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RENÉ HERNÁNDEZ VERA

**FRANCISCAN OBSERVANT MISCELLANIES  
AND OWNERSHIP OF BOOKS:  
THE PADUAN CASE**

On 17 February 1423 the Franciscan preacher Bernardino of Siena visited the city of Padua with the purpose of preaching forty Lenten sermons on the subject of divine love. On that occasion, the notary Daniele da Porcia carefully transcribed Bernardino's sermons as they were delivered to the audience. Thanks to Daniele's accuracy we know not only the words of Bernardino, but also some circumstances of his preaching. For example, it is reported that the sun shone splendidly every day Bernardino preached except, of course, when he spoke about the sin of lust, because it was clear that even the weather was in accordance to the sad subject of the sermon:

Alium signum ego ipse vidi: quod tanto tempore quo prædicavit ad aerem, per totam quadragesimam et ante et post, nunquam pluit nisi una die quo predicavit de luto fætentis luxuriæ, ad denotandum quod tempus voluit conforme materiæ de qua sermo fiebat<sup>1</sup>.

According to Daniele, on the last day of his preaching, Bernardino taught his audience a prayer for each day of the week, and as they fell on their knees in tears, he brought his sermon to an end. On his way out of the city, a crying crowd followed him along the river Brenta. Among the students, doctors and noblemen there was the famous jurist Prosdócimo de' Conti who, shaking and sobbing, held the saint's hand and would not let it go. These fervent followers were so persistent that Bernardino's assistant went ahead and begged the keepers of the bridge across the river to forbid the passage of anyone, except for Bernardino and himself:

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<sup>1</sup> DANIELE DA PORCIA, *Reportatio of the Quaresimale "De Seraphim" of Bernardino of Siena*, in *Sancti Bernardini Senensis Opera*, III, ed. by J. DE LA HAYE - JOANNIS ANTONII HUGUETAN and MARCI ANTONII RAVAUD, Paris 1635, pp. 489-90. The text has been revised and corrected in GIULIA FOLADORE, "Veloci calamo recollegi". *Daniele da Porcia, reportator di San Bernardino da Siena (Padova, 1423-1443)*, «Il Santo», 48 (2008), pp. 145-168 (p. 166).

Et omnes concurrebant ut eius manus oscularentur [...]. Et vidi sublimem utriusque iuris doctorem dominum Prosdocimum de Comitibus (qui, tacta tamen eius manu, secessit ab eo) vix inter eam collabi et non posse a lachrymis abstinere ex cordi nimia teneritate; similiter et quam multi fecerunt alii, qui ibidem aderant, doctores eximii, studentes et alii cives notabiles<sup>2</sup>.

Daniele's account of the reaction to the words and deeds of Bernardino of Siena is a vivid representation of the extent and impact of reformed Franciscan preaching on Italian cities by the end of the Middle Ages. Bernardino was, perhaps, the most renowned example of the strength of the relationship between a preacher and his audience, whose response could sometimes reach dramatic peaks, as shown by the 'bonfires of the vanities'. For example, an anonymous scribe reported that in 1424 one of the sermons of Bernardino at Santa Croce, in Florence, concluded with the audience publicly destroying tokens of vanity and superstition. A vast bonfire, known as the «Devil's castle», was built in the piazza and at least four hundred backgammon tables, baskets full of dice, four thousand packs of playing cards, and personal objects of vanity, were thrown in it:

E [Bernardino] venne di chiesa in sulla piazza con molti frati e ffece ardere el cappannuccio, che v'era più di quatro cento tavolieri da ggiucare, parecchie zane piene di dadi, più di quatro milia paia di naibi vecchi e nuovi di granissima quantità e inposti leghati ispenzoloni intorno intorno con molti chapelli e balzi di donne e altre cose, con molta stipa da piè, che mai vedesti el più bel fuoco, che andava infino all'aria la fiamma, in confusione del dimonio nimico di Dio e groria e onore e lalde e reverentia del nostro singniore Yehsù Christo, altissimo Iddio, el quale vive e rengnia in sæcula seculorum. Amen<sup>3</sup>.

Although remarkably effective, Bernardino's preaching was a far cry from the early Franciscan preaching, which assumed the form of a simple, universal, *adhortatio*, that is, a call to penance and remission of sins<sup>4</sup>. Very soon preaching was entrusted to those who had received suitable preparation in the *studia* of the convents or in the university, and Bernardino himself illustrates such development, since he had studied canon and civil law<sup>5</sup>. Therefore, study and preaching became inseparable and were under-

<sup>2</sup> *Ivi*, p. 165.

<sup>3</sup> Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 1264 (P. II. 23), fol. 92<sup>v</sup>. See MICHAEL ROBSON, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, The Boydell Press, Woodbridge 2006, p. 198. For a study on the source, see SALVATORE TOSTI, *Di alcuni codici delle prediche di S. Bernardino da Siena con un saggio di quelle inedite*, «Archivum Franciscanum Historicum», 12 (1919), pp. 187-263; 218-223; 254-263.

<sup>4</sup> ROBSON, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, pp. 18-21; BERT ROEST, *A History of Franciscan Education (c. 1210 – 1517)*, Brill, Leiden 2000, pp. 272-73; GRADO G. MERLO, *Nel nome di san Francesco: storia dei frati Minori e del Francescanesimo sino agli inizi del XVI secolo*, Editrici Francescane, Padova 2003, pp. 19-28.

<sup>5</sup> MERLO, *Nel nome di san Francesco*, pp. 107-118; ROBSON, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, pp. 58-68, and 192; ROEST, *A History of Franciscan Education*, pp. 276-97; BERT ROEST, *Franciscan Learning, Preaching and Mission c. 1220-1650: Cum Scientia*

stood as an essential part of Franciscan identity. This was particularly true in the case of the observant reform, as shown by the constitutions composed by John of Capistrano in 1443, where preaching was defined as one of the fundamentals of the Christian faith, the light of truth, the school of virtues, the fall of vices, the door of heaven, and ultimately, as the instruction of all rational souls:

Quia predicationis officium est subistentamentum Fidei Christianæ, lumen veritatis, schola virtutum, ruina vitiorum, via salutis, doctrina morum, camera Sanctitatis, tribunal iudicii, cruciatus Demonum clausura infernorum Ianua Celorum, confirmatio iustorum, reductio peccatorum, et instructio omnium rationabilium animorum<sup>6</sup>.

One of the main aims of observant preaching was effectiveness through simplicity which, however, did not imply lack of depth. Preparation for preaching required the development of the skills needed to present the complexities of theological questions in understandable forms, and that was possible thanks to the intensive study of three types of sources: the *artes prædicandi*, the compilations of models for preaching, and the compilations of topics and genres<sup>7</sup>. These three textual types had one characteristic in common: they were to be found under the form of manuscript miscellanies, which underlines the importance of this type of book for the development of late-medieval literacy and for Franciscan Preaching<sup>8</sup>. Nevertheless, Franciscans had a difficult relation with books because of the original intention of the founder of the order, Francis of Assisi, who feared that the search of knowledge led the friars away from their original apostolic vocation<sup>9</sup>. Therefore, he intended to keep the balance within the frater-

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*sit donum Dei, armature ad defendendam sanctam fidem catholicam...*, