in 1267 and later went on to become the bishop

⁹⁰ S.L. Reames, *The Legenda aurea: A reexamination of its Paradoxical History* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985) p. 167.

⁹¹ E. Duffy, 'Introduction to the 2012 Edition' in Jacopo da Varazze, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. W.G. Ryan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012) p. xi.

⁹² Jacopo da Varazze, *Legenda aurea*, ed. P. Maggioni, 2 vols. (Florence: SISMEL, 1998).

of Genoa towards the end of the thirteenth century.⁹³ He composed the *Legenda* sometime circa 1260, the earliest probable date of the first redaction of the work, and continued to modify the text until his death.⁹⁴

The *Legenda aurea* was influenced by a range of material from biblical writings to the works of the Church Fathers, as well as the earlier saints' lives collections of Jean de Mailly and Bartholomew of Trent. A source of the *Legenda aurea*'s continued success will have been the format and layout present within the work. Although most reference texts composed during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are organised alphabetically, the *Legenda*'s 186 chapters are instead organised chronologically according to the liturgical calendar. Saints' lives are arranged by the season in which their feast day occurs, and feast days also receive separate chapters, such as the Annunciation, Advent, Nativity of Christ, Epiphany, the Sundays that lead up to Lent, the Passion, Resurrection, Ascension, Pentecost, and others. Jacopo also included Marian feasts, All Saints, All Souls, and a chapter on the dedication of a church.⁹⁵

The structure and content of the *Legenda aurea* reveals that this work was most likely intended to function as a preaching aid. D'Avray agrees that the *Legenda* 'has a

⁹³ For a detailed description of his life see J. Le Goff, *À la recherche du temps sacré: Jacques de Jacopo et la Légende dorée* (Paris: Perrin, 2011) pp. 15-25.

⁹⁴ Le Goff, *À la recherche du temps sacré*, p. 8.

⁹⁵ Duffy, 'Introduction to the 2012 Edition' in Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, pp. xii- xx. See also A. Boureau, *La Légende dorée: Le système narratif de Jacques de Jacopo (1298)* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1984).

structure which could have been especially designed to meet the needs of the preacher'.⁹⁶ The liturgical calendar format of the text complements the similar layout of sermon collections, and the lack of hagiographical information in most thirteenth-century collections suggests that preachers prepared their sermons using a collection of *de sanctis* sermons in conjunction with a copy of the *Legenda aurea*.⁹⁷ The content of the *Legenda aurea* also reflects the work's intended purpose. The last chapter of the *Legenda* on the dedication of a church is a practical reference guide for preachers on how to perform the service.⁹⁸ The chapters on saints' lives were also consulted as reference aids by preachers for quotations and short stories to include in sermons for feast days or related occasions. This is demonstrated in practice by Jacopo himself, in his own sermon collection. In his life of St Benedict in the *Legenda*, Jacopo provides an account of a miracle where Benedict prayed over his nurse's broken sieve and when he looked up again after this prayer he found it repaired and whole.⁹⁹ This passage contains a quotation from Gregory (*Dialogi*, liber II.1.2) that states Benedict was a devout and dutiful boy, and felt sorry for her (the nurse): 'Benedictus autem religiosus et pius puer, cum nutricem suam flere conspiceret, eius dolori compassus

⁹⁶ d'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, p. 71.

⁹⁷ d'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, pp. 70-1.

⁹⁸ See overview examination of dedication sermons in R. Horie, *Perceptions of Ecclesia: Church and Soul in Medieval Dedication Sermons* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006).

⁹⁹ Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda aurea*, pp.309-320, p.309.

est' etc.¹⁰⁰ Jacopo later uses exactly the same quotation in his first sermon on St Benedict as he had done in his *Legenda*:

Incepit a compassione: Gregor. Benedictus religiosus, et pius puer, cum nutricem suam flere conspiceret, eius dolori compassus est. Et ideo meruit divinam miserationem: Beati misericordes, quoniam ipsi misericordiam consequentur [Matt. 5:7]. Incepit a devota oratione, quia capisterium fractum, devota oratione sua redintegravit. Et ideo meruit a Deo magnam fiduciam, et securitatem: Oratio humiliantis se penetrabit nubes, [...] et non discedet, donec aspiciat Altissimus [Ecclus. 35:21].¹⁰¹

II. Evidence of Manuscript Users

Preaching was one of the three main activities of the University of Paris along with disputations and coursework delivered by lectures.¹⁰² Students at Paris therefore needed preaching materials as well as academic works to complete their

¹⁰⁰ Reames, *The Legenda aurea: A reexamination of its Paradoxical History*, pp. 102, 256 note 2.

¹⁰¹ The sermon is Schneyer, *Repertorium*, iii, 246-66, 389 S26: I quote from Reames, *The Legenda aurea: A reexamination of its Paradoxical History*, pp. 101-3, 256 note 3.

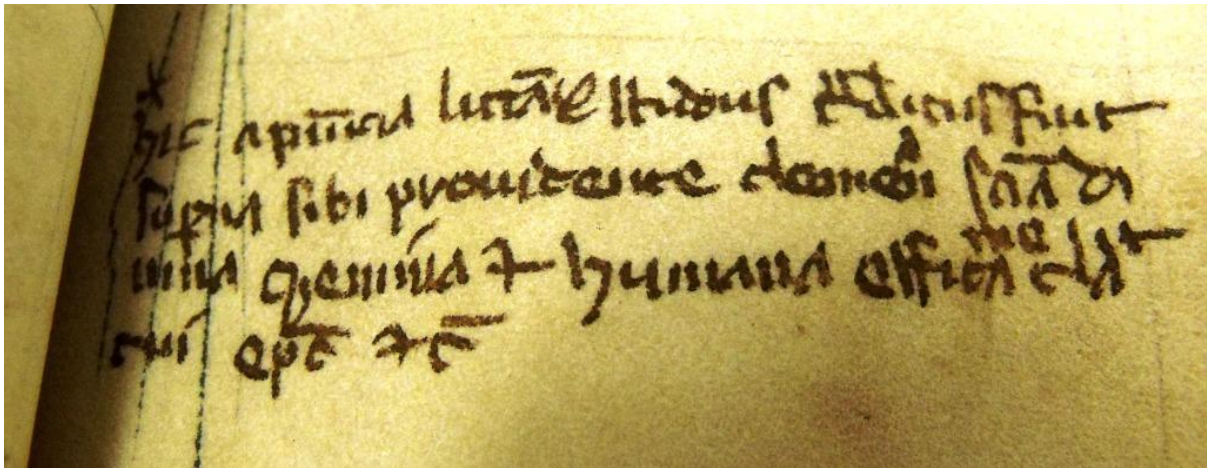
¹⁰² Young, *Scholarly Community at the Early University of Paris: Theologians, Education and Society, 1215-1248*, p. 3. See Chapter 5 here for discussion of preaching as an integral activity at the university.

studies. The evidence found in individual pecia copies of the *Legenda aurea* reflects that this work was consulted by users as a preaching aid. Cambridge, Peterhouse MS 131 is one such working reference text and features a range of user marginalia. The first type of note found is Type II-PS (Paraphrased Summation) marginalia, showing the user attempted to clarify passages of interest. Note 1A is a standard user summary note found in MS 131, copied in the margin of the entry for St Vincent. The main text reads: 'Vincent, noble by birth and nobler by his faith and religious devotion, was deacon to Valerius the bishop. Since he was readier of speech than the bishop, Valerius entrusted his office of preaching to the deacon and devoted himself to prayer and contemplation.'¹⁰³ The user has placed a special symbol in the main text to mark the beginning of the quotation, and underneath the passage he has paraphrased this phrase.

1A. Classification: Type II-PS, f. 40r

hic a pueritia litterarum studiis traditus fuit, superna sibi providente
clementia, scientia, divina gemina et humana, efficacissime claruit cui
episcopus etc

¹⁰³ Translation from Ryan, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, p. 105.



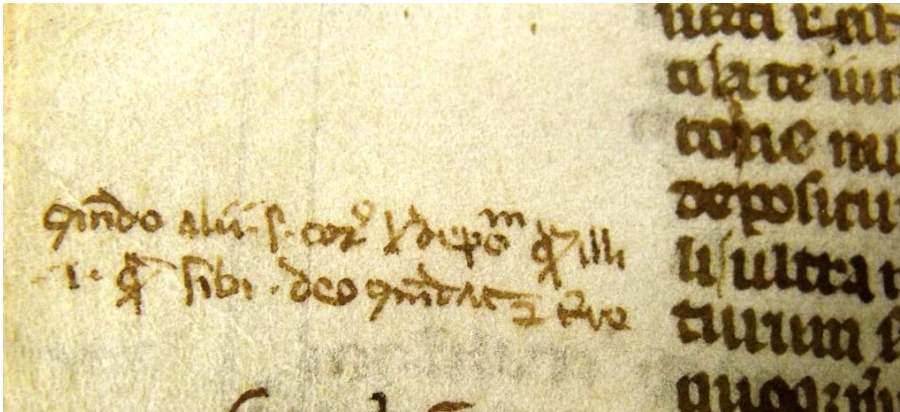
18. Cambridge, Peterhouse MS 131, f. 40r

Notes 1B and 1C in MS 131 may also be classified as Type II-PS marginalia. Multiple summation notes suggest that the user regularly consulted this copy of the *Legenda* to prepare sermons. 1B appears in the margin of the life of St Andrew beside a passage where the apostle prays to God before his death on the cross: 'Just and loving Rewarder, I beg of you not to leave [my body] any longer in my care! I give back what you entrusted to me. Commend it to the earth so that I will not have to take care of it, and it will not curb and hamper me'.¹⁰⁴ The user then paraphrases this quotation in the margin. The user copied Note 1C beside the life of St John the Apostle, and has summarised a portion of text on St John's lesson to Crato the philosopher on giving riches to the poor. Notes 1A, B, and C are unrelated in theme, which suggests that the user may have researched material for three separate sermons.

¹⁰⁴ Translation from Ryan, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, p. 18.

1B. Classification: Type II-PS, f. 7v

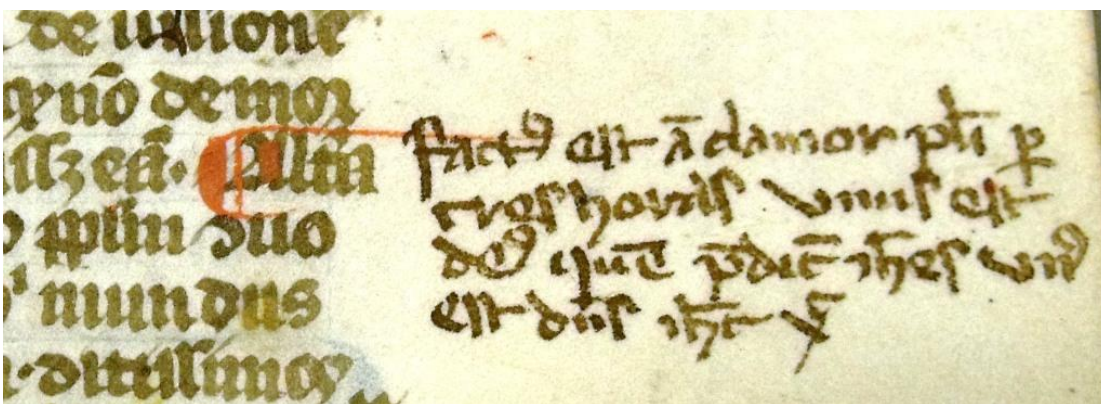
commendo alii scilicet corpus vel depositum quam illi id est quam sibi
deo commendat et terre



19. Cambridge, Peterhouse MS 131, f. 7v

1C. Classification, Type II-PS, f. 20r

Factus est aut clamor populi per tres horas unus est deus quem predicat
Johannes unus est dominus Jesus Christus

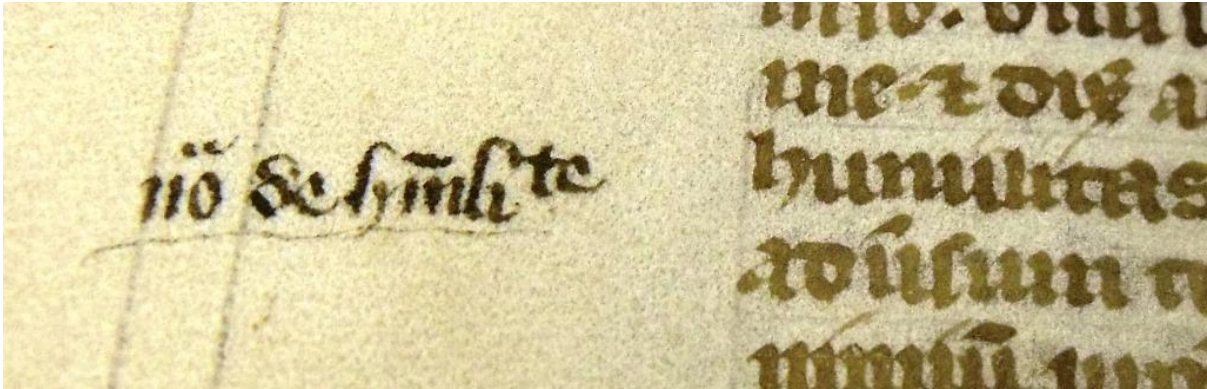


20. Cambridge, Peterhouse MS 131 f. 20r

The user of MS 131 also highlighted passages of interest by placing Type II-T (Topic) notes in the margins of the main text. These annotations indicate the general theme of a particular passage of text. In Note 1D the user has noted humility as the theme of a passage in the life of St Macarius: a scene between the saint and the devil, and the devil admits he cannot prevail against Macarius because of the saint's humility. This note demonstrates that the user was interested in the theme of humility, and could have noted the quotation for future use in a sermon. The user displays his interest in two further subjects in Notes 1E and F, additional Type II-PS (Paraphrased Summation) marginalia. Focusing on the theme of marriage in the entry for the annunciation of the Lord, in Note 1E the user has summarised the reason Christ wanted his mother to be married, in that her espousal to Joseph protected the honour of married, virgin and widowed women as she herself was married, virginal, and widowed. The user has paraphrased this, possibly to prepare a sermon on marriage. Note 1F is also a user paraphrase of the main text, the entry for the purification of the Virgin. The user has summarised a passage describing the practice of carrying a candle on the feast of Candlemas and that this procession symbolised the birth and divinity of Christ. Candlemas was a feast day that took place annually in February, and the user may have composed a sermon to celebrate this day. These notes in Peterhouse MS 131 examine a range of themes and topics, and demonstrate that the user of the manuscript was most likely an active preacher.

1D. Classification: Type II-T, f. 33v

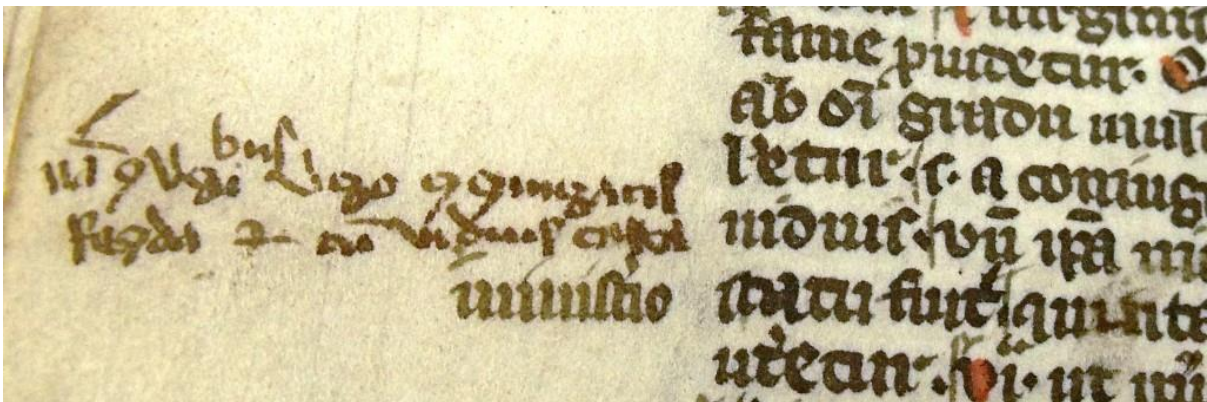
Nota de humilitate



21. Cambridge, Peterhouse MS 131 f. 33v

1E. Classification: Type II-PS, f. 75v

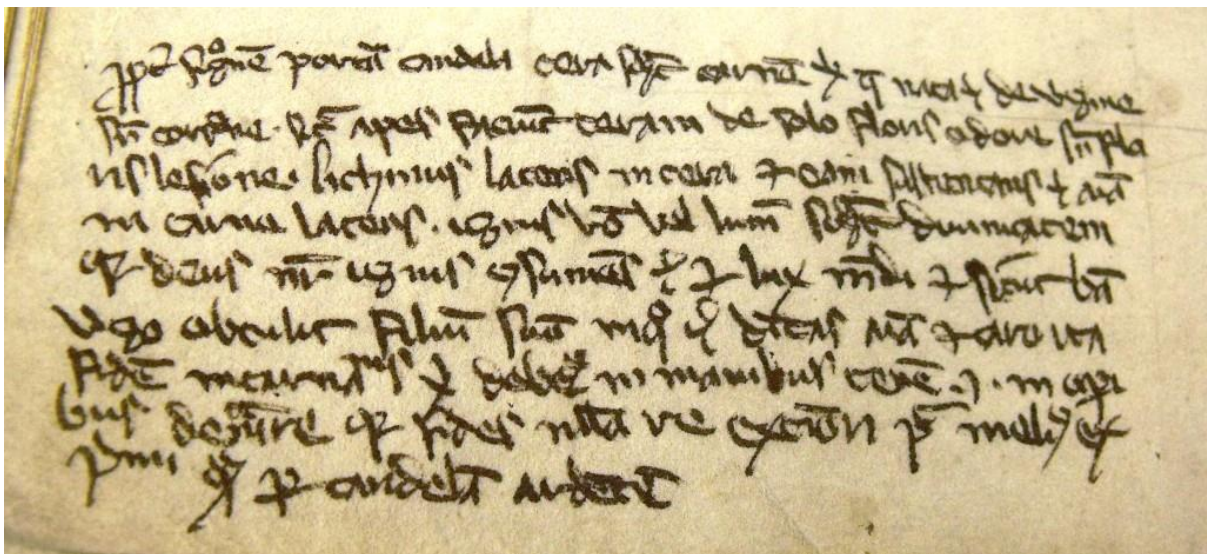
Nam coniugibus virgo cum coniugatis fecunda et cum viduis casta.



22. Cambridge, Peterhouse MS 131 f. 75v

1F. Classification: Type II-PS, f. 55v

propter significationem portare candela: cera significat carnem Christi que nata est de virgine sine corruptione sicut apes faciunt ceram de solo floris odore sine floris lesione, lichinus latens in cera et eam sustentans est anime in carne latens. Ignis vero vel lumen significat divinitatem quia deus noster ignis consumens est et lux mundi, et sicut beata virgo obtulit filium suum, in quo deitas anima et caro ita fidem incarnationis Christi debemus in manibus tenere, id est in operibus demonstrare quia fides nulla re exteriori potest melius exprimi quam per candelam ardentem



23. Cambridge, Peterhouse MS 131 f. 55v

The user of Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.15.15 was also an active preacher and this is seen in the manuscript's marginalia. Like the user of Peterhouse MS 131, the user of MS B.15.15 demonstrated his interest in several themes and

subjects present in the main text. In Note 1A the user has shown his interest in the topic of blasphemy in the entry for the life of St Stephen. Note 1A can be classified as Type II-PD (Passage Division) and the user has divided a passage in the entry that describes how Stephen defended himself against several charges of blasphemy. These defences have been divided into 'excusatio prima' (blasphemy against God), 'excusatio 2^a' (blasphemy against Moses), 'excusatio 3' (blasphemy against the Law), and 'excusatio 4' (blasphemy against the Temple) by the user to clearly separate each blasphemy case. The user may have divided the main text to compose a sermon on blasphemy containing the four separate examples.

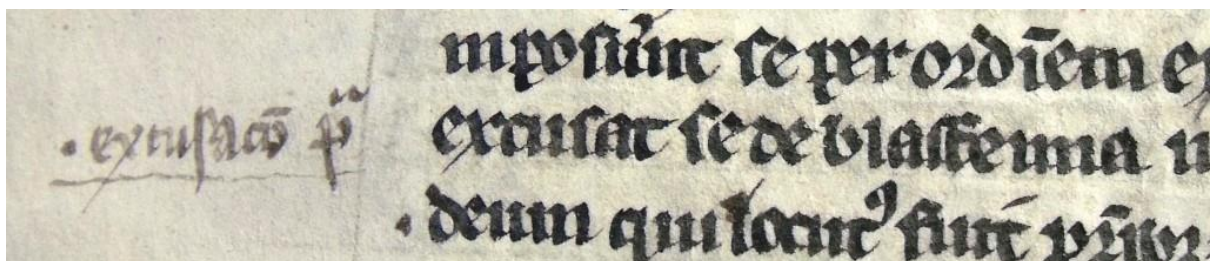
2A. Classification: Type II-PD, f. 14v

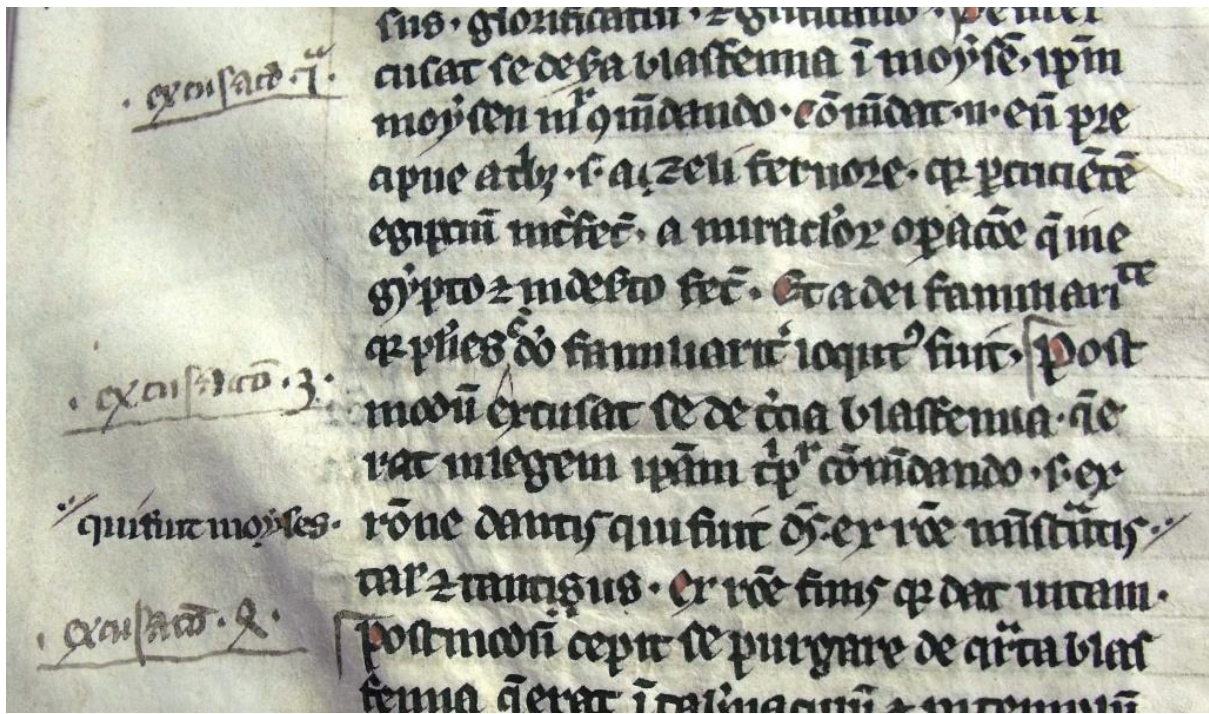
.excusatio prima

.excusatio .2^a.

.excusatio .3.

.excusatio .4.





24. Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.15.15, f. 14v

Note 2B in MS B.15.15 is evidence of the user's interest in the subject of angels. In the chapter on the life of St Michael the Archangel, the user summarises the three hierarchies of the angels in a Type II-TS (Text Summation) note. However, it must be pointed out that user has incorrectly listed the hierarchies, as the order is stated in the text as: 'Nam superior continet seraphin, cherubin et thronos; media autem continet secundum assignationem Dionysii dominationes, virtutes et potestates; ultima continet secundum assignationem eiusdem principatus, archangelos et angelos'. This hierarchy of the angels is an extract from *De Coelesti Hierarchia*, a work composed by Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite in the late fourth or early fifth

century. In chapter six of this text Pseudo-Dionysius organises angels into the three orders, or angelic choirs.¹⁰⁵

2B. Classification: Type II-TS

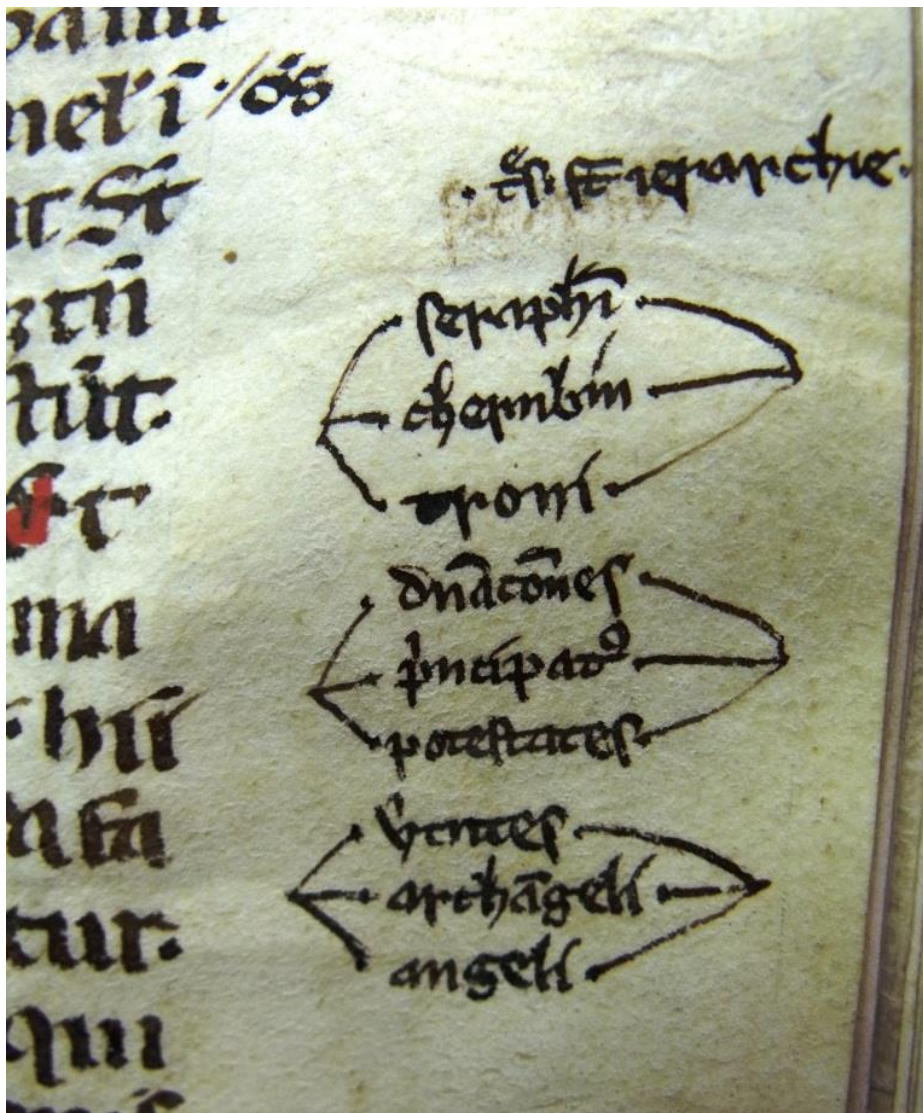
Tres sunt ierarchie [*sic for hierarchie*].

{
seraphin
cherubin
troni
}

{
dominationes
principatus
potestates
}

{
virtutes
archangelis
angeli
}

¹⁰⁵ See *Pseudo-Dionysius: The Complete Works*, trans. C. Luibheid and P. Rorem (London: Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 1987); K. Corrigan, and L.M. Harrington, (Spring 2015 Edition), Accessed 23 June 2015.



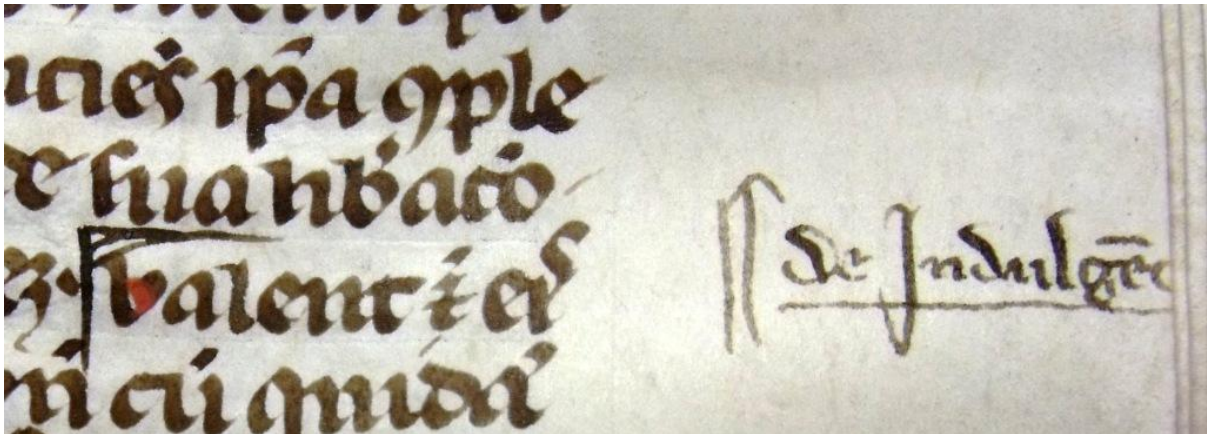
25. Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.15.15, f. 190r

In addition to summarising the main text, the user of MS B.15.15 also highlights passages of interest with Type II-T (Topic) marginalia. Notes 2C and D appear in the margin of the chapter on the Commemoration of All Souls, possibly in preparation of a sermon for the feast day. He has noted the themes of two passages in the main text by placing the keywords in the accompanying margins. In 2C he has noted the keyword 'Indulgence' beside the section of text on how the use of Church

indulgences aids the dead: Valent etiam eis indulgentie ecclesie. The main text describes how a knight fights in the service of the Church for forty days as an indulgence for his deceased father. As reward for his service, the knight's father appeared to him and thanked him for obtaining his release from purgatory. The user has also noted 'concerning the very good' beside the section of text discussing Augustine's view that those who die can be categorised as very good, very bad or mediocre people. The very bad suffered the fire of hell, the mediocre endured a period in the fire of purgatory before ascending to heaven, and the very good are those who fly heavenward immediately. The user has also used a special sign to highlight the passage on the blessed faith after death of the very good people, a group comprised of the newly baptised, the martyrs, and the perfect: Valde autem boni dicuntur qui statim evolant et ab utroque igne tam purgatorii quam inferni liberi sunt. Notes 2C and D are evidence of the user's interest in the separate themes of indulgences and the good, and both may have been copied by the user as he prepared a sermon for All Souls Day.

2C. Classification: Type II-T, f. 219r

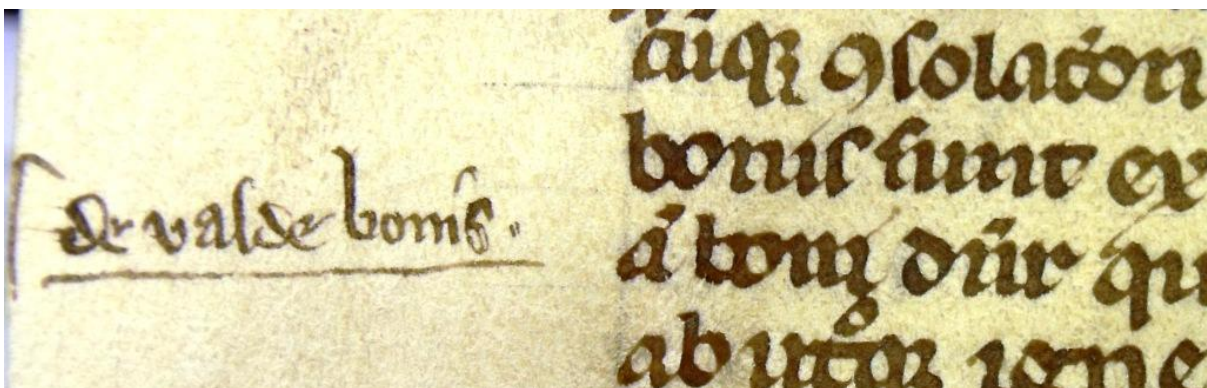
De Indulgenc[*cropped, likely Indulgenciis*]



26. Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.15.15, f. 219r

2D. Classification: Type II-T, f. 219v

De valde bonis



27. Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.15.15, f. 219v

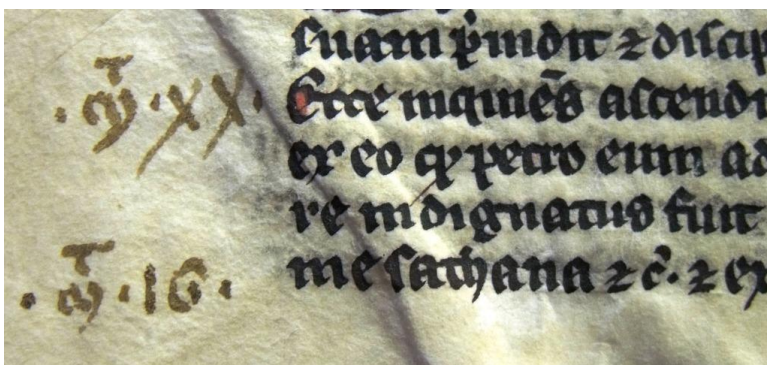
Type II-S (Source) marginalia are also commonly found in working reference copies of the *Legenda aurea*. The main text features quotations throughout from separate works such as the Church Fathers and Scripture, and users will often place the source reference of a quotation beside the main text in the margin. In the life of St

Andrew, the user of Trinity College MS B.15.15 has copied Note 2E beside the main text: 'Matthew 20' and 'Matthew 16'. These are Scriptural references to the following quotations: 'We are going up to Jerusalem, and the Son of Man will be delivered over to the chief priests and the teachers of the law. They will condemn him to death' (Matt. 20:13), 'Jesus turned and said to Peter, "Get behind me, Satan! You are a stumbling block to me; you do not have in mind the concerns of God, but merely human concerns"' (Matt. 16:23). Both quotations are used to support an argument by Andrew that Christ's passion was voluntary: Ecce, inquit, ascendimus Iherosolima etc [Matt. 20:18], et ex eo quod Petro eum ab hoc auertere cupienti dure indignatus fuit dicens, vade post me Sathana etc [Matt. 16:23]. The user of MS B.15.15 may have been interested in the theme of Christ's passion as a sermon topic for Easter or another related feast day.

2E. Classification: Type II-S, f. 5v

.Matt. xx.

.Matt. 16.

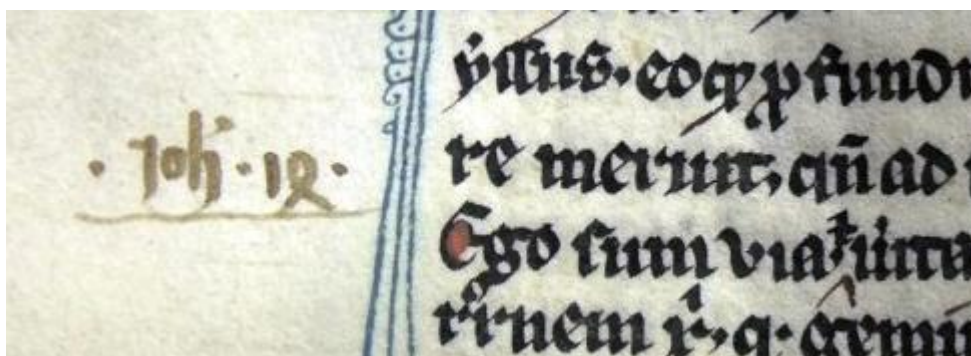


28. Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.15.15 f. 5v

In Note 2F the user of MS B.15.15 copied a second Type II-S note in the margin of the life of St Thomas the Apostle, beside a passage which discusses how the saint was called Thomas because he was granted insight into the depths of God's being by Christ. The user has noted 'John 14' beside the quotation of Christ: Ego sum via, veritas et vita [John 14:6]. John 14:6 reads 'Jesus saith unto him, I am the way, the truth, and the life: no man cometh unto the Father, but by me'. Like MS B.15.15, the user of Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Canon Misc 142 copied Type II-S marginalia and other short interest notes. In Note 3A this user has written '1.48' beside a reference to Eccles. 48:1 in the life of St John the Baptist: 'Then the prophet Elijah arose like a fire, his word flaring like a torch' (Eccles. 48:1). The main text compares John the Baptist to Elijah by quoting Scripture, saying John came in the spirit and power of the prophet: Et de Johanne dicitur in Eccles: Surrexit Helias quasi ignis etc [Eccles. 48:1], Ipse enim venit in spiritu et virtute Helie.

2F. Classification: Type II-S, f. 9v

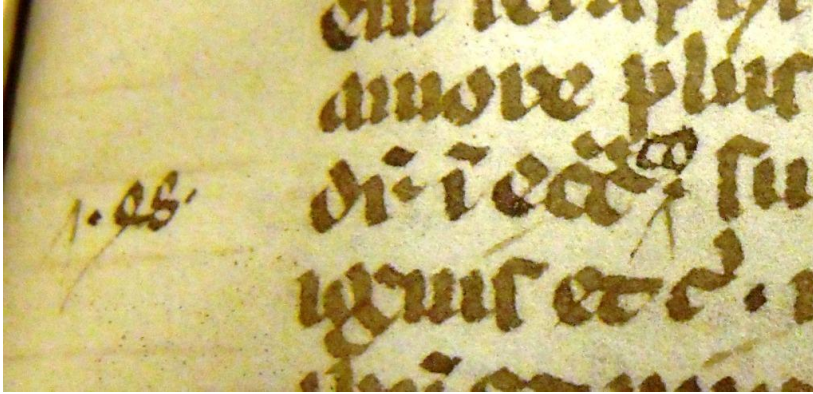
Johannes. 14.



29. Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.15.15, f. 9v

3A. Classification: Type II-S, f. 9v

1. 48.



30. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Canon Misc 142, f. 154v

The examination of short margin notes such as the Type II-S (Source) reference marks, II-T (Topic) keyword marginalia seen in Notes 1D, 2C and 2D, and II-PD (Passage Division) of Note 2B reveal much about the workings of the active preachers that consulted working reference copies of the *Legenda aurea*. The *Legenda* supplied valuable source material on a wide assortment of themes to preachers that could be quoted in related sermons, as well as numerous stories from the lives of saints that were used as material in feast day sermons. The user notes above are evidence of the topics of interest to individual users, and material they likely incorporated into their own works. The users of both Peterhouse MS 131 and Trinity College MS B.15.15 demonstrated their interest in a great number of topics, from blasphemy, marriage, angels to the feast days of St Stephen, All Souls, and Candlemas. The high number of consulted entries suggests that both users were

active preachers who regularly delivered sermons as part of university life at Paris. Preaching was one of three main activities considered integral to the Paris university experience, two others being *lectio* and *disputatio*. University teaching and disputations were practised in the arts faculty as well as theology, particularly in the study of philosophy and natural science. Texts such as Aristotelian works were important reference aids and central to the study of philosophy at Paris, as discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter Three:

Works of Philosophy and Natural Science

I. The Aristotelian impact on medieval philosophy

The rediscovery of the works of Aristotle between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries had a lasting effect on the study of theology and philosophy in the medieval period. This process of rediscovery was a gradual one that begins with the early Christian thinker Boethius (c480-c525). He was well-known for applying philosophical concepts to problems of Christian theology, and translated Aristotle's books of logic into Latin: the *Categories*, *De interpretatione*, *Topics*, *De sophisticis elenchis*, the *Prior Analytics*, and the *Posterior Analytics*.¹⁰⁶ Until the early twelfth century these works of Boethius were the main sources for western schools on Aristotelian logic along with additional works translated by Gerard of Cremona and Henricus Aristippus.¹⁰⁷ The mid-twelfth century marked the beginning of an influx of so-called eastern texts into mainstream Christian thought in Europe. These transmitted works included ancient Greek texts, as well as contemporary works of Arabic and Jewish thinkers. This influx of works was sparked by intellectual

¹⁰⁶ D. Luscombe, *Medieval Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997) pp.

16-17; M. Haren, *Medieval Thought: The Western Intellectual Tradition from Antiquity to the Thirteenth Century* (London: Macmillan, 1992) pp. 67-8.

¹⁰⁷ F. Van Steenberghen, *Aristotle in the West: The Origins of Latin Aristotelianism*, trans. L. Johnston (Louvain: E. Nauwelaerts, 1955) pp. 62- 3.

exchanges that occurred between eastern and Christian scholars in several areas, namely Constantinople, Sicily under Norman rule, and northern Spain. In varying degrees, these locations were the sites of intellectual exchange between scholars of Greek, Latin, Arabic and Hebrew-speaking communities.¹⁰⁸ Many works produced in these areas were gradually translated and transmitted to the schools of Western Europe.¹⁰⁹ Works of Arabic philosophy were particularly popular during this time as they covered multiple topics including logic, philosophy, and metaphysics. The texts of the Muslim thinker Averroes (1126-98) were arguably the most influential of these works as he was a thorough commentator of Aristotle and he completed commentaries on Aristotle's *De caelo*, *De anima*, *Metaphysics*, and *Physics*.¹¹⁰

The transmission of the works of Averroes and other such thinkers marked the transition in medieval learning from studying a narrow selection of sources to 'a period of increased activity and turbulence created by an explosion of knowledge'.¹¹¹ This was a turbulent transition as although these texts were now available in western centres, they were not at first accepted by the wider intellectual community. In 1210 Aristotle's works of natural philosophy, including *Metaphysics* and *De causis*,

¹⁰⁸ Knowles, *The Evolution of Medieval Thought*, pp. 186-7; Van Steenberghen, *Aristotle in the West*, pp. 23- 5.

¹⁰⁹ M. Haren, *Medieval Thought: The Western Intellectual Tradition from Antiquity to the Thirteenth Century*, pp. 132- 7.

¹¹⁰ Luscombe, *Medieval Thought*, pp. 64-5; Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris*, p. 162; Van Steenberghen, *Aristotle in the West*, pp. 89 -94.

¹¹¹ Luscombe, *Medieval Thought*, p. 74.

were condemned at Paris by a synod of bishops by threatening members of the academic community with excommunication if they read these texts.¹¹² The condemnation was upheld in 1215 in Robert of Courson's university statutes, which prohibited the arts faculty from studying Aristotle's *libri naturales*.¹¹³ However, this condemnation did not apply to Aristotle's works on logic, and the masters of arts were free to adapt their own methodologies according to the newly acquired texts.¹¹⁴ The study of Aristotelian texts, along with rediscovered works of Euclid in geometry and optics and Ptolemy in astronomy and geography, led to an overhaul of the now-outdated quadrivium system. As well as mathematics, what we would call natural science was also rethought, with thinkers such as Robert Grosseteste redefining the subject to conform to Aristotle's views.¹¹⁵ Theologians were also heavily influenced

¹¹² *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, vol. 1, pp. 70-1, no. 11. Young, *Scholarly Community at the Early University of Paris*, p. 48; Van Steenberghen, *Aristotle in the West*, pp. 67- 75.

¹¹³ *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, vol. 1, pp. 78-9, no. 20.

¹¹⁴ C.H. Lohr, 'The Medieval Reception of Aristotle: the Arts and Sciences in the 12th and 13th centuries', *Kulturkontakte und Rezeptionvorgänge in der Theologie des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts*, U. Köpf (ed.) (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2011) pp. 157-171, p. 159; Van Steenberghen, *Aristotle in the West*, pp. 162-4; Young, *Scholarly Community at the Early University of Paris*, p. 47.

¹¹⁵ R. Wood, 'Richard Rufus' "*Speculum anime*": Epistemology and the Introduction of Aristotle in the West', in A. Speer (ed.), *Die Bibliotheca Amploniana: Ihre Bedeutung im Spannungsfeld von Aristotelismus, Nominalismus und Humanismus* (Berlin, 1995) pp. 86-109, p. 109.

by this explosion of knowledge, and incorporated Aristotelian structure into the discipline to create the beginnings of the scholastic method. Between 1215 and 1220 the Paris master and leading theologian William of Auxerre presented his work *Summa aurea* in a structured body of clearly demonstrated conclusions, a method soon followed by early thirteenth-century Dominicans and Franciscans.¹¹⁶ These years saw the beginning of the juxtaposition of classical and Christian traditions that defined scholastic thought, and in the *Parens scientiarum* of 1231 Gregory IX agreed to lift the ban on the *libri naturales* once they had been 'examined and purged from all suspicions and errors'.¹¹⁷ Soon after the bull was issued Gregory established a commission to edit the works of Aristotle, yet there is no evidence that the commission accomplished its task. The ban on Aristotle's philosophical works was fully lifted in 1255 when the University of Paris required that all of Aristotle's works should be taught in the faculty of arts through a study programme for students of six years in length.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ Lohr, 'The Medieval Reception of Aristotle: the Arts and Sciences in the 12th and 13th centuries', p. 160; S. Young, *Scholarly Community at the Early University of Paris*, p. 49; R.-A. Gauthier 'Notes sur les débuts (1225-1240) du premier "Averroïsme"', *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 66 (1982), pp 321-74.

¹¹⁷ *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, vol. 1, p. 138, no. 79, 'libris illis naturalibus, qui in Concilio provinciali ex certa causa prohibiti fuere, Parisius non utantur, quousque examinati fuerint et ab omni errorum suspitione purgati'.

¹¹⁸ Luscombe, *Medieval Thought*, p. 76; Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris*, p. 162; Van Steenberghen, *Aristotle in the West*, pp. 164- 6.

II. Evidence of manuscript users

Several confirmed works of Aristotle feature on the 1304 Paris *pecia* list as item numbers 6 – 19: *Metaphysica* (6); *Physica* (7); *Metheora* (8); *De caelo et mundo* (9); *De generatione et corruptione* (10); *De sensu et sensatu*, *De anima*, *De memoria et reminiscencia*, *De sompno et vigilia* (11); *De longitudine*, *De iuventute*, *De respiratione*, *De morte et vita* (12); *Ethica Nicomachea* (13); *Politica* (14); *Rhetorica* (15); *Problemata vulgata* (16); *Magna moralia* (17); *De Historia animalium*, *De progressu animalium*, *De motu animalium*, *De partibus animalium*, *De generatione animalium* (19). Other works included on the 1304 list are pseudo-Aristotelian texts, and all works are fully listed in Appendix 2. Several variant translations of Aristotle's works from Greek into Latin circulated throughout Western Europe, including the works of Bartholomew of Messina and the texts of James of Venice.¹¹⁹ One popular translator whose works circulated at the University of Paris was the Dominican William of Moerbeke. He translated almost the complete body of Aristotle's works from Greek into Latin, including *Metaphysica*.¹²⁰

¹¹⁹ P. de Leemans, 'Aristotle Transmitted: Reflections on the Transmission of Aristotelian Scientific Thought in the Middle Ages', *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, 17 (Boston: Boston University, 2010) pp. 325-353, pp. 327-8, 331-2.

¹²⁰ P. Beullens and P. de Leemans, 'Aristote à Paris. Le système de la *pecia* et les traductions de Guillaume de Moerbeke', *Recherches de théologie et philosophie médiévales*, 85 (Leuven: Peeters, 2008) pp. 87-135.

Aristotle's texts were not only studied, but also commented on by Thomas Aquinas and other contemporary authors. The commentaries of Thomas Aquinas are listed as item numbers 52 – 56 on the 1275 list: *Quaestiones disputatae de veritate* (52); *Quaestiones disputatae De potentia Dei* (53); *Quaestiones de spiritualibus creaturis* (54); *Quaestiones disputatae De anima, De virtutibus, De unione verbi incarnati modo continuo numerantur* (55); *Quaestiones de malo* (56); and the same texts appear as item numbers 29 – 33 on the list of 1304. Aquinas's works are commentary texts, a subset of the genre of scholastic works that proceed by posing problems and settling them through logic. The text generally follows a clear structure that presents a question, *Quaeritur utrum...*; one or more arguments for and against the debated issue, *rationes contra/ pro*; a decided solution to the issue, *determinatio*; and a refutation of the original arguments that contradicted the final solution, *ad rationes*.¹²¹ Pecia copies of philosophical works of this kind were intended to be used by advanced scholars at the university, and this is evidenced by the marginalia found in the manuscripts. User notes present in these manuscripts demonstrate the difficult and complex nature of studying philosophy at Paris. The manuscripts chosen for examination here are clear examples of the work carried out by the academic community in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

¹²¹ S. Ebbesen, 'Medieval Latin Glosses and Commentaries on Aristotelian Logical Texts of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', in *Glosses and Commentaries on Aristotelian Logical Texts*, C. Burnett (ed.), (London: The Warburg Institute, 1993) pp. 129-177, p. 138.

The first manuscript is Cambridge, University Library MS Ii 2 10, a collection of Moerbeke's Latin translations of Aristotle's works.¹²² MS Ii 2 10 is a standardpecia text composed by an English scribe and contains 29 works in all, including *De Physicorum*, *De caelo et mundo*, and *De generatione et corruptione*.¹²³ One prominent type of marginalia that features in the manuscript is the Type II-AT (Additional Text) user note. This occurs in *De Physica* (ff. 1r-51v), where the user has copied in the margin of book 6, chapter 5, part 1 a passage from a separate commentary on *De Physica* by Walter Burley.¹²⁴ Walter lectured at Paris between 1310 and 1327, and was appointed Master of Arts in 1324.¹²⁵ As an English scholar who had previously lectured at Merton College, Oxford (from approximately 1294 to 1309), we may speculate that Walter lectured at the English nation in Paris. This was one of the main bodies that

¹²² Printed edition: G. Vuillemin-Diem (ed.), *Metaphysica Lib. I-XIV. Recensio et translatio Guillelmi de Moerbeka* (Leiden: Brill, 1995) (*Aristoteles Latinus* vol. XXV 3,2).

¹²³ For a complete list of works, see *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, vol. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1858).

¹²⁴ Printed edition: Gualterus Burlus, *De physica auscultatione lucidissima commentaria* (Venice: Apud Michaellem Berniam Bononlensem, 1589).

¹²⁵ M. C. Sommers, 'Burley, Walter (b. 1274/5, d. in or after 1344)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2006 [<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/view/article/4037>, accessed 1 July 2015]; J.A. Weisheipl, 'Ockham and the Mertonians', in *The history of the University of Oxford, 1: The early Oxford schools*, J.I. Catto and R. Evans (eds.) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984) pp. 607-658.

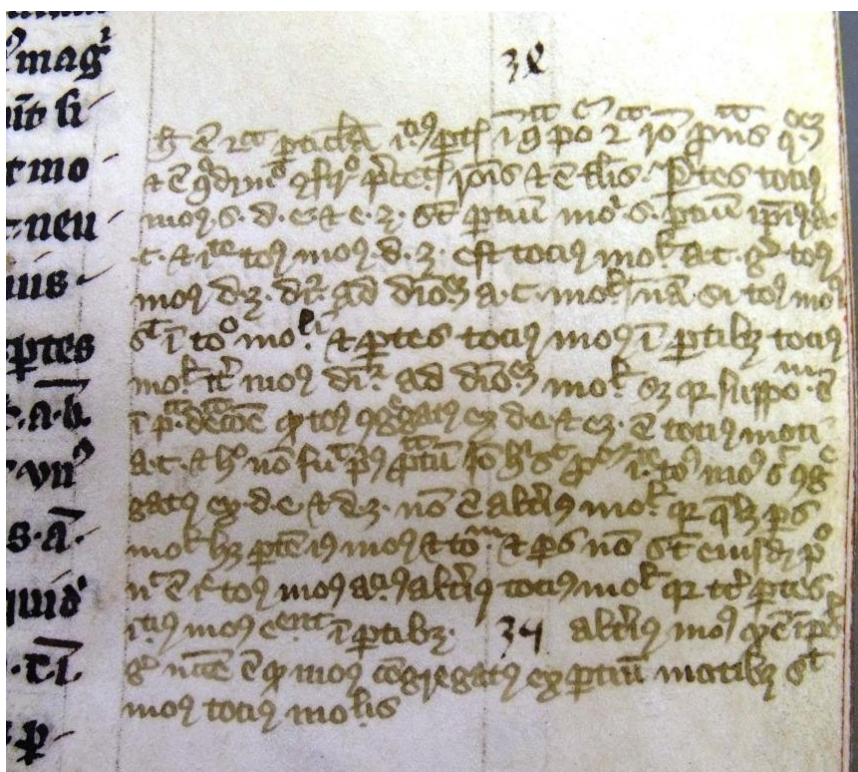
made up the arts faculty at Paris, and was attended by students mainly from the British Isles.¹²⁶ The user notes present in MS li 2 10 are composed in an early fourteenth-century Anglicana cursive hand, suggesting that the user may have been a student present at the English nation at the same time as Walter and may have attended his lectures. If so, as one of Walter's students, the user would have likely consulted his commentaries when reading Aristotle's text. The main text that Note 1A accompanies examines how time and length are made up of divisible and indivisible parts, and the user has selected the accompanying passage to this text from Walter's commentary.

1A. Classification: Type II-AT, f. 34r

34 Hec est secunda particula istius partis in qua ponitur secunda ratio probans conclusionem et est quodammodo confirmatio precedentis rationis et est talis. Partes totius motus scilicet d, e, et c 3, sunt partium moti scilicet partium ipsius d, e, c, et iste totus motus d 3 est totius mobilis ac igitur totus motus d 3 dividitur ad divisionem a, c mobilis: nam si totus motus sit in toto mobili, et partes totius motus in partibus totius mobilis inter motus dividitur ad divisionem mobilis, sed quia suppositum est in prima demonstratione quod totus congregatus ex d, c et e 3 est totius moti a, c, et hoc non fuit prius probatum, ideo hic sic procedendum. Iste totus motus sic congregatus ex d, e, et d 3, non est

¹²⁶ The English nation is discussed in more detail later in Chapter 11.

alterius mobilis, quia quelibet pars mobilis habet partem istius motus et totum et pars nec sunt eiusdem primo nec est iste totus motus alicuius alterius totius mobilis, quia tunc partes istius motus essent in partibus 35 alterius motus, quod est impossibile Igitur necesse est quod motus congregatus ex partium motibus sit motus totius mobilis



31. Cambridge, University Library MS Ii 2 10, f. 34r

To gain a further understanding of the text, the user has placed Type II-PS (Paraphrased Summation) notes in the lower margins of several main texts throughout the manuscript. The user has lined the folios to give the notes the format of a table, in which short summary notes on the main text are made. Notes 1B and C

occur in the lower margin of book six, part 6 of *De Physica* on whether everything that changes changes in time, 'quoniam autem omne quod mutatur in tempore mutatur'. These are typical short summary notes made by the user, and demonstrate how he engaged with the main text on time and motion.

1B. Classification: Type II-PS, f. 34v

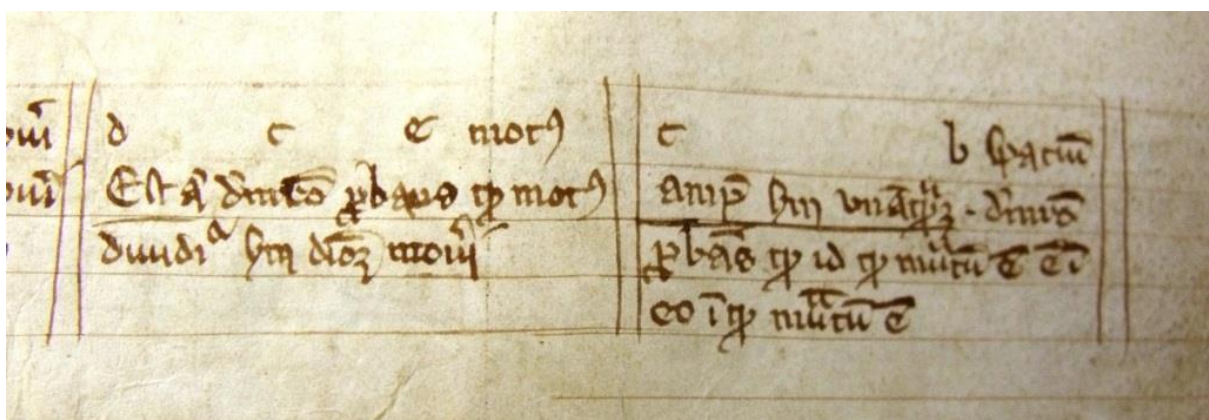
d c e motus

Est autem demonstratio probans quod motus dividatur secundum
divisionem moueri

1C. Classification: Type II-PS, f. 34v

c b spatium

Amplius secundum unamquamque demonstratio probans quod id
quod mutatum est est in eo in quod mutatum est.



32. Cambridge, University Library MS Ii 2 10, f. 34v

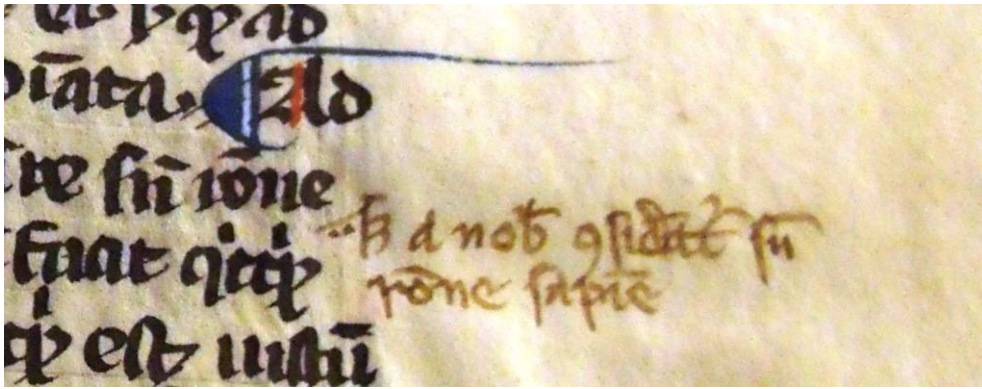
User notes also appear in thirteenth-century philosophical and natural science works, showing that these manuscripts were consulted as working reference texts in the same manner as the Latin translations of Aristotle's original texts. Manuscripts such as Oxford, Balliol College MS 48 were consulted by users to prepare materials for university classroom exercises. MS 48 contains four philosophical commentaries of Aquinas: *Quaestiones disputatae De potentia Dei* (ff. 1r-108r), *De virtutibus* (ff. 108v-161r), *De unione verbi incarnati* (ff. 161v-167r), and *De veritate* (ff. 170r-356r). This manuscript contains several types of user notes, the most common being Type II-EC (Error Correction) marginalia. One standard error correction features in the summary of *De potentia Dei*, q.1, a.5, ad.6 on whether God's power and wisdom are equal.¹²⁷ To complete his work the user required an accurate working reference text, and Note 2A reflects this need as he carefully corrected the works contained in MS 48.

2A. Classification: Type II-EC, f. 6r

Below is the main text with the user correction note inserted:

Ad sextum dicendum, quod potentia Dei nunquam est in re sine ratione sapientie [sed a nobis consideratur sine ratione sapientie].

¹²⁷ Edition used of the commentaries of Thomas Aquinas: *Quaestiones disputatae S. Thomae Aquinatis* (Lugduni: Apud Sebastianum de Honoratis, 1557).



33. Oxford, Balliol College MS 48, f. 6r

As well as checking the manuscript for textual accuracy, the user of MS 48 also inscribed a Type II-UV (User Viewpoint) note in *De potentia Dei* in the margin of q.9, a.5, ad. 2, which debates whether there are several persons in God. After a general search I was unable to identify the text source for this note, therefore it is likely this is an original note composed by the user himself expressing his own views on whether there are three or less persons in God. The complexity of the user's work reflects the high intellectual level that Paris scholars such as this anonymous user operated at. MS 48's user was most likely English, as evidenced by the early fourteenth-century Anglicana cursive script in which the note was written.

2B. Classification: Type II-UV, f. 93r

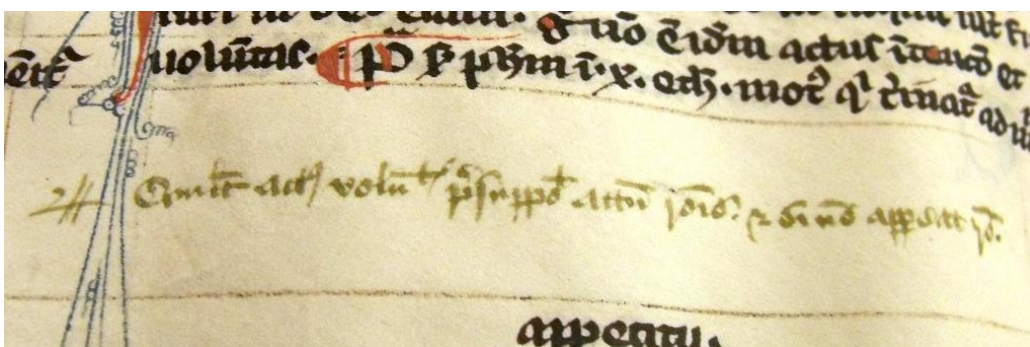
Nota quod considerando personas divinas secundum quod sunt subsistentes sic maxime distinguuntur sed considerando eas secundum quod sunt relative sic minime distinguuntur pro isto notandum similiter super primum differentiarum articulo secundo in primo ubi

dicit quod secundum rationem distinctionis que attenditur secundum
diversum esse maior esse divino ut inter proprietates abstractas
creaturarum quam inter personas divinas quia calor et sapor
distinguntur sed aliud et aliud esse debet in divinis personis est unum
et idem esse sed secundum perfectiones distinctorum; maior est
distinctio inter personas divinas quam inter creaturas et relationes in
divinis sunt persone subsistentes que sunt proprietates distinguentes
in creatis an proprietates non sunt subsistentes sed inherentes ?

Like Balliol College MS 48, Balliol College MS 49 is a pecia compilation of Thomas Aquinas's commentaries studied as a reference text. This manuscript contains seven works: *Quaestiones disputatae De veritate* (ff. 5r-134v); *De potentia Dei* (ff. 135r-194v); *De malo* (ff. 195r-256v); *De anima* (ff. 257r-278r); *De virtutibus* (ff. 278r-307r); *De unione Verbi incarnati* (ff. 307r-310v); and *De spiritualibus creaturis* (ff. 311r-322v). The majority of user notes found in this text compilation can be classified as Type II-PS (Paraphrased Summation) notes. In *De veritate* the user has marked and summarised a passage from q.22, a.13 that argues that an act of will may not reflect reason. He may have paid special attention to this passage as part of a classroom exercise on this topic.

3A. Classification: Type II-PS, f. 102v

Quilibet actus voluntatis presupponat actum rationis etsi non
appareat ratio

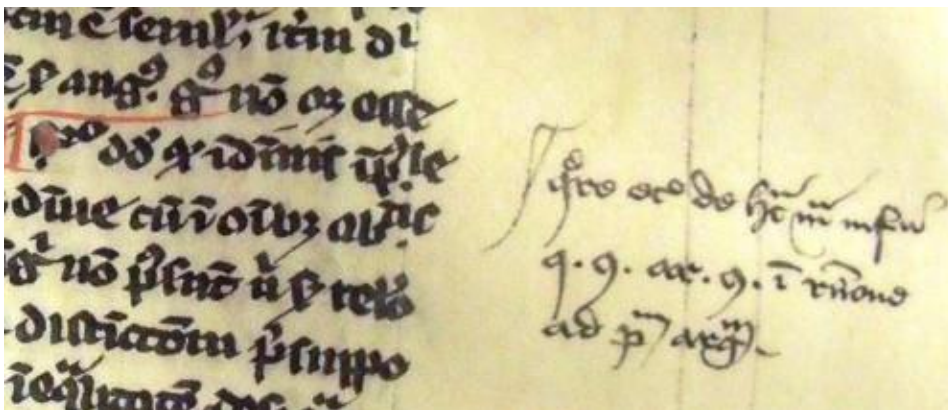


35. Oxford, Balliol College MS 49, f. 102v

A second type of user marginalia occurs in Note 3B below the response of *De potentia Dei*, q.2, a.4 which debates whether there could be several Sons in God. This Type II-CRM (Cross-Reference Mark) user note is a reference to q.9, a.9 of the same text. This article examines the number of persons in God, and the user then notes argument 1, that discusses the divine persons in terms of essence, subsistence, and hypostasis. Like Balliol College MS 48, the user of MS 49 also researched the topic of the number of persons in God.

3B. Classification: Type II-CRM, f. 141r

Quere etiam de hac materia inferius q. 9. ar. 9 in responsione ad primum argumentum



36. Oxford, Balliol College MS 49, f. 141r

Although users ofpecia copies were concerned with textual accuracy, the compilation of Balliol College MS 49 also has textual problems: correct text and text lost. The first work of the compilation, *De veritate* (ff.5r-134v), has two missing

quires. This is clear as on both f. 100v and f. 110v the catchwords do not match the opening words of the following pages. Therefore the collation of the text can be stated as: 1¹²-8¹² (ff. 1- 100v). Quire missing between 8 and 9. 9¹⁰ (ff. 101- 110v). Quire missing between 9 and 10. 10¹⁰ (ff. 111- 120v) 11¹⁴ (ff. 121- 134v). There is no indication of when these quires were lost. The text has been affected due to the missing quires, with two separate missing portions of text from q.20, a.3 to q.22, a.11, and from q.24, a.3 to q.26, a.1. As well as these missing two quires, the manuscript also contains a corrupt piece. The fifth text of the compilation *De virtutibus* (ff. 278r-307r) features a note from the scribe at the end of one piece that it is corrupt. Note 3C is classified as a Type III-PC (Piece Correction) scribal margin note. This is piece number 12 out of a total of 23, the same length as the exemplar featured on the 1304 Paris list. Further error corrections appear in the scribe's hand throughout this piece, including text omission notes such as Note 3D. These scribe notes reflect the high standards of textual accuracy that was needed by the user, and the attempt by the scribe to ensure this accuracy.

3C. Classification: Type III-PC, f. 287r

Ista pecia est falsa et corrupta.

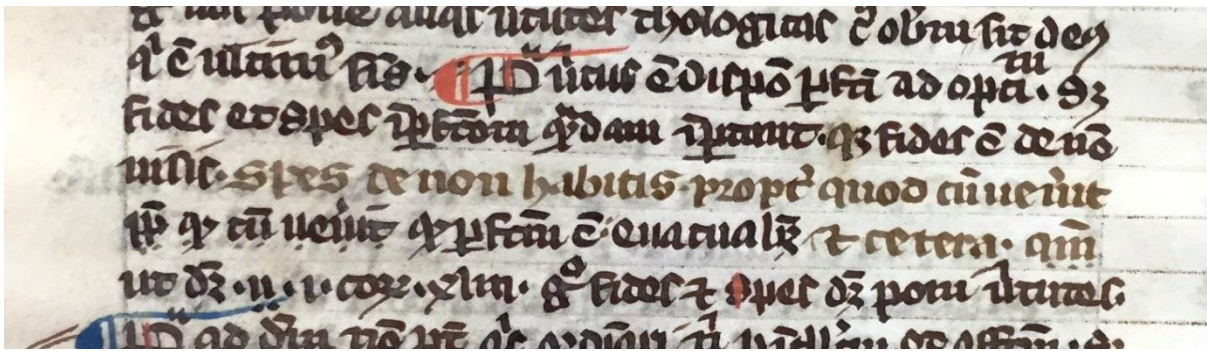


37. Oxford, Balliol College MS 49, f. 287r¹²⁸

¹²⁸The binding of Balliol MS 49 is currently in need of repair and cannot be opened fully. This obscures 'Ista' from camera view.

3D. Classification: Type II-EC (Scribe), f. 286v

Praeterea virtus est dispositio perfecti ad optimum. sed fides et spes imperfectionem quamdam important. quia fides est de non visis [spes de non habitis propter quod cum venerit] quod perfectum est evacuabitur [et cetera] ut dicitur i. Cor. xliii. ergo fides et spes non debent poni virtutes.



38. Oxford, Balliol College MS 49, f. 286v

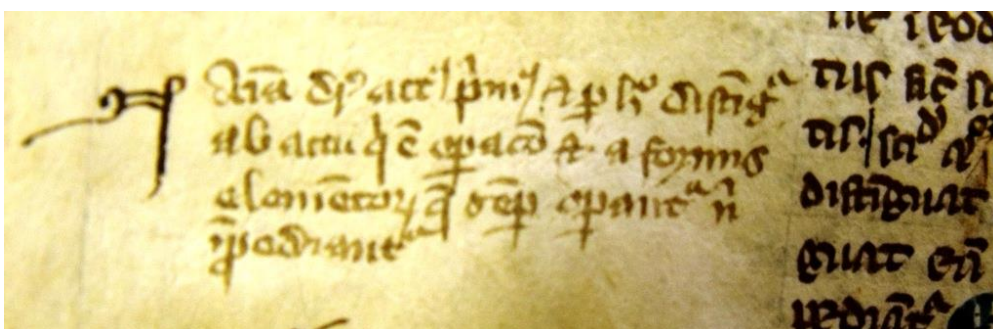
In contrast to Balliol College MSS 48 and 49, Cambridge, Peterhouse MS 143 contains the works of several authors. As well as a compilation of texts by Thomas Aquinas, this manuscript also contains the philosophical works *De iuventute et senectute*, *De morte et vita*, *De causis brevitatis et longitudinis vitae*, and *De motibus animalium* by Peter of Auvergne; *De physiognomia* of William of Aragon; as well as *Sententia super De bona fortuna* of Giles of Rome.¹²⁹ These works certainly travelled

¹²⁹ A complete list of texts within Cambridge, Peterhouse MS 143 may be found in M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Pembroke College, Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1905).

together as they share quires and were most likely copied out by one scribe. There are also user notes in two separate hands in MS 143, suggesting the text was shared or resold between members of the Paris academic community. In the first text of the compilation, the commentary by Thomas Aquinas on Aristotle's *De anima*, one user has commented in the margin of a passage of lib. 2, l. 1 which argues that the primary act of the physical body is to distinguish the soul from the elements. The user has clarified this passage in a Type II-PS note and summarised the passage, stating the soul is called 'primary act' and is distinguished from the elements which are always in operation unless they are impeded.

4A. Classification: Type II-PS, f. 12v

Anima dicitur actus primus et per hoc distinguitur ab actu qui est operatio et a formis elementorum que semper operantur nisi impediuntur



39. Cambridge, Peterhouse MS 143, f. 12v

Further in this passage, the second user paraphrases the concluding argument that states the soul cannot be separated from the corporeal body in Type II-PS Note 4B. This note is written in a particularly illegible early-fourteenth century Anglicana cursive hand, showing that many margin notes are composed for the private use of the manuscript user, rather than for the use of others. Additionally, the difficult subject matter shows the high academic level at which these two users worked.

4B. Classification: Type II-PS, f. 13r

quod partes anime __ __

actus sunt sed ita que

sunt natura ?intellectiva et per

hoc ?videtur quod anima ?superius

tan?tum potest intelligere quan-

tum multum [*for multum read wlt?*]. Videtur hoc

non accipi a philosophia

rationes certe huius tamen

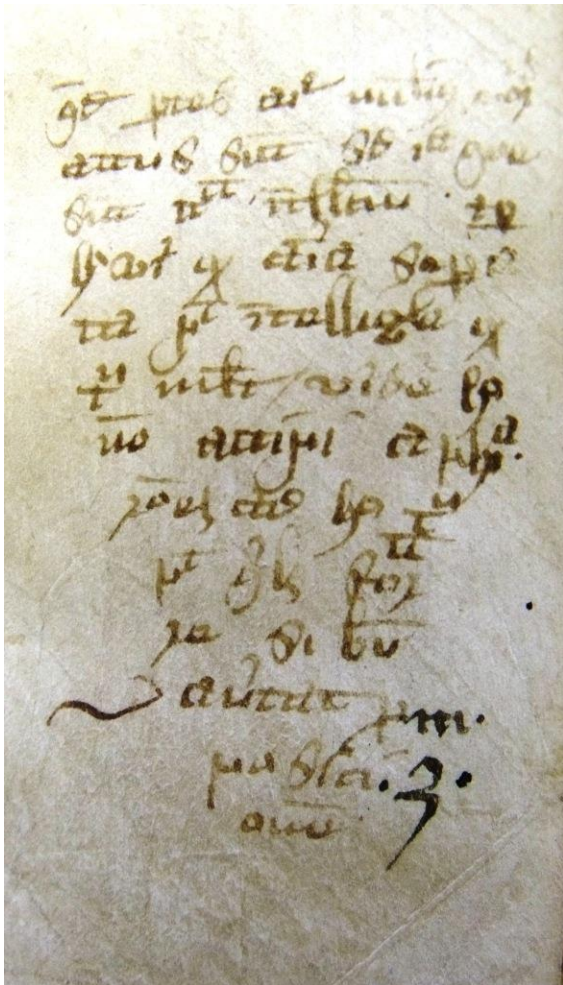
potest quelibet forma-

re si bene

avertat pro

p__ s__

—



40. Cambridge, Peterhouse MS 143, f. 13r

As well as noting passages of a theological nature in *De anima*, the same user also highlights text relating to natural sciences. In lib. 2, l.14 the user is interested in the relationship between colour and light, that is, that colour is not visible to man without light. The user has left a 'nota' symbol beside the passage, and the accompanying note is in the lower margin beneath the main text. Note 4C is listed as a Type II-PS (Paraphrased Summation) note as the user summarises the main passage.

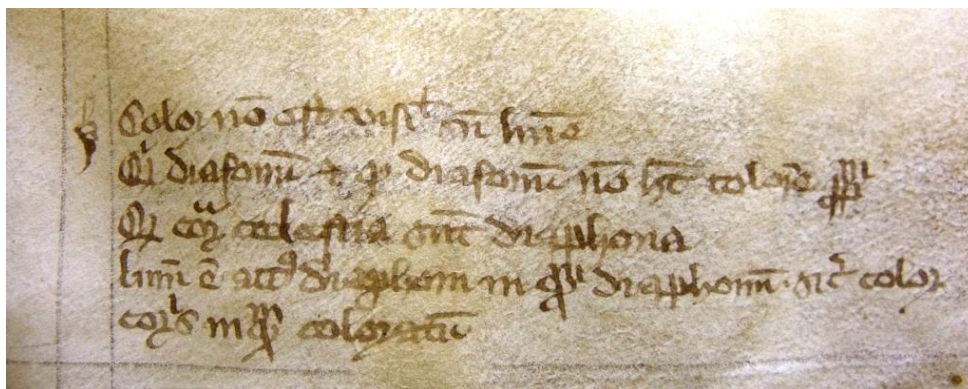
4C. Classification: Type II-PS, f. 21r

Color non est visibilis sine lumine

Quid diaphonum et quod diaphonum non habet colorum proprium

Quod corpora celestia sunt diaphona

Lumen est actus diaphonum in quantum diaphonum sicut color
corporis in quantum coloratum



41. Cambridge, Peterhouse MS 143, f. 21r

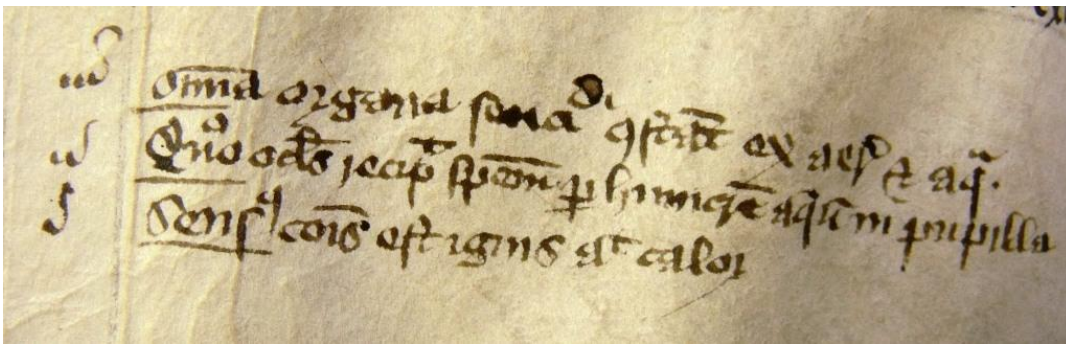
In lib. 3, l.1 of the same text the user also marks and notes a passage relating to the human senses and their elemental composition. The user has composed a list of three topics in Note 4D in the margin below the main text: firstly, that the organs of the senses are composed of air and water; second, how the eye receives sight through the water humour with the pupil; third, discusses the sense of fire or heat. Note 4D is classified as Type II-FE (Further Enquiry) marginalia because the user highlights passages that he may have researched further in his coursework.

4D. Classification: Type II-FE, f. 28v

iii Omnia organa sentiendi constant ex aere et aqua.

ii Quomodo oculus recipit speciem per humorem aqueum in pupilla

i Sensus communis est ignis aut calor



42. Cambridge, Peterhouse MS 143, f. 28v

A great number of themes and topics are present in texts of philosophy and natural science, as seen in the manuscripts discussed above. The Latin translations of Aristotle's works influenced medieval theologians and arts masters at Paris in their studies and inspired them to create new commentaries and works based on Aristotle's ideas. The user marginalia examined in this chapter appeared in several forms, most notably Type II-PS (Paraphrased Summation). The paraphrased summation note demonstrates a text user's ability to clarify a passage of particular difficulty. The frequency of passage clarification notes in philosophical works show that these users were advanced scholars at the University of Paris and capable of

engaging with complex arguments on such topics as the number of persons in God to the elements of the human senses, as well as delivering clear and concise research on these themes. Users' research was further accomplished by comparing the main text to related separate works as seen in Cambridge University Library, MS li 2 10, Note 1A; locating related themes within the main text by cross-referencing, demonstrated in Balliol College MS 49, Note 3B; as well as ensuring the textual accuracy of the main text in Balliol College MS 48, Note 2A and MS 49, Note 3D. The marginalia present in these manuscripts present an overall picture of an elite community of academics studying at Paris in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Small numbers of the university's elite scholars continued their studies after their arts degree to undertake a degree in theology, which included the close examination of the Scriptures and related biblical reference tools as looked at next in Chapter 4.

Chapter 4:

Biblical reference aids

I. The study of the Bible in the thirteenth century

The Bible underwent a dramatic change at Paris in form and function from the late twelfth to the early thirteenth century as the text was adapted for the needs of scholars and preachers present at the university. Before the thirteenth century the Bible was generally organised into large, separate volumes designed for display on the Church altar or in the monastery refectory. These books were composed in an oversized, well-spaced script, reflecting the fact that they were intended for public reading as well as private study.¹³⁰ The content of the text also varied, as the order of Bible books was not uniform. Twelfth-century biblical scholars regarded the Scriptures as a collection of separate texts, which could be read in any order.¹³¹ These were the typical characteristics of Bible manuscripts until the late twelfth century. The format of the Bible changed dramatically in Paris between the period 1200- 1230, when the complete text was put into a single volume. Manuscripts featured red- and blue-inked initials and chapter numbers to divide the text into separate sections, and also featured title headings at the tops of folios. To reflect the smaller size of the

¹³⁰ For more detail on the monastic Bible, see L. Light, 'French Bibles c.1200-30: a new look at the origin of the Paris Bible', *The History of the Book in the West: 400AD-1455*, J. Roberts and P. Robinson, (eds.) (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2010) pp. 247-268.

¹³¹ C. de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts* (London: Phaidon, 2006) p. 118.

manuscript, the folio parchment was generally thinner and the text was written in a small, heavily abbreviated script. Most importantly, the order of the Scriptures was now standardised into a format essentially that of the modern Bible. This text order may reflect the sequence in which the Paris schoolmen composed biblical commentaries. Smalley suggests that the first of the schoolmen to compose a commentary in the new order was Stephen Langton, who lectured on the Bible at Paris from the 1180s to 1206.¹³² The new changes to the format of the Bible not only reflected the needs of the classroom, but also the growing preaching movement that developed during the thirteenth century. The single volume text in systematic order acted as a portable and practical reference tool for biblical scholars and preachers composing sermons.

However, these scholars did not of course study the Bible on its own and also relied on the use of reference aids to complete their work. One such reference aid was the *Glossa ordinaria*, a standard anthology of explanatory notes arranged on either side of the main biblical text, such as the extracts taken from the works of the Church Fathers.¹³³ Although the use of the glossed Bible generally continued to be popular throughout the thirteenth century, there was a gradual shift in the study of theology at Paris from the glosses towards other forms of biblical commentary, such

¹³² B. Smalley, *Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1964) pp. 198-9.

¹³³ L. Smith, *The Glossa Ordinaria: The Making of a Medieval Bible Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 2009) pp. 145-153.

as works by Stephen Langton and the *Postilla* of Hugh of St Cher. Commentaries began life as biblical lectures delivered at Paris by Stephen Langton and his predecessors before being transmitted and circulated as written works.¹³⁴ This practice of in-depth biblical teaching was continued by early thirteenth-century theologians at the university.

The order of texts present on the peccia lists also demonstrates that the Bible was possibly ordered by scholars in conjunction with supporting reference aids. The 1275 list contains the text of the Bible as item 87, followed by various glosses including Job and the Pauline Epistles. The 1304 list reflects the shift towards the use of other reference aids with the Bible listed as item 67, followed by the *Interpretationes nominum hebraicorum* of Stephen Langton (item number 68), the *Expositiones vocabulorum Biblie* and *Expositio prologorum Biblie* of William the Breton (items 69 and 70 respectively), as well as a biblical concordance listed as item number 71. Concordances were extremely useful reference aids to both Bible scholars and preachers, with entries organised alphabetically and containing quotations from the Scriptures. The *postilla* of Hugh of St Cher are not listed on either peccia list, however peccia copies survive of these works.

¹³⁴ B. Roest, 'Mendicant School Exegesis' in *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages: Production, Reception, and Performance in Western Christianity*, S. Boynton and D.J. Reilly (eds.) (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011) pp. 179-204, p.181; P.B. Roberts, *Stephanus de Lingua-Tonante: Studies in the Sermons of Stephen Langton* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1968) p. 97.

II. Evidence of manuscript users

The examination of biblical reference aids and the notes contained within these manuscripts reveals the major use of these texts, that is, as preaching and classroom material at the university in Paris. This is demonstrated through the study of two separate pecea copies of the postilla of Hugh of St Cher; Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 481/477 and Gonville and Caius College MS 297/691. MS 481/477 contains Hugh's commentary on the epistles of St Paul, and the text is written by at least two separate scribes in the typical Textualis Semi-Quadrata hand used at the University of Paris. The user is most likely English as evidenced by his script,¹³⁵ and from examining the contents of the user notes it is most likely that the user consulted this text possibly while engaged in preaching activities. The majority of user marginalia found in MS 481/477 can be categorised as II-FE (Further Enquiry) notes, as the user has responded to the text directly with questions or points of interest raised from his study of the work. These notes occur throughout the manuscript, and Note 1A is a typical example found. Note 1A is located with commentary on Rom. 1:21,¹³⁶ 'For although they knew God, they neither glorified him as God nor gave thanks to him, but their thinking became futile and their foolish hearts were darkened'. The user has placed reference markers at the opening of Hugh's commentary to this quotation, 'aut gratias egerunt, tripliciter. Omnia bona,

¹³⁵ See Appendix 1 for identifying features of English script hands.

¹³⁶ Edition of Hugh's works used: N. Pezzana (ed.), *Postilla Hugonis de Sancto Charo* (Venice, 1703) 8 vols.

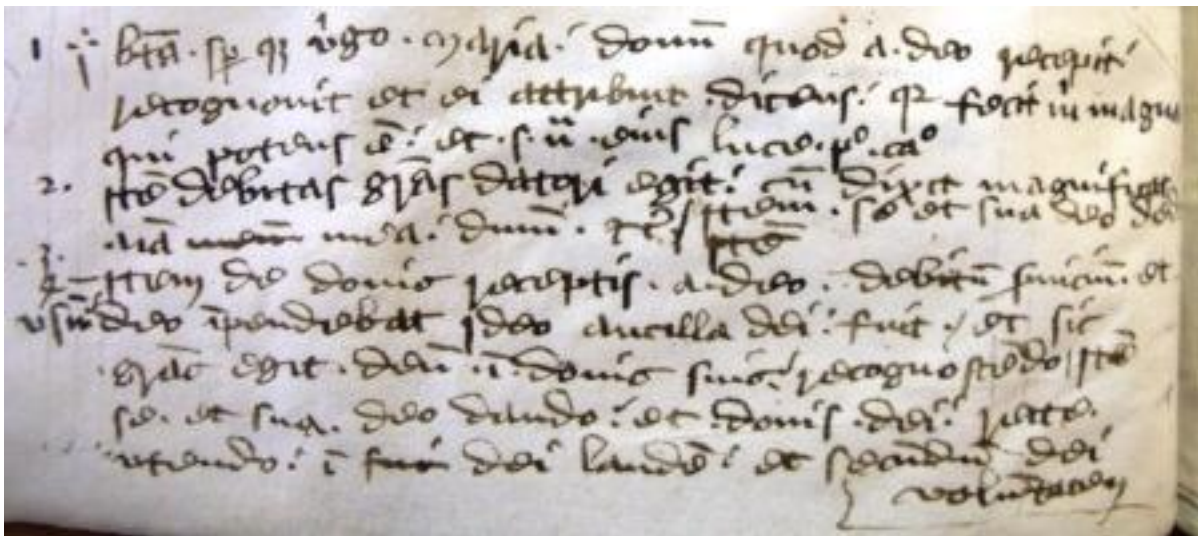
quae habent ei attribuendo.’ This reference marker is then placed in the lower margin below the text to show that the accompanying user note corresponds directly to the marked commentary. Note 1A is divided into sections numbered 1-4 in Arabic numerals, and discusses the topic of the Virgin Mary receiving gifts from God and giving due thanks. The user first notes that she received a gift from God, followed by a quote from Luke 1:48-49, ‘he who is mighty has done great things for me’.

Secondly, the user remarks that the Virgin Mary gave thanks for this gift as she said ‘My soul doth magnify the Lord’, Luke 1:46. Therefore she gave herself to God, the user inserts in his third point. Finally, the user concludes that as she gave due thanks to God for the gifts she received, she was made the handmaiden of God. The list format of Note 1A orders the user’s marginalia into a methodical argument that could potentially be developed for use in a sermon or lecture exercise.

1A. Classification: II-FE, f. 11v

1. [special sign] beata semperque virgo Maria, donum quod a deo recepit recognovit et ei attribuit, dicens, quia fecit mihi magna qui potens est, et scilicet verba eius, Luce primo capitulo.
2. Item debitas gratias datori egit, cum dixit ‘magnificat anima mea [*after correction*] Dominum’, etc.
- 3 || Item se et sua deo dedit
4. Item de donis receptis a deo debitum servitium, et usum deo

impendebat. Ideo ancilla dei fuit. Et sic gratias egit deum in donis suis recognoscendo. Item se et sua deo dando, et donis dei recte utendo, in dei [after correction] laudem, et secundum dei voluntatem.



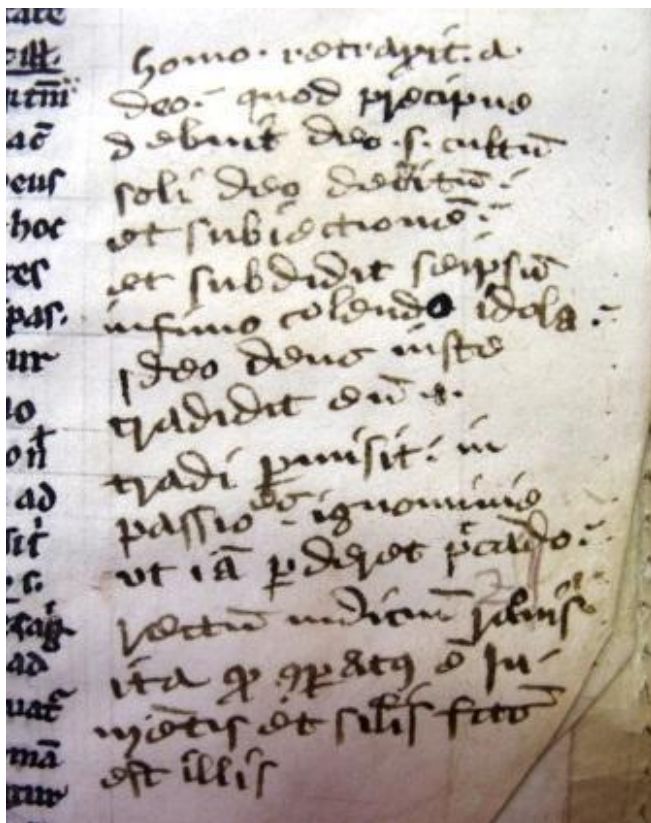
43. Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 481/477 f. 11v

Similarly, Note 1B from MS 481/477 was most likely composed in the preparation of a sermon. However, this note is categorised as II-PS (Paraphrased Summation), paraphrasing a passage of Hugh’s commentary. Note 1B is located in the side margin of Hugh’s commentary on Rom. 1:25-26, ‘They changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed forever. For this cause God gave them up unto vile affections: for even their women changed the natural use into that which is against nature.’ The user has focused on Hugh’s study of the phrase ‘tradidit illos [Deus] in passiones ignominie’,

where he argues that God was justified in His actions for giving the people vile affections, because they practised idolatry and had placed themselves above all other creatures. The user summarises this passage in Note 1B, and may have been included in a sermon or lecture notes on the theme of idolatry.

1B. Classification: II-FE, f. 12r

homo retraxit a deo, quod precipue debuit deo, scilicet cultum soli deo debitum et subiectionem et et subdidit seipsum infimo colendo idola. ideo deus iuste tradidit eum id est tradi permisit, in passiones ignominie ut iam perderet peccando rectum iudicium rationis/ ita quod comparatus est iumentis et similis factus est illis.

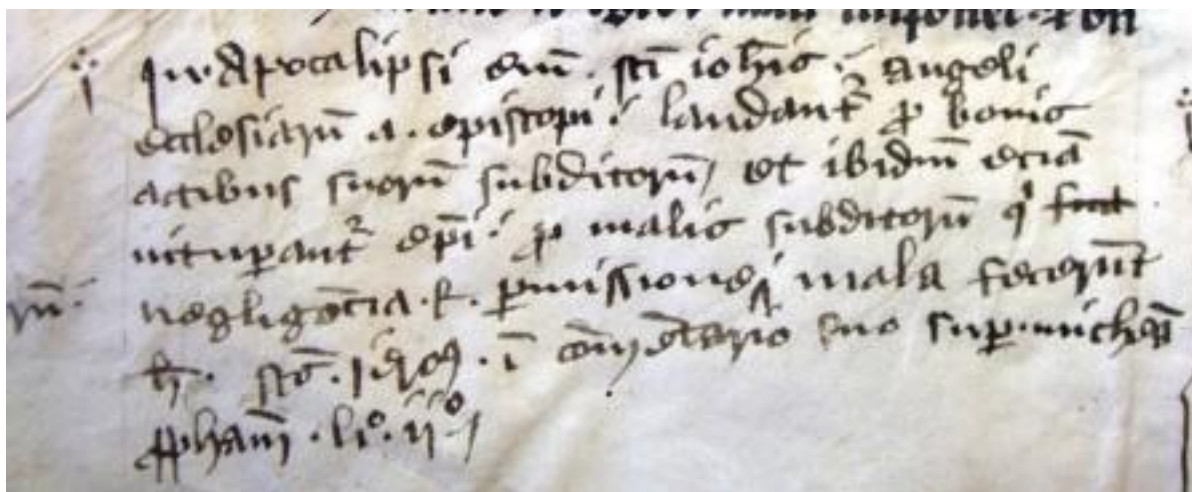


A third type of user marginalia is also found in MS 481/477, shown in Note 1C. This is a Type II-AT (Additional Text) note, and the user has placed additional text in the lower margin below Hugh's commentary on 1 Tim 5:22, 'Lay hands hastily on no man, neither be partaker of other men's sins. Keep thyself pure.' The user has marked the following passage with a special sign, 'unde et dominus multum probavit Petrum, antequam navem Ecclesie ei committeret'. The special sign is again placed in the margin and accompanied by the user's note. The user references Rev 1:20- 2:2, and writes that the angels of the Church represent bishops, who are praised for the good deeds of their subjects. But at the same time they are reproached for the bad deeds for their subjects, as these deeds were committed because of the bishops' neglect. He then references Mic 2, which criticises the corrupted rich and powerful. In this example the user has consulted two separate biblical passages on the topic of the pastoral care, and likely composed this note while preparing a sermon or classroom exercise on the same subject.

1C. Classification: II-AT, f. 185v

[special sign] In Apocalipsi enim sancti Iohannis, angeli ecclesiarum id est episcopi, laudantur pro bonis actibus suorum subditorum et ibidem etiam vituperantur episcopi, pro malis subditorum qui [*deletion follows*] negligentia vel permissione episcoporum [*inserted as correction*] mala

fecerunt Hec sanctus Ieronimus in commentario suo super Micheam
Prophetarum libro ii^o

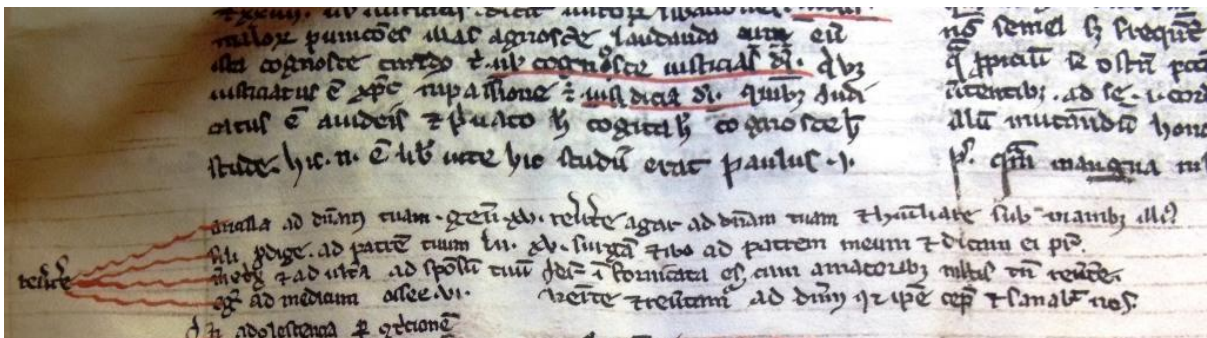
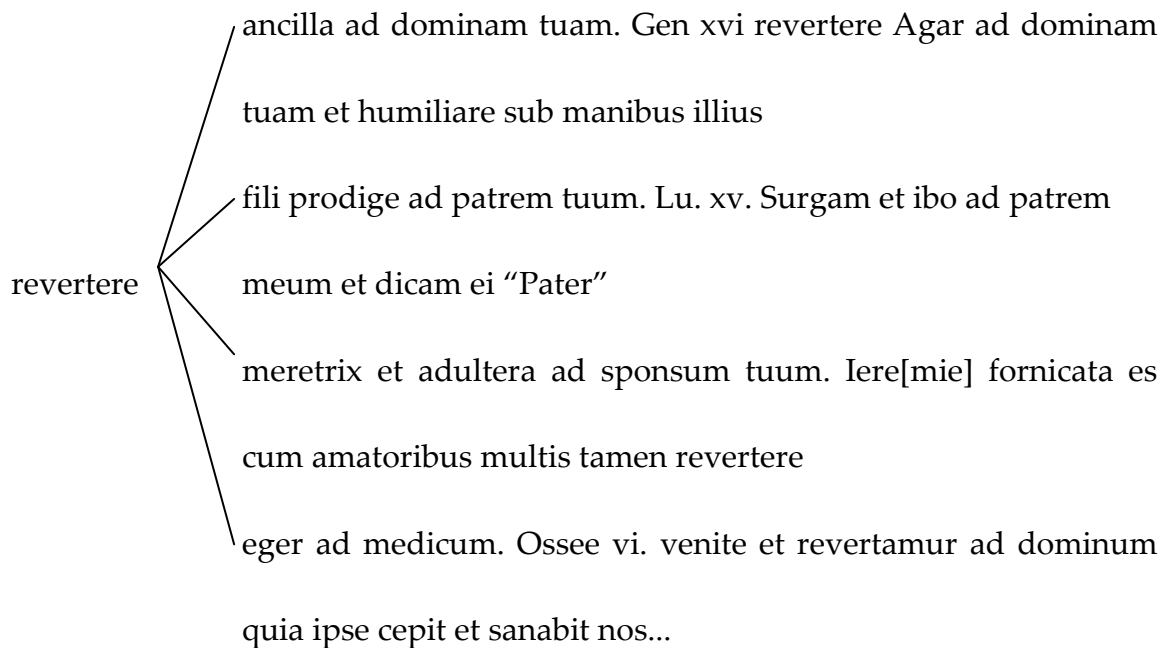


45. Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 481/477 f. 185v

Notes 1A- 1C demonstrate that MS 481/477 was most likely used as a university lecture and preaching aid. This can also be seen in the notes of Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 297/691, which contains five of Hugh's postilla commentary texts: *Proverbiorum*, *Ecclesiastem*, *Ecclesiasticum*, *Sapientiae*, and *Cantica canticorum*. An English scribe copied this work as seen in the English Gothic book script used, and the manuscript's marginal notes are also completed by the same scribe. The most commonly found notes in this manuscript are Type II-AT (Additional Text) notes, composed by the scribe. These notes are distinctiones, that is, keywords accompanied by biblical quotations that act as definitions of the

keyword.¹³⁷ The presence of distinctiones in the manuscript is a clear indication that it was used as a preaching aid, as distinctiones were common reference tools used in the composition of a sermon. One standard distinction entry is Note 2A. This note occurs in the margin of Hugh's commentary on Eccles 17:19-24, that God allows those who truly repent of their sins to return. Note 2A examines the verb 'revertere', which relates to this passage. There are four biblical quotations listed as relating to this word, beginning with Gen 16:9, 'Return to thy mistress and submit thyself under her hands. '; Luke 15:18, 'I will arise and go to my father, and will say unto him, "Father, I have sinned against heaven, and before thee"; Jer. 3:1, 'thou hast played the harlot with many lovers; yet return again to me, saith the Lord'. These three entries feature characters that have repented for their actions, Hagar the handmaiden, the wasteful son, and the adulteress; in which all received forgiveness from God by allowing them to return to their rightful homes. The final entry listed is from Hosea 6:1-2, 'Come, and let us return unto the Lord' etc. It is interesting that the scribe wrote in an English hand, showing two possibilities: that the user hired an English scribe to complete the text, or that an English user copied out the text himself.

¹³⁷ Rouse and Rouse, *Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts*, pp. 222-24.



46. Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 297/691

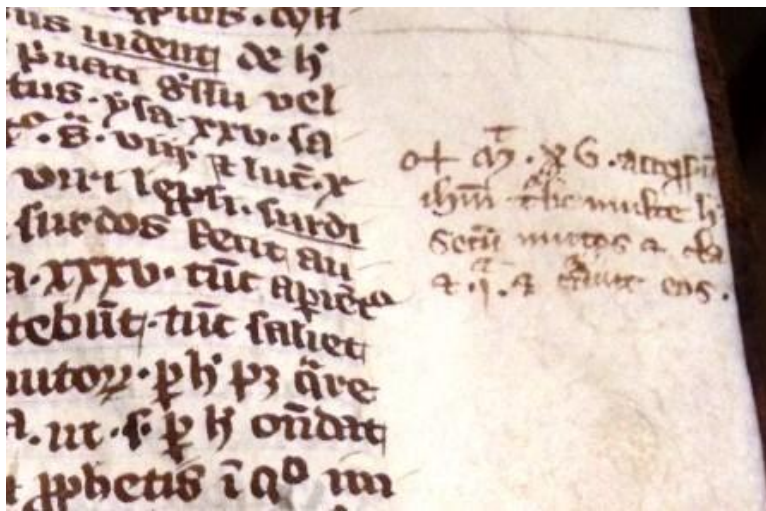
Like the works of Hugh of St Cher, the Bible commentaries of Nicolas de Gorran could also have been used as lecture and preaching aids. This is seen in the user evidence of Oxford, Merton College MS 170. This manuscript is a standard pecia copy of *Postilla super Matthaeum* and *super Lucam* by Nicolas. The two texts were copied by separate scribes, yet they most likely travelled together as they

¹³⁸ There are no librarian pagination numbers present in manuscript, therefore the note must be found by textual examination.

contain notes from the same user in a late thirteenth-century Anglicana hand. Notes 3A and 3B are both Type II-AT (Additional Text) notes, additional biblical quotations added by the user. Note 3A links to Nicolas's commentary on Matt. 11:5 'claudi ambulat', when Christ cures the lame and they walk again. The user has added the additional reference to Matt. 15:30, 'Great multitudes came to Jesus, having with them those that were lame and dumb and others, and he healed them.' The keyword of interest in this passage for the user is 'claudus', a topic on which he could have been compiling a sermon or lecture commentary. The user has also mistakenly referenced the passage as being from Matt. 16. Note 3B examines the keyword of 'evangelizare', and may also have been the topic of a preaching or classroom exercise. Note 3B features in the margin of Nicolas's commentary on Matt, 11:5, 'evangelizantur', that is, when the poor have the gospel preached to them. The user has added an additional quotation from Luke 4:18, '[God] hath appointed me to preach to the poor'. In both notes the user has identified keywords of interest, 'claudus' and 'evangelizare', and located additional Scriptural references on these topics. In order to do this, the user may have used a Bible concordance in conjunction with the Scriptural commentary.

3A. Classification: II-AT, f.37r

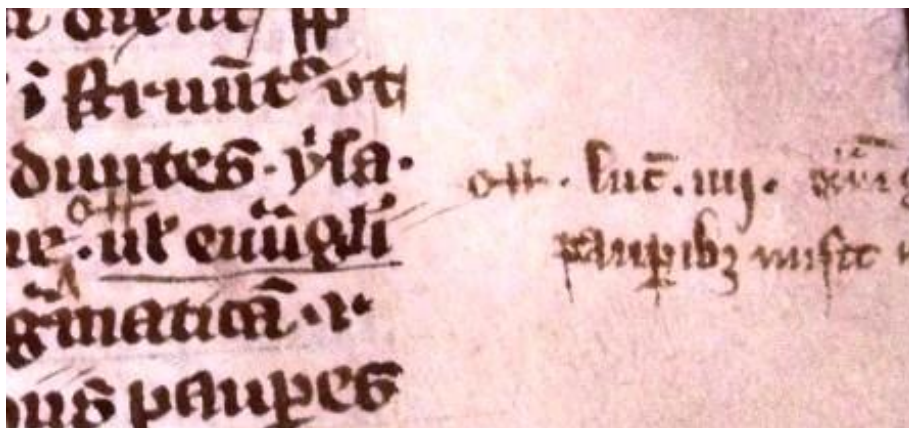
[special sign] Mt. 16 [*ms* X6]. accesserunt [ad] Jesum turbe multe
h[abentes] secum mutos et claudos et ___ et curavit eos



47. Oxford, Merton College MS 170, f. 37r

3B. Classification: II-AT, f. 37r

[special sign] Luc. iiii. evang[elizare] pauperibus misit m[e]



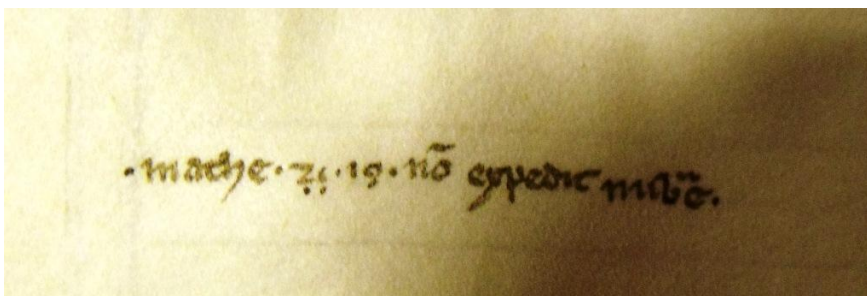
48. Oxford, Merton College MS 170, f. 37r

Bible concordances can be described as research databases used by scholars and preachers. These works feature every non-trivial word that appears in the Bible and entries are organised alphabetically for ease of use to the reader. Each entry

contains Scriptural quotations that feature the entry word. The most common form of user notes found in these texts is Type II-AT (Additional Text) marginalia, containing further entries and biblical quotations. Examples of these notes appear throughout the main text of Paris, BNF Lat. 515, a standardpecia copy of the Bible concordance that appears on both pecia lists as item number 23 (1275) and 71 (1304). Notes 4A- 4C are typical examples of this Type II-AT marginalia. Note 4A is an additional biblical quotation to the keyword 'expeditus', 'it is not good to marry' from Matt. 19:10. Note 4B occurs in the margin underneath the keyword 'expensa' and is a keyword entry for 'expoliare' written by the user as it does not feature in the main text. This entry only contains one biblical quotation, from 2 Cor. 5:4, 'being burdened'. Like Note 4A, 4C is also an additional quotation. Beside the entry 'lacrimari' the user has copied an extract from Heb. 12:17, 'for he found no place of repentance, though he sought it carefully with tears'. These entries could have been included in sermons or lecture notes prepared by the user.

4A. Classification: II-AT, f. 152v

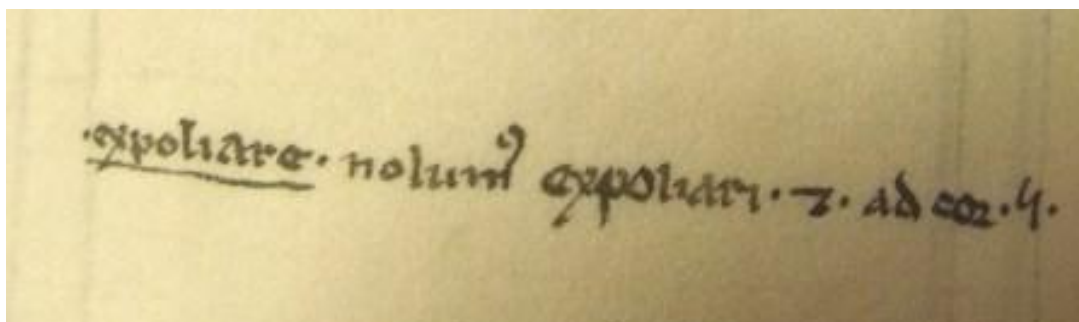
.Mathe. 19. [corrected from 21] non expedit nubere.



49. Paris, BNF MS lat. 515, f. 152v

4B. Classification: II-AT, f. 152v

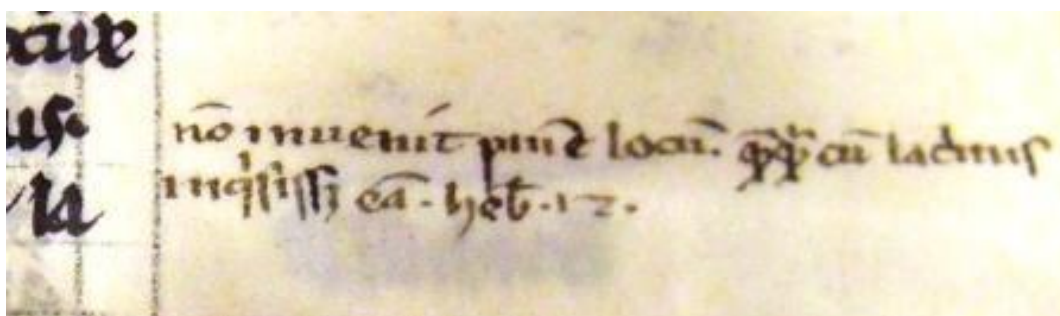
expoliare. nolum^{us} expoliari. 2. ad cor. 5.



50. Paris, BNF MS lat. 515, f. 152v

4C. Classification: II-AT, f. 241r

non enim invenit penitentie locum quamquam cum lacrimis inquisisset
eam. Hebreos. 12.



51. Paris, BNF MS lat. 515, f. 241r

Further evidence that the user of MS 515 likely engaged in preaching activities or composed lecture notes on preaching can be seen in Note 4D. This differs from the standard marginalia present in the text and can be classified as Type II-FE

(Further Enquiry). This note is evidence that the user was most likely composing a sermon on the topic of 'semen', or seed. Written in list form, the note is divided into three sections under separate headings. In the first section the user explains he wishes to interpret the meaning of 'semen' in three ways: historically, allegorically, and morally. To do this, he has selected quotations from the main passage on the entry 'semen' to examine and listed them a-d. Quotation A refers to Gen. 1 in which the term seed occurs at 1:11, 1:12, and 1:29, 'I have given you every herb bearing seed...which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed'. The user has written 'allegorice' in quote B and 'cecus' in a reference to Gal. 3:1 in which the Galatians are chastised for not seeing a portrayal of Christ crucified. Quote C contains a reference to Isa. 61:9, with preachers described as the seed that is blessed by the Lord. The user has written 'apostolicus' beside this reference, thus he may have applied this quote to a description of the apostles. The next reference in quote D is also from Isaiah, with the user referencing Isa. 65¹³⁹ (65:9, 23), 'for they are the seed of the blessed of the Lord' (65:23) to possibly describe the faithful people, as the user has written 'fidelis populus' beside the reference. Quotations E-H are listed under the second heading of moral, with two interpretations, good and bad. This heading is classified as E, with the next Scriptural quotation contained in item F. The user has intended to discuss carnality, 'carnalitatis', with the reference Dan. 13:56 carrying the message

¹³⁹ The user has written Isa. 64 in Arabic numerals, yet this chapter does not contain any variants on 'semen', so it is most likely this was an error and Isa. 65 was the intended reference.

that lust will lead Man's heart astray. Item G is similarly themed, with the user discussing passion, 'cupiditatis', in relation to Job 4:8, 'they that plough iniquity, and sow wickedness, will reap the same'. For the final quotation H the user has paired the term emptiness, 'vanitatis', with the reference Hos. 8:7, 'for they have sown the wind, and they shall reap the whirlwind: it hath no stalk; the bud shall yield no meal'. The third and last section of the user's note lists quotes N-P under the heading of the good seed, 'de bono semine'. Quotation N refers to 2 Cor. 9:10, 'he which soweth bountifully shall reap also bountifully... Now he that ministereth seed to the sower both minister bread for your food, and multiply your seed sown, and increase the fruits of your righteousness'. Item O contains two quotations, the first is Matt. 13 (13:19, 20, 22, 23) that features the parable of the sower: 'But he that received seed into the good ground is he that heareth the word, and understandeth it' (13:23). The second reference of item O is possibly to Isa. 24:15, 'Therefore in the east give glory to the Lord, the God of Israel, in the islands of the sea'. The final quotation of the note is P, containing the reference Gal. 6:8, 'For he that soweth to his flesh shall of the flesh reap corruption; but he that soweth to the Spirit shall of the Spirit reap life everlasting.' Note 4D is clearly structured and carefully planned, suggesting that it may be the user's plan for a sermon or classroom exercise. Thus the user's work would open with historical and allegorical interpretations of the keyword of seed; followed by the moral discussion of the good and bad seeds; and ending with an argument emphasising the good seed.

4D. Classification II-FE, f. 438v

¶ semen accipitur tripliciter in scriptura .scilicet.

historice. allegorice. et moraliter.

.a. de primo. Gen. I.

.b. allegorice. tripliciter .s. Christus. Galat'.3. cecus

.c. apostolicus. Isa. 61. fidelis populus. Isa. 64. d.

.e. ¶ moraliter. dupliciter. s. malum. et bonum. de malo. Ps.

.f. et hoc est triplex. s. carnalitatis. Dan.13.

.g. cupiditatis. Job. 4.

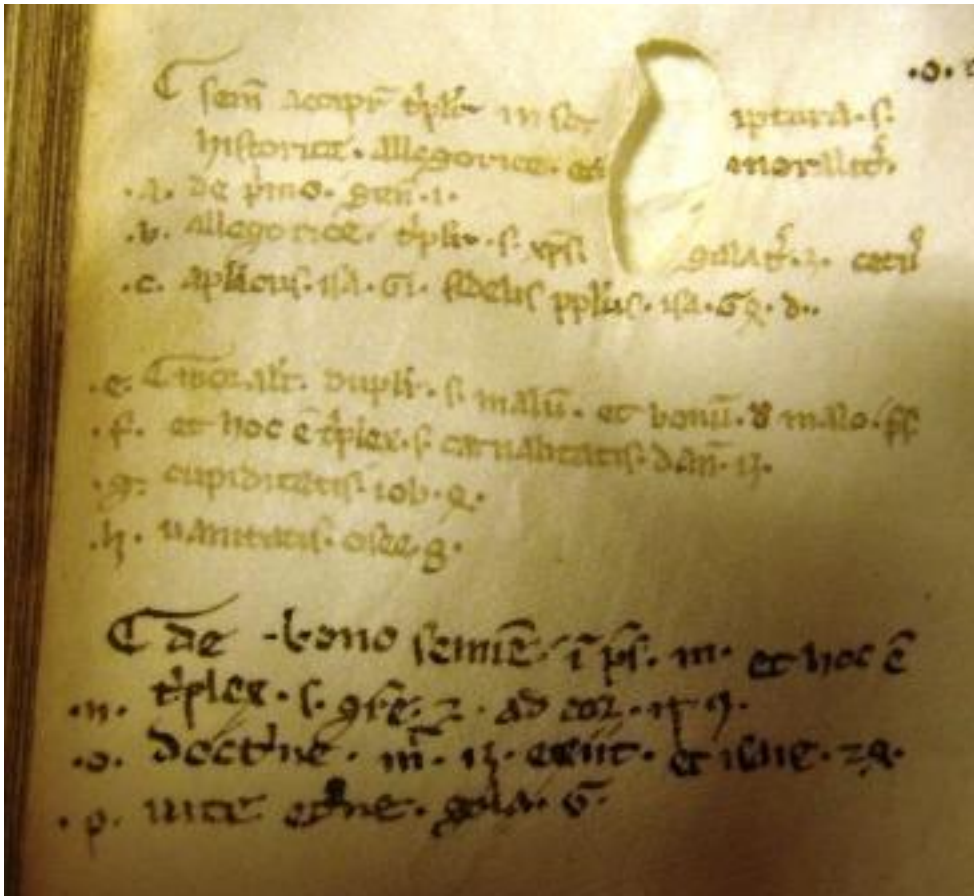
.h. vanitatis. Osee 8.

¶ de bono semine. in Ps. m. et hoc est

.n. triplex. s. gratie. 2. ad Cor. 2 9.

.o. doctrine. Mt. 13. exiit. et Isaie. 24.

.p. vite eterne. Gala. 6



52. Paris, BNF MS lat. 515, f. 438v

Biblical reference aids served an important function for members of the academic community involved in classroom and preaching activities at Paris. The marginalia found in Hugh of St Cher's commentary in Gonville and Caius College MS 481/477 demonstrates that this work was used most likely by a member of the university. His notes are evidence of the nature of his work, structuring logical theological arguments supported by interpretations of the Scriptures. The users of Gonville and Caius College MS 297/691 and Merton College MS 170 also composed similar coursework exercises and sermons. These works, including the Bible concordance of BNF MS lat. 515, show that manuscript users selected subjects of

interest to be used as themes of their work, with composed notes also featuring related biblical quotations. These texts functioned as university textbooks and preaching aids, demonstrating the equal importance played by the activities of *lectio* and *predicatio* in the Paris faculty of theology. Chapter 5 explores the role of preaching at the university in further detail and the use of sermon collections by the academic and cultural communities of the city.

Chapter 5:

Sermon Collections

I. Preaching and the University of Paris

Thepecia system played a unique role in a major network within the cultural community of Paris during the thirteenth century, that is, the network of the preachers. The Church had a regular need for a highly educated and trained clergy, and as the university at this time was a major centre for the study of theology, it naturally developed as a place of instruction for preachers. There was no formal training in preaching, yet Wei writes that 'preaching was...an enduring feature of university life'.¹⁴⁰ As well as teaching and disputation, masters such as Stephen Langton were aware that training men to preach was part of their charge: 'it is the master's duty...to incite his promising pupils to preach'.¹⁴¹ It was common practice for both the Franciscan and Dominican Orders to select academically gifted friars from across Europe for a period of study at the University of Paris.¹⁴² Friars were generally not expected to study towards a full degree; rather they stayed at the

¹⁴⁰ Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris*, p. 107.

¹⁴¹ R.H. Rouse and M.A. Rouse, *Preacher, Florilegia and Sermons: Studies on the Manipulus Florum of Thomas of Ireland* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1979) p. 50.

¹⁴² d'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, p. 133.

university for a short period of three to four years. Only a minority of top students were chosen to follow the theology course for longer.¹⁴³

Thus by the thirteenth century preaching itself was an established practice. What was refined during this period was the formation of sermons, and the development of the tools for doing so. From the mid-thirteenth century onwards specialised textbooks such as model sermon collections were produced on a prolific scale for the purpose of aiding the preacher in the formation and writing of his sermon. The majority of model sermon collections were organised in liturgical order, with smaller numbers of texts arranged in various forms such as chronological order; ordered by type of audience, i.e. nobles, clerics, merchants, etc; order of the Scriptures; or occasionally no obvious order at all.¹⁴⁴ The *Summa sermonum* of Guy d'Évreux is in liturgical order, but also contains useful reference tables that enable the user to search for a particular sermon by themes and feast days. Sermons in these collections could be read directly by the clergy to the laity,¹⁴⁵ yet these texts were also

¹⁴³ d'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, p. 135.

¹⁴⁴ L.-J. Bataillon, 'Approaches to the study of medieval sermons', *La prédication au XIII^e siècle en France et Italie* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1993) pp. 19-30, pp. 19-20.

¹⁴⁵ Sermon collections are generally in Latin, thus they could be read directly for a Latin service. However, preachers also routinely translated the text or paraphrased from it to deliver sermons in the vernacular. Commonly, sermons for lay audiences were delivered in French in Paris but written down in Latin, so that the preacher could translate them into any vernacular language in Europe. See Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris*, p. 236; N. Bériou, *L'avènement des maîtres de la parole. La*

used as frameworks for preachers to build on and used in conjunction with other preaching aids such as distinction collections, biblical reference texts, saints' lives, and florilegia.

Preaching was an integral activity to the university experience, and a large number of model sermon collections feature on the two surviving pecia lists.¹⁴⁶ Two collections of sermons by Guillaume Peyraut are the first works on the 1275 list, *Sermones de dominicis* (Item 97) and *Sermones de sanctis* (Item 98). There are fourteen sermon collections listed in total, including the texts of Gérard de Mailly, Aldobrandino Cavalcanti, and Nicolas de Biard. It is worth noting that these collections feature in the same section of the list as Bible commentaries and the *Legenda aurea*, texts also commonly used as preaching aids. The 1304 list contains several of the same works that are most likely the same exempla mentioned in 1275. For instance, Thomas Brito's *Sermonibus Precinxisti* contains 47 pieces on both the 1275 (Item 100) and 1304 (Item 82) lists. New authors also appear on the 1304 list that were not previously featured, such as Guibert de Tournai and Guy d'Évreux. Nicolas de Gorran's works are listed separately from the rest of the sermon collections in their own section with the heading *Opera fratris Nicolai de Gorham* (Items 39-46). Both pecia lists contain a prominent number of model sermon

prédication à Paris au XIII^e siècle (Paris, 1998) vol. 1, pp.231-8; d'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, pp. 79-80.

¹⁴⁶ d'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, see Appendix 'Preaching and the Pecia System of the Paris University Stationers', pp. 273- 286.

collections, and this is a clear demonstration of preaching's integral role at the University of Paris.

II. Evidence of manuscript users

The examination of sermon collections produced through the pecia system reflects the interrelated nature of preaching and academic study at Paris. This can be seen in the first manuscript examined below, BNF MS lat. 15953. MS 15953 is a compilation of sermon collections likely produced through the pecia system as it contains a Type III-PM (Pecia Mark).¹⁴⁷ This manuscript is of particular importance because the user of this text is identifiable as Pierre de Limoges, a thirteenth-century theologian and preacher at the University of Paris.¹⁴⁸ As well as having composed the scientific treatise and preaching manual *De oculi morali*, Limoges is also known to have preached in the city in 1273 and 1280.¹⁴⁹ BNF lat 15953 is a collection of several sermon collections and postilla composed by anonymous authors and known preachers: Gérard de Mailly, Nicolas de Mans, Walter de Château-Thierry, Eudes de Châteauroux, Guiard de Laon, Guillaume d'Auvergne, Nicolas de Biard, Nicolas de

¹⁴⁷ BNF, MS lat. 15953, f. 134r: 'hic finitur 51^a pe^a de dominicis et ista ultima pecia est corrupta, ut mihi videtur'. This pecia mark and note appears in the margin of the *Sermones de dominicis* of Nicolas de Biard, see Murano (2005) item 674.

¹⁴⁸ For details of Pierre de Limoges, see N. Bériou, 'Pierre de Limoges et la fin des temps' in *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome, Moyen-Age, Temps Modernes* 98 (1986) pp. 65-101, pp. 69-70.

¹⁴⁹ Bériou, 'Pierre de Limoges et la fin des temps', p. 70.

Gorran, Stephen Bourbon, Guibert de Tournai. MS 15953 was owned by Limoges, who donated it as part of a wider collection to the university at the time of his death in 1306.¹⁵⁰ Bériou writes that Limoges copied a series of synodal sermons into this manuscript,¹⁵¹ and Note 1A is representative of the copied sermon notes. This note is a structure plan for a synodal sermon and can be classified as Type II-AT (Additional Text). It first discusses the biblical quotation 'Behold, I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me: and the Lord, whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to his temple' (Mal 3:1). It then provides cross-references to related sermons such as 'We have received, O God, your mercy' (Ps 47:10). These references are excellent demonstrations of the creative process of composing sermons, showing how preachers such as Limoges consulted multiple preaching aid sources while writing.

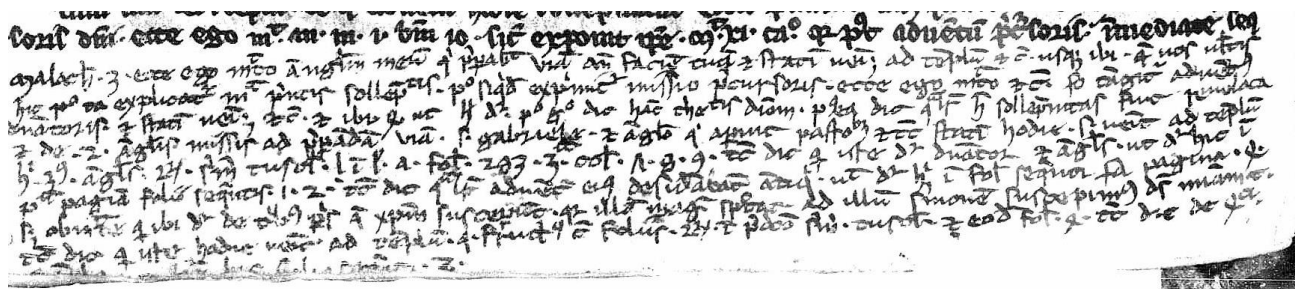
1A. Classification: II-AT/II-CRM, f. 17v

Malach. 3. Ecce ego mitto angelum meum qui preparabit viam ante faciem tuam et statim veniet ad templum etc, usque ibi: etiam vos vultis Hic primo ta [*scribe most likely started to write tangitur*] explicatur materia presentis sollempnitatis. Primo siquidem exprimitur missio precursoris: 'Ecce ego mitto', etc. Secundo tangitur adventus donatoris:

¹⁵⁰ L. Delisle, *Inventaire des manuscrits de la Sorbonne* (Paris, 1870), p. 30.

¹⁵¹ Bériou, *L'avènement des maîtres de la Parole: La prédication à Paris au XIIIe siècle*, p. 92, n. 78.

'et statim veniet', etc. Et ibi 4, ut hic dicitur. Primo ergo dic hanc
charitatis divisionem, postea dic qualiter hec sollempnitas fuit revelata
et de 2 angelis missis ad preparandam viam, scilicet
Gabriele et angelo qui aparuit pastoribus, et tunc statim, hodie scilicet,
venit ad templum. Hic tertius angelus. Require sermones 'Custos I in I.,
fol 283. 3a col. 7, 8, 9. Tunc dic quod iste dicitur dominator et angelus,
ut dicitur hic in prima pagina folii [corrected from folio?] sequentis 1. 2.
Tunc dic qualiter adventum eius desiderabant antiqui, ut dicitur hic in
fol. sequenti secunda pagina. 4 sed obmitte quod ibi dicitur de tribus
personis que Christum susceperunt, quia illud magis spectat ad illum
sermonem 'Suscepimus Deus misericordiam tuam'. Tunc dic quod iste
hodie venit ad templum, quasi fructus cum foliis. Require in predicto
sermone custos et eodem fol. 4 Tunc dic de quadruplici
[remaining words cropped]



53. Paris, BNF MS lat. 15953, f. 17v

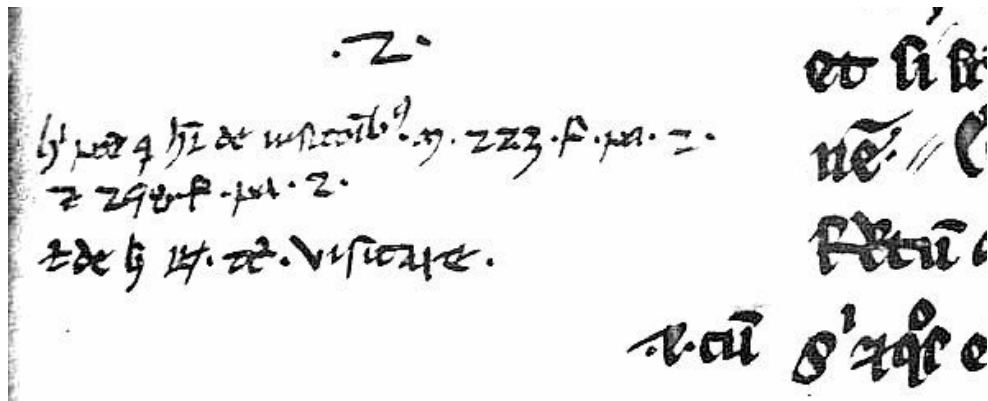
Note 1A is also categorised as Type II-CRM (Cross-Reference Mark) as it contains the folio number, 'fol 283. 3a col. 7, 8, 9', and page locations 'in prima pagina folio sequentis', to find the additional sermon references in the manuscript. MS lat 15953 contains Limoges's own folio numbers, placed in the top margin of the recto side of folios. Another cross-reference occurs in Note 1B, which may also be the structural plan of a synodal sermon by Limoges. He has noted a passage in the main text that explores the theme of God choosing his servants with Scriptural quotations such as John 15:26, 'Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you, and ordained you'. In note 1B Limoges lists two cross-references to related passages, f. 223 and f. 298. The first reference leads to a discussion on priests, deacons and mendicants in relation to the synod (f. 256r); the second references a passage on God choosing wise men as priests (f. 330r). Limoges notes that he is interested in these passages as they relate to the keyword 'visitare'.

1B. Classification: II-CRM, f.323v

Hic pone quod habetur de visitationibus m. 223. f. pa. 2.

et 298 f. pa. 2.

et de hoc require. titulum. visitare.



54. Paris, BNF MS lat. 15953, f. 323v

Notes 1C and 1D are both Limoges's responses to quotations from Lamentations, and the first note can be classified as Type II-AT (Additional Text) marginalia as it most likely quotes an unknown medical text. For Note 1C Limoges has written a remark in the margin of commentary on the quotation 'Jerusalem is a menstruous woman among them' (Lam 1:17). In this note he briefly discusses the myth of Jewish male menses.¹⁵² He writes that the quotation from Lam 1:17 can be used to support the view that Jewish men were struck with a bloody flux in their posteriors and eternal shame. This curse of uncleanness was said to have been bestowed by God as punishment for their sins against Christ.¹⁵³ As well as being

¹⁵² For a detailed study of the myth of Jewish male menses, see A.J. Lepp, 'The Rooster's Egg: Maternal Metaphors and Medieval Men' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Toronto, 2010) and W. Johnson 'The myth of Jewish male menses' in *Journal of Medieval History* 24 (1998) pp. 273-295.

¹⁵³ One of the earliest allusions to this myth is found in the thirteenth-century

cursed physically, Jewish men were also said to have been struck by a perpetual shame or melancholy. Bernard of Gordon writes in his 1303 text *Lilium medicine*: 'Tudei ut plurimum patiuntur fluxum haemorrhoid...Et percussit eos in posteriori dorsi, opprobrium sempiternum dedit illis'.¹⁵⁴ This quote is very like Limoges's note, and therefore he may have consulted an earlier, similar work as a preaching aid. Note 1D continues Limoges's examination of the Jewish male menses myth as he comments on the term 'in opprobrium' (in shame). The keyword features in the main text in the biblical quotation 'The Lord hath caused the solemn feasts and sabbaths to be forgotten in Zion, and hath despised in the indignation of his anger the king and the priest' (Lam 2:6). Here Limoges refers to the scriptural quotation 'Woe unto him that giveth his neighbour drink, that putteth thy bottle to him, and makest him drunken also, that thou mayest look on their nakedness' (Hab 2:15). This section of text from Lamentations (1:17-2:6) describes how Jerusalem became unclean and as punishment God destroyed the tabernacle and places of assembly, material than Limoges could have used in his study or preparation of a particularly colourful synodal sermon.

Dialogue on Miracles of Caesarius of Heisterbach, edition: J. Strange (ed.) *Caesarii Heisterbacensis Dialogus Miraculorum* (Cologne: J.M. Heberle and H. Lempertz and Co., 1851).

¹⁵⁴ *Lilium medicine*, 5.21. Edition: *Editiones Cistercienses* (Rome: 1957-8). See I. Resnick, *Marks of Distinctions: Christian Perceptions of Jews in the High Middle Ages* (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2012) p. 187.

1C. Classification: II-AT, f. 168v

hinc colligitur et confirmatur quod dicitur quod iudei patiuntur fluxum emorroidum. et quia dixerunt sanguis eius super nos. et in ps. percussit inimicos eius in posteriora opprobrium sempiternum dedit eis.

hinc colligitur et confirmatur
quod dicitur quod iudei
patiuntur fluxum emorroidum.
et quia dixerunt sanguis eius
super nos. et in ps. percussit
inimicos eius in posteriora
opprobrium sempiternum dedit
eis.

luta mēbris.
de p. rab. qz
māh sedul
gms effulsi
sual. p. rēti

55. Paris, BNF MS lat. 15953, f. 168v

1D. Classification: II-AT, f. 172r

in opprobrium. ipsi regi. quia accepto potum laxatio turpiter laxatus est coram populo. unde. Abac 2. ve qui potum dat amico mittens fel.

ū qz maxe i uclā cap
i opprobriū qz ad igno
Et idigōm turpis
p nā idigōm uclā

populu. ipsi regi. qz accepto potu laxatio
turpiter laxatus est coram populo. unde. abac 2.
ve qui potum dat amico mittens fel.

56. Paris, BNF MS lat. 15953, f. 172r

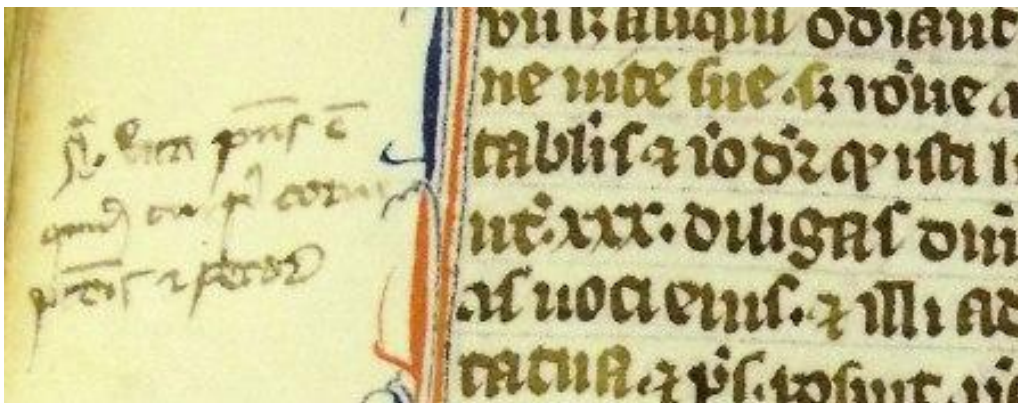
BNF MS lat. 15953 is an interesting manuscript to study as it contains a wide selection of works travelling together. It is clear that Limoges chose these texts as his work focused on the topic of synodal sermons and these works are linked thematically. However, most sermon collections produced through the pecia system generally travel alone as single texts or travel with other works by the same author. This may be due to the popularity of an individual work or author at a given time; or because these works were recommended by masters to students and visiting scholars during their instruction on preaching at the university. The notes to be examined next are from standard pecia manuscripts containing sermon collections and are most likely the work of students or preachers present at the university.

BNF MS Lat. 12428 is a pecia copy of *Summa sermonum* by the Dominican preacher Guy d'Évreux. This is a standard pecia text with a French user, as evidenced by the French cursive script of the notes. MS 12428 contains 105 pieces instead of the 102 pieces as listed on the 1304 pecia list, and is therefore copied from an unknown alternative exemplar. This manuscript is worthy of further examination, to see if it contains any textual differences from pecia copies from the known exemplar. User notes in this manuscript are few, leaving the user's intentions with the text uncertain. Note 2A can be classified as Type II-UV (User Viewpoint), as the user engages with the main text. In the main text, Guy provides commentary on the French quotation 'voient joier de joieuse vie' (we see [how] to take pleasure from a joyous life). In the margin of the main text the user has composed a note and writes

that life at present is indeed a body of corruption and ruin. This can be a note the user has written in a lecture or for the composition of a sermon. This view is most likely an allusion to a biblical reference as the keywords ‘corruptionis’ and ‘perditionis’ frequently feature together in the Scriptures.

2A. Classification: II-UV, f. 260v

Nota vita presens est quidem corpus corruptionis et perdi[tionis]



57. Paris, BNF MS lat 12428, f. 260v

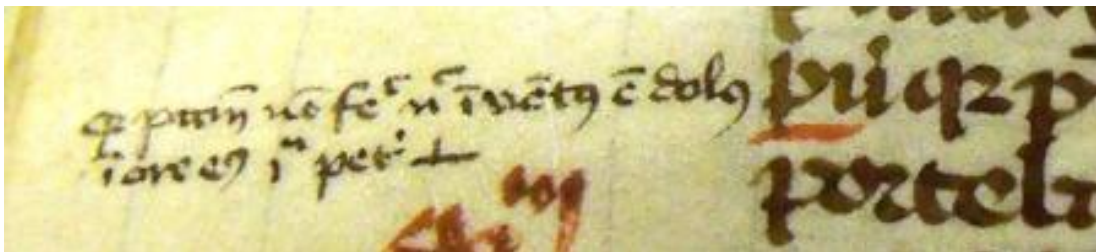
Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Laud Misc. 348 also contains Guy d'Évreux, *Sermo sermonum* (ff. 1--366), and travels with one other work. The second text (ff. 367-390) is most likely an incomplete copy of Nicolas de Biard's sermon collection.¹⁵⁵ This

¹⁵⁵ Opening incipit: 'Suscepimus deus misericordiam tuam' as found in Nicolas de Biard's *Sermo*, the work survives in manuscript form only. See Murano, *Opere diffuse per exemplar e pecia* (2005) items 674-6 for a complete list of pecia copies.

manuscript contains few user notes, but the script used identifies the user as English and therefore possibly a scholar or preacher visiting the University of Paris. One example of the user's work is Note 3A which can be categorised as Type II-AT (Additional Text). Here he copies out a biblical quotation that complements the main text, Guy's commentary on pure blood. The user writes a quotation on Christ from 1 Peter 2:22, 'He committed no sin, and no deceit was found in his mouth'. This note is most likely a preaching or lecture note.

3A. Classification: II-AT, f. 25v

que peccatum non fecit nec inventus est dolus in ore eius, prima Petri



58. Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Laud Misc. 348, f. 25v

MS Laud Misc. 348 also contains highly useful reference tables that feature in a large number of pecia copies of Guy's sermon collection. These tables can be classified as Type II-TC (Tables of Contents), yet they are copied by the scribe as they are included in the main text. These tables are arranged by theme. The first table begins f. 205r and lists saints' and feast days, which are accompanied by text

references to locate the topic in the manuscript. The second table begins on f. 225v and lists keywords of importance that could be used as topics of sermons. The final table begins on f. 227r and contains dates of the liturgical calendar, with each entry accompanied by related text quotations. It is evident that these reference tables were practical to the user as he labelled each entry with an Arabic numeral. The user systematically labelled each individual sermon with an Arabic numeral according to the order in which they appear in the manuscript, and then proceeded to label the related entries in the reference tables. These Arabic numerals also correspond to sermon numbers ascribed to them by Schneyer in *Repertorium*. This would have made the manuscript an efficient reference tool, and suggests that the user was a practising preacher who regularly consulted this manuscript as a preaching aid or study guide.

User notes such as 3A cannot be definitively labelled as either a preaching or classroom exercise, as preaching was an integral part of university life and practised by a large number of the academic community. This means that the exact nature of notes is indistinguishable without further evidence, such as identifying the user of BNF MS 15953 as Pierre de Limoges, a prominent Paris theologian and preacher. Notes 1A- 1D reflect Limoges's research practices and demonstrate how he consulted multiple texts to prepare sermons and connected material thematically on the topic of synods. Limoges collected source material from Scriptures, contemporary sermon collections, as well as texts from other genres as seen in his likely quotation in Note 1C of an unidentified medical text. Preachers such as

Limoges needed access to a wide range of reference material to complete their work, and during this period reference texts were developed that could meet this need by containing quotations from a broad scope of works arranged thematically by keyword to allow ease of use for the reader. One main example of this type of work is the distinction collection, and this genre is studied in further detail in Chapter 6.

Chapter 6:

Distinction Collections

I. Essential reference aids

Distinctions, Latin *distinctiones*, are alphabetised collections of key words and themes that occur in the Scriptures. Each collection differs, yet these entries commonly range from concrete nouns found in the Bible such as types of animals (*canis*, dog), elements (*mare*, sea), instruments (*candelabrum*, light stand), to abstract nouns that presented vices (*avaritia*, greed) and virtues (*obedientia*, obeying), and certain words of action (*induitio*, dressing). Each entry generally also contains quotations from the Bible and other theological works to demonstrate the meaning and use of the word. The alphabetisation of distinctions is important, as this organisation method increased the work's efficiency as a reference aid for preachers. Preachers were most likely the intended audience for distinction collections, as they overlap with other preaching aids such as model sermons.¹⁵⁶ This is evident in the case of two particular collections that can be described as hybrid distinction-model sermon collections: the *Summa abstinentia* of Nicolas de Biard, and the *Summa sermonum* of Guy d'Évreux. British Library MS Royal 8 CXVI, a pecea copy of the *Summa abstinentia* of Biard contains alphabetised distinction entries, together with content tables relating to sermons as well as distinctions. These are divided into

¹⁵⁶ d'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, pp. 72-75.

the following categories: sermons for Sundays and feast days, the names of saints and martyrs, and a table listing distinction entries. The table of saints also includes related themes to each entry, such as Mary Magdalene (*de amore*, love), St Gregory (*de temptatione*, temptation), and St Maurice (*de fide*, faith). The *Summa sermonum* of Guy d'Évreux is also a distinction-model sermon hybrid text as it is divided into distinct parts: a section containing full length Sunday sermons, a separate section discussing sermon themes, and individual sections featuring distinction entries. The *Summa sermonum* was discussed above in chapter 5 as a model sermon text, and this work is in fact an excellent example of the close interchange between genres of pecia texts.

This close relation to other genres of preaching aids reflects why distinction collections were available on the pecia lists. The only distinction collection present on the list of 1275 is the *Distinctiones* of Maurice of Provins as item number 112. Evidence from two sources strongly suggests that Maurice composed this text with its intended use as a reference tool for preachers. First, in his late thirteenth-century chronicle, the friar Salimbene recounts his meeting with a notable and learned friar known as Maurice, who lectured in the Franciscan convent of Provins and asked Salimbene to assist him in compiling a book of distinctions that would be useful in preaching.¹⁵⁷ Significantly, the entry *Opportunitas* (opportuneness) contains the following entry of the word: ii ad Thi.

¹⁵⁷ d'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, p. 13.

iii. Predica verbum, insta opportune, importune.¹⁵⁸ This distinction collection was most likely well-received by the cultural community at Paris and a popular text as it also appears on the 1304 pecia list as item number 80. On both lists the text is noted as containing 84 pieces, suggesting that the same exemplar was in use at least from 1275 to 1304. On the 1304 list Maurice's distinction collection is featured in the same category as other preaching aids such as sermon collections, patristic texts, and Bible concordances. The 1304 list also contains the two collections of Nicolas de Biard, a straightforward distinction collection at item number 75, and the hybrid work *Summa abstinentia* at item number 83. This section of the pecia list illustrates the close connections between the preaching aid genres and demonstrates that these texts are listed together because they are intended for purchase by similar buyers. The final distinction collection on the 1304 list is Nicolas de Gorran's *Distinctiones*. This work is listed in a separate category entitled *Opera fratris Nicolai de Gorham*, which contains Gorran's eight known works that also include commentaries on the Gospels, the Scriptures and sermon collections. An individual category reflects Gorran's reputation as a respected member of the intellectual community and as a successful preacher in Paris.

¹⁵⁸ '2 Tim. 4. Preach the word, dwelling on it continually, at opportune times and at inopportune times.' Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Rawlinson C 711, f.138v. Trans. d'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, p. 73.

We may also draw conclusions from information that is absent from the list. Although the listed length of the *Distinctiones* of Gorran is 68 pieces, four manuscripts are known to have lengths of 58 pieces: Brugge, Groot Seminarie MS 28/20, ff. 1r-264r; Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 1595, ff. 147r-309v; Troyes, BM MS lat. 1503; and Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Bodley 799, ff. 85r-268r.¹⁵⁹ These manuscripts are evidence that Gorran's collection was copied from at least one alternative exemplar during the same period, which in turn is indicative of demand; and a detailed comparison between the two versions of the pecia copies could potentially show variations in the text.

II. Evidence of manuscript users

The study of user notes from distinction collections demonstrates the use of these works as reference tools by preachers, most likely for the purpose of writing sermons. The following user notes have been selected for study as they best illustrate the purpose of the texts. The first examined user note is from Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Rawlinson C 711, a standard pecia copy of *Distinctiones* by Maurice de Provins. In Note 1A the user has inscribed in the margin of the entry *induitio* on f.102r a distinction entry for the word *Induo* (I put on, I dress). Note 1A

¹⁵⁹ Murano, *Opere diffuse per exemplar e pecia*, item 684; L.-J. Bataillon, 'Les problèmes de l'édition des sermons et des ouvrages pour prédicateurs au XIII^e siècle', *The Editing of Theological and Philosophical Texts from the Middle Ages*, M. Asztalos (ed.) (Stockholm: Studia Latina Stockholmiensia, 1986) pp. 105-20, p. 120, n. 41.

is classified as Type II-AT (Additional Text) rather than as an omission note because this added entry appears to be the original work of the user: this word does not feature in alternative peccia copies of Maurice's collection, nor does it feature in the works of Gorran or Biard. This lack of an entry from another distinction source suggests the user formed the entry himself using a Bible concordance. The entry features Scriptural quotes including the following: Zech 3:4 'Take off [Joshua's] filthy clothes'; Apoc 3:5 'The one who is victorious will, like them, be dressed in white'; Col 3:10 'and have put on the new self, which is being renewed in knowledge in the image of its Creator'; and so forth. This entry also features Scriptural commentary by the user, such as a reference most likely to Luke 9:29, 'As he was praying, the appearance of his face changed, and his clothes became as bright as a flash of lightning', as the user writes 'because Christ is the illuminating rational strength'. Note 1A is an excellent demonstration of the use of the distinction collection as an active reference tool by its user.

1A. Classification: II-AT, f. 102r

Zaca. iii auferte sordida vestimenta et induite etc. Apo. iii.

vestimentis albis vestietur Colo. iii. induentes novum hominem

qui renovatur. [i]i Cor. iiii id quod vetus est renovatur. Qui sic

non renovatur a deo innoratur [*i.e.*, ignoratur] Mat. xxv. non

novi vos. De hiis duobus. Thren. iiii candidiores nazarei etc, et

post: denigrate est super carbo[nes]

[Margin entry: Triplex induitione]

religiosi debent Christum induere sicut aer induit lucem quia

Christus est lux illuminans vim rationabilem Jo i erat lux uera

Item sicut ferrum induit ignem [ingnem *ms*] quia Christus est

ignis [ingnia *ms*] consummans et purgans vim concupiscibilem

Mal iii sedebit purgans etc. Item sicut lana colorem quia proprio

sanguine tingit vim irascibilem i Maca vi ostenderunt elephantis

sanguine etc. et nota quod quando aer induit lucem totus lux

efficitur. ferrum totus igneus [*sic*] et pannus totus tinctus Sic

religiosus debet esse totus lucidus in intellectu, totus rubeus in

affectu, totus coloratus in bonorum morum hornatu [*sic for*

ornatu]

[Margin entry: virtutes dicuntur vestis]

virtutes autem aliquando appellantur vestes quia nos vestiunt

Ecce. ix omni tempore vestimenta Colo. iii induite vos sicut

electi Item dicuntur arma quia contra hostem nos muniunt. Eph

vi induite vos arma, contra hostem, scilicet. Item luminaria quia

hominem dirigunt. Apo. animalia plena erant oculis id est

virtutibus illuminantibus sicut oculis illuminat et dirigit. Exo

xxxvii supra candelabrum erant vii [*crossed out* lucerne]

luminaria, id est vii dona Talibus vestibus id est virtutibus

debemus indui quia diuicias eternas [*added* intro]ducunt Matt

xxii quomodo hunc intrasti non habens vestem Item quia [*in margin, with omission mark*] contra inimicos muniunt Ro. xiii abiciamus opera tenebrarum et induamus arma etc Item quia gloriosos nos faciunt Ysa lii induere vestimentis gloriae tue etc Item quia a confusione nos custodiunt. Apo. xvi beatus qui custodit vestimenta. Propter hoc Adam apparere coram domino erubuit quia nudus fuit Ge iii

MS Rawlinson C 711 contains further evidence that its user consulted the special copy of Maurice's work as a preaching reference text. On f. 103r the user has written in the margin of the distinction entry *Insania* a list of Scriptural references related to the keyword. Note 1B contains a range of meanings for *insania*, as references include biblical quotes on madness (Ps 39:5, Ws 5:4, 14:23, John 10:20, 1 Cor 14:23, Acts 12:15, 26:24,25), as well as rage (Isa 37:28, II Kings 19:28), idolatry (Osee 9:8); tumult (Amos 3:9); lust (Eze 23: 5,6,9,11,16,20); and obsession (Acts 26:11). In Note 1A the user employs the A-G reference system, a system devised by the Dominicans of the St Jacques convent at Paris, to reference each appearance of a word in the Bible. Each appearance of a word was noted according to book of the Bible, chapter of the book, and location within the chapter as indicated by one of the first seven letters of the alphabet A-G.¹⁶⁰ This system first featured in a biblical concordance compiled under the direction of Hugh of St Cher by 1239 and later concordances which became the basis for compiling distinction collections.¹⁶¹ The user may have used Note 1B to compose a sermon on the topic of *insania*.

¹⁶⁰ Rouse and Rouse, *Authentic Witnesses*, p. 225.

¹⁶¹ Rouse and Rouse, *Authentic Witnesses*, p. 224.

1B. II-S, f.103r

Insania

Ps. xxxix. b.

Sap. v. a. xiii.f.

Ysa. xxxvii. f.

Ose. ix. d.

Amos. iii. d.

iiii. Reg. xix. f.

Ysa. xxiii. b.

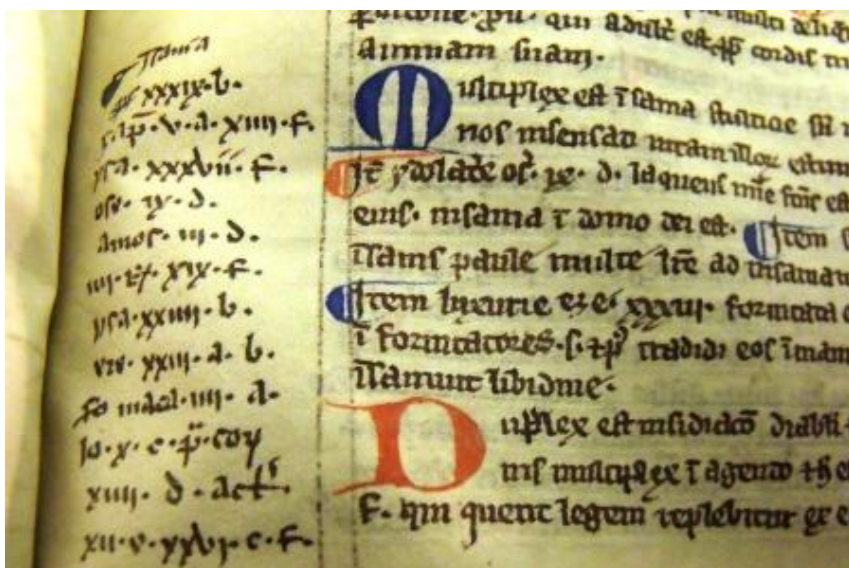
Eze. xxiii. a. b.

Secundo. Maca. iii. a.

Jo. x. c. prima Cor.

xiii. d. Act'.

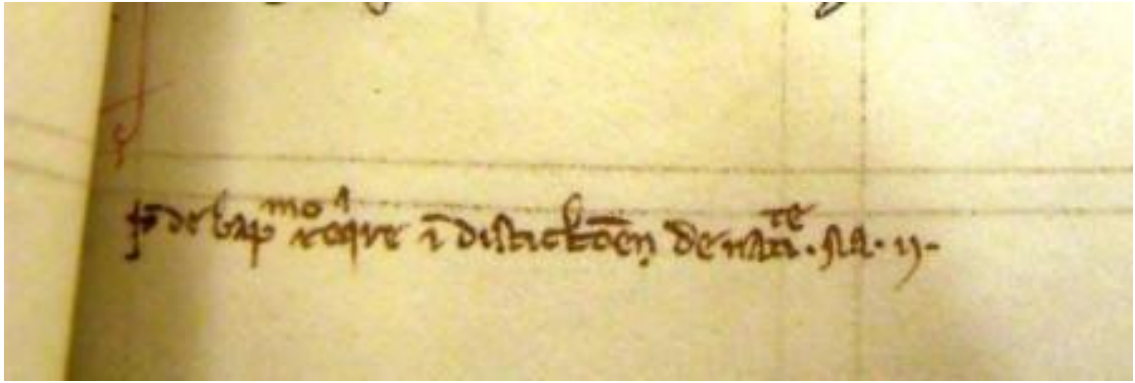
xii. e. xxvi. c. f.



Like Rawlinson MS C 711, Bodl. Lib. MS Bodley 46 features evidence that its user consulted the text as a preaching aid. This manuscript also contains a standardpecia copy of Maurice de Provins. Throughout the text the user has written marginal notes classified as Type II-CRM (Cross-Reference Marks). These cross-references demonstrate that the user was most probably researching sermon topics on related keywords. Note 2A is written in the margin of the entry on *baptisma* (baptism), and the user suggests a look at the distinction entry on nativity. Note 2B appears underneath the distinction entry on *liber* (book), with the user referring to the entry on Scripture. The final example in Note 2C appears in the bottom margin of *videre* (to see), and the user refers to the entry on faith. These examples are representative of the cross-reference marks that appear throughout the text. As seen below, each referenced distinction entry is followed by a number in roman numerals. These numbers correspond to the listing of the keywords on the alphabetical contents table on ff. iv(r)-vii(r).

2A. Classification: II-CRM, f. 36r

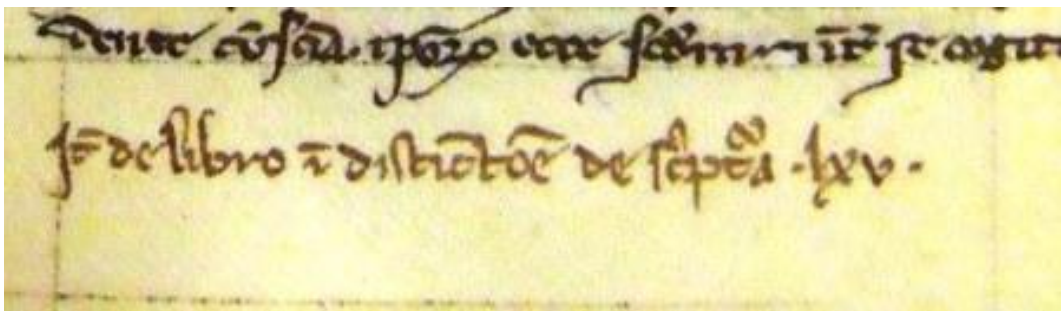
Item de baptismo require in distinctione [*corrected from* distinctionen]
de nativitate. Na. ii.



61. Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Bodley 46, f. 36r

2B. Classification: II-CRM, f. 154r

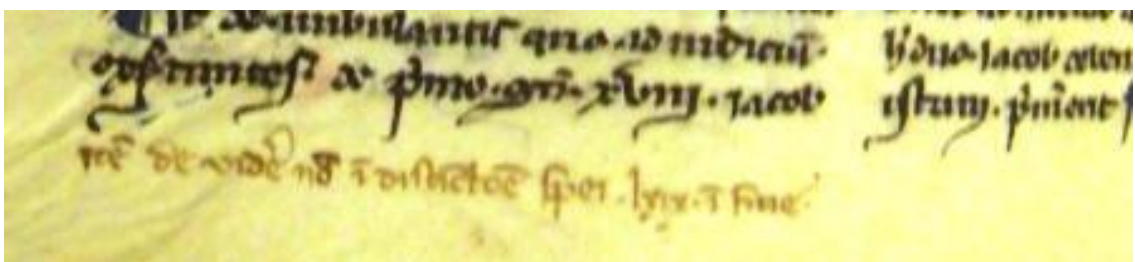
Item de libro in distinctione de scriptura. lxi.



62. Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Bodley MS 46, f. 154r

2C. Classification: II-CRM, f. 283v

Item de videre nota in distinctione spes. lxi. in fine.



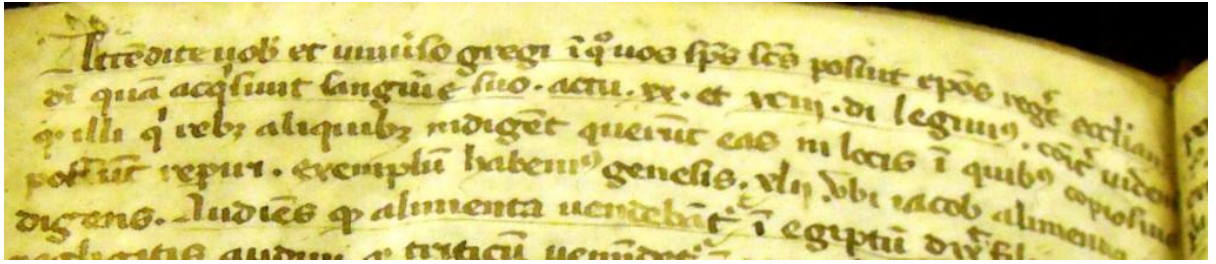
63. Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS 46, f. 283v

MS Bodley 46 contains further evidence that it was consulted by its user as a preaching aid. The pecia text ends on f. 297v, which is followed by user-added theological notes as well as two sermons.¹⁶² The first sermon is by Bertrand de Turre, and composed to celebrate the feast day of St Clement. The second sermon is by an anonymous author and begins with the incipit 'Attendite vobis et universo gregi'. This is the opening to a sermon on Acts 20:28, 'Keep watch over yourselves and all the flock of which the Holy Spirit has made you overseers. Be shepherds of the church of God which he bought with his own blood.' This incipit is featured in Note 2D and can be classified as a Type II-AT (Additional Text) note. The user most likely copied these sermons to consult in his role as a preacher.

2D. Classification: II-AT, f. 299v (extract from complete text)

Attendite vobis et universo gregi in quo vos spiritus sanctus posuit
episcopos regere ecclesiam dei quam adquisivit sanguine suo. Actu. xx.
et xciii di[stinctione] legimus. communiter videmus quod illi qui rebus
aliquibus indigent querunt eas in locis in quibus copiosius possunt
reperiri. exemplum habemus Genesis. xlii. [etc.]

¹⁶² F. Madan and H.H.E. Craster, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, Vol II.I (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922). Short Catalogue number 1877.



64. Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Bodley 46, f. 299v

Distinction collections contain a wide variety of user notes, as demonstrated by the examples of MSS Bodley 46 and Rawlinson C 711. These notes are typical of the evidence left behind by preachers in distinction collections, showing how these manuscripts acted as reference tools in sermon formation. Notes 2A to 2C are evidence of textual examination, as the user had researched related keywords. These distinction entries, such as *Liber* and *Scriptura*, may have been linked together to form sermon themes. The user of MS Rawlinson C 711 composed original distinction entries in notes 1A and 1B, showing how the user may have consulted an additional text such as a glossed Bible, concordance or quaestio collection to write these entries. We may speculate that the user intended to include these quotations in sermons on the topics of *Induo* and *Insania*, respectively. The user of MS Bodley 46 was most probably also an active preacher, as evidenced by the cross-references as well as the additional texts. The user copied in two sermons in the end leaves of the manuscript, including the anonymous work on Acts 20:28 in user note 2D. He may have copied these texts to preach on related themes. These examples illustrate in a concrete way the use of distinctions as preaching aids and reference tools. However, they were not

the only alphabetised reference texts available on the Parispecia lists. The next chapter explores the genre of encyclopaedia and florilegia texts, which were useful preaching aids like distinction collections, as well as efficient classroom works.

Chapter 7:

Florilegia and Anthology Texts

I. Florilegia and anthology texts as reference tools

Florilegia can be defined as compilation texts mainly comprising works of the Church Fathers and Classical writers. This book genre was a popular source of sermon material because texts contained effective search tools to aid the reader: works were generally arranged alphabetically or by subject, and contained cross-reference devices such as subject indexes. Two florilegia texts were produced through the *pecia* system at Paris in the thirteenth century, the *Manipulus florum* of Thomas of Hibernia and the *Liber Pharetra* of Guillaume de la Furmenterie. The *Manipulus florum* is a collection of extracts organised alphabetically by the name of each extract author.¹⁶³ This alphabetisation scheme made the text an efficient reference tool for preachers, especially to search for quotations from the Church Fathers. Thomas's work does not feature on either *pecia* list, yet thirteen surviving *pecia* copies show that it was a popular work.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶³ For an in-depth study of the text, see R.H. Rouse and M.A. Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons: Studies on the Manipulus florum of Thomas of Ireland*, P.I.M.S. Studies and Texts 47 (Toronto, 1979).

¹⁶⁴ It must be stressed that the *pecia* system has a high casualty rate, most likely due to a combination of factors such as wear and tear from active use as well as the lower quality of materials used to produce standard *pecia* mss. Cf. D.L. d'Avray, *Medieval*

In contrast to the *Manipulus florum*, Guillaume's *Liber Pharetra* is a collection of patristic extracts arranged systematically into four books: 'liber primus de personarum varietate, secundus de principalium vitiorum et virtutum multiplicitate, tertius de periculosis, quartus de gratiosis'.¹⁶⁵ It is also present on the 1304 pevia list as item number 91. This text contains a wide variety of sermon material, and Guillaume writes that this anthology could be used for the purposes of meditation, disputation, and preaching.¹⁶⁶ The *Pharetra* and *Manipulus florum* are complementary texts that address similar themes and topics that could be of use to university students as well as preachers, as attested by the fifteenth-century catalogue of the Carthusian library at Erfurt: 'The *Manipulus florum* agrees with, and conforms very much to, the book called *Pharetra* ["Quiver"], both in its contents and in its manner of proceeding...One finds listed

Marriage: Symbolism and Society (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) p. 51, and Idem, *Medieval Marriage Sermons: Mass Communication in a Culture without Print* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) pp. 17-19. Outside sources can be used to speculate on an individual text's popularity; for instance, the *Manipulus florum* survives in approximately 200 non-pevia mss.

¹⁶⁵BL MS Royal 8 C XVI, f. 169r. Transcription from d'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, p. 77 n. 5.

¹⁶⁶ '...placuit michi ut ad ipsum fontem originalium recurrerem et ob maiorem certitudinem ipsemet aliqua exciperem que postmodum (*corrected from postmodii?*) ut scivi ordinavi, ut que ad meditationem predicationem disputationem ibidem essent utilia levius reperirentur...' (BL MS Royal 8 C XVI, f.169r) Transcription from D.L. d'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, pp. 77- 8 n. 7.

here in alphabetical order, like a concordance, the more important and commonest topics that arise in both lectures and sermons, and indeed, those topics which might be helpful to a man in all things. Thus, it should be apparent that the present book and the *Pharetra* complement each other very well, in both form and content.¹⁶⁷

Another form of treatise that complements florilegia texts are anthology collections on virtues and vices. The main treatise that was produced through the pecia system is the *Summa de vitiis et virtutibus* of Guillaume Peyraut. It does not feature on the pecia lists and survives in only a few pecia copies.¹⁶⁸ However, Dondaine wrote that few works in the whole of literary history have known such success¹⁶⁹, with Guillaume also receiving an honourable mention in Salimbene's chronicle: 'And once, when I was at Vienne, brother Guillielmus, of the Order of Preachers, who did the *Summa of Vices and Virtues*, came from Lyons to Vienne for

¹⁶⁷ Entry for H.36, a copy of the *Manipulus florum* in P. Lehmann (ed.), *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, vol. 2 (Munich: 1928) pp. 221-592. Translation of entry from Rouse and Rouse, *Authentic Witnesses*, p. 456.

¹⁶⁸ See previous note 124 on survival rates.

¹⁶⁹ A. Dondaine, 'Guillaume Peyraut. Vie et oeuvres', *Archivium Fratrum Praedicatorum* 18 (1948) pp. 162-236, p. 162. For a list of surviving manuscripts including pecia texts, see T. Kaeppli, *Scriptores ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, vol. 2 (Rome: 1970-1993) pp. 134-42.

the purpose of preaching and hearing confessions.¹⁷⁰ As an active preacher, Guillaume composed his own model sermon collections and evidence suggests that he intended these to be used in conjunction with the *Summa de vitiis*. In the main text of *Sermones de dominicis* in a sermon examining 1 Cor 4:1, 'This is how you ought to regard us', he most likely refers to his own treatise when he writes 'If you wish to expand this material look in the treatise on vices in the chapter on idleness (*otio*)'.¹⁷¹

Like the *Summa de vitiis*, *De proprietatibus rerum* of Bartholomew the Englishman is closely related to sermon collections. This work represents a group of anthology collections that explore the natural properties of all things. It is arranged systematically into nineteen books on a wide range of theological and natural science subjects, containing quotations from the Church Fathers and classical writers such as Aristotle and Pliny. *De proprietatibus rerum* works were viewed as practical preaching aids, as seen in Thomas of Chobham's treatise on preaching: '...it is necessary for the preacher to contemplate the natures and properties of things, through which properties the creator himself may be understood, so that the whole world may be like a kind of book, in which we

¹⁷⁰ Salimbene, *Cronica ratrix Salimbene de Adam*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historicae, Scriptores*, 32 (1905-13) p. 233. Translation from D.L. d'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, p. 149.

¹⁷¹ 'Si vis dilatate materiam istam respice in tractatu de vitiis in capitulo de otio' (BNF MS 16472, f. 11v). Translation from d'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, p. 107.

may read God...'¹⁷² Bartholomew's text was clearly a popular resource as it appears on both the 1275 and 1304 pecia lists, as item numbers 12 and 72 respectively. It also had at least two separate pecia exemplars, with the 1275 exemplar listed as 102 pieces in length and the 1304 exemplar listed as 100. The preacher Pierre de Limoges bought a pecia copy of Bartholomew's work from a University of Paris stationer, and this manuscript survives today as BNF MS lat. 16099.¹⁷³

II. Evidence of manuscript users

Pecia copies of anthology works reveal that users actively consulted these texts as preaching and classroom aids. User notes found British Library MS Sloane 471 are a prime example of this. Sloane MS 471 is a pecia copy of Bartholomew the Englishman's *De proprietatibus rerum*, and contains evidence

¹⁷² Thomas of Chobham, *Summa de arte praedicandi*. '...oportet predicatorem considerare naturas rerum et proprietates, per quas proprietates ipse creator possit intelligi ut totus mundus sit quasi liber quidam in quo deum (tantum *ms*) legamus' Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 455, f. 81r. Translation from d'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, p. 233.

¹⁷³ Pierre de Limoges wrote a short account of his purchase of *De proprietatibus rerum* along with Thomas Aquinas's *Summa contra Gentiles* and part 2 of the *Summa theologia*, in Vatican MS Reg. lat. 1554, f. 166v. See Rouse and Rouse, *Authentic Witnesses*, p. 287; L.-J. Bataillon, 'Comptes de Pierre de Limoges pour la copie de livres', *La production du livre universitaire au moyen âge: Exemplar et pecia*, pp. 265- 273.

that its user may have been composing a sermon on drunkenness. Note 1A is a Type II-CRM (Cross-Reference Mark), where the user noted the reference Book 17, Chapter 185. This note is written in the margin of a passage stating ‘sicut patet prima (j^a). de ebrietate. Quere ibi’. This is a direction for the reader to search for the entry on drunkenness, and the user has noted its location in the text. If one turns to book seventeen, chapter 185 on f.290v, the subject *ebrietatem* is found.

1A. Classification: II-CRM, f.85r

L[ecto] 17

c[apitulo] 85

The preacher Pierre de Limoges also consulted *De proprietatibus rerum* in his own pezia copy, BNF MS lat. 16099. Note 2A appears in the margin of book 8, chapter 2, which discusses the properties of the seven spheres of the heavens. This user note is classified as Type II-PS (Paraphrased Summation) as it gives a précis of the main text. Limoges has summarised the description of the fifth part of the heavens known as the firmament. He notes three characteristics of the firmament: its prominence through its ability to project celestial bodies, its containment of celestial bodies, and its fluid nature with a constant flow. This may have been a preparation sermon note by Limoges.

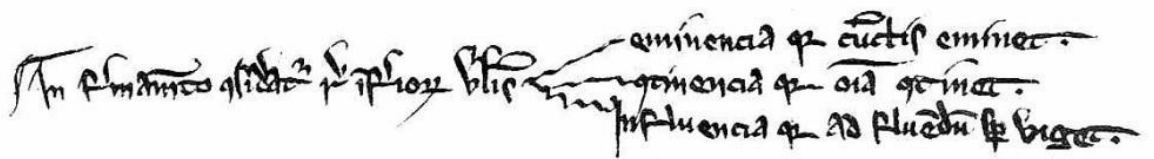
2A. Classification: II-PS, f. 74v

¶ In firmamento consideratur respectu inferiorum universalis

eminencia quia cunctis eminet.

continencia quia omnia continet.

Influentia quia ad fluendum semper viget.



In firmamento consideratur respectu inferiorum universalis
eminencia quia cunctis eminet.
continencia quia omnia continet.
Influentia quia ad fluendum semper viget.

65. Paris, BNF MS lat. 16099, f. 74v

As well being an active preacher, Limoges may have been the dean of the faculty of medicine at the university at Paris in 1267-68 and 1270.¹⁷⁴ His career in medicine can possibly be evidenced by Note 2B. In Book 17, chapter 106 of BNF MS lat. 16099 Limoges leaves a comment on the plant solsequium underneath the entry on seeds. He writes that the plant is also known by two other names, elitropium and verrucaria¹⁷⁵, and that the term elitropium occurs in the plants

¹⁷⁴ D. Jacquart, 'Medicine and Theology', in *Crossing Boundaries at Medieval Universities*, S. E. Young (ed.) (Leiden: Brill, 2012) pp. 213- 226, p. 216.

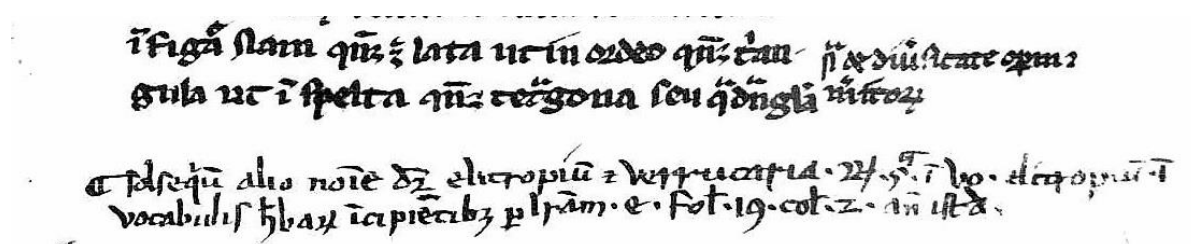
¹⁷⁵ In *De proprietatibus rerum* the terms solsequium, elitropium and verrucaria are interchangeable and refer to the same plant. According to the Middle English Dictionary, these three terms refer to the marigold plant. See the Middle English Dictionary online: <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/> (Accessed 23 September 2014).

beginning with the letter 'e'. The entry on elitropium is located in chapter 54 of book 8. Note 2B is classified as Type II-CRM (Cross-Reference Mark) as Limoges has written the location of this plant's entry. According to the entry on elitropium, the plant is used medicinally to treat warts, venom poisoning and animal bites, as well as prevent illness in the liver. This aspect of the plant's use suggests that Limoges may have been preparing classroom notes for a medical lecture.

2B. Classification: II-CRM, f. 169r

¶ solsequium alio nomine dicitur elitropium et verrucaria.

Require supra. in verbo elitropium in vocabulis herbarum incipientibus per litteram. e. fol. 19. col. 2. ante istud.



ī figā Nam quā ē lata ut in oides quā tam p̄ dū. acate opm
gula ut ī spetra quā cergona seu q̄dnglā m̄troz
¶ solsequi alio nomine dicitur elitropium et verrucaria. 27. 5. 1. 10. dicitur opm
vocabulis hbarū incipientibus p̄ l̄ram. e. fol. 19. col. 2. ante istud.

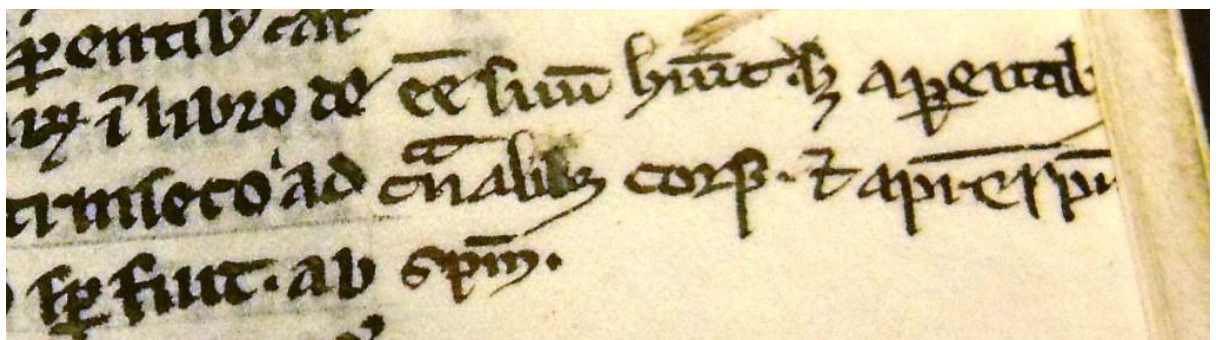
66. Paris, BNF MS lat. 16099, f. 169r

Like *De proprietatibus rerum*, the *Summa de virtutibus* of Guillaume Peyraut was also used as a preaching and classroom aid. Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Laud misc. 530 is a standard pecia copy of the *Summa*. There are few notes in this

manuscript, suggesting that it was used for casual reference only. However, the user notes in this text are mainly omission notes implying that the user had to have studied the work at an in-depth level to edit the main text. Therefore, the user may have been a student or preacher, who consulted another copy of the work to complete the corrections. Omissions are classified as Type II-EC (Error Correction) marginalia. Note 3A is standard of the user notes found in the manuscript, and is the result of the common mistake of eye-skipping on the part of the scribe. This error occurs in book 1, chapter 6 on faith.

3A. Classification: II-EC, f. 24v

esse suum habuit, sed a parentib[us] carnalibus corpus. et a
patre spi[cropped, most likely spirituali] spiritum.



67. Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Laud misc . 530, f. 24v

The eye-skipping occurred with the word 'carnalibus', with the completed passage reading:

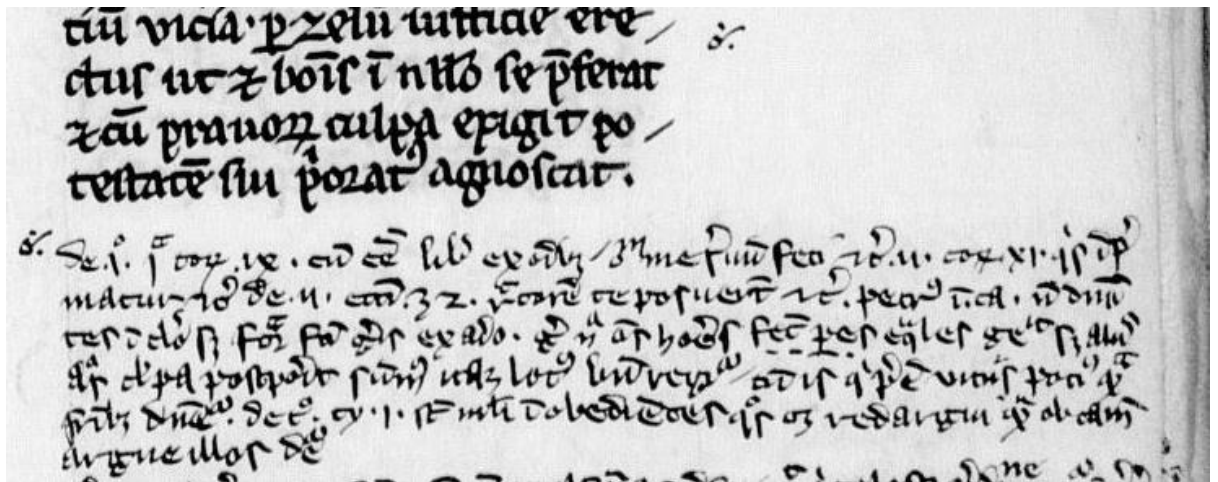
Si vero non a solis parentibus carnalibus [esse suum habuit, sed a parentibus carnalibus] corpus, et a patre spirituali spiritum.

The *Pharetra* of Guillaume de la Furmenterie was written with preachers in mind as a target audience for the work, and this can be seen in practice with the user notes of BNF MS lat 16530. Firstly, this manuscript is a compilation of texts in which the *Pharetra* travels with sermon collections, as well as the *Meditationes* of Bernard of Clairvaux and a work by Hugh de St Victor. The works are all annotated by the user throughout, suggesting that he was active in preaching and using the works to compose sermons. A typical example of these annotations is Note 4A, which is classified as Type III-AT (Additional Text). In the lower margin of book 1, chapter 9 on good prelates, the user has written additional Scriptural references and quotations from Gregory the Great. The note is divided into three separate parts, with the first containing quotations from I Cor 9:19, 'Though I am free and belong to no one, I have made myself a slave to everyone', and II Cor 11:29, 'Who is weak and I do not feel weak?' The second section features a quotation from Ecclesiastes 32:1, 'If they make you master of the feast, do not exalt yourself; be among them as one of their number', and a quotation from part 2, chapter 6 of Gregory the Great's *Pastoral Care* which calls for Church

leaders to be humble with those who live good lives. Section 3 contains quotations from Titus 1:11, 'They must be silenced, because they are disrupting whole households by teaching things they ought not to teach', and Titus 1:13, 'rebuke them sharply, so that they will be sound in the faith'. These quotations are similarly themed on the nature of good Church leaders and how to deal with the bad, and this note may be an outline of a sermon on these topics.

4A. Classification: III-AT, f. 16r

[Signe de renvoi] De Primo. I^a Cor. ix. cum essem liber ex omnibus omnium me servum feci etc. ii Cor. xi. quis infirmatur etc. De. II. Ecc. 32. rectorem te posuerunt etc. Petrus in. ca. non dominantes in clero sed forma facti gregis ex animo. Gregorius: natura omnes homines [*deleted* fecit pares] equales genuit sed aliis alios culpa postponit; summus itaque locus bene regitur, cum is qui preest, vitiis potius quam fratribus dominatur. De tertio. T[itus]. i. sunt multi inobedientes quos oportet redargui quam ob causam argue illos dure.



68. Paris, BNF MS lat. 16530, f. 16r

These five user notes demonstrate the many ways in which anthologies were used during this period in Paris. Bartholomew the Englishman's *De proprietatibus rerum* was a unique work that was used as a preaching aid, as seen in Note 1A, as well as a classroom text for medicine, demonstrated in Note 2B. Treatises on virtues and vices were generally considered preaching or classroom aids, as seen in Note 3A, as were florilegia texts like that of Note 4A. Guillaume de la Furmenterie wrote that his work, the *Liber Pharetra*, could also be used for disputations. Several genres of texts available through the pecia system were used for forming disputations, such as quodlibetal works which are examined in the following chapter.

Chapter 8:

Quodlibets

I. The nature of quodlibetal disputations

As discussed in previous chapters, the faculty of theology at the University of Paris provided students with both classroom lectures and instruction in preaching. In addition to this, members of the faculty participated in disputations known as *quodlibets* ('what you will'), public debates held by masters at Advent or Lent, beginning in the 1230s and practised regularly until the 1320s.¹⁷⁶ Students, masters,

¹⁷⁶ See J.F. Wippel, 'Quodlibetal Questions, Chiefly in Theological Faculties', in *Les questions disputées et les questions quodlibétiques dans les facultés de théologie, de droit et de médecine*, ed. B.C. Bazan et al (Turnhout, 1985) pp. 153-222; Wei, (2012) pp. 228-229; Knowles, *The Evolution of Medieval Thought*, p. 175; L.E. Boyle, 'The Quodlibets of St. Thomas and Pastoral Care', *The Thomist* 38 (1974), 232-56; P. Glorieux, *La littérature quodlibétique de 1260 à 1320* (Paris: Vrin, 2 vols., 1925 and 1935); P. Glorieux, 'L'enseignement au moyen âge: techniques et méthodes en usage à la faculté de théologie de Paris au xiii^e siècle' *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 35 (1968), pp. 65-186, pp. 128-34; J. Hamesse, 'Theological Quaestiones Quodlibetales', in *Theological Quodlibeta in the Middle Ages: The Thirteenth Century*, C. Schabel (ed.) (Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp. 17-48; S. Piron, 'Nicholas of Bar's Collection', in *Theological Quodlibeta in the Middle Ages: The Fourteenth Century*, C. Schabel (ed.) (Leiden: Brill, 2007) pp. 333-43, p. 337-38; I.P. Wei, "The Masters of Theology at the University of Paris in the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries: An Authority Beyond the Schools," *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 75 (1993), pp. 37-63, p. 39-44; J.F. Wippel, 'The Quodlibetal Question as a

and distinguished visitors were permitted to participate in the oral disputations, which were held in two distinct sessions. During the first session known as the *disputatio* any member of the audience, including non-members of the university, could discuss a proposed topic. However, only the presiding master was permitted to speak at the following session known as the *determinatio*, where he would present his responses to the questions raised at the first session. Questions were not restricted to a particular theme and could cover any subject matter.

Quodlibets were a common way for masters to disseminate their views to the public, thus many oral disputations were afterwards composed as written texts to continue this transmission of ideas. Secondly, the diverse nature of the quodlibetal disputation led to the successful use of these texts in various contexts. These works were most likely consulted by users as reference tools when composing classroom work or their own disputations. In addition to quodlibets, ordinary disputations were held by masters throughout the year in the theology and arts faculties. In the wider cultural community of Paris, quodlibets were also consulted by clerics as pastoral and confessional aids.¹⁷⁷

Distinctive Literary Genre', *Les genres littéraires dans les sources théologiques et philosophiques médiévales: définition, critique et exploitation. Actes du colloque international de Louvain-la-Neuve 25-27 mai 1981* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Université Catholique de Louvain, Institut d'Études Médiévales, 1982), pp. 67- 84.

¹⁷⁷ Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris*, p. 229.

Only one quodlibetal text features on the 1275 pecia list, the work of Thomas Aquinas as item number 57. The same work again appears on the 1304 list as item number 38, yet with major differences in the text. The 1275 exemplar had 14 pieces as it only contained Aquinas's quodlibetal disputations from his second term of teaching in Paris between 1269 and 1271, excluding disputations that he composed during his first teaching term from 1256 to 1259. This was put right in the 1304 exemplar which contains 24 pieces with the reconciliation of both groups of disputations¹⁷⁸. Five further quodlibetal works feature on the 1304 pecia list by Giles of Rome (item number 58), James of Viterbo (59), Peter of Auvergne (64), Henry of Ghent (65), and Godfrey of Fontaines (66). These texts were most probably included in the pecia list in preference to others because of the high status of these men in the academic community at Paris in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, when quodlibetal disputations were at the height of their popularity.

II. The evidence of user notes

The user marginalia found in quodlibetal works demonstrate the varied uses of the genre. The first manuscript to be examined is Oxford, Magdalen College MS 217, which is a prime example of intellectual exchange at the University of Paris. This manuscript contains several works travelling together, the first being a pecia copy of Henry of Ghent's *Quodlibeta*. The second work is a pecia exemplar of Henry

¹⁷⁸ Sancti Thomae de Aquino, *Opera omnia*, XXV: *Quaestiones de quodlibet*, I-II (Rome: Commissio Leonina, 1996) Avant-propos, p. ix.

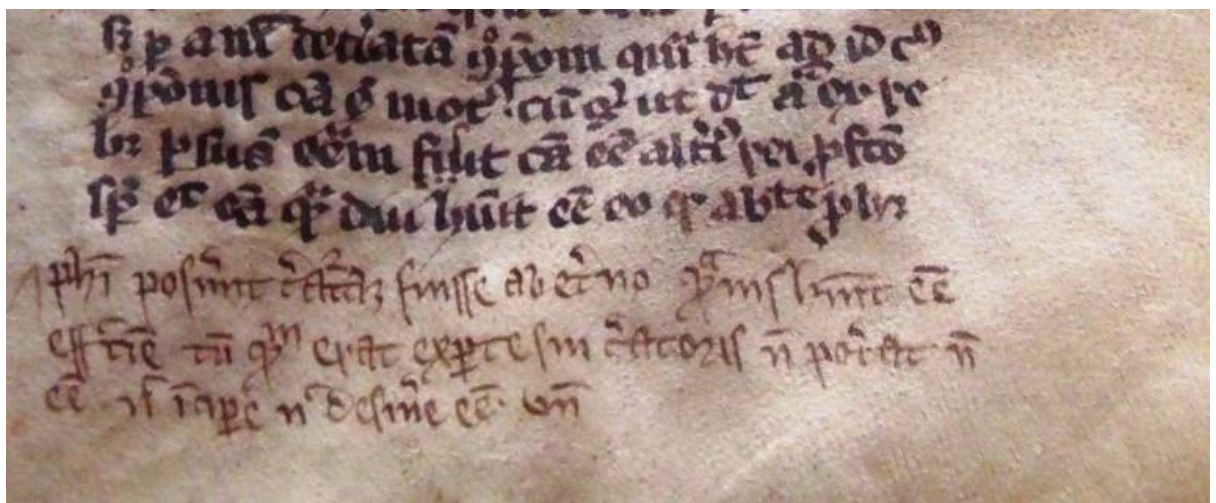
of Ghent's *Abbreuiatio Summae*. The next three works are non-pecia texts: the quodlibetal questions of Robert Winchelsey, seventy questions of Giles of Rome, and an anonymous tract featuring seventeen questions on theology.¹⁷⁹ The tables present in the text and the marginalia notes of the pecia copy and throughout the manuscript are written in an Anglicana cursive script, meaning that the user was most probably English. The non-pecia texts were also possibly English in origin; therefore we may speculate the user travelled to Paris for a period of study where he also purchased the pecia works and then bound these works to the English ones. He has a clear interest in particular topics of debates, discussed in more detail below, and in the tables he has also included a list beginning on f.4r of theses censured at the University of Paris and in England, '*Collectio errorum in anglia et parisiis condempnatorum*'. This was the list composed in 1270 by Étienne Tempier, bishop of Paris. The marginalia present in the manuscript show that the user engaged with the works in detail. Note 1A is representative of the user notes found in the manuscript, and is composed underneath quodlibet 1, question 7 of text 1 by Henry of Ghent. This passage focuses on the possibility of eternal creation, a theme that also appears

¹⁷⁹ List of works in manuscript description of MS 217 in Henry Coxe, *Cataloguscodicum mss qui in collegiis aulisque Oxoniensibus*, vol. 2 (Oxford: 1852); R. Macken, *Bibliotheca manuscripta Henrici de Gandavo: Introduction- Catalogue A-P* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1979).

on the list of condemned theses.¹⁸⁰ Note 1A is classified as type II-PS (Paraphrased Summation) as the user has paraphrased the subject of the passage, whether the world may be viewed in terms of its temporality and if a creature could exist from eternity.

1A. Classification: II-PS, f.13r

Philosophi posuerunt creaturam fuisse ab eterno quamvis habuit esse effective, tamen quantum erat ex parte sui creatoris non poterat non esse nec incipere nec desinere esse. Unde



69. Oxford, Magdalen College MS 217, f. 13r

¹⁸⁰ J.F. Wippel, *Metaphysical Themes in Thomas Aquinas* (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1984) pp. 192- 3.

The contents and marginalia of MS 217 suggest that the user was most likely an academic or preacher researching the topics of theological debates that took place in the late thirteenth century. Denton explains that the controversial subject connecting the manuscript texts was the doctrine of the Trinity.¹⁸¹ The user bound together works that represented both sides of the debate, centred upon Thomas Aquinas's metaphysical theories on eternal creation.¹⁸² The texts of Henry of Ghent were contrary to the teachings of Aquinas, while the disputations of Robert Winchelsey supported the latter's ideas. Notes such as 1A show the user's careful study of these texts, and he may have done so to produce his own work on the same theories of the Trinity.

Like MS 217, the user of Paris, BNF lat 15358 was most likely also an academic. MS lat 15358 is a standard peicia copy of the quodlibets of Henry of Ghent. Again, evidence suggests that the user may have studied the text to prepare his own quodlibetal responses. Note 2A is a type II-PS (Paraphrased Summation) note placed in the margin of quodlibet 3, question 25 on whether it is permissible to lie for the sake of humility. Underneath the main text the user has summarised six points from an argument on sin present in the main text. First, he writes that the text says all sin

¹⁸¹ J.H. Denton, *Robert Winchelsey and the Crown, 1294-1313* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) pp. 10-11.

¹⁸² For a detailed summary of topics debated, see G. Pini, 'Being and Creation in Giles of Rome', *Nach der Verurteilung von 1277: Philosophie und Theologie an der Universität von Paris in letzten Viertel des 13. Jahrhunderts*, J.A. Aersten, K. Emery, and A. Speer (eds.) (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2000) pp. 390- 409.

is voluntary; second, he distinguishes between voluntary and involuntary, and subdistinguishes involuntary action; third, he gives three reasons why a drunken man who kills, sins; fourth, different sins of drunkenness; fifth, an objection against the previous point, showing in what way he sins and in what way he does not; finally, the user writes raises objections to his position and answers them.

2A. Classification: II-UV, f. 52v

Et primo ostendit omne peccatum esse voluntarium, secundo ad notitiam voluntarii distinguitur de involuntario et subdistinguit de involuntario ?ostendens quod aliquis alter agit propter ignorantiam que causat involuntarium et ignorantiam [*ms ignorant'*] que non causat involuntarium. Item subdistinguit de ignorantia agente qui novit rationem ?sugillationis [*ms sugi'*]
Tertio ostendit per 3 rationes quod ebrius occidens peccat.
Quarto distinguit de ebrio ostendens quomodo non peccat, quinto obicit contra illud membrum, et solvit, ostendens quomodo peccat et quomodo non. Sexto arguit contra suam determinationem per 5 rationes et eas solvit.

The user of MS lat 15358 makes similar type II-PS notes throughout the manuscript, suggesting he was an academic at the University of Paris and prepared responses as a classroom activity or to participate in either quodlibetal or ordinary disputations. Note 2B is a second example of this user's work, placed in the margin of quodlibet 5, question 8: 'utrum solum suppositum relativum sit in deo et nullum absolutum', a discussion of "supposites", roughly "substances", in God and in creatures¹⁸³. He has summarised an argument with six points on the individuation of forms, engaging with the main text.

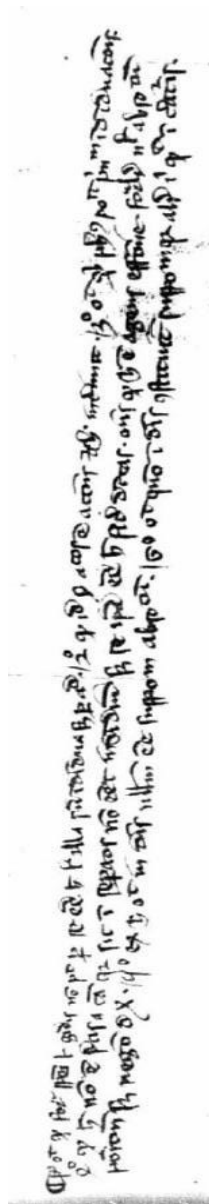
2B. Classification: II-PS, f. 101r

Primo ostendit quod forma speciei vel generis non potest per se esse hec vel illa sine individua sed per aliud. Secundo quod illud secundum alicos [= aliquos] est accidens et hoc interimit. Tertio ostendit quid philosophus ponit principium individuationis. Quarto quod hec non est precisa causa quia sic in separatos non esset individuum [? *minim short*] sed se ipsa esse hec sicut ?deietas ostendens quod hoc est agens effective formaliter nihil absolutum postivum sed negatio. D X. Quinto ex

¹⁸³ Teske's glossary of Henrican terms defines the term suppositum as 'an individual substance. A thing that is subject to a nature, as a man is subject to humanity'. R. J. Teske (ed.), *Henry of Ghent's Summa: The Questions on God's Unity and Simplicity (Articles 25-30)* (Leuven: Peeters, 2006) p. 17.

hoc ostendit in divisis nullum esse suppositum absolutum.

Sexto ostendit quomodo in divisis constituitur suppositum quia aliter ibi quam in creaturis.



71. Paris, BNF MS lat 15358, f. 101r

The final manuscript examined here is Paris, BNF MS lat 15844, a pecia copy of the quodlibets of Godfrey of Fontaines. MS lat 15844 was owned by Reygnerus de Colonia, a master in theology at Paris, who donated this manuscript to the university upon his death along with MSS lat 15668 and 15815.¹⁸⁴ These two additional manuscripts are non-pecia works: MS lat 15668 is a compilation of works by St Augustine, St Denis, St Anselm and others, as well as several Bible extracts; MS lat 15815 is a copy of *Summa contra gentiles* by Thomas Aquinas. These are standard works for classroom use, so it is possible that the pecia copy of Godfrey's text was also used by Reygnerus to prepare for classroom lectures. This text may have been copied by the user as it is written in a Rotunda bookhand as opposed to the Textualis Semi-Quadrata typically found in pecia copies. MS 15844 may have also been copied from a faulty exemplar, as the quodlibets are out of order. The exemplar from the 1304 pecia list contained quodlibets 5 – 14, whereas the quodlibets are arranged in the order 10 (ff. 65r-98v), 8 (ff. 99r-148r), 11 (ff. 148r-170r), 12 (ff. 170r-193r), 9 (ff. 193v-223v), 5 (ff. 224r-245v), 6 (ff. 246r-288v), 7 (ff. 289r-327v), 13 (ff. 328r-346r), 14 (ff. 346r-359v). In addition, the text is also corrupt with passages omitted throughout. As a lecturer, it was essential that Reygnerus had an accurate copy of the work. It is natural then that the most commonly found user notes in the manuscript are type II-EC (Error Corrections). Note 3A is one such error correction. Reygnerus highlighted

¹⁸⁴ See brief description on list of donors in L. Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la bibliothèque nationale*, vol. 2 (Paris: 1874) p. 172.

the place of an omission in quodlibet 10, question 9 and in the margin placed the special sign and the omitted passage. He most likely corrected this manuscript from an accurate exemplar or peccata copy of Godfrey's *Quodlibeta*. The process of correcting a text was possibly a tedious process, as he also took a break to doodle the head of a figure wearing a decorated headdress.

3A. Classification: II-EC/I-DO, f. 90v

[special sign] Ideo sic agunt et ex [*between lines*] practico

sillogismo concludunt esse sic agendum sic

videntur ratiocinando procedere unus quisque debet fugere et

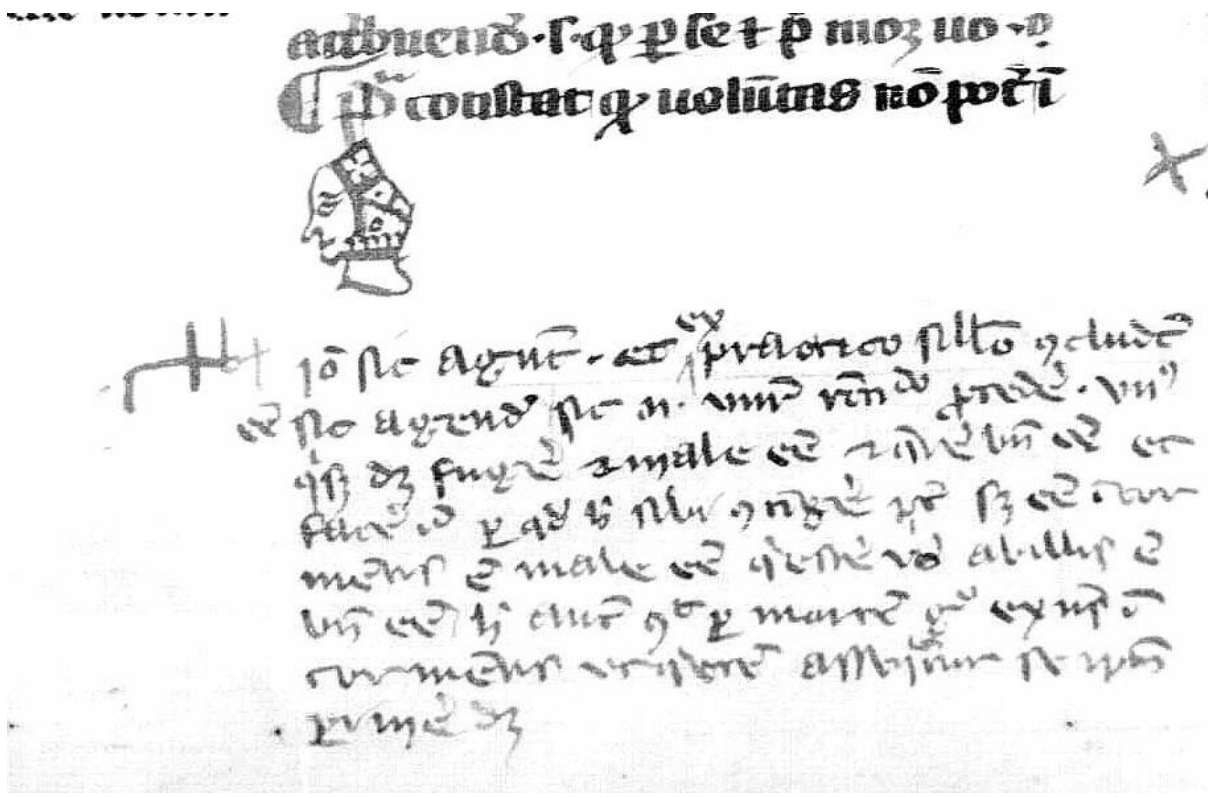
male esse et querere bene esse, et facere illud per quod hoc sibi

contingere potest, sed esse in tormentis est male esse quiescere

vero ab illis est bene esse. Hoc autem contingit per mortem ergo

existens in tormentis ut quietem assequatur se ipsum perimere

debet



72. Paris, BNF MS 15844, f. 90v

These three manuscripts reflect the variety of ways in which quodlibetal collections were used during this period at the university in Paris. First, Magdalen College MS 217 was owned by an English academic or preacher who visited Paris and researched the controversial doctrine condemned by Tempier. BNF MS lat 15358 was used by a student or master at Paris to prepare disputation responses. He may have been a student participating in quodlibetal or ordinary debates as part of his degree, or a master taking part to disseminate his ideas at the university. Thirdly, MS lat 15844 was owned by Reygnerus de Colonia, a master in theology who likely used his text in classroom instruction. These examples of use reflect the wide

audience that pecia manuscripts of quodlibetal works reached in the academic and cultural communities at Paris.

Another genre that was also transmitted widely through the pecia system was the legal text known as the decretal. Decretals were used in academic activities such as classroom lectures and disputations, the details of which are examined in the following chapter.

Chapter 9:

Decretals

I. The *pecia* system of Bologna

Before discussing the legal texts available at Paris, it is necessary to put the manuscripts into the wider context of their production history. While the *pecia* system in Paris was successful in producing a wide range of manuscripts for an international audience, this system was not unique to the city, in fact it originated in Bologna. Richard and Mary Rouse have put forward a strong case for this, explaining that the word *pecia* was in common use south of the Alps to mean a piece of something such as cloth and land from the eleventh century and that the word *stationarius* was commonly used in Bolognese records to refer to any shopkeeper.¹⁸⁵ By 1250 these two words had been acquired by the Paris cultural community as exclusive terms within book production and selling: *pecia* referring to each piece of an exemplar and booksellers becoming known as stationers. A system of renting exemplar pieces from booksellers to scribes began in Bologna about the year 1200 and from there spread to other universities, such as Padua and possibly other Italian

¹⁸⁵ R. H. Rouse and M.A. Rouse, 'The Dissemination of Texts in *Pecia* at Bologna and Paris', p. 70.

universities, as well as Paris in France.¹⁸⁶ The Paris system first operated in stationers' shops located nearby the Dominican St Jacques convent, suggesting that the system travelled to Paris from Bologna with Dominican scholars.¹⁸⁷

While Paris grew as an international centre of learning and book trade, the university at Bologna was the leading centre in the study of civil and canon law. The lectures of these legal faculties were nearly identical in style, with teaching focused on textual analysis. Odofredus, a thirteenth-century teacher of civil law, outlines the structure of his classes as follows¹⁸⁸:

First, I shall give you the summaries of each title before I come to the text. Second, I shall put forth well and distinctly and in the best terms I can purport of each law. Third, I shall read the text in order to correct it. Fourth, I shall briefly restate the meaning. Fifth, I shall solve conflicts, adding general matters and subtle and useful distinctions and questions with the solution, so far as Divine Providence shall assist me. And if any law is deserving of a review by reason of its fame or difficulty, I shall reserve it for an afternoon review session.

¹⁸⁶ Rouse and Rouse, 'The Dissemination of Texts in Pedia at Bologna and Paris', p. 69.

¹⁸⁷ Rouse and Rouse, 'The Dissemination of Texts in Pedia at Bologna and Paris', p. 70.

¹⁸⁸ Odofredus, in F. C. von Savigny, *Geschichte des römischen Rechts im Mittelalter*, 7 vols. (Heidelberg, 1815-51) trans. by J.A. Brundage in *Medieval Canon Law* (London: Longman, 1995) p. 52.

Although civil and canon law were taught in the same manner, the subjects naturally required different books. Civil law was based on the study of Roman legal codices first assembled under Emperor Justinian dating back to the sixth century.¹⁸⁹ Under Justinian, additional material was composed, such as the *Novellae*, the *Digestus vetus*, *Digestum novum*, and the *Institutiones*. Medieval glosses and commentaries of these texts were also compiled, the most prolific work being the texts of Accursius, a renowned Roman jurist at Bologna in the early thirteenth century.¹⁹⁰

In contrast, the study of canon law centred on a twelfth-century textbook known as Gratian's *Decretum* and subsequent compilations of, mainly, papal case law.¹⁹¹ The first copy of this work was compiled by the monk Gratian at Bologna under the title *Concordantia Discordantium Canonum* and it continued to be revised by masters at the university.¹⁹² Its purpose was to address contradictions within canon law and to present solutions to these apparent dilemmas. A key feature of the *Decretum* was the brilliant pedagogic use of narratives, evidence of which embodied a number of different legal problems, but otherwise its structure was similar to that

¹⁸⁹ Knowles, *The Evolution of Medieval Thought*, pp. 141-3.

¹⁹⁰ J.P. Canning, 'Introduction: politics, institutions and ideas', *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought c350 – c1450*, J.H. Burns (ed.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) pp. 341 – 366; pp. 356-7.

¹⁹¹ Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, pp. 44-9.

¹⁹² On the authorship and revision of the text see A. Winroth, *The Making of Gratian's Decretum* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

of Lombard's *Sentences*, with chapters organised by subject and featuring extracts from works of the Church Fathers, Scriptural quotations, and legal texts including the *Decretals*.¹⁹³ These were collections of papal and episcopal letters which set laws of the Church and could be upheld in ecclesiastical courts. The *Decretum* was a private collection. The first officially papal-issued decretal collection, the *Liber extra*, was published under the direction of Gregory IX in 1234. Two further official decretal collections were issued, the *Liber sextus* of Boniface VIII in 1298, and the collection of Clement V issued under John XXII in 1317.

The above texts feature on the surviving pecia lists of Bologna.¹⁹⁴ As a centre of legal studies, it is unsurprising that various aspects of the pecia system were well documented in the university statutes. Statutes regulated the physical layout of pecia copies, the pledges university stationers were required to give annually to the university, and strict renting procedures for stationers to follow with infractions punishable by monetary fines.¹⁹⁵ Along with system regulations, there are six surviving pecia lists within the statutes. The statutes of 1317-1347 include a list of texts recommended by the university for stationers to carry through the pecia rental system, with each entry containing the title of the work, the number of quires, and

¹⁹³ Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, pp. 53- 55.

¹⁹⁴ Editions of surviving Bolognese pecia lists feature in Murano (2005) *Fonti* II, XXI, XXIV, XXXVI, XL, XLIII, XLVI, LII, LIX, LXI.

¹⁹⁵ Rouse and Rouse, *Authentic Witnesses*, pp. 71-6.

the rental price of the work also set by the university. This list was revised every ten years between 1317 and 1347, and contains 121 entries of legal textbooks.

With such a wide selection of legal textbooks available on the Bologna price lists, it is not surprising to find evidence of book exchange with Paris. With its university's primary focus on theology, Paris had a much smaller law faculty than Bologna. It was also a smaller faculty as Paris students studied canon law only, with the nearest centre in civil law at Orléans. Students therefore commonly trained as canonists to practise law or to teach. This was the result of a ban on the teaching of civil law in Paris by Honorius III in his 1219 papal bull *Super specula Domini*.¹⁹⁶ A large proportion of the legal texts that survive from the medieval university were written in Italy, suggesting that it was cost effective for Paris stationers to import these works from Bologna booksellers. It was also common for manuscripts to be sent to Paris with the illuminations and miniatures left blank.¹⁹⁷ This was likely because Paris had a wider cultural community present to support the book production process, with about 45 named illuminators listed on the tax rolls of the city.¹⁹⁸ One example of this inter-city exchange is Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 600, a copy of the Decretals of Gregory IX with the commentary of Bernard of

¹⁹⁶ Young, *Scholarly Community at the Early University of Paris*, p. 25.

¹⁹⁷ de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts*, p. 138.

¹⁹⁸ de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts*, p. 137, see also Françoise Baron, 'Enlumineurs, Peintures et Sculpteurs de XIII^e et XIV^e Siècles d'après les Rôles de la Taille', *Bulletin Archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques*, 4 (1968) pp. 37- 121.

Botone. MS 600 was produced through the pecia system of Bologna in c.1310, and then illuminated in Paris in possibly the 1330s.¹⁹⁹ This manuscript was produced with only the written text complete and sent to Paris with miniatures left blank. Both the manuscript and illuminations are of higher quality, and the manuscript features decorated initials and a miniature portrait of Gregory IX in papal garb seated on a throne.

Paris stationers resold Bolognese works, and also produced a small number of their own manuscripts through the pecia system. The pecia lists of 1275 and 1304 both feature separate sections for canon law entries, the 1275 list with 26 entries and the 1304 list with 19. They both feature Gratian's *Decretum*, copies of the *Liber extra* decretals of Gregory IX, and accompanying apparatuses. A selection of commentaries and reference texts by several practising canonists also appear on both lists. Most texts are works from canonists who taught at Bologna: The *Summa super titulis Decretalium* of Geoffrey of Trani appears on the 1275 list as item number 117; the *Summa Decretorum* of Huguccio Pisanus as 1275 (118); *Casus Decretorum* of Bartholomew of Brescia as 1275 (121); *Casus longi super quinque libros Decretalium* of Bernard of Botone as 1275 (122) and 1304 (110); *Summa cum apparatu* of Raymundus de Peñaforte as 1275 (123) and 1304 (108); *Ordo iudiciarius* of Giles of Foscarari as

¹⁹⁹ See short entry on Douai, B.M. MS 600 in S. L'Engle, 'Appendix: List of dated and located Decretal Manuscripts', *Le miniature nei manoscritti delle Decretali di Gregorio IX (Liber Extra)*, M.P. Ramírez (ed.) (Rome: Università degli Studi Roma Tre, 2012) pp. 45-57, p. 57.

1304 (106). Henry of Segusio lectured at both Bologna and Paris, and has three works on the peccata lists: *Summa super titulis Decretalium* as 1275 (126) and 1304 (100); *Lectura in Decretales Gregorii IX* as 1275 (127) and 1304 (99); and *Margarita* as 1275 (128). The *Lectura super Decretum* of Peter of Salins, a canonist at Paris, appeared on both lists as 1275 (119) and 1304 (98). Although civil law was not practised at Paris, the civil and canon law texts *Libellus in iure civile* and *Libellus de ordine iudiciorum* are available together as one item, number 124 on the 1275 list. This text was composed by Roffredo Benevento, a canonist at Naples. One work on the 1304 list that does not appear on the 1275 list is the *Summa de iure canonico* of Monaldus Iustinopolitanus, a trained canon lawyer and Franciscan provincial for the Dalmatian-Slavonic province. The remaining works were composed by trained canon lawyer and Bishop of Mende, Guillaume Durand: *Repertorium* as 1275 (125) and 1304 (104); *Rationale divinatorum officiorum* as 1304 (102); and *Speculum iudiciale* as 1304 (103).

II. Comparing the manuscripts of Paris and Bologna

With two main peccata systems producing works in Paris and Bologna, it is essential for any researcher in this field to be able to recognise the codicological and palaeographical differences between texts of the two systems. The first noticeable difference between manuscripts is their size. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the peccata manuscripts of Paris were commonly relatively compact in size, so as to be portable for academics and other members of the cultural community. In contrast, Bolognese manuscripts were much larger in their dimensions. The

difference in manuscript size is reflected in the standard layout of folios. Folios of standard Paris pecia texts have on average 30 lines per page. The recommended number of lines per folio in a Bolognese pecia text was 60, as outlined in the university statutes.²⁰⁰ Thus, Bolognese texts were generally double in height of their Paris counterparts. The folios of Bolognese manuscripts also featured a distinctive format. Paris manuscripts were generally double-columned with the main text in the university script, Textualis Semi-Quadrata. Folios in Bolognese works were divided into two writing spaces, with a central area containing passages of law and the surrounding, outer written area containing commentary on the passage. The text of main passages was generally written in a university bookhand known as Littera Gothica Textualis Rotunda Bononiensis, and commentaries were composed in a smaller glossing script known as Littera AS-Textualis Italiana.²⁰¹ It is interesting to note that some higher quality Paris pecia texts reproduced the Bolognese page format with central writing space and surrounding commentary, as seen with Paris, BNF MS lat 3893. This has not been studied, but I speculate it was copied from a Bolognese pecia work rather than a Paris exemplar.

Another difference between Paris and Bologna pecia copies is the pecia mark. In both Bolognese and Paris manuscripts pecia marks are placed at the break between one pecia quire and the next. However, Paris pecia marks mark the start of

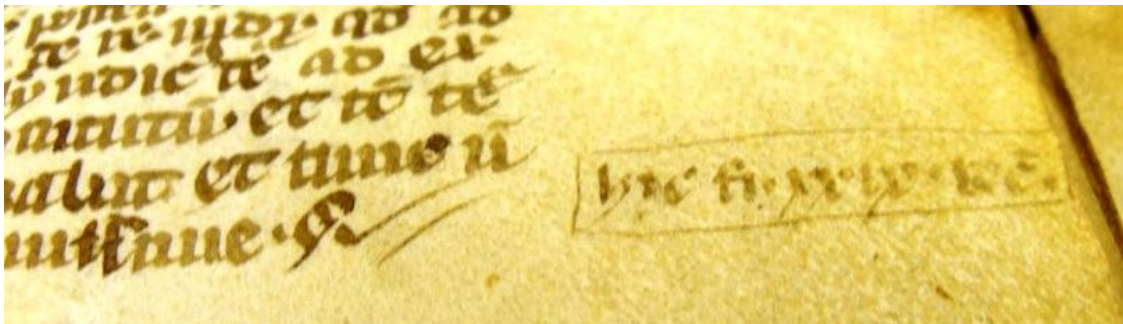
²⁰⁰ Rouse and Rouse, *Authentic Witnesses*, p. 72.

²⁰¹ M.P. Brown, *A Guide to Western Historical Scripts from Antiquity to 1600* (London: British Library, 1993) p. 124.

a quire in the exemplar being copied, whereas Bolognese scribes placed the marks at the end of the copy. These marks commonly contain the abbreviations 'f', 'fn' and 'fm', which Destrez explains are variants of the word *finis*.²⁰² One such mark can be seen in Cambridge, University Library MS Add. 4188. MS Add. 4188 is a Bologna pecia copy containing the *Repertorium* and *Speculum* of Durandus, and the mark in Note 1A denotes the end of the twenty-ninth piece of *Speculum*.

1A. Classification: III-PM, f. 58r

Hic finis xxix.pecie.



73. Cambridge, University Library MS Add. 4188, f. 58r

Finally, manuscripts produced in Bologna contained an additional mark that Paris manuscripts lacked known as the *punctum*. This would appear as an actual dot or written out as 'punctum i', 'punctum ii', etc in the margins of texts. This mark denoted a university regulation that dictated the pace of teaching in the law

²⁰² Destrez, *La Pecia dans les manuscrits universitaires du XIII^e et du XIV^e siècle*, p. 13.

faculty.²⁰³ The punctum mark represented the place in the text at which the master should be in his teaching at twelve- or fourteen-day intervals during the term. Recognising these differing signs of production provides a rich context in which to place the marginalia of manuscript users.

III. Evidence of manuscript users

Susan L'Engle has recently completed a valuable study on user notes in legal texts from the University of Bologna dating from the late eleventh to the early thirteenth centuries.²⁰⁴ She explains that the early works of civil law reveal the efforts of academics to summarise and explain the workings of Roman law as well as any contradictions present.²⁰⁵ The user notes that feature in L'Engle's study can be classified as Types II-PRM (Pictorial Reference Marks) and II-GA (Graphical Aids). Students and masters from this period used graphical responses in textbooks as organisational and memory tools. Images often represented common situations or procedures referred to in the main text: a document with a seal to denote a legal transaction; a set of scales to represent equality or legality; a chalice or book as an image of wealth or property; weapons such as axes and knives to signify power or

²⁰³ Rouse and Rouse, *Authentic Witnesses*, p. 70.

²⁰⁴ S, L'Engle, 'The Pro-active Reader: Learning to Learn the Law', in *Medieval Manuscripts, their Makers and Users: A Special Issue of Viator in Honour of Richard and Mary Rouse* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011) pp. 51-76.

²⁰⁵ L'Engle, 'The Pro-active Reader: Learning to Learn the Law', p. 52.

aggression; and spiders as symbols of immoral behaviour.²⁰⁶ These images were used as memory aids by students who were encouraged by their masters to be able to recall laws and legal processes on demand, an essential skill for careers in teaching or practising law. The introduction of the pecia system in the thirteenth century enabled the mass production of textbooks at the University of Bologna, and works became widely available to students first in the city before spreading to Paris.

The academic community at Paris from 1250 onwards continued to use legal textbooks in the same manner as the faculty in Bologna. Marginalia were used to further the study of works by highlighting or summarising passages of interest, creating memory aids, and outlining plans for classroom exercises. Although these manuscripts were primarily used for academic study, there is no reason why canon lawyers would not have availed themselves of pecia copies of useful legal texts. One manuscript containing academic user notes is Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 32/21. MS 32/21 is a rare example of a standard Paris pecia copy, and contains the *Repertorium* of Guillaume Durand. Very few standard pecia manuscripts of legal works copied through the Paris system have survived from this period, and this may indicate that these works were produced in low numbers as a result of the prolific number of Bolognese texts available in the city. The user of this work studied the main text in detail and the two notes selected for examination are representative of the marginalia found throughout the manuscript. Note 2A is classified as Type II-

²⁰⁶ L'Engle, 'The Pro-active Reader: Learning to Learn the Law', p. 57.

PD (Passage Division), as the user has divided the main text on renunciation (Book 1) into separate categories: *que* (which), *quis* (who), *qualiter* (how), *cui* (who, what), *effectus* (the effect). Each category is followed by numbers which correspond to separate sections of the main text. Each paragraph symbol ¶ has been numbered by the user himself. Leonard Boyle explains that notes such as this were commonplace in law schools, where lawyers were trained to study documents and their contents.²⁰⁷ Students were taught a basic framework to interpret the nature and purpose of legal documents through posing central questions such as the above. The purpose of these exercises was to learn how to best describe and present a case in court.

2A. Classification: II-PD, f. 13r

Que 3. 11. 12. 21. 22. 26. 32. 33. 39. 40. 42.

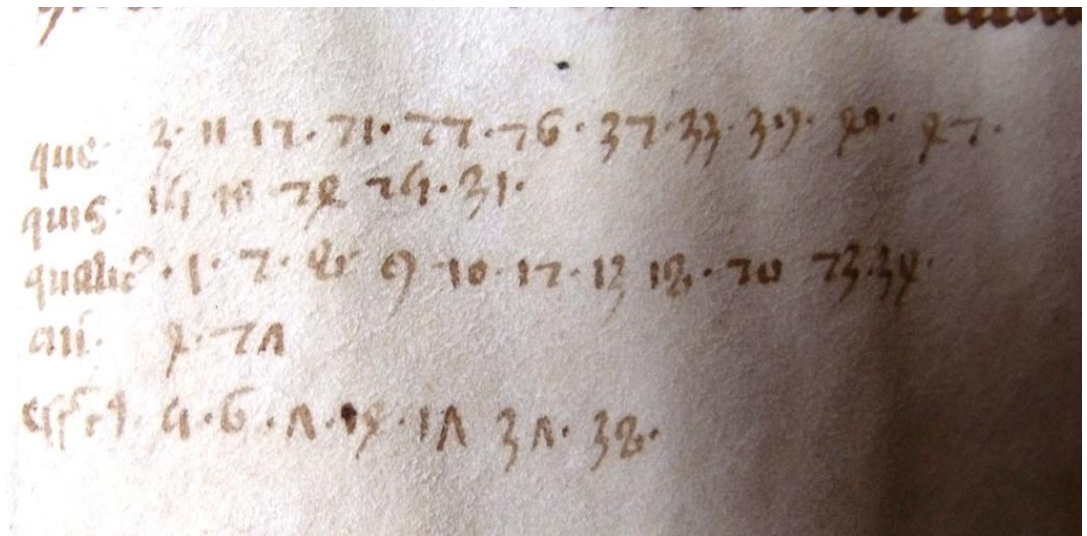
Quis 15. 18. 24. 25. 31.

Qualiter .1. 2. 8. 9. 10. 12. 13. 18. 20. 23. 34.

Qui 4. 27

Effectus 5. 6. 7. 14. 17. 37. 38.

²⁰⁷ L.E. Boyle, 'Diplomatics' in *Medieval Studies: An Introduction*, J.M. Powell (ed.) (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1992) pp. 82-113, p. 93.



74. Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 32/21, f. 13r

The user of MS 32/21 employs throughout the manuscript his reference system of numbering paragraph marks in order to correlate his marginal notes to the main text. Note 2B is classified as Type II-T (Topic), as the user has noted the subjects of separate passages in the main text, a chapter on tithes, first fruits, and offerings in book 3. Keywords have been placed in the lower margin of the main text, and they are accompanied by the numbers of the paragraphs in which they appear. The keywords, 66 in total, are in alphabetical order and may have been copied out in preparation for a classroom exercise.

2B. Classification: II-T, f. 39v

¶ Aves .43.

Accio .7. 51.

Animalia c.43 53. 54.

Advocatus .48.

Arbor .54.

¶ Baptismalis .22. 23

Bestia .54.

¶ Clericus .3.

Census .48.

Colonus .26.

Capella .23.

[col. 2]

Compositio 45

Consuetudo .34.

¶ Diaconus .16.

Dives .40.

Donatio .29. 47. 48

Doctor .48.

¶ Ecclesia .3. 22. 49

Exempti .31. 32

Episcopus .5. 22. 25.

Expensa .42.

Excommunicatio .9.

[col. 3]

¶ ffeudum .28. 37.

ffirma .41.

ffenum .53.

¶ Genus .19.

¶ heres .48

¶ Interpretatio 55. 56

Illicita .8.

Iudeus .30.

¶ lac .53.

Lana .53.

Laicus .17.28. 37. 52.

[col. 3]

Legatarius 48.

Leprosi .46.

Locatio .41.

Locus .36.

Lucrum .48.

¶ mercenarius .48.

minute .21.

¶ Negotiatio .42. 48.

Novalia 4. 5. 15. 18

¶ Oblatio .9. 38. 47

[col. 4]

¶ Pascua .4. 53.

Pauper 24. 39.

Pactum 20. 45

Presbiter .16.

Pensionarius .26.

Prescriptio .50. 56.

Permutatio .11.

Personales .6.

Prediales 6.

Pisces .53. 54.

Primitie 2. 40.

[col. 5]

Privilegium .55. Exempti'

Pignus .13.

¶ Redimere .1.

Reges .44.

Revocatio . 52.

¶ Saracenus .30

Separatio .33.

Spiritualia .14.

Symonia 1. 17.

Solutio 9. 36.

[col. 6]

¶ tempus .10. 35.

Tributa . 27. 48

¶ venatio .54.

ubi .36.

Handwritten Latin text in a medieval script, likely a glossary or index. The text is arranged in columns and includes numerous entries with associated numbers. The entries are:

<i>Autre. 79. Auro. 81. Auro. 82. Auro. 83. Auro. 84. Auro. 85. Auro. 86. Auro. 87. Auro. 88. Auro. 89. Auro. 90. Auro. 91. Auro. 92. Auro. 93. Auro. 94. Auro. 95. Auro. 96. Auro. 97. Auro. 98. Auro. 99. Auro. 100.</i>	<i>Cap. 84. Colue. 85. Colue. 86. Colue. 87. Colue. 88. Colue. 89. Colue. 90. Colue. 91. Colue. 92. Colue. 93. Colue. 94. Colue. 95. Colue. 96. Colue. 97. Colue. 98. Colue. 99. Colue. 100.</i>	<i>Legenda. 93. Leprosi. 96. Letico. 97. Lucis. 98. Lucis. 99. Lucis. 100.</i>	<i>Legenda. 93. Leprosi. 96. Letico. 97. Lucis. 98. Lucis. 99. Lucis. 100.</i>	<i>Legenda. 93. Leprosi. 96. Letico. 97. Lucis. 98. Lucis. 99. Lucis. 100.</i>	<i>Legenda. 93. Leprosi. 96. Letico. 97. Lucis. 98. Lucis. 99. Lucis. 100.</i>
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75. Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 32/21, f. 39v

The marginal notes of Gonville and Caius College MS 32/21 demonstrate its use as a reference textbook and classroom aid. The keywords in both 2A and 2B may also have been used as memory aids during study. The manuscript is particularly important as it was produced in Paris and brought to England by an English user. Most likely the user was a visiting scholar who travelled to the university in Paris for a period of study before returning to his home institution. MS 32/21 and other similar manuscripts are evidence of the Paris academic community's influence on English intellectual life during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, as explored in the following chapters.

Chapter 10:

Thomas Aquinas and the *Summa theologiae*

I. The significance of the *summa*

Thomas Aquinas's major work the *Summa theologiae* is one of the most celebrated texts to survive from the medieval period, and warrants separate treatment in this study of the pechia system. Yet the *Summa* does not stand alone as a unique text from this time, and instead it appears in a wider context of related works. Aquinas's opus belongs to an interesting genre of text known as the *summa*, an all-encompassing work.

During the early thirteenth century demand rose in the Church for educated preachers and the faculty of theology at Paris received special attention from Pope Gregory IX in his bull *Parens scientiarum*. With the university closely affiliated with the Church, it was natural that the Paris academic community involved members with a strong sense of social reform and moral obligation to their fellow Christians.²⁰⁸

William of Auxerre was one such master and composed his work *Summa aurea*, loosely formatted in the same manner as Peter Lombard's *Sentences*. In his prologue

²⁰⁸ Young, *Scholarly Community at the Early University of Paris*, pp. 36-8; Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and his Circle*, pp. 90-1, 107-16; Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris*, pp. 108-11; E. Corran, 'Lying and Perjury in Medieval Practical Thought' (unpublished PhD thesis, University College London, 2015) pp. 108, 232-4.

William emphasised that the teaching of natural reasoning in academic theology has three aims: to support and confirm the faith of others, to defend the faith against heretics, and to instruct simple believers in the true faith.²⁰⁹ The Franciscan theologian John of La Rochelle composed his *Summa de vitiis* in the 1230s and also encouraged scholars to study theology for the purpose of self-edification and the edification of others; any other reason such as the pursuit of knowledge, fame, or riches was a sin: 'Finis ergo studenti in theologia hic est, ut primo quis se edificet, postea alios. Quod conceditur. Si ergo aliquis alio fine studeat, peccat'.²¹⁰ Therefore the *summae* or collective works of theologians were promoted for use as instruction manuals and learning tools.

Thomas Aquinas followed in this same vein, composing his *Summa theologiae* as an instruction manual for students in the Dominican Order.²¹¹ Aquinas produced the *Summa* between 1268 and 1273 while lecturing in theology in Paris and Naples, however he did not complete his work. The work is divided into four books: *prima*

²⁰⁹ William of Auxerre, *Summa aurea*, I. Prologus, ed. by Jean Ribailier, 7 vols. (Grottaferrata: Editiones Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1980-7), vol. 1, pp. 15-16.

²¹⁰ Paris, BNF MS lat. 16417, f. 99r, transcription in Young, *Scholarly Community at the Early University of Paris*, p. 37.

²¹¹ A detailed study of Aquinas and his writings: J.A. Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas d'Aquino: His Life, Thought and Works* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1983). A useful study of the *Summa theologia* is presented in L.E. Boyle, 'The setting of the *Summa theologia* of Saint Thomas', *The Gilson Lectures on Thomas Aquinas*, ed. J.P. Reilly (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2008) pp. 19-45.

pars, prima secundae, secunda secundae, and tertia pars. Previously, Dominican houses were encouraged to own a range of reference texts for consultation. Humbert of Romans, master general of the Dominican Order from 1254 to 1263, recommended in the *Liber de instructione officialium fratrum Ordinis praedicatorum* a range of reading materials including the Decretals, books of concordances, the *Summa de vitiis et virtutibus* of Guillaume Peyraut, and moral distinction collections.²¹² Aquinas wished to create a reference text for Dominicans that covered major aspects of general theology: the *Prima pars* examines God, the Trinity, and Creation; the *Secunda* focuses on the acts, strengths, and weaknesses of man; and the *Tertia* looks at the Son of God, Incarnation, and the sacraments. The *Summa* was not only intended for university scholars, and was most likely aimed at all junior Dominican friars as he states in the Prologue ‘My purpose is so to propose the things that pertain to faith that the instruction of beginners will be better served’.²¹³ Reflecting the work’s success, all four parts of the *Summa* were produced through thepecia system at Paris. The 1275 list is straightforward with the *Prima pars* appearing as item number

²¹² Humbert of Romans, *Opera de vita regulari*, ed. J.J. Berthier, 2 vols (Paris, 1889) 2: 265.

²¹³ Quia catholicae veritatis doctor non solum provector debet instruere sed ad eum pertinet etiam incipientes erudire,...propositum nostrae intentionis in hoc opere est ea quae ad christianam religionem pertinet eo modo tradere secundum quod congruit ad eruditionem incipientium’. Translation in L.E. Boyle, ‘The setting of the *Summa theologia* of Saint Thomas’ p. 34, n. 28. Edition of Prologue can be found online at <http://www.corpusthomaticum.org/>

49, the Prima secundae item number 50, and the Secunda secundae item number 51. The Tertia pars does not feature on the 1275 list, yet it does appear on the 1304 list as item number 27. However, there is an error on the 1304 list with the Prima pars featured as item number 25 and the Secunda secundae as item 26. Bataillon suggests that item number 25 was intended to be the Prima secunda instead of the Prima pars, due to an incorrect piece number included with the item entry. It states the text is 70 pieces long, yet the Prima pars is in fact 56.²¹⁴ The Prima secundae is the probable entry as it is 60 pieces in length (read 'lxx' as 'lx').

II. Evidence of manuscript users

The manuscripts examined here feature a variety of user notes that suggest copies of the *Summa theologia* were consulted by university scholars. Three manuscripts are examined below: Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 75/42; Oxford, Balliol College MS 44; and Oxford, Lincoln College MS Lat 2. All three manuscripts are Paris-produced peccia texts with evidence of English users, suggesting that it is highly probable these works were produced for English students at Paris who returned to their home institutions with the manuscripts. So these manuscripts are not only representative of user notes found in peccia copies of Aquinas's works, they are also evidence of Aquinas's reception in English institutions such as Oxford. The works of Aquinas were central to thirteenth-century

²¹⁴ L.-J. Bataillon communicated his theory to G. Murano 18 September 1999, see Murano (2005) p. 121, n. 248.

university debates at Oxford, particularly the debate during 1277-86 in which the early Thomist school promoted Aquinas's theories on human nature and bodily identity.²¹⁵ This school mainly comprised Dominican theologians, including Thomas of Sutton, Robert of Orford, and Richard Knapwell.²¹⁶ This places the following three manuscripts in an interesting context, because their users were likely aware of these debates at their home institutions and possibly influenced by them in their own work.

Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 75/42 is a standard peccata copy of *Prima pars* and a high number of notes suggest that it was frequently studied by its user. Note 1A is representative of the notes found in MS 75/42 and is classified as Type II-PS (Paraphrased Summation). This note was composed in the lower margin of q.3, ar.4 on whether essence and existence are the same in God. Note 1A is also written in an Anglicana cursive hand, demonstrating the user was most probably English. The user has engaged the main text and condensed this passage succinctly in one paragraph, suggesting Note 1A was composed as part of a classroom exercise.

1A. Classification: II-PS, f. unnumbered²¹⁷

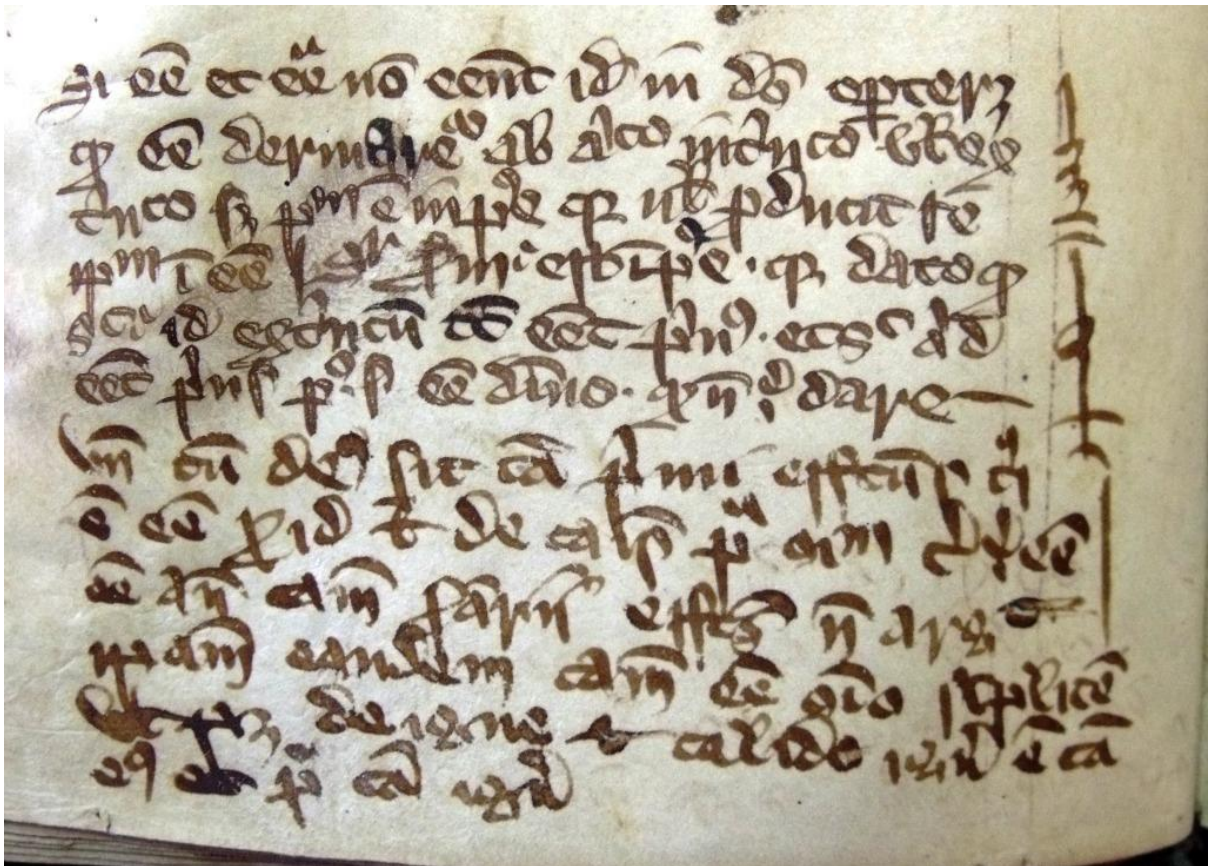
Si esse et essentia non essent idem in deo oporteret quod esse

²¹⁵ A. Fitzpatrick, 'Bodily Identity in Scholastic Theology' (unpublished PhD thesis, University College London, 2013) pp. 195- 6.

²¹⁶ Fitzpatrick, 'Bodily Identity in Scholastic Theology', pp. 195- 6.

²¹⁷ MS does not contain complete librarian pagination.

derivaretur ab aliquo intrinseco vel ex-trinseco. Sed primum est impossibile, quia nihil producit se ipsum in esse. Sed similiter secundum est impossibile, quia dato quod sic, id extrinsecum tunc esset prius [MS priu^{us}], et sic aliquid esset prius primo, scilicet, esse divino, quod non illud dare Unde cum deus sit causa primi effectus cuius est esse, secundum illud etiam de causis prima omnium cum est esse esse [word repeated] ante causam secundarii effectus non arguit ipsam eandem causam esse omnino simplicem ut patet de igne et calido ignis est causa eius et prima causa ignis



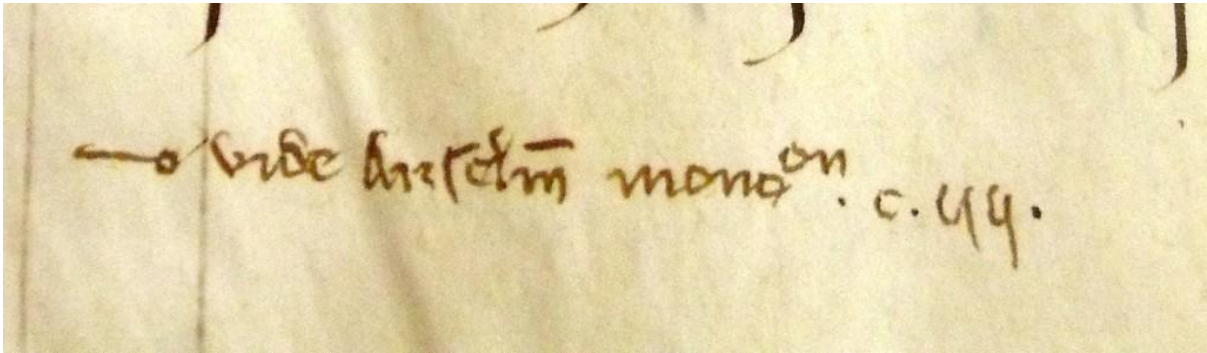
76. Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 75/42, f. unnumbered. Main text: I^a, q.3, ar.4.

Like MS 75/42, Oxford, Balliol College MS 44 is a standardpecia copy. MS 44 is a copy of Aquinas's *Tertia pars*. This manuscript contains few user notes, yet the marginalia present demonstrate that the work was consulted by its user as a reference tool. Note 2A in particular is evidence of this. Classified as Type II-AT (Additional Text), Note 2A appears in the lower margin of q.35, ar.5 on whether there are two filiations in Christ. The user has highlighted a passage from the main text with a special sign: 'Sed recte consideranti apparet eadem relatione referri unumquemque ad suum patrem et matrem, propter unitatem causae', (if the question is considered in a proper light, one shall see that every man bears one relation to both his father and mother, on account of the unity of the cause thereof). Underneath the main passage in the margin the user has referenced an additional text: 'See Anselmus *Monologion* c.55'. This is a clear reference to chapter 55 of the *Monologion* of Anselm, a work also produced through the Parispecia system as item number 10 on the 1275 list. Chapter 55 of the *Monologion* discusses whether a father, mother and child share equal traits, a related topic to the highlighted passage above.²¹⁸ The user of MS 44 therefore consulted at least one other text in his research, possibly in preparation of a disputation.

²¹⁸ Edition of the *Monologion* by Anselm of Canterbury: *Opera omnia*, critical edition by F. S. Schmitt, Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1946–1961, (6 vols), vol 1, pp. 1-69, p. 67.

2A. Classification: II-AT (Additional Text), f. 82v

[special sign] vide Anselmi monologion. c. 55.



77. Oxford, Balliol College MS 44, f. 82v

Finally, Oxford, Lincoln College MS Lat 2 was also a standardpecia text with evidence of use as a reference work. MS Lat 2 is a copy of the *Secunda secundae* and contains user marginalia such as Note 3A. Note 3A is classified as both Type II-TC (Table of Contents) and II-T (Topic), and contains a list of keywords and accompanying question numbers. These keywords are arranged in alphabetical order and highlight topics that feature in individual questions of the main text. Note 3A is composed in an English cursive hand and most likely user-added. A list of keywords is a commonly found reference tool in manuscripts consulted by scholars and preachers. A user preparing a piece of research or sermon would require quick access to passages on related themes, and a keyword list acted like a modern-day

book index. This list ranges from A to C only, most likely the remaining keywords were lost during a later rebinding process.

3A. Classification: Type II-TC/II-T, f.224v

abstinentia 146	bellum 40
acceptio personarum 63	beneficientia 31
accidia 35	blasfemia 13. 14
accusatio 68	bona temporalia 66
activa vita 181	
ade peccatum 163	cantus 91
adoratio 84	caritas 23. 24. 25. 26. 27
advocatus 71	caritatis precepta 44
adulatio 115	castitas 151
adulterium 154	cecitas mentis 15
adiurare 90	clementia 157
affabilitas 114	confessio 3
ambitio 131	consilii donum 52
apellare 69	constantia 137
apostasia 12	contentio 38
articulus 1	contemplatio 82
astutia 55	contemplativa vita 179
attentio 83	continentia 155

The user note evidence from these three manuscripts, Gonville and Caius College MS 75/42, Balliol College MS 44, and Lincoln College MS Lat 2, is representative of marginalia found in peccia copies of the *Summa theologiae*. Notes 1A to 3A demonstrate that the summa was consulted by a general audience of university scholars as Aquinas intended. These are standard user notes that reflect the way in which the works were consulted as reference tools, with concise passage summaries as seen in Note 1A, cross-reference notes to other related texts such as 2A, and accompanying keyword table to act as an efficient index as featured in 3A. Similar notes are found across separate genres of works available through the peccia system used by students and preachers in Paris in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the preparation of their work, from Bible concordances to decretals, showing the versatile and accessible nature of Aquinas's multi-volume instruction manual. All three manuscripts examined above were used by English scholars at Paris, and the following chapter explores in further detail the influence of Paris on English intellectual life.

Chapter 11:

The influence of Paris on English intellectual life

I. The Oxford pecia system

As the principal intellectual centre of Europe in the mid-thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the University of Paris cultivated vibrant, international academic and cultural communities. These communities were mobile in nature with many temporary scholarly visitors to the city from institutions abroad. The University of Oxford was one such institution. It was common practice for members to travel to Paris to carry out study and/ or teaching and participate in the daily life of the university. This thesis examines pecia texts with user written marginalia in French and English libraries, and the influence of Paris on English intellectual life has been made apparent from this research. What is not so clear is whether England – Oxford - had its own pecia system.

In the last century it was firmly believed that Oxford did. In 1935 Destrez inferred the presence in Oxford of a pecia system because of the large body of pecia works that survive in England.²¹⁹ Graham Pollard later lent his support to this theory, with special reference to a possible pecia exemplar produced in Oxford circa

²¹⁹ Destrez, *La Pecia dans les manuscrits universitaires du XIII^e et du XIV^e siècle*, p. 60.

1280, Worcester Cathedral MS F.103.²²⁰ Destrez and Pollard identified a total of thirteen *pecia* copies with links to Oxford.

More recent scholars have however disputed the existence of an independent Oxford system. Parkes carried out a study on these thirteen manuscripts and concluded that although the manuscripts' associations with Oxford could not be denied, the origin of some of the manuscripts could not be established securely.²²¹ De Hamel went one step further and stated there was no evidence for a formally regulated *pecia* system at the university whatsoever.²²²

My own research converges with these views. I think it highly doubtful that the University of Oxford established a *pecia* system with the city's local book trade. First, there is no indication in the university statutes that stationers were licensed to produce *pecia* works. It is true that in 1339 the university introduced a statute that required Oxford stationers or whoever else who sold exemplars to keep correct and

²²⁰ Pollard, 'The *pecia* system in the medieval universities', p. 153.

²²¹ The thirteen manuscripts include Cambridge, Gonville and Caius MSS 481/477, 297/691; Durham Cathedral MSS A.I.16, A.III.13; Oxford, Merton MS 177; New MS 116; Magdalen MS Lat. 271, nos.20-23; Bodleian Library MS Lat. misc. b. 20/2, ff.313-25; British Library, Arundel MS 435; Lincoln MS Lat. 113; Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 222 (2753). See M.B. Parkes, 'The provision of books', in *The History of the University of Oxford, II: Late Medieval Oxford*, J.I. Catto and R. Evans (eds.) (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992) pp. 407-483, p. 463, n. 269.

²²² C. de Hamel, 'Books and Society', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: 1100-1400*, N. Morgan and R.M. Thomson (eds.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) pp. 3-21, p. 17.

complete versions of the books or face penalties such as confiscation²²³, but this need not in itself imply a pecia system by which the exemplars were divided into quires that could be rented out independently and if necessary simultaneously. No other regulations, such as guides on pricing or formatting of manuscripts, feature in the statutes that would indicate an operating pecia system. Parkes argues that as so many scholars acquired their works from outside of Oxford that the quality of texts circulating in the town was difficult to control, and the regulation was most likely ‘intended to restrict the exploitation of its members by local tradesmen’.²²⁴ A chest used by university officers to store documents known as the *cista exemplariorum* is mentioned in the 1347 statutes²²⁵; however the term ‘exemplariorum’ was most likely

²²³ *Statuta Antiqua universitatis Oxoniensis*, ed. A. Strickland Gibson (Oxford, 1931), 186 (1339): ‘stationarii et alii quicumque, qui exemplaria librorum locant teneantur, sub pena amissionis eorundem, aut sub pena aliqua graviori per universitatem taxanda, integra, completa, correcta ac fidelia exemplaria exhibere’.

²²⁴ Parkes, ‘The provision of books’, p. 466.

²²⁵ *Statuta Antiqua*, 149 (1347): ‘Quia per Procuratorum inhibitiones ad instantias appellantis, de facili absque aliqua causae cognitione factas pro sola dilatione, frequenter oritur materia et occasio frivolae appellationis, cautiones que per tales appellantes expositae non cedunt in commodum Universitatis, per Universitatem Regentium extitit ordinatum quod, priusquam fuerit inhibitum, iuret appellans coram altero Procuratore quod non causa frivolae dilationis habendae, sed ex iusta causa, quam credit se posse probare, suam appellationem interposuit; et tunc alter Procurator, antequam inhibeat, cautionem recipiat sufficientem: cautio vero recepta in cista exemplariorum infra biduum reponatur, et nomen exponentis cum cautione exposita, et summa pro qua iacet in registro, scribatur’. This statute states that if one

a general term relating to pledges, charters, and other documents, not to *pecia* exemplars as Pollard previously suggested.²²⁶

The second major indicator working against the theory of an independent Oxford system is the content of the manuscripts themselves. The majority of surviving *pecia* manuscripts at Oxford and other English institutions contain codicological signs of Paris production, including layout features of a standard *pecia* text as well as the use of the university script *Textualis Semi-Quadrata* for the composition of works. A small number of texts are composed in English document hands, most likely the efforts of English scholars who copied these works in Paris from *pecia* exemplars and returned with the manuscripts to their home institutions. With strong evidence against the existence of an Oxford system, the question now is what explains the presence of the vast number of *pecia* texts surviving in English institutions? A system of intellectual exchange must have been in place between the University of Paris and English centres of learning such as Oxford.

wished to appeal a decision made by a proctor or another university official, he must deposit a sufficient pledge into this chest, the *cista exemplariorum*. This is a vague term with no apparent relation to the *pecia* system of book production.

²²⁶ Parkes, 'The provision of books', p. 465-6; Pollard, 'The *pecia* system in the medieval universities', p. 157. Pollard theorised that the statutes of 1339 and 1347 were both evidence of a *pecia* system operating in Oxford because he interpreted the terms 'exemplar' and 'exemplariorum' as relating to *pecia* works.

II. A system of intellectual exchange

The early thirteenth century was a period of great change in Paris, with several factors helping the university to cement its reputation as the forerunner of academic institutions. Philip Augustus transformed the town's resources and gave it the status of a capital city, which encouraged the growth of an academic community.²²⁷ In 1215 the masters of the university as a collective received recognition as a legal corporation under the statutes of Robert of Courson, and were granted wider powers in the administration of the university and awarding of teaching licences to new masters.²²⁸ The papal bull *Parens scientiarum* issued in 1231 by Gregory IX re-confirmed the autonomy of the school from local authorities by placing it directly under papal control and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and honoured the university by naming Paris the 'parent of all sciences'.²²⁹ Members of the university also received additional freedoms, such as the right to strike, the ability to enforce university regulations and to self-govern over aspects of university life including lecture schedules and academic dress. These privileges led to the development of the university from a loose collective of independent masters and

²²⁷ Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, p. 200.

²²⁸ Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and his Circle*, pp. 75-6; Wei, 'From Twelfth-Century Schools to Thirteenth-Century Universities: The Disappearance of Biographical and Autobiographical Representations of Scholars', p. 57.

²²⁹ *Chartularium*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1889-97) no. 79, pp. 136-9; English trans. of opening passage in Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris* pp. 102-3.

schools to a unified academic body.²³⁰ With the university stabilised, the academic community could flourish and expand unimpeded for the following decades. An intellectual programme was firmly established by Paris-based theologians like Peter the Chanter, which led thirteenth-century academics to focus their attention on lecturing, holding disputations, and preaching.²³¹ In his treatise entitled *Verbum abbreviatum* Peter wrote that the practice of bible study resembles a house with 'Reading is, as it were, the foundation and basement for what follows...Disputation is the wall in the building of study...Preaching, which is supported by the former, is the roof, sheltering the faithful from the heat and wind of temptation'.²³² The emphasis on these three activities continued through Peter's followers such as Thomas Chobham who also declared that 'the duty of the theologian consists of three things: in lecturing, in disputing, and in preaching'.²³³ The result of this unique programme of education was the training of elite theologians much needed by the

²³⁰ See Young, *Scholarly Community at the Early University of Paris*, pp. 1-10.

²³¹ For an overview of Peter the Chanter's time at Paris, see J.W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and his Circle* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970).

²³² Peter the Chanter, *Verbum abbreviatum*, PL vol. 205, col. 25, trans. B. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1952) p.208. See Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris*, pp. 230-1.

²³³ 'officium theologi in tribus consistit: in lectione, in disputatione, in predicatione'. Thomas of Chobham, *Summa de commendatione virtutum et extirpatione vitiorum*, F. Morenzoni (ed.), *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis*, 82 B (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997) p. 87.

Church, as seen in the noted shortage of suitable men to undertake preaching activities in the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215.²³⁴ Paris became the intellectual centre of Europe and from the early thirteenth century onwards scholars and preachers travelled from their home institutions to study with the Paris masters. This practice was popular with English centres of learning, especially Oxford and Cambridge. Young's study of Paris masters of theology reveals that in the first half of the thirteenth century English scholars frequently undertook periods of study at Paris.²³⁵

By the introduction of the *pecia* system in c1250 it was an established custom for academics to complete research and teach at the University of Paris for short periods before returning to England. William of Milton was one such English scholar who actively participated in the academic community of Paris. A Franciscan theologian, William was a regent master at Paris in 1248 and possibly remained in this role until 1253.²³⁶ He then returned to England and lectured in Cambridge for some time but was recalled to Paris by Pope Alexander IV in 1255. Alexander

²³⁴ 'X. De praedicatoribus instituendis' (Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio...*, t xxii (Venice, 1778), cols. 998-9).

²³⁵ Young, 'Appendix: Parisian masters of theology, 1215-48: a biographical register', *Scholarly Community at the Early University of Paris*, pp. 212- 231.

²³⁶ See D. L. d'Avray, 'Milton, William of (d. 1257x60)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.urls.lon.ac.uk/view/article/18527>, accessed 14 March 2015]

requested that he head a commission to complete the summa works of Alexander of Hales, however he may have died in 1257 before the project finished. William was most likely a respected and well-known master in Paris, as evidenced by his appearance on the 1275 pecia list. Under the name Guillelmus de Melitona, William had eleven works produced through the pecia system with six works featured on the 1275 list. He composed commentaries and postilla on the books of the Bible with *Quaestiones de sacramentis* listed as item number 13, followed by his postilla on the Psalms, twelve prophets, the gospel of Mark, Ecclesiasticus, and Job as item numbers 70-74. As well as engaging with Paris academic life, masters like William of Milton were expected to return to England with the knowledge they had gained abroad, thus establishing the influence of Parisian thought on English centres of learning. The Franciscan and Dominican friars both had systematic and effective networks of higher education across Europe and in both orders the apex was a centre in Paris.²³⁷ Even an important centre like the Franciscan house at Oxford might send scholars on to Paris.

The Franciscan school at Oxford was established in the university town by 1229 and flourished throughout the thirteenth century.²³⁸ The university was a

²³⁷d'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, p. 48; D. Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979) p. 135.

²³⁸ For a detailed study of the Franciscan school at Oxford, see A.G. Little and F. Pelster, *Oxford Theology and Theologians, c. AD 1282-1302* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934) and A.G. Little's earlier article 'The Franciscan School

studium generale, meaning as part of the Oxford system the Franciscan school could accept students from all regions and enrolment was not restricted to the local area. It taught the higher degree of theology, and teaching was mainly undertaken by masters. A number of scholars from the Oxford school went to Paris for temporary periods of study and teaching, including the theology master John Peckham. John Peckham joined the Franciscan order in Oxford in c.1250 and in 1257 was sent to Paris, where he studied theology under Bonaventure at the university.²³⁹ He was made a regent master of the Franciscan school at Paris in 1269, and returned to Oxford to lecture in 1272. John was later elected provincial minister of the English Franciscan province, and then was called to Rome to serve as theology master to the Roman Curia. He returned to England in 1279 when he was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury. Although John of Peckham's works do not feature on the Parispecia lists, two pecia copies of the work *Quodlibeta quator* survive in Oxford, Merton College MS 96 (ff. 262r-267v) and Paris, Bibl. Mazarine MS 805 (ff. 180v-184v). Both manuscripts are compilation texts containing pecia copies of Thomas Aquinas's *Quodlibets* and *Quaestiones disputate de veritate*. Mazarine MS 805 also includes *Quaestiones de malo* by Aquinas. These surviving manuscripts show that users likely

at Oxford', *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 19 (1926) pp. 803- 874.

²³⁹ B. Thompson, 'Peckham, John (c.1230–1292)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/view/article/21745>, accessed 20 March 2015]

requested Peckham's text to be included in their peccia works alongside the Aquinas works. The works are related as they all may be included in the genre of quodlibets, and therefore users may have been academic theologians who participated in disputations.

The Franciscan school at Oxford continued to send select members to the University of Paris into the fourteenth century. John Duns Scotus was ordained as a priest while a member of the Franciscan school in 1291, and remained there until at least 1293.²⁴⁰ He was then sent to Paris for the following three or four years, before returning to England. Duns Scotus was present at Cambridge from 1297 to 1300 where he lectured on Peter Lombard's *Sentences*. He was in Oxford again until 1301 and during this time he qualified as a master of theology. He then finally returned to Paris at this time to complete his doctorate in theology and lectured in the theology faculty until 1307. Duns Scotus was finally transferred to the Franciscan school in Cologne to teach theology until his death in 1308. His works are not listed on the peccia lists, yet two manuscript copies were possibly produced through the Paris system. Troyes, Bibl. Municipale MS 277 contains the commentaries of Duns Scotus on the first two books of Lombard's *Sentences*, and Troyes MS 994 features his *Quaestiones quodlibetales*. Peckham and Duns Scotus were two of many Oxford

²⁴⁰ Gordon Leff, 'Duns Scotus, John (c.1265–1308)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/view/article/8285>, accessed 27 March 2015]

masters that studied or taught in Paris²⁴¹, and others include William of Alnwick who most likely studied at the Franciscan school in Newcastle and by 1303 was a master of theology at the University of Paris.²⁴² He lectured in the intellectual centres of Montpellier, Bologna, and Naples before returning to England and taking a post as master in Oxford circa 1316. Like Alnwick, Henry Harclay was also a provincial scholar who studied at Paris (c. 1300) and returned to England to lecture at Oxford.²⁴³ He became master of theology and was later elected chancellor of the university in 1312. The Dominican school at Oxford also sent its masters abroad to the University of Paris, including Robert Bacon, Nicholas Trevet and Robert Kilwardby.²⁴⁴ Paris had a clear and direct influence on English intellectual centres in the study and teaching of theology and natural philosophy. Only the finest scholars were selected by the mendicant orders to carry out research and teaching duties in Paris to develop these skills and reach their full potential as eminent theologians and preachers, though it is

²⁴¹ For a general overview of the Oxford medieval university and masters present, see J.I. Catto (ed.) *The History of the University of Oxford, I: The Early Oxford Schools* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984).

²⁴² J.I. Catto, 'Theology and Theologians 1220- 1330', *The History of the University of Oxford, I: The Early Oxford Schools*, J.I. Catto, (ed.) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), pp. 471- 518, p. 479.

²⁴³ J.I. Catto, 'Theology and Theologians 1220- 1330', *The History of the University of Oxford, I: The Early Oxford Schools*, p. 511.

²⁴⁴ On the Dominican school, see B. Smalley, 'Robert Bacon and the Early Dominican School at Oxford', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Fourth Series*, 30 (1948), pp.1-19.

likely that a substantially larger number were sent for three or four years to study but not take a degree.²⁴⁵ A Franciscan student chosen to for further study would follow the theology courses for five years, before lecturing on the Bible and ultimately be licensed as a Master of Theology.²⁴⁶ Most probably elite Dominican scholars followed a similar path of study. Only those who participated in exchanges to Paris led prominent careers in the academic community as well as in the Church.

III. The use of Paris pecia texts in England

The impressive numbers of pecia manuscripts that survive in Oxford are not the result of a separate pecia system in the town, but are in fact the side effect of university academics' travels to the University of Paris. John Peckham and his contemporaries went to Paris in the pursuit of knowledge, so it is only natural that scholars would return to England with textbooks they believed to be relevant to their individual academic pursuits. Exchanges to Paris continued through to the mid-fourteenth century, coinciding with the end of the pecia system. This decline was the result of two happenings beyond the university's control: the outbreak of the Hundred Years' War in 1337 and further waves of the Black Death striking the city in the 1340s. I wish to focus attention on the Hundred Year's War, and argue that the

²⁴⁵ d'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, p. 135.

²⁴⁶ d'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, p. 135, n. 2; L. Beaumont-Maillet, *Le Grand Couvent des Cordeliers de Paris. Étude historique et archéologique du XIII^e siècle à nos jours* (Paris: Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, 1975) p. 25.

lack of English scholars in Paris was directly connected to the demise of the *pecia* system. From the second half of the twelfth century, the University contained four distinct ruling corporations, or nation bodies.²⁴⁷ These were separate corporations that made up the arts faculty at Paris, each with their own procurators and constitutions. They were known as nations as they were divided by regional difference, and the four houses represented the French, Normans, Picards, and the English. The English nation was made up of students from the British Isles as well as those from Germanic- and Slavic-speaking parts of continental Europe. As one of only four nations, the English therefore made up a large proportion of the student body present at the university. As the Hundred Year's War progressed, the number of English students and masters dwindled at the university and the number of German-speakers present rose in their place during the 1330s-40s. The name of the English nation changed to the German, or Alemannian, nation. Although this is speculative, I would go as far as to suggest that the *pecia* system was wholly or in part regulated by the English nation on behalf of the university, and as its members left after the war began the Paris system suddenly collapsed.

²⁴⁷ See A. Gieysztor, 'Management and resources', in H. de Ridder-Symeons (ed.), *A History of the University in Europe: Volume 1, Universities in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) pp. 108-43; de Ridder-Symeons, 'Mobility', in de Ridder-Symeons (ed.), *Universities in the Middle Ages*, pp. 280-304; Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris*, pp. 111-13.

Although manuscripts were no longer produced at Paris, they did not fall out of use. In England individual manuscript users continued to work from the existingpecia texts at their home institution, and then most likely either sold their manuscripts on or donated the manuscripts to their schools through their wills after their deaths. The codicological evidence shows that subsequent users consulted these manuscripts into the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as seen in pecia copies such as Oxford, Balliol College MS 49. As discussed in chapter 3, Balliol College MS 49 contains several philosophical works of Thomas Aquinas and its thirteenth-century user may have been an academic theologian. By the fifteenth century this manuscript was the property of the Ely cathedral priory, with a Type I-OM (Ownership Mark) user note dating from this period on f. 4v: 'Iste liber pertinet ecclesie Eliensi'.²⁴⁸ The end leaf of the text on f. 323r also features a fifteenth-century Type II-AT (Additional Text) passage from an unidentified work on the theme of evil. This passage may relate to the third text that appears in MS 49, Aquinas's work *De malo* (ff. 195r-256v). This engagement with the work suggests that the later user of the text was likely also an academic theologian. From another ownership mark on f. 4v we learn that the book was donated to Balliol College by William Grey (d. 1478), Bishop of Ely: 'Liber domus de Balliolo in Oxon' / ex dono Willelmi Gray Eliensis episcopi'. Educated at Balliol, William Grey was a Doctor of Divinity at the

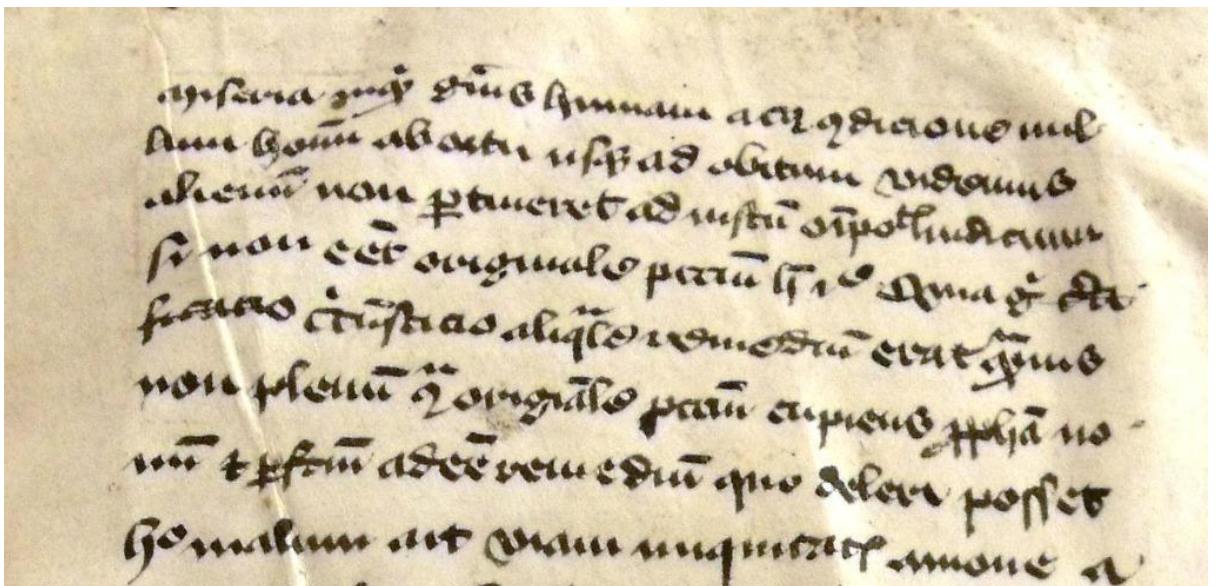
²⁴⁸ This and the following transcription from f. 4v appear in R. Mynors, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College Oxford* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), Balliol MS 49 entry.

University of Oxford, as well as a chancellor of the university on/off from 1440 to 1442. The later user notes may have been the work of William Grey himself or of an academic in Balliol from the period after the manuscript's donation to the college.

1A. Classification: II-AT (Additional Text), f. 323r

Unidentified passage opens:

miseria inquit generis humani a cuius condicione nullum hominum ab ortu usque ad obitum uidemus alienum non pertineret ad iustum omnipotentis iudicium si non esset originale peccatum. Hec ille. Quia igitur circumcicio [after certificatio deleted] aliquale remedium erat, quanvis non plenum, contra originale peccatum, cupiens propheta novum et perfectum adesse remedium, quo deleri posset homo malum, ait viam iniquitatis amove a ---

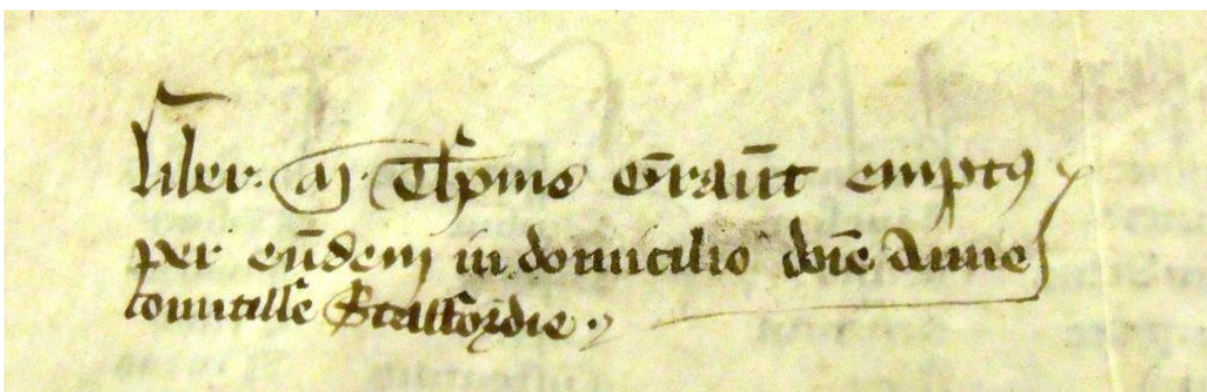


79. Oxford, Balliol College MS 49, f. 323r. This user note was copied in an English cursive hand during the mid- to late fifteenth century.

Bodleian Lib. MS Rawlinson C 711 is similar to Balliol College MS 49 in its provenance. Mentioned previously in chapter six, MS Rawlinson C 711 is a standard peccata copy of the distinction collection compiled by Maurice de Provins. The thirteenth-century user of the text most likely consulted the *Distinctiones* as a preaching tool, and composed his own distinction entries in the margins of the text. We may speculate that the manuscript travelled to England, because the next discernible user of MS Rawlinson C 711 was a Thomas Graunt who identifies himself in the Type I-OM (Ownership Mark) Note 2A on f. 3v. He writes that he bought the text while in the household of Anne, Countess of Stafford (d. 1478):

2A. Classification: Type I-OM, f. 3v

liber M. Thome Graunt, emptus per eundem in domicilio domine Anne
comitesse Staffordie



80. Oxford, Bodleian Lib. MS Rawlinson C 711, f. 3v

Urquhart has identified Master Graunt as Thomas Graunt who became Senior Proctor of Oxford in 1430 and later Precentor of St Paul's Cathedral in London.²⁴⁹ His position in Anne's household is unknown and no other notes of Graunt's appear in the manuscript, so we may only guess that he consulted the distinction collection as a general textbook. More evidence survives for the latest user of MS Rawlinson C 711, whose marginalia are copied in a late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century humanist italic script. The user may have been English, as by this period Italic began to replace Secretary script as the main English hand.²⁵⁰ He was most likely an academic or preacher as he carefully studied and noted distinction entries, as seen in Note 2B. 2B is a Type II-AT (Additional Text) note as the margin note appears to be the original work of the user, where he has commented on the distinction entry for 'Ambulare Spiritu'. He has divided his analysis of the passage into three topics: *digne, caute* and *honeste*. First he lists three manners worthy of God: uprightness of the heart, honesty of speech, and in the display of works. Then he writes three

²⁴⁹ E.A. Urquhart, 'Fifteenth century literary culture with particular reference to the patterns of patronage, focussing on the patronage of the Stafford family during the fifteenth century' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Sheffield, 1985) p. 84; Thomas Graunt of Oriel College, his tenure as Senior Proctor is listed in A. Wood, *The History and Antiquities of the Colleges and Halls in the University of Oxford*, ed. by John Gutch, 2 vols. 4to. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1786-1790) Appendix containing *Fasti Oxonienses*, p. 44.

²⁵⁰ L.C. Hector, *The Handwriting of English Documents* (London: Edward Arnold, 1966) pp. 62- 3.

manners in which caution can be achieved: through wisdom, through solitude, and through mortification. Finally he lists three outcomes of honesty: no-one would be saddened, the desolate would be comforted, and those indulgent to evils would be informed.

2B. Type II-AT, f. 14v

Ambulare Spiritu	{	digne
		caute
		honeste

digne quo ad deum

caute quo ad seipsum

honeste quo ad proximum

digne deo tripliciter

rectitudine cordis

veritate oris

exhibitione operis

Caute

per prudentiam

per solitudinem

per carnis mortificationem

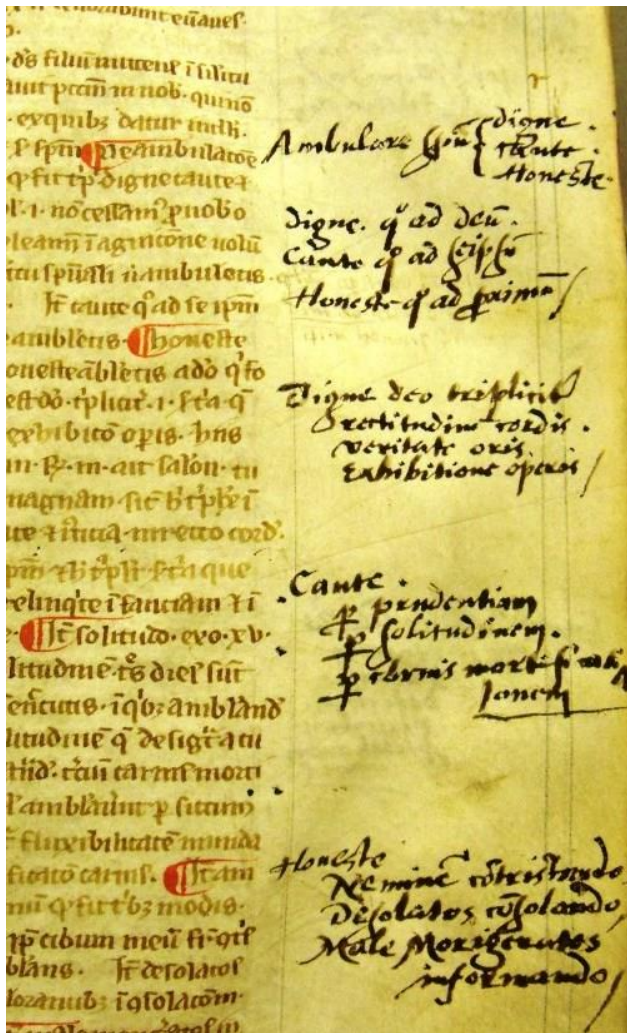
Honeste

Neminem contristando

Desolatos consolando

Male morigeratos

informando



Note 2B is standard of the marginalia from the early modern user of MS Rawlinson C 711, and its format suggests that the user was preparing a classroom exercise or sermon to preach. The two manuscripts examined here, MS C 711 and Balliol College MS 49, are representative of surviving pecia texts found in England. The continued use of pecia texts into the early modern period demonstrates that these manuscripts remained living documents at universities in active use by scholars and preachers. By remaining in active use, these manuscripts sustained the influence of Paris thought on English intellectual life beyond the short years the pecia system was in operation. The spread of pecia texts from Paris to other centres of learning across Europe illustrates the mobile nature of medieval intellectual and cultural communities and the pecia system played a vital role in a European system of mass-communication during its brief period of operation.

Conclusion:

This study has aimed to make much more concrete things hitherto familiar only in a rather abstract way. A typology of marginalia has been instantiated by a plethora of examples. The pecia system's relation to preaching has been made visible and specific across a range of different genres. The large-scale use of Paris pecia manuscripts by Englishmen has been illustrated by marginal annotations in unmistakably *Anglicana* script.

This was accomplished with the aid of the typology which classifies user marginalia into three main categories: Type I comprises notes present in the manuscript that does not engage with the textual content such as the Ownership Mark (I-OM) in Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.4.19 (133) on f. 11r that names Simon Mepham, Archbishop of Canterbury as the manuscript's owner (Appendix, item 48 (1275)). Type II comprises marginalia that directly engage the textual content contained within the manuscript, including Error Corrections (II-EC) and Additional Texts (II-AT). A standard Type II-EC note occurs in Cambridge, Pembroke College MS 126 (Chapter 1, Note 1B) where the user has copied in the margin a passage omitted from the main text. Omission notes are frequently found in pecia copies, showing that users proofread and corrected manuscripts to ensure textual accuracy. Additional texts are separate works added by the user that are thematically related to texts contained in the manuscript, and one such Type II-AT note occurs in Cambridge, University Library MS li 2 10, a pecia copy of Aristotle's works (Chapter

3, Note 1A). Note 1A is copied in the margin of *De Physica* and features a passage from Walter de Burley's commentary on the same text, reflecting that users consulted multiple works to complete classroom exercises. Type II marginalia further encompass Cross-Reference Marks (II-CRM), Summary notes such as Paraphrased Summation (II-PS), and User Viewpoint notes (II-UV). A representative II-CRM note appears in Oxford, Balliol College MS 49, a copy of Aquinas's *De potentia Dei* (Chapter 3, Note 3B). Note 3B appears in the margin of an article discussing the number of persons in God and the user makes reference to another related passage in the same text. Cross-reference marks highlight topics of interest for the user and material they likely consulted during their academic research. A typical II-PS appears in Oxford, Magdalen College MS 217, a compilation manuscript that contains a pecia copy of Henry of Ghent's *Quodlibeta* (Chapter 8, Note 1A). In Note 1A the user has paraphrased the main text, a passage that examines the world's temporality. Summaries such as 1A show that users of pecia texts were elite scholars, capable of clarifying complex arguments and understanding advanced works. The marginalia of pecia manuscripts illustrate the use of these works by the academic community at Paris as active working reference tools, and show how pecia texts played an essential role in the activities of the university.

One central university activity at Paris in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was the art of *predicatio*, and a range of texts was produced through the pecia system that were employed as practical preaching aids by the wider cultural community. The *Legenda aurea* of Jacopo da Varazze was one such reference aid.

Cambridge, Peterhouse MS 131 was likely used by an active preacher, as seen in the surviving summation notes in this peicia copy of the *Legenda*. MS 131 contains several Type II-PS notes, including Note 1F (Chapter 2) which appears in the margin of a passage describing a procession involved in the feast day of Candlemas. The user may have likely composed this note while preparing a sermon to celebrate this particular holy day. Bible reference aids were also popular research tools for preachers at this time. Concordances were one type of Bible reference texts, and contained entries for non-trivial words from the Scriptures and related quotations. Paris, BNF MS Lat. 515 is a peicia copy of one Bible concordance and the marginalia present suggest its user was likely a preacher. In Note 4D (Chapter 4) he was most probably composing a sermon on the topic of *semen* (seed). This Type II-FE note is clearly divided into three headings of historical, allegorical, and moral. Each heading features Scriptural quotations featuring the theme of seed. Note 4D's careful structure demonstrates that it may have been the user's plan for a sermon or related classroom exercise. Sermon collections obviously were another genre of text that acted as preaching aids. Paris, BNF MS Lat. 15953 is a compilation of sermon collections and this manuscript is of particular interest because its user was the notable Paris theologian and preacher Pierre de Limoges. He copied a series of synodal sermons in the margins of the main text, and Note 1A (Chapter 5) is one typical example of this. 1A is a Type II-AT note and a structural plan for a synodal sermon. It contains references to the Biblical quotation Mal 3:1 ('Behold, I will send my messenger') and to sermons containing similar themes. This note reflects the

creative process of composing sermons and shows that preachers including Limoges consulted multiple sources when undertaking their work. Distinction collections, alphabetised collections of key words and themes that occur in the Scriptures, were also used by preachers as reference tools. Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Bodley 46 is a pecia copy of Maurice de Provins's distinction collection and this manuscript features evidence that its user consulted the text as a preaching aid. First, it contains several Type II-CRM (Cross-Reference Marks) demonstrating that the user was researching possible sermon topics on keywords including *baptisma* (baptism) and the Nativity (Chapter 6, Note 2A), *liber* (book) and the Scriptures (Note 2B), and *videre* (to see) and faith (2C). Also, in the endleaves of MS Bodley 46 the user has copied the text of two sermons, one on the feast day of St Clement and the second on Acts 20:28 ('Keep watch over yourselves and all the flock') (Note 2D). He may have copied these texts to preach on related themes, and these examples illustrate in a concrete way the use of preaching aids as working reference texts.

As a major intellectual centre in the mid-thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the University of Paris attracted leading scholars and preachers from international institutions. Both the Dominican and Franciscan orders sent academically gifted friars to Paris to study for periods of time, and these scholars would return to their home institutions with the knowledge they had gained. This practice was prevalent in England and the University of Oxford in particular. There are many surviving pecia texts at Oxford, and early twentieth-century scholars like Destrez and Pollard promoted the existence of an independent Oxford pecia system

(Chapter 11). In actuality, these manuscripts contain codicological signs of Paris production and the evidence of English hands in the marginalia of these pecia works shows that the texts were brought in droves from Paris when scholars returned from their studies abroad. This movement of pecia manuscripts in this manner reflects the mobile nature of academic communities during this period, and the influence of Paris on English intellectual life. The masters present at Paris inspired English theologians, as seen in the philosophical debates on Aquinas's theories on bodily identity in the thirteenth century (Chapter 10). Although the operation of the pecia system was short-lived, pecia manuscripts present at Oxford continued to be used by scholars and preachers into the early modern period and continued to play a central role in university life as working reference texts.

Appendix I:

The source base organised by genre

My starting point was Murano's handlist of manuscripts examined by Jean Destrez, which was in turn based on his well-preserved Nachlass.²⁵¹ I for the most part confined myself to manuscripts likely to illustrate the extent and nature of the Paris pecia system in France but also to demonstrate how the Paris system supplied users in England. In practice this meant focussing on surviving manuscripts present in France and England. In the table below I list all the manuscripts I examined, grouped roughly by genre, with comments to indicate how heavily they were annotated. Each manuscript is identified by its shelfmark and accompanied by a cross-reference to Appendix 2 on the pecia lists, as described below. Appendix 2 is arranged by the pecia lists of 1275 and 1304, and contains summary descriptions of each of the examined pecia manuscripts. I also describe the number of annotations that appear in each manuscript by three main levels of use: rare, moderately frequent, and frequent throughout.

In the 'Notes' column I add comments when appropriate on the script of the user annotations present, particularly when it is Anglicana. This is given as the influence of the pecia system on England is one of the focal points of the thesis.

²⁵¹ G. Murano, *Opere diffuse per exemplar e pecia*; The collection of Jean Destrez's work is now kept at Le Saulchoir/ Couvent Saint-Jacques, Paris.

Anglicana is a distinctive script employed by English manuscript users, and Derolez outlines several key features that distinguish this hand from continental cursive.²⁵²

Cursive developed from the thirteenth century onwards from more formal Gothic scripts such as Textualis to meet the fast-growing needs of business and administration to produce books rapidly and more cheaply.²⁵³ The features of cursive result from the scribe's rapid execution and can be summarised as follows.²⁵⁴ First, the script featured extended ascenders and descenders, particularly evidenced by the letters 'f' and straight 's' below the baseline. Second, the rapid writing style generally made the script slope either left or right. Third, cursive introduced loops in letter forms, as seen in tops of the ascenders turn to the right in letters including 'b', 'h', 'k', 'l', and the letter 'g' may display looping below the line. Fourth, the reduced number of strokes in cursive resulted in simplified letter forms seen in 'm' (1), 'n' and 'u', and ligatures may feature with letters linked to the preceding letter, common with 'de' and 'cr' (3-4). In simplified letter forms the minims are generally distinguished in initial and final position with extended strokes below the base line, particularly in words beginning with 'i', 'm', 'n', 'r', tironian 'et' (8-9), and the latter in words ending in 'm' and 'n' (10-11). Fifth, cursive featured simplified forms of the letter 'a' with a single or double compartment. Finally, some letter forms feature

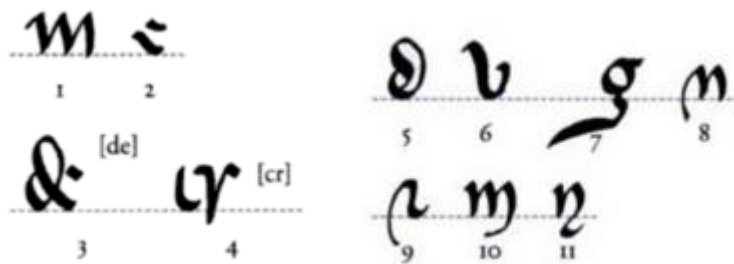
²⁵² A. Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books: From the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003) pp. 123- 140.

²⁵³ Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, p. 123.

²⁵⁴ Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, p. 125- 8.

bold, heavy strokes which appear diagonally from top left to bottom right in letters 'd' and 'v' (5-6) and horizontally from left to right in the abbreviation stroke.

Examples of Cursive letter forms²⁵⁵ :



English cursive, or Anglicana, developed into its own distinctive character from the mid-thirteenth century onwards as a book hand.²⁵⁶ In general, Anglicana does not slope and letters 'f' and straight 's' are often vertical in appearance. The main features of individual letter forms are summarised as follows.²⁵⁷ The first peculiar feature of Anglicana is the treatment of the ascenders of letters 'b' (10 below), 'h' (11), 'k', and 'l' where the ascender has a marked bifurcation, or forking. The letters 'f' and straight 's' also contain distinct ascenders, with a bold loop to the right traced a second time with a hairline stroke (12– 13). Secondly, Anglicana differs from continental cursive in its endstrokes as final letters such as 'm' and 'n' are

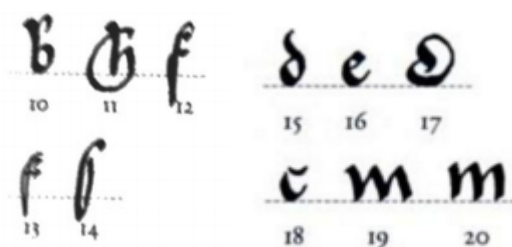
²⁵⁵ Images from Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, p. 126- 7.

²⁵⁶ Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, p. 134. See also M.B. Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands 1200-1500* (London: Scolar Press, 1979).

²⁵⁷ Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, p. 135- 40.

commonly unchanged from the same letters in preceding positions. Also, straight 's' was gradually replaced at the end of words with a round 's' in the final position. Third, in continental cursive, particularly French, the double compartment 'a' was largely replaced with a single compartment 'a' by the fourteenth century. By contrast, the use of the double compartment 'a' remained popular in Anglica until the fifteenth century. Fourth, the Anglica letter 'd' almost always features a counter-clockwise loop and can be distinguished by its bold, curved, and shortened diagonal final section that results in an essentially unconnected letter (17). With such distinctive indicators, identifying the use of English cursive script by a manuscript user is straightforward and clearly distinguishable from a continental hand. Parkes further examines additional features of cursive as used by thirteenth-century English university scribes, such as compressed handwriting and extensive use of abbreviations.²⁵⁸

Examples of Anglica letter forms²⁵⁹:



²⁵⁸ Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands 1200-1500*, plate 16.

²⁵⁹ Images from Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, p. 136-7.

The cross-reference contains the pecia list and item entry number to locate individual manuscript descriptions, for example London, British Library MS Sloane 471 appears on the 1275 pecia list as item number 12 so below the manuscript's shelfmark is followed by (1275 - 12) for short.

Genres

i. Bibles

Shelfmark	Ref	Notes	User Script and Date
Paris, BNF Lat. 28	1275-87	Rare	Unknown L 13 th - E 14 th cent.

ii. Bible concordances

Shelfmark	Ref	Notes	User Script
Paris, BNF MS Lat. 513	1275-23	Moderately frequent	Continental L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Paris, BNF MS Lat. 515	1275-23	Moderately frequent	Continental L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Paris, BNF MS Lat. 516	1275-23	Frequent throughout	Continental L 13 th - E 14 th cent.

iii. Bible Commentaries

Shelfmark	Ref	Notes	User Script
Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 297/691	Non- pecia, item 3	Frequent throughout	English L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 481/477	Non- pecia, item 4	Frequent throughout	English L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Laud. misc. 281	Non- pecia, item 8	Rare	Unknown c1340 - 1350
Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Laud. misc. 562	Non- pecia, item 9	None	
Oxford, Merton College MS 170	1304-41	Frequent throughout	English L 13 th - E 14 th cent.

iv. Works of Thomas Aquinas

Shelfmark	Ref	Notes	User Script
Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 75/42	1275-49	Moderately frequent	English L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Cambridge, Pembroke College MS 38	1275-60	Rare	L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Cambridge, Pembroke College MS 126	1275-43	Frequent throughout	English L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Cambridge, Peterhouse MS 50	1275-45	Rare	English L 13 th - E 14 th cent.

Cambridge, Peterhouse MS 143	1304-114	Frequent throughout	English L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Cambridge, St John's College MS C.2 (52)	1304-5	Moderately frequent	English c1300 - 1325
Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.4.18 (132)	1275-46	Rare	Unknown L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.4.19 (133)	1275-48	Rare	Unknown L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Oxford, All Souls College MS 27	1275-50	Rare	Unknown L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Oxford, All Souls College MS 330	1275-45	Rare	Unknown L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Oxford, Balliol College MS 42	1275-50	Moderately frequent	English L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Oxford, Balliol College MS 43	1275-51	Rare	English L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Oxford, Balliol College MS 44	1304-27	Rare	English L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Oxford, Balliol College MS 45	1275-46	Moderately frequent	English L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Oxford, Balliol College MS 47	1275-53	Frequent throughout	English L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Oxford, Balliol College MS 48	1275-53	Frequent throughout	English L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Oxford, Balliol College MS 49	1275-52	Frequent throughout	English L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS 214	1275-55	Moderately frequent	English L 13 th - E 14 th cent.

Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS 380	1275-60	None	
Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Canon Pat. Lat. 136	1275-58	Rare	Unknown L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Canon misc. 175	Non- pecia, item 10	None	
Oxford, Lincoln College MS Lat. 2	1275-50	Rare	English L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Oxford, Merton College MS I.1.7. (78)	1275-58	Moderately frequent	English L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Oxford, Merton College MS I.3.1. (96)	1275-52	Moderately frequent	English L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Oxford, New College MS 116	1275-42	Moderately frequent	English L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Oxford, New College MS 118	1275-45	Rare	Unknown L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Oxford, New College MS 121	1275-50	Moderately frequent	English L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Oxford, New College MS 124	1304-27	Rare	Unknown L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Paris, BNF MS Lat. 15761	1304-5	Moderately frequent	Continental c1300 - 1325

v. Works of other university theologians (especially sentence commentaries and Quodlibets)

Shelfmark	Ref	Notes	User Script
Cambridge, MS Pembroke College MS 121	1304-47	Rare	English c1275 - 1325

Cambridge, MS Pembroke College MS 170	1304-66	Frequent throughout	English L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Cambridge, Peterhouse MS 58	1275-64	Moderately frequent	English c1275 - 1300
Cambridge, Peterhouse MS 117	1275-61	Moderately frequent	English c1275 - 1300
London, British Library, Add MS 15424	1275-64	Moderately frequent	English c1300 - 1350
Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Canon. misc. 322	Non- pecia, item 1	Moderately frequent	English c1300 - 1325
Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Laud. misc. 605	1275-64	Moderately frequent	Continental c1300 - 1350
Oxford, Magdalen College MS 66	Non- pecia, item 7	Moderately frequent	Continental L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Oxford, Magdalen College MS 116	1275-64	Moderately frequent	Continental L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Oxford, Magdalen College MS 186	1304-47	Moderately frequent	English L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Oxford, Magdalen College MS 217	1304-65	Frequent throughout	English L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Oxford, Merton College MS G.I.O. (105)	1275-61	Moderately frequent	English L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Oxford, Merton College O.2.2. (286)	1304-142	Moderately frequent	English L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Paris, BNF MS Lat. 28	1275-87	Moderately frequent	Continental L 13 th - E 14 th cent.

Paris, BNF MS Lat. 14311	1304-66	Moderately frequent	Continental L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Paris, BNF MS Lat. 15358	1304-66	Rare	Continental L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Paris, BNF MS Lat. 15842	1304-66	Moderately frequent	Continental L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Paris, BNF MS Lat. 15844	1304-66	Moderately frequent	Continental L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Paris, BNF MS Lat. 17480	1275-83	Rare	Continental L 13 th - E 14 th cent.

vi. Sermons

Shelfmark	Ref	Notes	User Script
Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Bodley 799	1304-44	Frequent throughout	English L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Laud. misc. 348	1304-88	Moderately frequent	English L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Laud. misc. 380	1304-82	Moderately frequent	English c1300 - 1325
Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Rawlinson C 711	1275-112	Frequent throughout	English L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Oxford, Lincoln College MS Lat. 113	1304-88	Moderately frequent	English L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Paris, BNF MS Lat. 12425	1304-44	Moderately frequent	Continental L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Paris, BNF MS Lat. 12428	1304-88	Moderately frequent	Continental L 13 th - E 14 th cent.

Paris, BNF MS Lat. 14942	1275-112	Rare	Continental L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Paris, BNF MS Lat. 15933	Non- pecia, item 6	Moderately frequent	Continental L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Paris, BNF MS Lat. 15953	1275-110	Frequent throughout	Continental c1275 - 1300
Paris, BNF Lat. 16491	1304-88	Frequent throughout	Continental L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Paris, BNF MS n.a.l. 373	1304-74	Rare	Continental L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Paris, BNF MS n.a.l. 2032	1275-110	Moderately frequent	Continental L 13 th - E 14 th cent.

vii. Other preaching aids, e.g. *Distinctiones*, *Saints Lives*, *De Proprietatibus Rerum*

Shelfmark	Ref	Notes	User Script
Cambridge, Peterhouse MS 131	1275-109	Moderately frequent	Hand 1: Continental Hand L 13 th - E 14 th cent. 2: English L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.15.15	1275-109	Frequent throughout	English L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
London, British Library MS Royal 8 C XVI	1304-83	Frequent throughout	English c1300 - 1325
London, British Library MS Royal 8 E VI	1304-91	Moderately frequent	English L 13 th - E 14 th cent.

London, British Library MS Sloane 471	1275-12	Frequent throughout	English L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Ashmolean 1474	1275-12	Moderately frequent	English L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Bodley 46	1304-45	Frequent throughout	English L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Bodley 799	1304-44	Frequent throughout	English L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Canon. misc 142	1304-73	Moderately frequent	English L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Laud. misc. 530	Non- pecia, item 2	Moderately frequent	English L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Paris, BNF MS Lat. 348	1275-12	Moderately frequent	Continental L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Paris, BNF MS Lat. 12425	1304-44	Moderately frequent	Continental L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Paris, BNF MS Lat. 13749	1275-109	Frequent throughout	Continental L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Paris, BNF MS Lat. 15952	1304-45	Rare	Continental L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Paris, BNF MS Lat. 16098	1275-12	Moderately frequent	Continental L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Paris, BNF MS Lat. 16099	1275-12	Moderately frequent	Continental L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Paris, BNF MS Lat. 16532	Non- pecia,	Moderately frequent	Continental L 13 th - E 14 th cent.

	item 11		
Paris, BNF MS Lat. 16564	1304-73	Frequent throughout	Continental L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Paris, BNF MS n.a.l. 1474	1304-83	Rare	Continental L 13 th - E 14 th cent.

viii. Canon Law

Shelfmark	Ref	Notes	User Script
Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 32/21	1275-125	Moderately frequent	English L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Cambridge, University Library MS Additional 4188	1304-103	Frequent throughout	English L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Oxford, Lincoln College MS 50	1304-102	Moderately frequent	English L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Oxford, New College MS 212	1275-125	Moderately frequent	English L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Paris, BNF MS Lat. 3893	1304-92	Moderately frequent	Continental c1300 - 1350
Paris, BNF MS Lat. 3906	1275-115	Moderately frequent	Continental L 13 th - E 14 th cent.

ix. Works of Aristotle or Pseudo-Aristotle

Shelfmark	Ref	Notes	User Script
Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS C.F.M. 14	1304-13	Rare	English L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS MacClean 154	1304-7	Frequent throughout	English L 13 th - E 14 th cent.

Cambridge, University Library MS II.II.10 (105)	1304-7	Frequent throughout	English L 13 th - E 14 th cent.
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x. Miscellaneous

Shelfmark	Ref	Notes	User Script
Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 272	Non- pecia, item 5	None	

Appendix II:

The Paris Pecia Lists and Summary Manuscript Descriptions

The following registers are the 1275 and 1304 Paris pecia lists in full, and accompanying summary descriptions of manuscripts I have consulted during the course of my studies on the pecia system. These *taxatio* lists are the only surviving evidence for the operation of the Paris system and they are the creations of the Sens family, four successive owners of a single bookseller shop based on the rue St. Jacques located near the main Dominican convent in Paris.²⁶⁰ Operating between c.1270 and c.1347, all four members of the Sens family were most likely university-sworn stationers: William, Margaret, Andrew and Thomas of Sens, in respective order. William of Sens was responsible for the 1275 list and the rental of exemplar pieces, and his possible grandson Andrew followed the same practice when he produced the 1304 list. Along with titles of works, items are listed alongside their piece length and rental price. Works are also arranged into categories, such as works by a particular author or by subject, such as the works of Thomas Aquinas, or decretal texts. Three manuscript copies of these documents survive in: Vatican Library, MS Reg. lat. 406; British Library, MS Add. 17304; and Vienna,

²⁶⁰ R.H. and M.A. Rouse have a detailed study of the Sens family in their work *Manuscripts and their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris 1200- 1500*, 2 vols. (New York: Harvey Miller, 2000).

Österreichische Nationalbibliothek MS 7219. The lists were first edited and printed by H. Denifle and E. Chatelain among other documents relating to the medieval university at Paris.²⁶¹

The lists appear straightforward, yet certain features present difficulties for modern researchers. First, Denifle did not number the entries on the lists, which made cataloguing items a cumbersome task. This issue was resolved when Murano recently edited the pecia lists, and provided item numbers alongside exemplar titles.²⁶² However, two further difficulties remain: entries do not contain full titles of works or often incorrect titles, and names of authors are generally omitted. These have made text identification a painstaking process, as seen in the dilemma of item 25 on the 1304 list. Previously mentioned in chapter 10, Item number 25 reads as the *Prima pars* of Thomas Aquinas's *Summa theologiae*, when in fact it is most likely the exemplar for the *Prima secundae* of Aquinas. I have endeavoured to edit and update the 1275 and 1304 lists in full. I have kept the original order of entry to preserve the medieval list categorisation, yet I have also included items' numbers, titles of works, and names of authors alongside the number of pieces per exemplar and rental price.

Additionally, within the pecia lists I have provided summary descriptions of the pecia copies and exemplars I have consulted during the course of my studies on

²⁶¹ *Chartularium universitatis Parisiensis* (1889-1897). The 1275 list appears in volume 1 as item 530, and the 1304 list appears in volume 2 as item number 642. Note that the 1275 list is mistakenly entered as dating from 1286.

²⁶² See G. Murano, *Opere diffuse per exemplar e pecia* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005).

the Paris system. Thus, when I come to a work of which I have studied pecia copies, I interrupt the pecia list to provide a summary description of the manuscripts I have used. These descriptions follow the below conventions, under the headings of shelfmark, date, origin, contents, pecia remarks, notes on user, and decoration. Several works appear on both pecia lists, and I have determined which list a description appears under by date and/or exemplar length. Cambridge, St John's College MS C.2 (52) contains a copy of Aquinas's *In primo Sententiarum* and *In secundum Sententiarum* which both appear on both lists, however it is dated to c1300-1331 and so the description features on the 1304 list as item 5. Jacopo da Varazze's *Legenda aurea* appears on both pecia lists as items 109 (1275) and 73 (1304), yet the exemplars listed differ in piece length: 90 (1275) and 95 (1304). So where possible, descriptions are arranged to correspond to an exemplar of the same length because the pecia texts were most probably copied from the corresponding exemplar. Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Canon misc 142 has a known piece length of 95, and the description for this manuscript is placed in the corresponding 1304 entry. When it is not possible to identify a text more precisely by date or differing exemplar length, the manuscript description appears on the earlier 1275 list with a broad dating to remain flexible on a manuscript's time of production. I have included these summary descriptions as they represent a reliable sample group of surviving pecia texts, providing an accurate view of the system's operation as well as a reliable portrait of the manuscripts' users.

In the case of multiple pecia texts travelling together, I provide a full manuscript description in the entry of the first work that appears in the manuscript. For example, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS MacClean 154 contains 20 pecia texts, copies of Moerbeke's Latin translations of Aristotle. The first text that appears in MS MacClean 154 is the *Physica*, item number 7 on the 1304 pecia list, and so the full summary description features in this entry.

Shelfmark	The shelfmark displays the present-day location of the manuscript.
Date	Unless specified, manuscripts have been produced between approx. 1250 to 1330, the operating period of the Paris pecia system.
Origin	The Paris pecia system, although exceptions occur such as decretals composed in Bologna and sold in Paris.
Contents	Specifying texts found in the manuscript, and folio numbers in which they occur.
Pecia Remarks	Remarks on the production of the manuscript, such as whether it is a copy or exemplar, if pecia marks are present, and the scribe hand used to compose text.
Notes on User	Notes on user evidence, such as whether user notes are present, and the scribe hand used to compose notes. From this evidence it is generally possible to observe the likely nationality and occupation of an individual user.
Decoration	Decorations present in the manuscript, if any. Pecia manuscripts do not usually feature decoration above red and blue inks, although higher quality texts are not uncommon.

I. The pecia list of 1275

Item no.	Title	Author	No. of pieces	Rental price
1	<i>Moralia, or Expositio in Job</i>	St Gregory the Great	100	8 sol.
2	Homilies, possibly <i>Homiliae in Hiezechihalem prophetam, or Homiliae XL in Evangelia</i> ²⁶³	St Gregory the Great	28	18 den.
3	<i>De Emmanuele</i>	Richard of St Victor	16	16 den.
4	<i>De preparatione animi ad contemplationem</i>	Richard of St Victor	24	12 den.
5	<i>De sacramentis</i>	Hugo of St Victor	40	3 sol.
6	<i>Liber super Leviticum</i>	Ralph of Flaix	44	3 sol.
7	Collection of works: <i>De consideratione ad Eugenium papam, De xii gradibus humilitatis et superbie, De laudibus Virginis matris omeliae, Libellus missus archiepiscopo Senonensi, De disciplina monachorum, Epistola missa fratribus de Monte Dei</i>	Bernard of Clairvaux	17	2 sol.

²⁶³ Latin: 'liber Omelarium beati Gregorii' Edition used: Denifle, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, vol. 1, item 530.

8	Collection of works: <i>De diligendo Deo, Meditationes</i> ²⁶⁴ , <i>De gratia et de libero arbitrio, De percepto et dispensatione</i>	Bernard of Clairvaux	14	12 den.
9	<i>Flores sancti Bernardi</i>	William of Saint-Martin of Tournai	40	20 den.
10	Collection of works: <i>De veritate, De libertate arbitrii, De casu diaboli, Cur Deus homo, De conceptu virginali et de originali peccato, De processione Spiritus Sancti, De concordia praescientiae et praedestinationis et gratiae Dei cum libero arbitrio, Monologion</i>	St Anselm	40	2 sol.
11	Two works: <i>De Incarnatione Verbi, De similitudinibus</i> ²⁶⁵	St Anselm	12	6 den.
12	<i>De proprietatibus rerum</i>	Bartholomew the Englishman	100	6 sol.

Shelfmark	London, British Library MS Sloane 471
Date	Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	Text travelling alone (ff. 2r-388r), followed by contents tables

²⁶⁴ Pseudo-Bernard of Clairvaux.

²⁶⁵ Work most likely added to and edited by an unknown writer, and attributed to St Anselm. See R.W. Southern and F.S. Schmitt (eds.), *Memorials of St Anselm* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969).

	(ff. 388r-392v).
Pecia Remarks	Pecia copy, pecia marks present, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User	MS likely working reference text, user marginalia present throughout.
Decoration	No decoration above red and blue inks.
Shelfmark	Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Ashmolean 1474
Date	Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	Text travelling alone (ff. 1-238), followed by contents tables (ff. 239-247).
Pecia Remarks	Pecia copy, text composed in English book hand, most likely by user.
Notes on User	MS working reference text, user marginalia present in text. Explicit at end of text contains Type I-OM (Ownership Mark), reads: '...Scripta per manum Godefridi correctoria reverendi doctoris et magistri sacre theologie, magistri Johannis Rath. Deo gratias' (f. 247v).
Decoration	No decoration above red and blue inks, opening initial cut out (f. 1r).
Shelfmark	Paris, BNF MS Lat. 348
Date	Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	Text travelling alone (ff. 1r-289v)
Pecia Remarks	Pecia copy, pecia marks present, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.

Notes on User MS working reference text, user marginalia present.
Decoration No decoration above red and blue inks.

Shelfmark Paris, BNF MS Lat. 16098
Date Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin The Paris pecia system.
Contents Text travelling alone (ff. 2r-266v)
Pecia Remarks Pecia copy, pecia marks present, text composed in French book hand likely by user.

Notes on User MS working reference text, user marginalia present, text composed in single-column format.
Decoration No decoration above red and blue inks.

Shelfmark Paris, BNF MS Lat. 16099
Date Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin The Paris pecia system.
Contents Text travelling alone (ff. 1r-234v)
Pecia Remarks Pecia copy, pecia marks present, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User MS working reference text, user marginalia present. Type I-OM (Ownership Mark) states the manuscript was donated to the Sorbonne as part of the bequest collection of Pierre de Limoges: 'ex legato magistri Petri de Lemovicis' (f. 235v).
Decoration No decoration above red and blue inks.

13	Possibly <i>De sacramentis</i> ²⁶⁶	William of Middleton	Not listed	2 sol.
14	<i>De naturis rerum</i>	Alexander Nequam	41	18 den.
15	<i>De ortu scientiarum</i>	Robert Kilwardby	18	9 den.
16	<i>De principiis naturae</i>	John Sackville	14	7 den.
17	Two works: <i>Expositio libri Meteorologicorum Aristotelis, Phisiognomiae</i>	First work: William of Moerbeke's Latin translation of Alexander of Aphrodisias. Second work: Bartholomew of Messina's Latin translation of Pseudo-Aristotle	19	9 den.
18	<i>Commentum super librum Predicamentorum</i>	William of Moerbeke's Latin translation of Simplicius	34	18 den.
19	<i>Commentaria in librum Peri Hermeneias</i>	William of Moerbeke's Latin translation of Ammonius	18	9 den.

²⁶⁶ Author name not included in entry, see Murano (2005) item 447.

20	<i>Commentium super librum de anima</i>	William of Moerbeke's Latin translation of Themistius	10	6 den.
21	Two works: <i>Summa de casibus poenitentiae, Apparatus in Summam de casibus poenti</i> Item repeated as 123 below.	First work: Raymundus de Pennaforte; Second: Guillaume de Rennes	Not listed	3 sol.
22	<i>Sententiae in IV libris distinctae</i>	Peter Lombard	Not listed	3 sol.
23	<i>Concordantiae bibliae</i> ²⁶⁷		108	6 sol.

Shelfmark	Paris, BNF MS Lat. 513
Date	Late thirteenth century/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	Text travelling alone (ff. 1r-314r), followed by collection of quotations from Prosper of Aquitaine's <i>Liber sententiarum</i> in fourteenth-century hand (ff. 314v-315v).
Pecia Remarks	Pecia copy, pecia marks present, composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.

²⁶⁷ The list entry reads 'Concordancie de Valle Lucenti'; the Rouses suggest that William of Sens acquired this Bible concordance exemplar from the Cistercian abbey of Vauluisant. See R.H. Rouse and M.A. Rouse, *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991) p. 306.

Notes on User	MS working reference text, user marginalia present throughout. High quality MS, possibly produced for senior member of the university or prosperous prelate.
Decoration	Opening folio features inhabited initial with scene of the four apostles (f. 1r), 'A' chapter opens with inhabited initial of angels (f.1r).
Shelfmark	Paris, BNF MS Lat. 515
Date	Late thirteenth century/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	Text travelling alone (ff. 1r-546r).
Pecia Remarks	Pecia copy, pecia marks present, composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User	MS working reference text, user marginalia present throughout such as Type II-EC (Error Corrections) where user has copied out omitted entries in margin. Type I-OM (Ownership Marks) feature on f. 546r for three separate owners: Barthélemy, son of Girard d'Anagni travelling on crusade (late thirteenth century); Elias, Archbishop of Nicosia (1332-1342); and Hugo Barroti, precentor and canon of Narbonne (note dated 26 th day of March 1367).
Decoration	No decorations above red and blue inks.
Shelfmark	Paris, BNF MS Lat. 516
Date	Late thirteenth century/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	Text travelling alone (ff. 1r-428r), text is triple-columned in format.

Pecia Remarks	Pecia copy, composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User	MS working reference text, user marginalia present throughout such as Type II-EC (Error Corrections) where user has copied out omitted entries in margin.
Decoration	No decorations above red and blue inks.

24	<i>Historia scholastica</i>	Peter Comestor	Not listed	3 sol.
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Exemplars concerning theology²⁶⁸

25	<i>Enchiridion</i>	St Augustine	6	4 den.
26	<i>De trinitate</i>	St Augustine	48	3 sol.
27	<i>Confessiones</i>	St Augustine	21	14 den.
28	Two works: <i>De doctrina christiana; De disciplina christiana</i>	St Augustine	15	8 den.
29	<i>De conflictu vitiorum et virtutum</i> ²⁶⁹	Ambrosius Autpertus	2	2 den.
30	<i>Retractationes</i>	St Augustine	6	6 den.
31	Three works: <i>De Genesi ad litteram; Liber ecclesiasticorum dogmatum; De Fidei ad Petrum</i>	First work: St Augustine; Second: Gennade de Marseille; Third: Fulgence de Ruspe	36	18 den.
32	Three works: <i>De libero arbitrio;</i>	St Augustine	38	18 den.

²⁶⁸ Latin category header reads: 'Ista sunt exemplaria super theologiam'.

²⁶⁹ Latin entry reads: 'Liber de conflictu viciorum Augustini'.

	<i>Contra faustum manichaeum; De divinatione demonum</i>			
33	Nine works: <i>De consensu evangelistarum; Quaestiones veteris et novi Testamenti; Contra academicos; De beata vita; De ordine; Soliloquia; De immortalitate animae; De moribus ecclesiae catholicae et de moribus manichaeorum; De quantitate animae</i>	First work; Third- Seventh: St Augustine; Second: Ambrosiaster	24	3 sol.
34	Five works: <i>De bono coniugali; De sancta virginitate; De professione sancte viduitatis; Adversus quinque hereses; Ad Orosium contra Priscillianistas et Origenistas</i>	First-Third, Fifth work: St Augustine, Fourth work: Quodvultdeus	10	12 den.
35	Three works: <i>De utilitate credendi; De gratia novi testamenti contra Honoratum (Epistola CXL); De natura boni</i>	St Augustine	8	6 den.
36	<i>Contra duas epistolas pelagianorum</i>	St Augustine	6	3 den.
37	Two works: <i>De nuptiis et concupiscentia; De adulterinis coniugiis</i>	St Augustine	8	7 den.
38	Two works: <i>Tractatus in evangelium Iohannis; De utilitate</i>	St Augustine	9	6 den.

agendae poenitentiae I et II

(Sermons 351-2)

39	<i>Epistulae</i>	St Augustine	42	2 sol.
40	<i>Tabulae super originalia patrum</i> ²⁷⁰	Possibly Robert Kilwardby	Not listed	2 sol.
41	<i>Corpus Dionysianum cum commentis</i> ²⁷¹	Johannes Scotus Eriugena's Latin translation of Dionysius, with commentaries by Maximus the Confessor, John Sarrazin, Eriugena, Hugh of St Victor, and Thomas Gallus	Not listed	6 sol.

²⁷⁰ This work is most likely one of Kilwardby's reference texts on the Church Fathers, he composed chapter summaries of patristic works; individual alphabetical indexes for the works of Augustine, Anselm, Damascenus, and Lombard; as well as a combination reference and alphabetic index aid to the works of the Church Fathers. See R.H. Rouse and M.A. Rouse, *Authentic Witnesses*, p. 234; D.A. Callus, 'The Contribution to the Study of the Fathers Made by the Thirteenth-Century Oxford Schools', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 5 (1954) pp.139-148.

²⁷¹ See H.F. Dondaine, *Le Corpus dionysien de Paris au XIII^e siècle* (Rome: Storia e letteratura, 1953). Schema plan included on p. 72, reproduced also in Murano (2005) item 285.

The works of Thomas Aquinas concerning the *Sentences*²⁷²

42	<i>In primo Sententiarum</i>	Thomas Aquinas	38 (listed as 37)	2 sol.
Shelfmark	Oxford, New College MS 116			
Date	Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.			
Origin	The Paris pecia system.			
Contents	Text travelling alone, followed by table of contents (ff. 102v-103v).			
Pecia Remarks	Pecia copy, composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.			
Notes on User	MS possibly working reference text. User notes in English hand, mainly Type II-CRM (Cross-Reference Marks).			
Decoration	Opening folio (f. iii(r)) features inhabited initial with Aquinas lecturing to students.			
43	<i>In secundo Sententiarum</i>	Thomas Aquinas	47	2 sol.

Shelfmark	Cambridge, Pembroke College MS 126			
Date	Late thirteenth century/ Early fourteenth century			
Origin	The Paris pecia system.			
Contents	Text travelling alone (ff. 1-188)			
Pecia Remarks	Pecia exemplar, pecia marks present, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata. The physical state of the MS demonstrates that it has been handled much more frequently than a standard pecia copy. Condition varies by quire,			

²⁷² Latin category header reads: 'Hec sunt scripta fratris Thome de Aquino super textum *Sententiarum*'.

supporting theory this is an exemplar text. Number of pieces corresponds to both 1275 and 1304 lists.

Notes on User Script of user hand suggests exemplar sold to English user. MS contains frequent notes; likely text was a working reference text or possibly notes added by pecia copyists.

Decoration No decoration above red and blue inks.

44	<i>In tertio Sententiarum</i>	Thomas Aquinas	50	2 sol.
45	<i>In quatro Sententiarum</i>	Thomas Aquinas	91	4 sol.

Shelfmark Cambridge, Peterhouse MS 50

Date Late thirteenth century/ Early fourteenth century

Origin The Paris pecia system.

Contents Text travelling alone (ff. 1-269r)

Pecia Remarks Pecia copy, pecia marks present, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.

Notes on User User notes in English cursive, notes are infrequent. Table appears at end of text (ff. 269r-274r) that lists question titles; user has numbered each question from the distinctions and added any missing questions to table. Numbering suggests likely text consulted as a reference work.

Decoration No decoration above red and blue inks.

Shelfmark Oxford, All Souls College MS 330

Date Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.

Origin The Paris pecia system.

Contents Text possibly travelled alone, folios survive as fragments (35 –

	40).
Pecia Remarks	Possible exemplar, pecia marks present, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User	Unknown if working reference copy from fragments, however user notes are present.
Decoration	No decoration above red and blue inks.
Shelfmark	Oxford, New College MS 118
Date	Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	Text travelling alone, followed by table of contents (ff. 281v-285v)
Pecia Remarks	Pecia copy, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User	MS most likely a casual reference text only, user notes infrequent.
Decoration	No decoration above red and blue inks.

46	<i>Catena super Mattheum</i>	Thomas Aquinas	57	3 sol.
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Shelfmark	Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.4.18 (132)
Date	Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Catena super Mattheum</i> (ff. 1r-224r) 2. <i>Catena super Marcum</i> (ff. 224v-303r)
Pecia Remarks	Works travelled together, pecia copies, pecia marks present, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata. Most likely companion volume to Cam., Trinity College MS B.4.19 (133) (see 1275 item 48)

Notes on User	MS casual reference text, most likely same owner as MS B.4.19.
Decoration	Decorated opening folio (f. 1r) featuring inhabited initial of Aquinas presenting his work to the pope, vine leaf frame and animal figures. Overleaf (f.1v) contains decorated initial with animal figures. Books of Matthew and Mark open with inhabited initials of individual Apostle (ff.3r, 224v). Edges of folios stained with red ink.
Shelfmark	Oxford, Balliol College MS 45
Date	Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Catena super Mattheum</i> (ff. 1r-229r) 2. <i>Catena super Marcum</i> (ff. 231-254) Work incomplete, possibly bound with text 1 by later librarian.
Pecia Remarks	Text 1 pecia copy, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User	MS likely working reference text, user marginalia present in English hand.
Decoration	Evidence that opening folio contained decorated initial, since cut out (f. 1r). No other decoration above red and blue inks.

47	<i>Catena super Marcum</i>	Thomas Aquinas	20	16 den.
48	<i>Catena super Lucam</i>	Thomas Aquinas	40	2 sol.

Shelfmark	Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.4.19 (133)
Date	Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.

Contents	1. <i>Catena super Lucam</i> (ff.1r-183r) 2. <i>Catena super Iohannem</i> (ff. 184r-336r)
Pecia Remarks	Works travelled together, pecia copies, pecia marks present, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata. Most likely companion volume to Cam., Trinity College MS B.4.18 (132) (see 1275 item 46)
Notes on User	MS casual reference text, Type I-OM (Ownership Mark) appears on f. 11r, naming Simon Mepham, archbishop of Canterbury as MS owner. No evidence to suggest Mepham studied in Paris, work with B.4.18 (133) likely presented to him as gifts.
Decoration	Decorated opening folio (f. 1r) featuring inhabited initial of Aquinas presenting his work to the pope, vine leaf frame and animal figures, opening of text 2 same (f. 184r). Books of Luke and John both open with inhabited initials of individual Apostle (f. 1r, 184r). Edges of folios stained with red ink.

49	<i>Summa theologiae prima</i>	Thomas	56	3 sol.
	<i>pars</i>	Aquinas		

Shelfmark	Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 75/42
Date	Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century
Origin	The Paris pecia system
Contents	Text travelling alone, contains alphabetical table of keywords and distinction locations (ff. 1r – 15v)
Pecia Remarks	Pecia copy, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User	MS a working reference copy, user notes present throughout in an English cursive script.

Decoration No decoration above red and blue inks.

50	<i>Prima secundae</i>	Thomas Aquinas	60	3 sol.
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Shelfmark Oxford, All Souls College MS 27
Date Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century
Origin The Paris pecia system
Contents Text travelling alone, followed by contents table (ff. 175r – 178r)
Pecia Remarks Pecia copy, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User MS likely casual reference text only, user marginalia uncommon.
Decoration Medium quality MS, opening folio features inhabited initial with Aquinas lecturing to students.

Shelfmark Oxford, Balliol College MS 42
Date Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century
Origin The Paris pecia system
Contents Text travelling alone, contents table appears before decorated opening page (f. 7r).
Pecia Remarks Pecia copy, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User MS likely a working reference text, user marginalia present throughout.
Decoration Higher quality MS, decorated initial has been cut out.

Shelfmark	Oxford, New College MS 121
Date	Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century
Origin	The Paris pecia system
Contents	1. <i>Prima secundae</i> (ff. 1r – 119v) 2. <i>Secunda secundae</i> (ff. 123r – 372v)
Pecia Remarks	Pecia copy, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User	MS likely a working reference text, user marginalia present in
Decoration	English cursive hand. No decoration above red and blue inks.

51	<i>Secunda secundae</i>	Thomas Aquinas	82	4 sol.
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Shelfmark	Oxford, Balliol College MS 43
Date	Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century
Origin	The Paris pecia system
Contents	Text travelling alone, contents table appears before decorated opening page (f. 9r).
Pecia Remarks	Pecia copy, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User	MS likely a working reference text, user marginalia present. Possible pair with Balliol College MS 42 above.
Decoration	Higher quality MS, decorated initial on opening folio.

Shelfmark	Oxford, Lincoln College MS Lat. 2
Date	Late thirteenth century/ Early fourteenth century
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	Text travelling alone, followed by contents table (ff. 219r – 224v).

Pecia Remarks	Pecia copy, pecia marks present, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User	MS likely a working reference text, user marginalia present in English cursive hand.
Decoration	No decoration above red and blue inks.

52	<i>Quaestiones disputatae de veritate</i>	Thomas Aquinas	65	3 sol.
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Shelfmark	Oxford, Balliol College MS 49
Date	Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Quaestiones disputatae de veritate</i> (ff. 5r-134v) 2. <i>De potentia Dei</i> (ff. 135r-194v) 3. <i>De malo</i> (ff. 195r-256v) 4. <i>De anima</i> (ff. 257r-278r) 5. <i>De virtutibus</i> (ff. 278r-307r) 6. <i>De unione Verbi incarnati</i> (ff.307r-310v) 7. <i>Quaestiones de spiritualibus creaturis</i> (ff. 311r-322v)
Pecia Remarks	Works travelled together, pecia copies, pecia marks present, texts composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User	MS a working reference copy, user notes present throughout in English cursive script. Table of contents composed in opening folios (ff. 1v-3r) contains contents of all works present in MS. In English hand, may be work of user.
Decoration	No decoration above red and blue inks.

Shelfmark	Oxford, Merton College MS I.3.1 (96)
Date	Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Quaestiones disputatae de veritate</i> (ff. 1r-217r) 2. <i>Quaestiones de Quodlibet</i> (ff. 221r-264v) 3. <i>Quodlibeta quatuor</i> (John Peckham) (ff. 265r-270v), followed by tables of contents for three texts (ff. 271r-273r)
Pecia Remarks	Works travelling together, pecia copies, pecia marks present, texts composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User	MS working reference text, user marginalia present. High quality MS, from library of Roger of Martival, Bishop of Salisbury (d. 1330).
Decoration	Opening folio features inhabited initial of master lecturing students (f. 1r).

53	<i>Quaestiones disputatae De potentia Dei</i>	Thomas Aquinas	28	14 den.
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Shelfmark	Oxford, Balliol College MS 47
Date	Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Quaestiones disputatae De potentia dei</i> (ff. 5r-88v) 2. <i>De malo</i> (ff. 89r-182v) 3. <i>De spiritualibus creaturis</i> (ff. 183r-199r) 4. <i>De virtutibus</i> (ff. 199v-238v) 5. <i>De anima</i> (ff. 241r-267r)
Pecia Remarks	Works travelled together, pecia copies, pecia marks present,

	texts composed in several hands, possibly Italian book hands.
Notes on User	MS a working reference copy, user notes present throughout. Fourteenth-century contents table appears in opening folios (ff. 3-4).
Decoration	No decoration above red and blue inks.
Shelfmark	Oxford, Balliol College MS 48
Date	Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Quaestiones disputatae De potentia dei</i> (ff. 1r-108r) 2. <i>De virtutibus</i> (ff. 108v-161r), followed by table of contents for first two works (ff. 167r-169r) 3. <i>De veritate</i> (ff. 170r-356r)
Pecia Remarks	Works travelled together, pecia copies, pecia marks present, texts composed in several hands in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User	MS a working reference copy, user notes present throughout in Anglicana cursive script.
Decoration	No decoration above red and blue inks.

54	<i>Quaestiones de spiritualibus creaturis</i>	Thomas Aquinas	5	3 den.
55	Three works: <i>Quaestiones disputatae De anima; De virtutibus; De unione verbi incarnati modo continuo numerantur</i>	Thomas Aquinas	24	12 den.

Shelfmark	Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS 214
Date	Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>De anima</i> (ff. 1r-41v) 2. <i>De virtutibus</i> (ff. 42r-105r) 3. <i>De spiritualibus creaturis</i> (ff. 106r-132) 4. <i>Quaestiones de Quodlibet</i> (ff. 133r-176)
Pecia Remarks	Works travelled together, pecia copies, pecia marks present, texts composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User	MS a working reference copy, user notes present in Anglicana cursive at end of text 3 (ff. 175-176r) and alphabetised distinctions composed by user also feature at end of text (ff. 177r-178v). A Type I-OM (Ownership Mark) note identifies the MS user as Robert Winchelsey, archbishop of Canterbury (f. flyleaf v(r)). Robert studied at the faculty of arts at Paris, and by 1267 was head of the faculty. ²⁷³ He most likely purchased the MS during this period.
Decoration	No decoration above red and blue inks.

56	<i>Quaestiones de malo</i>	Thomas Aquinas	28	14 den.
57	<i>Quaestiones de quodlibet</i>	Thomas Aquinas	14	7 den.
58	<i>Summa contra Gentiles</i>	Thomas Aquinas	57	3 sol.

²⁷³ J. H. Denton, 'Winchelsey, Robert (c.1240–1313)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/view/article/29713>, accessed 27 May 2015]

Shelfmark Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Canon Pat. Lat. 136
 Date Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
 Origin The Naples pecia system.
 Contents Work travelling alone.
 Pecia Remarks Pecia copy, text composed in Italian Rotunda.
 Notes on User MS likely casual reference text only, user marginalia uncommon.
 Decoration Medium quality MS, opening folio features inhabited initial of Thomas Aquinas (f. 1r)

Shelfmark Oxford, Merton College MS I.1.7 (78)
 Date Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
 Origin The Paris pecia system.
 Contents Work travelling alone, includes contents tables (ff. 1r, 25r-v, 60v-61v, 115r-v).
 Pecia Remarks Pecia copy, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata
 Notes on User MS working reference text, user marginalia present.
 Decoration No decorations above red and blue inks.

59	<i>De perfectione spiritualis vitae</i>	Thomas Aquinas	7	4 den.
60	<i>Catena super Iohannem</i>	Thomas Aquinas	40	2 sol.

Shelfmark Cambridge, Pembroke College MS 38
 Date Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
 Origin The Paris pecia system.
 Contents
 1. *Catena super Iohannem* (ff. 1r-143v)
 2. *Catena super Marcum* (ff.144r-209r)

Pecia Remarks	Works travelled together, pecia copies, pecia marks present, composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User	MS casual reference text, user marginalia uncommon. Possibly produced for a senior member of the university or prosperous prelate, MS of higher quality.
Decoration	Opening folio features decorated initial (f. 1r), followed by enlarged initial (f.5v). Catchwords are also decorated with humanoid and animal figures (ff. 14v, 36v, 49v, 60v).
Shelfmark	Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS 380
Date	Second half thirteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Catena super Iohannem</i> (ff. 1r-126) 2. <i>Catena super Lucam</i> (begin. ff. 127r)
Pecia Remarks	Works travelled together, pecia copies, pecia marks present, composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User	MS casual reference text, no user marginalia. Possibly produced for a senior member of the university or prosperous prelate, MS of higher quality.
Decoration	Opening folio features inhabited initial featuring St John the Apostle (f. 1r), followed by inhabited initial of St Luke the Apostle at opening of text 2 (f. 127r).

The works of Pierre de Tarentaise concerning the *Sentences*²⁷⁴

61	<i>Super primum librum</i>	Pierre de	33	18 den.
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²⁷⁴ Latin category header reads: 'Hec sunt scripta fratris Petri de Tarentasia super textum *Sententiarum*'.

Shelfmark	Cambridge, Peterhouse MS 117
Date	Late thirteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. <i>Super primum librum Sententiarum</i> (ff. 1-97)2. <i>Super secundum librum Sententiarum</i> (ff. 98-183) Works attributed to Thomas Aquinas in text.
Pecia Remarks	Pecia copy, pecia marks present, text composed in an English bookhand.
Notes on User	MS may have been composed by English user himself, with accompanying marginalia in an Anglicana cursive hand. Possibly a working reference text.
Decoration	No decorations above red and blue inks.
Shelfmark	Oxford, Merton College MS G.I.O. (105)
Date	Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. <i>Super quattrum librum Sententiarum</i> (ff. 1r-159v)2. <i>Super primum librum Sententiarum</i> (ff. 166r-300v)
Pecia Remarks	Pecia copies, text 1 composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata, text 2 composed in English hand, possibly user's own.
Notes on User	Texts travelled together, as user composed table of contents for both texts together (ff. 160r-164r). User marginalia found in both texts.
Decoration	No decoration above red and blue inks in text 1, no rubric in text 2.

62	<i>Super secundum librum Sententiarum</i>	Pierre de Tarentaise	Possibly 35 (listed as 25)	19 den.
63	<i>Super tertium librum Sententiarum</i>	Pierre de Tarentaise	36	20 den.
64	<i>Super quartum librum Sententiarum</i>	Pierre de Tarentaise	48	27 den.

Shelfmark	London, British Library MS Add. 15424
Date	First half fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	Text travelling alone (ff. 2- 195r)
Pecia Remarks	Pecia copy, pecia marks present, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User	MS working reference text, with user marginalia present. User likely English as notes composed in Anglicana Formata. End of text contains list of themes (ff. 195r-199), user pencilled distinction numbers beside keywords. User-added folio numbers also appear throughout MS.
Decoration	Decorated initial appears on opening folio (f. 2r).

Shelfmark	Cambridge, Peterhouse MS 58
Date	Late thirteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	Text travelling alone (ff. 250). Work attributed to Thomas Aquinas.
Pecia Remarks	Pecia copy, pecia marks present, text composed in an English book hand.

Notes on User	MS may have been composed by English user himself, with accompanying marginalia in an Anglicana cursive hand. Possibly a working reference text.
Decoration	No decorations above red and blue inks.
Shelfmark	Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Laud. misc. 605
Date	The year of Our Lord 1260, on the fifth day of March after the feast of St Dionysius as stated in explicit (f. 161v).
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	Text travelling alone (ff. 1-161v).
Pecia Remarks	Pecia copy, pecia marks present, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User	MS a working reference text, user may be French with marginalia written in cursive hand. Possible Type I-OM (Ownership Mark) appears on f. 107v: 'hic sunt .ix. quaterni fratris Lambertii de Virdinio'.
Decoration	No decorations above red and blue inks.
Shelfmark	Oxford, Magdalen College MS 116
Date	Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	Text travelling alone (ff. 1-164).
Pecia Remarks	Pecia copy, pecia marks present, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User	MS a working reference text, user may be French with marginalia written in cursive hand.
Decoration	No decorations above red and blue inks.

65	<i>Postilla in epistolas Pauli</i>	Pierre de Tarentaise	70	3 sol. et 6 den.
66	<i>Postilla super Lucam</i>	Pierre de Tarentaise	32	18 den.
67	<i>Tabula Concordantia super Sententias Petri</i>	Robert Kilwardby	44	22 den.
68	<i>Postilla super Matthaem</i>	William of Alton	27	16 den.
69	<i>Postilla super Isaiam</i>	William of Alton	26	16 den.
70	<i>Postille super Psalterium</i>	William of Middleton	96	4 sol.
71	<i>Postille super xii Prophethas</i>	William of Middleton	61	4 sol. et 6 den.
72	<i>Postilla super Marchum</i>	Jean de la Rochelle	51	3 sol.
73	<i>Postilla super Ecclesiasticum</i>	William of Middleton	58	3 sol. et 6 den.
74	<i>Postille super Iob</i>	William of Middleton	51	3 sol. et 6 den.

The works of Bonaventure, O.F.M.²⁷⁵

75	<i>Postilla super Lucam</i>	Bonaventure	73	3 sol.
76	<i>Postillae super Ecclesiasten</i>	Bonaventure	12	6 den.
77	<i>Postilla super Canticum Canticorum</i>	Bonaventure	18	8 den.
78	<i>Postilla super librum</i>	Bonaventure	37	20 den.

²⁷⁵ Latin category header reads: 'Hec sunt scripta fratris Bonaventure, de Ordine fratrum Minorum, scilicet'.

<i>Proverbiorum</i>				
79	<i>Postilla super Canticum</i>	Jean de Varsy	15	8 den.
<i>Canticorum</i>				
80	<i>Postilla super librum Sapientiae</i>	Jean de Varsy	10	6 den.
81	<i>Postilla super Apocalipsim</i>	Bonaventure	23	15 den.
82	<i>Postilla super Epistolas</i>	Unknown	15	8 den.
<i>canonicas</i> ²⁷⁶				
83	<i>In I librum Sententiarum</i>	Bonaventure	Not listed	2 sol.

Shelfmark	Paris, BNF MS Lat. 17480
Date	Late thirteenth century/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	1. <i>In I librum Sententiarum</i> (ff. 1r-149v) 2. <i>In II librum Sententiarum</i> (ff. 153r-385v)
Pecia Remarks	Pecia copy, pecia marks present, texts composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User	Works likely travelled together, with accompanying marginalia in a French cursive hand. Notes infrequent, MS may have been used for casual reference only.
Decoration	No decorations above red and blue inks.

84	<i>In II librum Sententiarum</i>	Bonaventure	Not listed	4 sol.
85	<i>In III librum Sententiarum</i>	Bonaventure	Not listed	2 sol.

²⁷⁶ Work remains unidentified at this time, see Murano, *Opere diffuse per exemplar e pecia*, item 269. It is possible to speculate that this is a work by an author other than Bonaventure, such as William of Middleton who also appears on the 1275 list with related works.

86	<i>In IV librum Sententiarum</i>	Bonaventure	Not listed	2 sol.
87	<i>Pro textu Bible</i>		120 ²⁷⁷	5 sol.

Shelfmark	Paris, BNF MS Lat. 28
Date	Late thirteenth century/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	Text travelling alone (ff. 1r-431r), followed by alphabetical list of names and keywords (ff. 432r-473r) and contents tables (ff. 474r-end)
Pecia Remarks	Pecia copy, pecia marks present, composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User	MS possible working reference text, user marginalia present.
Decoration	No decorations above red and blue inks.

88	<i>Pro quinque libris Moysi glosatis</i>	Not listed	5 sol.
89	<i>Pro libris historialibus omnibus</i>	Not listed	5 sol.
90	<i>Pro Iob</i>	Not listed	5 sol.
91	<i>Pro Psalterio glosato</i>	Not listed	4 sol.
92	<i>Pro libris Salomonis</i>	Not listed	2 sol.
93	<i>Pro xvi Prophetis</i>	Not listed	5 sol.
94	<i>Pro evangeliis cum antiqua glossa</i>	Not listed	5 sol.
95	<i>Pro epistolis Pauli</i>	Not listed	4 sol.
96	<i>Pro actibus apostolorum, epistolis canonicis et Apocalipsi</i>	Not listed	2 sol.

²⁷⁷ Item piece length listed as 'cxx pieces, ii demptis' for both the 1275 and 1304 lists, suggesting the exemplar may have been 118 pieces in length.

97	<i>Sermones de dominicis</i>	Guillaume Peyraut	65	4 sol.
98	<i>Sermones de sanctis</i>	Guillaume Peyraut	69	2 sol. et 6 den.
99	<i>Sermones de tempore</i> ²⁷⁸	Thomas Brito	61	2 sol.
100	<i>Sermones 'Precinxisti' scilicet Commune sanctorum</i>	Thomas Brito	47	20 den.
101	<i>Sermones de tempore</i> ²⁷⁹	Guillaume de Mailly ²⁸⁰	49	20 den.
102	<i>Sermones de sanctis</i> ²⁸¹	Guillaume de Mailly	17	8 den.
103	<i>Sermones de dominicis</i> ²⁸²	Pierre de Saint- Benoit	24	12 den.
104	<i>Sermones de festis</i> ²⁸³	Pierre de Saint- Benoit	21	8 den.
105	<i>Commune sanctorum scilicet Nimis honorati sunt</i>	Pierre de Saint- Benoit	20	8 den.
106	<i>Sermones attrebatenses, de dominicis</i> ²⁸⁴	Unknown	Not listed	Not listed

²⁷⁸ Latin entry reads: 'Sermones fratris Thomas Britonis dominicis, tam de epistolis quam de evangeliis...scilicet Abiciamus'.

²⁷⁹ Latin entry reads: 'Sermones Abiciamus de Mali de dominicis'.

²⁸⁰ Also referred to as Gérard de Mailly.

²⁸¹ Latin entry reads: 'Sermones eiusdem de festis, scilicet a festo S. Andree apostoli usque ad Annunciationem dominicam'.

²⁸² Latin entry reads: 'Sermones fratris Petri de Sancto Benedicto, scilicet Desideratus de dominicis'.

²⁸³ Latin entry reads: 'Sermones eiusdem de festis, scilicet Suspendium'.

107	<i>Collectiones fratrum</i> ²⁸⁵	Unknown	35	18 den.
108	<i>Sermones de sanctis</i> ²⁸⁶	Aldobrandino Cavalcanti	32	15 den.
109	<i>Legenda aurea</i>	Jacopo de Varazze	90	3 sol.

Shelfmark	Cambridge, Peterhouse MS 131
Date	Second half thirteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	Text travelling alone (ff. 2v-294), contents table appears in opening folios (f. 1 missing, remaining table appears on f. 2r).
Pecia Remarks	Pecia copy, pecia marks present, texts composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata. MS appears 80 pieces in length, likely made from an alternative exemplar from the work listed in the above entry.
Notes on User	Two user hands appear in text: first user notes in French hand, frequent notes suggest user consulted work as reference text. Second hand is English, notes less frequent.
Decoration	Opening incipit likely had a decorated initial, cut out (f. 2v).

²⁸⁴ Text also known as *Sermones alleabatenses*, author or compiler unknown but may be Dominican. See d'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, pp. 161; 276.

²⁸⁵ Text also known as the Legifer collection, an anonymous collection of Franciscan sermons. See d'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, p. 276.

²⁸⁶ Latin entry reads: 'Sermones provinciales de Tussia, qui incipiunt Sapientia Sanctorum'. The 'Tuscia' most likely refers to Cavalcanti's Florentine origin and he composed a sermon collection beginning 'Sapientiam sanctorum'. See d'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, p. 277.

Shelfmark Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.15.15

Date Late thirteenth century/ Early fourteenth century.

Origin The Paris pecia system.

Contents Text travelling alone, contents table appears in opening folios (ff. 1-2r).

Pecia Remarks Pecia copy, pecia marks present, texts composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.

Notes on User Frequent user notes suggest MS consulted as working reference text. Marginalia in Anglicana cursive hand.

Decoration No decoration above red and blue inks.

Shelfmark Paris, BNF MS Lat. 13749

Date Late thirteenth century/ Early fourteenth century.

Origin The Paris pecia system.

Contents Text travelling alone.

Pecia Remarks Pecia copy, texts composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.

Notes on User MS possibly working reference text, user marginalia throughout text in French book hand. User most frequently highlights passages of text and composes Type II-PD (Passage Division) and II-PS (Paraphrased Summation) notes.

Decoration No decoration above red and blue inks.

110	<i>Sermones de dominicis</i>	Nicolas de Biard	51	18 den.
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Shelfmark Paris, BNF MS Lat. 15953

Date Fourth quarter thirteenth century.

Origin	The Paris pecia system (not all texts assumed pecia works, however all texts likely produced in Paris).
Contents	Text is part of a compilation of works from anonymous writers and known preachers including Guillaume de Mailly, Nicolas de Mans, Walter de Château-Thierry, Eudes de Châteauroux, Guiard de Laon, Guillaume d’Auvergne, Nicolas de Biard, Nicolas de Gorran, Stephen of Bourbon, and Guibert de Tournai.
Pecia Remarks	Works travelled together, possible pecia copies, texts composed by different scribes in book hands including Textualis Semi-Quadrata, pecia mark present in Biard’s work: <i>hic finitur 51^a pe^a de dominicis et ista ultima pecia est corrupta, ut mihi videtur</i> (f. 134r).
Notes on User	Ms compiled specifically for Pierre de Limoges, a thirteenth-century preacher and theologian at the University of Paris. He composed user marginalia throughout MS, frequent passages from synodal sermons. See previous discussion in chapter 5.
Decoration	No decoration above red and blue inks.
Shelfmark	Paris, BNF MS n.a.l. 2032
Date	Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Sermones de dominicis</i> (ff. 1r-153v) 2. <i>Sermones de festis</i> (ff. 154r-205v)
Pecia Remarks	Works travelled together, pecia copies, pecia marks present, texts composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User	MS possible working reference text, user marginalia common in texts.

Decoration Opening folio features inhabited initial with master lecturing students (f. 1r).

111	<i>Sermones de festis</i>	Nicolas de Biard	18	6 den.
112	<i>Distinctiones</i>	Maurice de Provins	84	3 sol.

Shelfmark Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Rawlinson C 711

Date Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.

Origin The Paris pecia system.

Contents Text travelling alone (ff. 4r-200), preceded by alphabetical contents table (ff. 2r-3r).

Pecia Remarks Pecia copy, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.

Notes on User MS working reference text, user marginalia throughout in English cursive script. Type II-AT (Additional Text) user note appears on f.1v, list of the miracles of Christ with Bible passage locations. Fourteenth-century Type I-OM (Ownership Mark) on f. 3v identifies Thomas Graunt in the household of Anne, Countess of Staffordshire (1383-1438) as a later user.

Decoration No decoration above red and blue inks.

Shelfmark Paris, BNF MS Lat. 14942

Date Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.

Origin The Paris pecia system.

Contents Work travelling alone (ff. 1r-290), accompanied by alphabetical table of contents (ff. 291r-292v).

Pecia Remarks Pecia copy, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.

Notes on User	MS casual reference only, no user marginalia present. Type I-OM (Ownership Mark) on f. 290r notes Johannes Camasse of St Victor convent composed book for his institution. Possible library book for convent.
Decoration	No decoration above red and blue inks.

The list of legal text exemplars²⁸⁷

113	<i>Decretales sive Liber Extra</i>	Gregory IX	Not listed	4 sol.
114	<i>Glossa ordinaria in Decretales</i>	Bernard of Botone	Not listed	5 sol.
115	<i>Decretum</i>	Gratian	Not listed	4 sol.

Shelfmark	Paris, BNF MS Lat. 3906
Date	Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin	The Bologna pecia system.
Contents	The <i>Decretum</i> of Gratian, accompanied by the glossa ordinaria of Bartholomew of Brescia (ff. 369)
Pecia Remarks	Pecia copy, texts composed in Italian Rotunda and glossing scripts.
Notes on User	MS likely working reference text, user marginalia present.
Decoration	Medium quality text, MS features inhabited and decorated initials (1-3 lines high) throughout.

116	<i>Glossa ordinaria in Decretum</i>	Bartholomew of Brescia	Not listed	6 sol.
117	<i>Summa super titulis Decretalium</i>	Geoffrey of Trani	Not listed	2 sol.

²⁸⁷ Latin category header reads: 'Hec est taxatio exemplarium'.

118	<i>Summa decretorum</i>	Huguccio of Pisa	Not listed	8 sol.
119	<i>Lectura super Decretum</i>	Petrus de Salinis	Not listed	5 sol.
120	<i>Apparatus in quinque libros Decretalium</i>	Innocent IV	Not listed	10 sol.
121	<i>Casus decretorum</i>	Bartholomew of Brescia	Not listed	2 sol. et 6 den.
122	<i>Casus longi super quinque libros Decretalium</i>	Bernard of Botone	Not listed	2 sol. et 6 den.
123	Two works: <i>Summa de casibus poenitentiae, Apparatus in Summam de casibus poenti</i> Item repeated as 21 above.	First work: Raymundus de Pennaforste; Second: Guillaume de Rennes	Not listed	3 sol.
124	Two works: <i>Libellus in iure canonico; Libellus in iure civili sive Libellus de ordine iudiciorum</i>	Roffredo Benevento	Not listed	5 sol.
125	<i>Repertorium</i>	Guillaume Durand	Not listed	2 sol.

Shelfmark	Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 32/21
Date	Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	1. <i>Tabula super Decretales Innocentii</i> (Nicholaus de Camilla) (ff. 1r-6r) Likely non-pecia copy. 2. <i>Repertorium</i> (ff. 65 in length)
Pecia Remarks	Works travelled separately, text 2 pecia copy, pecia marks present, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.

Notes on User	MS working reference text, user notes present in English cursive hand.
Decoration	No decorations above red and blue inks.
Shelfmark	Oxford, New College MS 212
Date	Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	Text travelling alone (begin. f. 4r)
Pecia Remarks	Pecia copy, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User	MS working reference text, user notes present in English cursive hand.
Decoration	No decorations above red and blue inks, edges of leaves dyed red.

126	<i>Summa super titulis Decretalium</i>	Henry of Segusio	Not listed	10 sol.
127	<i>Lectura in Decretales Gregorii IX</i>	Henry of Segusio	Not listed	30 sol.
128	<i>Margarita</i>	Henry of Segusio ²⁸⁸	Not listed	12 den.
129	<i>Digestum vetus</i>		Not listed	6 sol.
130	<i>Glossa ordinaria in Digestum vetus</i>	Accursius	Not listed	5 sol.

²⁸⁸ Denifle listed the author as Bernardus Compostellanus junior, see *Chartularium*, item 531, n.48; However, recent historians have identified the author as Henry of Segusio, see R. Helssig, 'Eine bisher übersehene Schrift des Henricus Hostiensis', «Deutsche Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht» 14 (1904) pp. 70-82, pp.70-2; Murano, *Opere diffuse per exemplar e pecia*, item 477.

131	<i>Digestum novum</i>		Not listed	4 sol.
132	<i>Glossa ordinaria in Digestum novum</i>		Not listed	4 sol.
133	<i>Infortiatum cum Tribus partibus</i>		Not listed	4 sol.
134	<i>Glossa ordinaria in Infortiatum</i>	Accursius	Not listed	4 sol.
135	<i>Tres libri Codicis</i>		Not listed	4 sol.
136	<i>Glossa ordinaria in Tres libros</i>	Accursius	Not listed	4 sol.
137	<i>Codex</i>		Not listed	5 sol.
138	<i>Glossa ordinaria in Codicem</i>	Accursius	Not listed	5 sol.

II. The pecia list of 1304

Item no.	Title	Author	No. of pieces	Rental price
1	<i>Catena super Mattheum</i>	Thomas Aquinas	57	4 sol.
2	<i>Catena super Marcum</i>	Thomas Aquinas	20	17 den.
3	<i>Catena super Lucam</i>	Thomas Aquinas	40	3 sol. et 6 den.
4	<i>Catena super Iohannem</i>	Thomas Aquinas	47	3 sol. et 6 den.
5	<i>In primo Sententiarum</i>	Thomas Aquinas	38	29 den.

Shelfmark Cambridge, St John's College MS C.2 (52)

Date Approx. c1300 to 1331.

Origin The Paris pecia system.

Contents	1. <i>In primo Sententiarum</i> (ff. 1r-121v) 2. <i>In secundo Sententiarum</i> (ff. 123r-251v)
Pecia Remarks	Pecia copies, pecia marks present, texts 1 and 2 composed by separate scribes in French bookhands.
Notes on User	MS texts most likely travelled together as user notes in same cursive hand appear in both texts. MS contains Type I-OM (Ownership Mark) to show work belonged to Henry Eastry (d. 1331), prior of Christ Church, Canterbury: 'Thome de Alquino super librum sententiarum Henrici prioris' (endleaf).
Decoration	No decorations above red and blue inks.
Shelfmark	Paris, BNF MS Lat. 15761
Date	First quarter fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	Text travelling alone (ff. 3r-155v), features user-added table of contents (ff. 1r-2v).
Pecia Remarks	Pecia copy, text composed in a French bookhand.
Notes on User	MS may have been composed by French user himself, with accompanying marginalia in a French cursive hand. Most likely a working reference text.
Decoration	Black ink only, spaces throughout text for rubric to be added.

6	<i>Metaphysica</i>	William of Moerbeke's Latin translation of Aristotle	23	16 den.
7	<i>Physica</i>	William of Moerbeke's Latin translation of Aristotle	16	11 den.

Shelfmark	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS MacClean 154
Date	Late thirteenth century/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Physica</i> (ff. 1-69v), followed by first page of <i>Metheora</i> copied by mistake (f. 70r) 2. <i>De caelo et mundo</i> (ff. 70v-108v) 3. <i>De generatione et corruptione</i> (ff. 109r-130r) 4. <i>Metheora</i> (ff. 131r-174r) 5. <i>De anima</i> (ff. 174v-198v) 6. <i>De Sensu et sensatu</i> (ff. 199r-208) 7. <i>De memoria et reminiscencia</i> (ff. 208-211v) 8. <i>De sompno et vigila</i> (ff. 211v-219v) 9. <i>De longitudine</i> (begin. f. 219v) 10. <i>De iuventute</i> (begin. f. 222v) 11. <i>De Physiognomiae</i> (begin. f. 232) 12. <i>De pomo sive de morte Aristotilelis</i> (begin. f. 240v) 13. <i>De morte et vita</i> (begin. f. 241v) 14. <i>De bona fortuna</i> (begin. f. 246) 15. <i>De coloribus</i> (ff. 248v-254v) 16. <i>De inundatione Nili</i> (begin. f. 255) 17. <i>De motu animalium</i> (ff. 257-262) 18. <i>De vegetabilibus et plantis</i> (ff. 262v-276v) 19. <i>De proprietatibus elementorum</i> (begin. f. 277) 20. <i>De causis</i> (ff. 286-295v)
Pecia Remarks	Works travelled together, pecia copies, texts composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User	MS likely used as working reference text, user notes frequent

	including Type II-GA (Graphical Aid) notes.
Decoration	Opening folio contains decorated border with grotesques and two hounds pursuing a hare (f. 1). Each text opens with a gold initial.
Shelfmark	Cambridge, University Library MS II. II. 10 (105)
Date	Late thirteenth century/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Physica</i> (ff. 1r-51v) 2. <i>De caelo et mundo</i> (ff. 52r-80v) 3. <i>De generatione et corruptione</i> (ff. 80v-96v) 4. <i>De metheora</i> (ff. 96v-129v) 5. <i>De anima</i> (ff. 129v-148v) 6. <i>De sensu et sensatu</i> (ff. 149r-155v) 7. <i>De memoria et reminiscencia</i> (ff. 156r-158v) 8. <i>De sompno et vigilia</i> (ff. 158v-165r) 9. <i>De motu animalium</i> (ff. 165r-168v) 10. <i>De longitudine et breuitate vitae</i> (ff. 168v-170v) 11. <i>De iuventute et senectute</i> (ff. 170v-172v) 12. <i>De respiratione</i> (ff. 172v-178r) 13. <i>De physiognomia</i> (ff. 178r-181v) 14. <i>De figuris</i> (ff. 181v-184r) 15. <i>De lineis indivisibilibus</i> (ff. 184r-186v) 16. <i>De inundatione Nili</i> (ff. 187-188) 17. <i>De proprietatibus elementorum</i> (ff. 188v-194) 18. <i>De coloribus</i> (begin. f. 194v) 19. <i>De progressu animalium</i> (begin. f. 198v) 20. <i>De mundo</i> (begin. f. 204v)

21. *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, Pseudo-Aristotle (begin. f. 211)
22. *Vita Aristotelis*, Ammonius (begin. f. 212)
23. *De pomo* (begin. f. 214)
24. *De intelligentia* (begin. f. 218)
25. *De vegetabilibus et plantis* (begin. f. 220)
26. *De differentia spiritus et anime*, Costa ben Luca (begin. f. 229)
27. *De causis*, followed by commentary of Avicenna (begin. f. 235)
28. *Metaphysica* (ff. 240v-310r)

Pecia Remarks	Works travelled together, pecia copies, texts composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User	MS likely working reference text, frequent user marginalia including Type II-GA (Graphical Aids).
Decoration	Opening of each work features decorated initial.

8	<i>Metheora</i>	William of Moerbeke's Latin translation of Aristotle	11	9 den.
9	<i>De caelo et mundo</i>	William of Moerbeke's Latin translation of Aristotle	9	7 den.
10	<i>De generatione et corruptione</i>	William of Moerbeke's Latin translation of Aristotle	6	4 den. et obol.
11	Four works: <i>De sensu et sensatu</i> ; <i>De anima</i> ; <i>De memoria et reminiscentia</i> ; <i>De sompno et</i>	William of Moerbeke's Latin translation of	12	10 den.

	<i>vigilia</i>	Aristotle		
12	Eleven works: <i>De longitudine</i> ; <i>De iuventute</i> ; <i>De respiratione</i> ; <i>De</i> <i>morte et vita</i> ; <i>Physiognomiae</i> ²⁸⁹ ; <i>De causis</i> ; <i>De mundo</i> ; <i>De pomo</i> <i>sive de morte Aristotelis</i> ; <i>De bona</i> <i>fortuna</i> ; <i>De coloribus</i> ; <i>De</i> <i>inundatione Nili</i>	First – Fourth works: William of Moerbeke’s Latin translation of Aristotle; Fifth: Bartholomew of Messina’s Latin translation of Pseudo-Aristotle; Sixth: Gerard of Cremona’s Latin translation of Pseudo-Aristotle; Seventh: Nicolas de Regio’s Latin translation of Pseudo-Aristotle; Eighth: Manfredi’s Latin translation of Pseudo-Aristotle; Ninth: Unknown Latin translation of Pseudo- Aristotle; Tenth:	27	18 den.

²⁸⁹ Fifth to ninth, and eleventh works: Pseudo-Aristotle.

		As previous; Eleventh: As previous.		
13	<i>Ethica Nicomachea</i>	Robert Grosseteste's Latin translation of Aristotle	17	12 den.
Shelfmark	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS C.F.M. 14			
Date	Late thirteenth century/ Early fourteenth century.			
Origin	The Paris pecia system.			
Contents	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Ethica Nicomachea</i> (begin. f.1r) 2. <i>Politica</i> (begin. f.86v) 3. <i>Rhetorica</i> (begin. f.127r) 4. <i>Magna moralia</i> (begin. f.166v) 			
Pecia Remarks	Works travelled together, pecia copies, texts composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.			
Notes on User	MS likely used for casual reference only, user notes infrequent.			
Decoration	Opening incipit features inhabited initial (f.1r).			
14	<i>Politica</i>	William of Moerbeke's Latin translation of Aristotle	17	12 den.
15	<i>Rhetorica</i>	William of Moerbeke's Latin	12	9 den.

		translation of Aristotle		
16	<i>Problemata vulgata</i>	Bartholomew of Messina's Latin translation of Aristotle	19	15 den.
17	<i>Magna moralia</i>	Bartholomew of Messina's Latin translation of Aristotle	8	6 den.
18	<i>Secretum Secretorum</i>	Philip of Tripoli's Latin translation of Pseudo- Aristotle	8	6 den.
19	Five works: <i>De Historia animalium; De progressu animalium; De motu animalium; De partibus animalium; De generatione animalium</i>	William of Moerbeke's Latin translation of Aristotle	38	32 den.
20	<i>De principiis naturae</i>	John Sackville	14	10 den.
21	<i>Expositio libri Meteorologicorum Aristotelis</i>	William of Moerbeke's Latin translation of Alexander of Aphrodisias	14	12 den.
22	<i>In secundo Sententiarum</i>	Thomas Aquinas	47	34 den.
23	<i>In tertio Sententiarum</i>	Thomas Aquinas	50	34 den.
24	<i>In quatro Sententiarum</i>	Thomas Aquinas	93	5 sol. et 9

				den.
25	<i>Prima secundae</i> ²⁹⁰	Thomas Aquinas	60 (listed as 70)	46 den.
26	<i>Secunda secundae</i>	Thomas Aquinas	82	5 sol. et 6 den.
27	<i>Tertia pars</i>	Thomas Aquinas	54 (listed as 55)	44 den.

Shelfmark	Oxford, Balliol College MS 44
Date	Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	Text travelling alone (ff. 1 - 233v), followed by contents table (ff. 233r – 237v).
Pecia Remarks	Pecia copy, pecia marks present, text composed in English cursive hand, likely user's own.
Notes on User	Possible MS a working reference text, with user notes present.
Decoration	No decorations above red and blue inks.
Shelfmark	Oxford, New College MS 124
Date	Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	Text (ff. 6r – 162r) travelling with two unidentified works.
Pecia Remarks	Pecia copy, pecia marks present, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User	Likely MS for casual reference only, user notes uncommon.
Decoration	Medium quality MS with decorated opening folio (f. 6r)

²⁹⁰ As previously discussed in chapter 10, Latin entry likely a misprint: 'pro prima parte Summe fratris Thome'.

28	<i>Summa contra Gentiles</i>	Thomas Aquinas	57	44 den.
29	Three works: <i>Quaestiones disputatae De anima; De virtutibus; De unione verbi incarnati modo continuo numerantur</i>	Thomas Aquinas	23	6 den.
30	<i>Quaestiones disputatae de veritate</i>	Thomas Aquinas	66	4 sol.
31	<i>Quaestiones disputatae De potentia Dei</i>	Thomas Aquinas	29	22 den.
32	<i>Quaestiones de malo</i>	Thomas Aquinas	28	20 den.
33	<i>Quaestiones de spiritualibus creaturis</i>	Thomas Aquinas	5	4 den.
34	<i>Expositio super Job</i>	Thomas Aquinas	20	15 den.
35	<i>Postille super Ysaïam</i>	Thomas Aquinas	23	16 den.
36	<i>De divinis nominibus</i>	Thomas Aquinas	20	15 den.
37	<i>De perfectione spiritualis vitae</i>	Thomas Aquinas	7	4 den.
38	<i>Quaestiones de quodlibet</i>	Thomas Aquinas	24	18 den.

The works of Nicolas de Gorran²⁹¹

39	<i>Postilla super Psalterium</i>	Nicolas de Gorran	88	5 sol.
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²⁹¹ Latin category header reads: 'Opera fratris N«icolai» de Gorham'.

40	<i>Postilla super Ecclesiasticum</i>	Nicolas de Gorran	79	4 sol. et 6 den.
41	<i>Postilla super Matthaenum</i>	Nicolas de Gorran	43	3 sol.

Shelfmark	Oxford, Merton College MS 170
Date	Late thirteenth century/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	1. <i>Postilla super Mattheum</i> (ff. 1r-50) Text incomplete. 2. <i>Postilla super Lucam</i> (ff. 51r-169v)
Pecia Remarks	Works travelled together, pecia copies, composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User	MS working reference text, user notes frequent throughout in English cursive hand.
Decoration	No decorations above red and blue inks.

42	<i>Postilla super Lucam</i>	Nicolas de Gorran	65	4 sol.
43	<i>Postilla super Epistolas canonicas</i>	Nicolas de Gorran	20	14 den.
44	<i>Themata de dominicis diebus et de sanctis</i>	Nicolas de Gorran	64 (listed as 68)	32 den.

Shelfmark	Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Bodley 799
Date	Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.

Contents	1. <i>Themata de dominicis diebus et de sanctis</i> (ff. 1r-84r) 2. <i>Distinctiones</i> (ff. 8r-268r)
Pecia Remarks	Works travelled together, pecia copies, pecia marks present, texts composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User	MS likely working reference text, user marginalia present throughout in Anglicana hand.
Decoration	No decoration above red and blue inks.
Shelfmark	Paris, BNF MS Lat. 12425
Date	Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	1. <i>Themata de dominicis diebus et de sanctis</i> (ff. 1r-95r) 2. <i>Distinctiones</i> (ff. 95v-204v)
Pecia Remarks	Works travelled together, pecia copies, texts composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User	MS possible working reference text, user marginalia common.
Decoration	No decoration above red and blue inks.

45	<i>Distinctiones</i>	Nicolas de Gorran	68	32 den.
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Shelfmark	Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Bodley 46
Date	Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	Work travelling alone (ff. 1r-297v), accompanied by alphabetical table of contents (ff. iv(r)- vii(r))
Pecia Remarks	Pecia copy, pecia marks present, text composed in Textualis

	Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User	MS likely working reference text, user marginalia present throughout in English hand.
Decoration	Opening folio features decorated initial (f. 1r).
Shelfmark	Paris, BNF MS Lat. 15952
Date	Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	Text part of collection of works by various authors including tracts and sermons on marriage, the Epiphany, confession, morality, and other subjects; a tract on confession attributed to Robert de Sorbon; questions on the Sentences; decretal apparatus of Anselli de Gautechar.
Pecia Remarks	Works travelling together, Gorran text pecia copy, text composed in French cursive script most likely by user himself.
Notes on User	MS likely working reference text, as user copied out works to consult.
Decoration	No decoration, black ink only.

46	<i>Postilla super Apocalipsim</i>	Nicolas de	26	18 den.
		Gorran		

The works of Giles of Rome concerning theology²⁹²

47	<i>Super primum Sententiarum</i>	Giles of Rome	66	4 sol. et 6 den.
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Shelfmark	Cambridge, Pembroke College MS 121
Date	Fourth quarter thirteenth century/Early fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	Text travelling alone (ff. 1-230r)
Pecia Remarks	Pecia copy, pecia marks present, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User	MS likely casual reference only, with few user notes present. User likely English as notes composed in Anglicana cursive. End of text contains list of themes in a fifteenth-century hand (ff. 231v).
Decoration	No decoration above red and blue inks.
Shelfmark	Oxford, Magdalen College MS 186
Date	Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	Text travelling alone (ff. 1r-267v). Followed by table of contents (ff. 268r-270r).
Pecia Remarks	Pecia copy, pecia marks present, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User	MS a working reference text, user may be English with marginalia written in cursive hand.
Decoration	Decorated initial on opening page (f. 1r).

²⁹² Latin category header reads: 'Opera fratris Egidii super theologiam'.

48	<i>Theoremata de Corpore Christi</i>	Giles of Rome	21	15 den.
49	<i>Quaestiones VII De Resurrectione mortuorum</i>	Giles of Rome	5	4 den.
50	<i>Tractatus de peccato originali</i>	Giles of Rome	2	2 turon.
51	<i>Postilla super Canticum Canticorum</i>	Giles of Rome	10	6 den.
52	<i>Quaestiones XIII de esse et essentia</i>	Giles of Rome	13	10 den.
53	<i>Quaestiones X de mensura angelorum</i> ²⁹³	Giles of Rome	14	11 den.
54	<i>Quaestiones XIV de cognitione angelorum</i>	Giles of Rome	17	13 den.
55	<i>De materia caeli contra Averroistas</i>	Giles of Rome	5	3 den.
56	Two works: <i>Expositio decreti 'Firmiter' De Summa Trinitate et fide catholica; Expositio in decretalem 'Cum Marthe'</i>	Giles of Rome	9	6 den.
57	<i>Tractatus de laudibus divinae sapientiae</i>	Giles of Rome	5	4 den.
58	<i>Quodlibeta</i>	Giles of Rome	37	2 sol. et 6 den.
59	<i>Quodlibeta</i>	James of Viterbo	26	20 den.

²⁹³ Latin entry reads: 'de Evo'.

The works of Richard of Middleton, O.F.M.²⁹⁴

60	<i>In primo Sententiarum</i>	Richard of Middleton	39	32 den.
61	<i>In secundo Sententiarum</i>	Richard of Middleton	61	4 sol.
62	<i>In tertio Sententiarum</i>	Richard of Middleton	57	3 sol. et 10 den.
63	<i>In quarto Sententiarum</i>	Richard of Middleton	85	5 sol. et 4 den.
64	<i>Quodlibeta</i>	Peter of Auvergne	30	2 sol.
65	<i>Quodlibeta</i>	Henry of Ghent	191	12 sol.

Shelfmark Oxford, Magdalen College MS 217

Date Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.

Origin The Paris pecia system.

Contents 1. Non-pecia tables in Anglicana cursive hand, likely composed by user. Includes contents tables to accompany Ghent's quodlibets; Étienne Tempier's 1270 list of banned propositions; 8 theological questions of Robert of Winchelsea originally lectured in Oxford in 1283;

 2. *Quodlibeta* (ff. 12r-191r)

 3. *Abbreuiatio Summae Henrici de Gandavo* (ff. 192-338)

 4. Quodlibetal questions (Robert of Winchelsea) (begin. f. 338)

²⁹⁴ Latin category header reads: 'Opera fratris Richardi'.

5. Questions against Thomas Aquinas (Giles of Rome)
(begin. f. 364)
6. Seventeen questions on theology (poss. Giles of Rome)
(begin. f. 381), followed by user notes in English hand
(ff. 389r-end)

Pecia Remarks	Texts 2 and 3 pecia copies, pecia marks present, texts composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User	MS working reference text, user marginalia present throughout in Anglicana cursive hand and tables above.
Decoration	No decorations above red and blue inks.
Shelfmark	Paris, BNF MS Lat. 15358
Date	Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	Text travelling alone.
Pecia Remarks	Pecia copy, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User	MS working reference text, user marginalia present.
Decoration	No decorations above red and blue inks.

66	<i>Quodlibeta</i>	Godfrey of Fontaines	82	5 sol.
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Shelfmark	Cambridge, Pembroke MS 170
Date	Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	Text travelling alone (ff. 4r-175), accompanied by contents tables in user hand (ff. 1v-3v).

Pecia Remarks	Pecia copy, pecia marks present, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User	MS working reference text, user marginalia present throughout in Anglicana cursive hand. Type I-OM (Ownership Mark) states MS donated to Marie Valance Hall (present-day Pembroke College) by a master of the college, John de Tynemu, likely mid fourteenth-century note (f. 175v).
Decoration	No decorations above red and blue inks.
Shelfmark	Paris, BNF MS Lat. 14311
Date	Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Liber de fide et legibus</i> (William of Auvergne) (ff. 1r-54v) Non-pecia copy, late fourteenth century/ early fifteenth century French secretary script. 2. <i>Quodlibeta</i> (ff. 57r-290v), quodlibets arranged out of order.
Pecia Remarks	Works did not travel together, text 2 pecia copy, pecia marks present, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User	MS working reference text, user marginalia present in text 2.
Decoration	No decorations present in text 2, black ink only. Space left for rubric.
Shelfmark	Paris, BNF MS Lat. 15842
Date	Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	Text travelling alone, followed by titles of questions (ff. 384r).
Pecia Remarks	Pecia copy, pecia marks present, text composed in Textualis

	Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User	MS possible working reference text, user notes present.
Decoration	No decorations above red and blue inks.
Shelfmark	Paris, BNF MS Lat. 15844
Date	Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	Text travelling alone.
Pecia Remarks	Pecia copy, pecia marks present, text composed in multiple hands in French book hands.
Notes on User	MS possible working reference text, user notes present.
Decoration	No decorations above red and blue inks.

67	<i>Pro textu Biblie</i>		See item	10 sol.
			87 of 1275	
			list	
68	<i>Interpretationes nominum hebraicorum</i>	Stephen Langton	15 pecia	16 den.
			et 6 fol.	
69	<i>Expositiones vocabulorum Biblie</i>	Guillelmus Brito	43	30 den.
70	<i>Expositio prologorum Biblie</i>	Guillelmus Brito	20	16 den.
71	<i>Concordantie bibliae</i>		108 pecia	9 sol.
			et 6 fol.	
72	<i>De proprietatibus rerum</i>	Bartholomew the Englishman	100	6 sol.
73	<i>Legenda aurea</i>	Jacopo da Varazze	95	4 sol.

Shelfmark Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Canon. misc 142

Date Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.

Origin The Paris pecia system.

Contents Text travelling alone, contents table appears in opening folios (f. 1v-2v).

Pecia Remarks Pecia copy, pecia marks present, texts composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata. MS appears 95 pieces in length, likely made from the exemplar listed in the above entry.

Notes on User MS likely a working reference copy, marginalia generally Type II-RM (Reference Marks) and II-S (Source) notes.

Decoration No decoration above red and blue inks.

Shelfmark Paris, BNF MS lat 16564

Date Late thirteenth century/ Early fourteenth century.

Origin The Paris pecia system.

Contents Text travelling alone (ff. 2r-329r), contents table (ff. 2v-3v).

Pecia Remarks Pecia copy, texts composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata, MS appears 95 pieces in length, likely made from the exemplar listed in the above entry.

Notes on User MS likely working reference text, frequent user marginalia throughout text in French cursive hand.

Decoration Opening incipit features decorated initial (f.2v).

74	Two works: <i>Sermones de dominicis; Sermones de festis</i>	Nicolas de Biard	69	3 sol.
Shelfmark	Paris, BNF MS n.a.l. 373			
Date	Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.			
Origin	The Paris pecia system.			
Contents	Work travelling alone.			
Pecia Remarks	Pecia exemplar, no pecia marks present, unusual for exemplar and suggests they may have been cropped. Composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.			
Notes on User	MS likely used for rental system, user notes infrequent in text.			
Decoration	No decoration, text in black ink only. Space left for rubric.			
75	<i>Distinctiones</i>	Nicolas de Biard	60	3 sol.
76	<i>Sermones 'Ad status'</i>	Guibert de Tournai	61	3 sol.
77	<i>Sermones 'Compendii'</i> ²⁹⁵	Unknown	56	3 sol.
78	<i>Sermones de tempore</i> ²⁹⁶	Thomas Brito	61	3 sol.
79	<i>Liber de exemplis sacrae Scripturae</i>	Nicolas de Hanaper	25	18 den.
80	<i>Distinctiones</i>	Maurice de Provins	84	5 sol.

²⁹⁵ Text remains unidentified at this time, see Murano (2005) item 849.

²⁹⁶ Latin entry reads: 'Sermones fratris Thomas Britonis dominicis, tam de epistolis quam de evangeliis...scilicet Abiciamus'.

81	<i>In sermonibus de Malliaco de dominicis et festis</i>	Guillaume de Mailly	65	3 sol. et 6 den.
82	<i>Sermones 'Precinxisti' scilicet Commune sanctorum</i>	Thomas Brito	47	2 sol. et 6 den.

Shelfmark	Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Laud. misc. 380
Date	First quarter fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Sermones 'Precinxisti' scilicet Commune sanctorum</i> (ff. 1r-100v) 2. <i>Sermones discipuli de tempore et de sanctis</i> (Johann Herolt) (ff. 100v-130v) fifteenth century copy of text.
Pecia Remarks	Works did not travel together, text 1 pecia copy, composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User	MS working reference text, user marginalia common in Anglicana cursive hand. Text 1 followed by contents table in English script, possibly copied by user (f. 100v).
Decoration	No decorations above red ink, rubric may have been completed by user with its English appearance.

83	<i>Summa de abstinencia</i>	Nicolas de Biard	34	2 sol.
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Shelfmark	Paris, BNF MS n.a.l. 1474
Date	Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	Work travelling alone (ff. 2r-118r), followed by tables of saints' and feast days (ff. 118r-122r).

Pecia Remarks	Pecia copy, pecia marks present, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User	MS possibly casual reference text only, user marginalia uncommon.
Decoration	No decorations above red and blue inks.
Shelfmark	London, British Library MS Royal 8 C XVI
Date	First quarter fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Summa de Electionibus</i> (Lawrence de Somercote), non-pecia text copied by user (ff. 1r-84r) 2. <i>Summa de abstinentia</i> (ff. 7r-163r), followed by content tables (ff. 163v-168v) 3. <i>Pharetra</i> (Guillaume de la Furmenterie) (ff. 169r-319r)
Pecia Remarks	Works travelled together, texts 1 and 2 pecia copies, pecia marks present, texts 1 and 2 composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User	MS likely working reference text, user marginalia present throughout and text 1 can be classified as Type II-AT (Additional Text) user note.
Decoration	No decoration above red and blue inks.

84	<i>Tractatus exemplorum alphabeti</i> ²⁹⁷	John of Wales	20	12 den.
85	<i>De habundancia exemplorum</i>	Humbert de Romans	17	12 den.

²⁹⁷ Latin entry reads: 'In accida'.

86	<i>De ortu scientiarum</i>	Robert Kilwardby	18	12 den.
87	<i>De oculo morali</i>	Pierre de Limoges	20	12 den.
88	<i>Summa sermonum</i>	Guy d'Évreux	102	5 sol.

Shelfmark	Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Laud. misc. 348
Date	Late thirteenth century/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	Text travelling alone (ff. 1-390), contains tables of contents and themes (ff. 227r-366)
Pecia Remarks	Pecia copy, composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User	MS working reference text, user marginalia common in Anglicana cursive hand. In tables user has numbered keywords' locations in the main text with Arabic numerals.
Decoration	No decorations above red and blue inks.

Shelfmark	Oxford, Lincoln College MS Lat. 113
Date	Late thirteenth century/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	Text travelling alone (ff. 1r-217), contains tables of contents and themes (ff. 128v-130r, 158v-161r)
Pecia Remarks	Pecia copy, composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User	MS working reference text, user marginalia common in Anglicana cursive hand.
Decoration	Opening folio features decorated initial with portrait of Guy d'Évreux and vine leaf frame with animal figures (f. 1r).

Shelfmark Paris, BNF MS Lat. 12428
Date Late thirteenth century/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin The Paris pecia system.
Contents Text travelling alone (ff. 1r-285v), includes tables of contents.
Pecia Remarks Pecia copy, pecia marks present, composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User MS working reference text, user marginalia present in French cursive hand.
Decoration No decoration above red and blue inks.

Shelfmark Paris, BNF MS Lat. 16491
Date 1293, as stated in explicit (f. 296r)
Origin The Paris pecia system.
Contents Text travelling alone (ff. 1r-196r), includes tables of contents.
Pecia Remarks Pecia copy, pecia marks present, composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata possibly by user himself.
Notes on User MS working reference text, user marginalia present throughout in French book hand similar to main text. Type I-OM (Ownership Mark) states MS owned by Robertus Bernardus de Normandia.
Decoration No decoration above red and blue inks.

89	<i>De vitiis fratrum</i> ²⁹⁸	Gerard de Frachet	44	2 sol. et 6 den.
90	<i>De tribus deitis</i> ²⁹⁹	Robert of Sorbone	41	2 sol. et 4 sol.
91	<i>Pharetra</i>	Guillaume de la Furmenterie	41	2 sol.

Shelfmark	London, British Library MS Royal 8 E VI
Date	Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	Text travelling alone (ff. 2r-126r), accompanied by contents table (ff. 1r-v).
Pecia Remarks	Pecia copies, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata, pecia mark present: <i>principium petiae et hic</i> (f. 97r).
Notes on User	MS likely working reference text, user marginalia present throughout.
Decoration	No decoration above red and blue inks.

²⁹⁸ Latin entry reads: 'De vitis patrum', Murano suggests that this is not the work of the Church Fathers *De vitiis patrum* and instead the work of Gerard who composed *De vitiis fratrum* c.1259-60 in the Dominican convent of Saint-Jacques in Paris. Murano, *Opere diffuse per exemplar e pecia*, item 917.

²⁹⁹ Bériou states that there are three different manuscript redactions of this text, and has not identified the correct redaction that features on the pecia list because no surviving copies contain pecia marks. See N. Bériou, 'Robert de Sorbon', in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité: ascétique et mystique, doctrine et histoire* 13, A. Vauchez (ed.) (Paris: Beauchesne, 1988) cols. 816-24, col. 819-20.

Works of canon law³⁰⁰

92	<i>Decretum</i>	Gratian	104	7 sol.
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Shelfmark	Paris, BNF Lat. 3893
Date	1314, as stated in explicit ³⁰¹ (f. 387r)
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	Copy of Gratian's <i>Decretum</i> accompanied by glossa ordinaria of Bartholomew of Brescia.
Pecia Remarks	Pecia copy, pecia marks present, texts composed in French book hand and glossing script. Scribe identified in explicit as Thomas of Wymondswold, an English copyist present in Paris during the first half of the fourteenth century ³⁰² .
Notes on User	MS possible working reference text, user notes present. High quality manuscript, likely produced for a senior member of the university or a prosperous prelate.
Decoration	Opening folio features large illumination of two knights kneeling before Christ (f. 1r), illuminations occur throughout.

³⁰⁰ Latin category header reads: 'Opera in iure canonico'.

³⁰¹ Full Latin explicit reads: 'Explicit liber Decretorum correctus in textu et apparatu cum paleis, historiis et quotis debitis locis positus de manu Thome de Wymonduswold anglici scriptus. Et est liber iste <domini A. Reg. archid. Cameracen.> ' Inserted text: 'datum : Anno Domini millesimo trescentesimo quarto decimo mense augusti sexto die videlicet die martiis post festum beati Petri ad Vincula, completa fuerunt ista videlicet de rubeo scripta in quo anno suprascripto multa in mundo facta sunt mirabilia.' Paris, BNF MS Lat. 3893, f. 387r.

³⁰² R.H. Rouse and M.A. Rouse, *Bound with Letters: Medieval Writers, Readers, and Texts* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2013) pp. 459- 71.

93	<i>Glossa ordinaria in Decretum</i>	Bartholomew of Brescia	120	7 sol.
94	<i>Decretales sive Liber Extra</i>	Gregory IX	72	4 sol.
95	<i>Glossa ordinaria in Decretales</i>	Bernard of Botone	136	8 sol. et 6 den.
96	<i>Liber Sextus</i>	Boniface VIII	27	18 den.
97	<i>Glossa ordinaria in Librum Sextum</i>	Johannes Andreae	64	4 sol.
98	<i>Lectura super Decretum</i>	Petrus de Salinis	101	6 sol.
99	<i>Lectura in Decretales Gregorii IX</i>	Henrico de Segusio (Hostiensis)	270	36 sol.
100	<i>Summa super titulis Decretalium</i>	Henry of Segusio	165	12 sol.
101	<i>Apparatus in quinque libros Decretalium</i>	Innocent IV	127	10 sol.
102	<i>Rationale divinatorum officiorum</i>	Guillaume Durand	64	4 sol. et 6 den.

Shelfmark	Oxford, Lincoln College MS 50
Date	1233, as stated in explicit: 'vixit anno domini 1233' (f. 245r)
Origin	The Bologna pecia system.
Contents	Text travelling alone (ff. 1-245r)
Pecia Remarks	Pecia copy, pecia marks present, text composed in Italian Rotunda. Number of pieces suggests exemplar length of 61 pieces.
Notes on User	MS working reference text, user notes present in Anglicana

cursive hand. Early fifteenth-century Type I-OM (Ownership Mark) identifies John Southam, Archdeacon of Oxford (1404-1441) as later user.

Decoration No decorations above red and blue inks.

103	<i>Speculum iudiciale</i>	Guillaume Durand	147	12 sol.
Shelfmark	Cambridge, University Library MS Additional 4188			
Date	Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.			
Origin	The Paris pecia system.			
Contents	1. <i>Speculum iudiciale</i> (ff. 1-305v) 2. <i>Repertorium</i> (ff. 306-351v)			
Pecia Remarks	Works travelled together, pecia copies, pecia marks present, texts composed in Italian Rotunda hand.			
Notes on User	MS working reference text, user marginalia present throughout.			
Decoration	Incipit of text 1, liber 3 features decorated initial (f. 88r).			
104	<i>Repertorium</i>	Guillaume Durand	36	28 den.
105	<i>Casus legum sive Suffragium monachorum</i>	Unknown	47	28 den.
106	<i>Ordo iudicarius</i>	Giles of Foscarari	15	12 den.
107	<i>Summa de iure canonico</i>	Monaldus Justinopolitanus	72	4 sol. et 6 den.

108	Two works: <i>Summa de casibus poenitentiae, Apparatus in Summam de casibus poenti</i>	First work: Raymundus de Pennaforte; Second: Guillaume de Rennes	57	4 sol.
109	Two works: <i>Tabula Decreti; Tabula Decretalium</i>	William of Paris	33	2 sol.
110	<i>Casus longi super quinque libros Decretalium</i>	Bernard of Botone	82	4 sol.

List of books concerning philosophy³⁰³

111	<i>Sententia libri Metaphysicorum</i>	Thomas Aquinas	53	3 sol.
112	<i>Sententia libri Physicorum</i>	Thomas Aquinas	40	26 den.
113	<i>Sententia libri De caelo et mundo</i>	Thomas Aquinas	18	12 den.
114	<i>Sententia libri de anima</i>	Thomas Aquinas	19	8 den.

Shelfmark	Cambridge, Peterhouse MS 143
Date	Late thirteenth century/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Sententia libri de anima</i> (ff. 1r-41v) 2. <i>Sententia libri De sensu et sensatu</i> (ff. 42r-58r) 3. <i>De memoria et reminiscencia</i> (ff. 58v-64v) 4. <i>Sententia libri De causis</i> (ff. 64v-78v) 5. <i>De iuventute et senectute</i> (ff. 79r-87r) 6. <i>De morte et vita</i> (ff. 87r-89r)

³⁰³ Latin category header reads: 'Hec est taxatio librorum philosophie'.

7. *De sompno et vigilia* (ff. 89v-98r)
8. *De motibus animalium*, Peter of Auvergne (ff. 98r-103v)
9. *De physiognomia*, Guillelmus de Aragonia (ff. 103v-113v)
10. *Sententia super De bona fortuna*, Giles of Rome (ff. 113v-121r)

Pecia Remarks	Works travelled together, likely all pecia copies, pecia marks present, texts composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User	MS likely working reference text, frequent user marginalia throughout text including Type II-GA (Graphic Aids).
Decoration	Opening incipit features decorated initial (f. 1r)

115	<i>Sententia libri De sensu et sensatu</i>	Thomas Aquinas	10	8 den.
116	<i>Sententia libri De causis</i>	Thomas Aquinas	7	5 den.
117	<i>Sententia libri Ethicorum</i>	Thomas Aquinas	38	2 sol. cum dimidio
118	<i>Tabula libri Ethicorum</i>	Thomas Aquinas	8	5 den.
119	<i>Sententia libri Politicorum</i>	Thomas Aquinas	14 (listed as 12)	9 den.
120	<i>Expositio libri Peryermenias</i>	Thomas Aquinas	7	5 den.
121	<i>Summa Posteriorum</i>	Thomas Aquinas	17	12 den.

The commentaries of Albert the Great³⁰⁴

122	Three works: <i>Liber de universalibus; De predicamentis; De sex principiis</i> ³⁰⁵	Albert the Great	42	3 sol.
123	<i>Analytica priora</i>	Albert the Great	18	20 den.
124	<i>Analytica posteriora</i>	Albert the Great	21	16 den.
125	<i>De sophisticis elenchis</i>	Albert the Great	16	12 den.
126	<i>Topica</i>	Albert the Great	21	16 den.
127	<i>Physica</i>	Albert the Great	52	3 sol.
128	<i>De generatione et corruptione</i>	Albert the Great	11	8 den.
129	<i>De caelo et mundo</i>	Albert the Great	44	26 den.
130	<i>Meteora</i>	Albert the Great	37	2 sol.
131	<i>De anima</i>	Albert the Great	33	26 den.
132	Three works: <i>De sensu et sensatu; De memoria et reminiscentia; De somno et vigilia</i> ³⁰⁶	Albert the Great	14	9 den.
133	<i>De spiritu et respiratione</i>	Albert the Great	13	8 den.
134	<i>De vegetabilibus et plantis</i>	Albert the Great	39	2 sol.
135	<i>De motibus et animalium</i>	Albert the Great	5	3 den.
136	<i>De causis proprietatum elementorum</i>	Albert the Great	9	6 den.
137	<i>De mineralibus</i>	Albert the Great	12	8 den.

³⁰⁴ Latin category header reads: 'Commenta fratris Alberti'.

³⁰⁵ Latin entry reads: 'In Veteri logica'.

³⁰⁶ Latin entry for second text reads: 'De Sensu et sensato, et Sompno et vigila', excluding the second work.

138	<i>De natura et origine animae</i>	Albert the Great	8	5 den.
139	<i>De natura locorum</i>	Albert the Great	8	5 den.
140	<i>De principiis motus processivi</i>	Albert the Great	5	3 den.
141	Three works: <i>De iuventute et senectute; De intellectu et intellegibili; De nutrimento et nutribili</i> ³⁰⁷	Albert the Great	10	6 den.
142	<i>De animalibus</i>	Albert the Great	121	10 sol.

Shelfmark	Oxford, Merton College MS O.2.2 (286)
Date	Late thirteenth century/Early fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	Text travelling alone (ff.338)
Pecia Remarks	Pecia exemplar, pecia marks present, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User	MS possibly working reference text, with user marginalia common in text. Notes composed in Anglicana cursive hand.
Decoration	No decoration above red and blue inks.

The works of Giles of Rome on philosophy³⁰⁸

143	<i>Sententia super librum Physicorum</i>	Giles of Rome	73	4 sol.
144	<i>Sententia super libro De generatione et corruptione</i>	Giles of Rome	24	16 den.
145	<i>Quaestiones super primo libro De</i>	Giles of Rome	8	5 den.

³⁰⁷ Latin entry reads: 'De Etate, et Intellectu, et Nutrimentu'.

³⁰⁸ Latin category header reads: 'Opera fratris Egidii super philosophiam'.

	<i>generatione et corruptione</i>			
146	<i>Sententia super libro De anima</i>	Giles of Rome	43	34 den.
147	<i>Expositio in librum De causis</i>	Giles of Rome	31	2 sol.
148	<i>Sententia super De bona fortuna</i>	Giles of Rome	6	4 den.
149	<i>Expositio super libros Elenchorum</i>	Giles of Rome	33	2 sol.
150	<i>Super Posteriora Analytica</i>	Giles of Rome	58	4 sol.
151	<i>Sententia super librum Rhetoricorum</i>	Giles of Rome	40	2 sol. et 6 den.
152	<i>De regimine principum</i>	Giles of Rome	43	32 den.
153	<i>Contra gradus et pluralitatem formarum</i>	Giles of Rome	13	8 den.
154	<i>Theoremata de esse et essentia</i>	Giles of Rome	6	5 den.
155	<i>De praedestinatione</i>	Giles of Rome	5	4 den.
156	<i>Tractatus de formatione humani corporis in utero</i>	Giles of Rome	12	9 den.

III. Non-pecia list works consulted

The following texts feature in pecia manuscripts, yet they do not appear as entries on either the pecia list of 1275 or the 1304 list.

Author	Title
Adam de Buckfield	<i>De anima</i> (recension 1)

Shelfmark Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Canon misc. 322

Date First quarter fourteenth century.

Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	Text travelling alone (ff. 1r-63v).
Pecia Remarks	Pecia copy, pecia marks present, composed in Anglicana cursive hand likely by user.
Notes on User	MS casual reference only, no user notes present.
Decoration	No decoration above red and blue inks.

Guillaume Peyraut

Summa de virtutibus

Shelfmark	Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Laud. misc. 530
Date	Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	Work travelling alone.
Pecia Remarks	Pecia copy, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User	MS likely working reference text, user marginalia present.
Decoration	No decoration above red and blue inks.

Hugh of St Cher

Five texts: *Postilla super librum Proverbiorum*; *Postilla super librum Ecclesiasten*; *Postilla super Cantica canticorum*; *Postilla super Librum Sapientie*; *Postilla super Ecclesiasticum*

Shelfmark	Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 297/691
Date	Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Postilla super librum Proverbiorum</i> (ff. 1r-64v) 2. <i>Postilla super librum Ecclesiastem</i> (ff.67r-92v)

3. *Postilla super librum Ecclesiasticum* (ff.93r-187r)
4. *Postilla super librum Sapientiae* (ff.188r-219r)
5. *Postilla super librum Cantica canticorum* (ff.220r-266v)

Pecia Remarks	Works travelled together, pecia copies, composed in Anglicana cursive hand likely by user.
Notes on User	MS working reference text, user marginalia present throughout.
Decoration	No decoration above red initials and rubric.

Hugh of St Cher

In Epistolas S. Pauli

Shelfmark	Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 481/477
Date	Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	Text travelling alone.
Pecia Remarks	Pecia copy, pecia marks present ³⁰⁹ , composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User	MS working reference text, user marginalia present throughout in English cursive hand.
Decoration	No decoration in MS, rubric used sparingly.

John of Genoa

Catholicon seu Summa prosodiae

Shelfmark	Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 272
Date	Late thirteenth century/ Early fourteenth century.

³⁰⁹ Pollard suggests pieces were copied out of order. See Pollard (1978) p. 157.

Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	Text travelling alone.
Pecia Remarks	Pecia copy, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User	MS casual reference only, no user notes present. High quality MS, possibly produced for senior member of the university or prosperous prelate.
Decoration	Opening folio features inhabited initial of author lecturing to student, followed by inhabited initial with author's portrait (f. 1r)

Philip the Chancellor

Sermones de festis

Shelfmark	Paris, BNF MS Lat. 15933
Date	Late thirteenth century/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Sermones de festis</i> (ff. 1r-177r) 2. <i>Sermones de dominicales et sanctis</i> (ff. 178r-219v)
Pecia Remarks	Works travelled together, pecia copies, pecia marks present, composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User	MS working reference text, user marginalia present.
Decoration	No decoration above red and blue inks.

Philip the Chancellor

Summa de bono

Shelfmark	Oxford, Magdalen College MS 66
Date	Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century

Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	Text travelling alone
Pecia Remarks	Pecia copy, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User	MS working reference text, user notes present in French cursive hand. User-added Type II-TC (Table of Contents) on end leaf preceding text opening incipit.
Decoration	No decorations above red and blue inks.

Philip of Moncalieri	Two works: <i>Postilla super Evangelia Dominicalia</i> ; <i>Postilla super evangelia quadragesimalia cum historia passionis dominice</i>
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Shelfmark	Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Laud. misc. 281
Date	1340-1, date of 1340 stated in note on f. 229v.
Origin	As stated in explicit (f. 183v): Produced in Paris by frater Willhelm, a Paris scholar and monk of Eberbach Abbey. MS commissioned by his home institution of Eberbach Abbey. ³¹⁰
Contents	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Postilla super Evangelia Dominicalia</i> (Part 1: ff. 1r-123r; Part 2: ff. 184r-229v) 2. <i>Postilla super evangelia quadragesimalia cum historia passionis dominice</i> (Main text: ff. 125r-174r; Contents Table: ff. 229v-

³¹⁰ Latin explicit reads in full: 'Anno Domini MCCC^o XLI^o liber iste scriptus et completus est ob reverenciam et honorem intemerate Virginis Marie nec non monasterii Eberbacensis ac monachorum in ibi commorantium utilitatem evidenter mediantibus laboris et expensis fratris Willhelmi dicti monasterii monachi ac professi scholaris paris. sub annis dominice incarnationis supra scriptis. amen. Qui me scribebat Willhelmus nomen habebat.' Oxford, Bodl. lib. MS Laud. misc. 281, f. 183v.

235v)

Texts were bound incorrectly out of order, most likely travelled together.

Pecia Remarks I speculate that this MS may be copied by scribe from a pecia manuscript as pecia marks present, yet not rented formally through stationer system. That is, MS not a pecia copy. Pecia marks are not numbered, only state beginning of piece: *incipit quedam pe^a* (ff. 127r, 129v, 130v, 218r, 226v, 229r). This could suggest scribe copied from a complete text instead of separate pieces, and thus unnecessary to copy piece numbers.

Notes on User MS may have been casual reference work, user marginalia infrequent. Notes are mainly Type II-CRM (Cross-reference Marks).

Decoration Text 1 decorated: opening folio features inhabited initial of monk kneeling before crowned Virgin Mary and baby Christ, vine leaf frame with animal figures (f. 1r), part 2 opens with decorated initial and vine leaf frame with ravens (f. 184r).
Text 2 not decorated above red and blue inks.

Robert Holcot

Postilla super librum Sapientiae

Shelfmark Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Laud. misc. 562

Date 1347

Origin Copy in Paris format, however pecia marks suggest MS copied from a Bologna exemplar.

Contents Text travelling alone (ff. 1r-194r).
Explicit appears on f. 194r, text copied in 1347 by Henricus de

	Stethim de Alamania.
Pecia Remarks	Pecia copy, text composed by scribe in a possible German book hand, pecia marks ordered at end of each piece in manner of Bologna system: <i>.fi. pe. v.</i> (f. 12r)
Notes on User	MS casual reference only, no user notes present. High quality MS, may have been produced for a senior member of the Paris university or prosperous prelate.
Decoration	Opening folio features inhabited initial of monk kneeling before crowned Virgin Mary and baby Christ, vine leaf frame (f. 1r), followed by decorated initial (f. 2r).

Thomas Aquinas

Super meteora

Shelfmark	Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Canon misc. 175
Date	Late thirteenth century/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin	The Bologna pecia system.
Contents	Text travelling alone (ff. 73).
Pecia Remarks	Pecia copy, text composed in an Italian Rotunda book hand, pecia note appears on f. 3v: <i>2p^a</i>
Notes on User	MS casual reference only, no user notes present. Fifteenth-century Type I-OM (Ownership Mark) appears on f. 1r, text was in the collection of Domenico Grimani, cardinal of San Marco.
Decoration	No decoration used, brown/black inks used only. Space present for rubric and initials to be added.

Shelfmark	Paris, BNF MS Lat. 16532
Date	Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin	The Paris pecia system.
Contents	Text travelling alone.
Pecia Remarks	Pecia copy, pecia marks present, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User	MS likely working reference text, user marginalia present. MS high quality, may have been produced for senior member of university or prosperous prelate.
Decoration	Decorated opening folios.

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Cambridge, Peterhouse: 50; 58; 117; 131; 143

Cambridge, St John's College: C.2 (52)

Cambridge, Trinity College: B 4 18; B 4 19; B 15 15

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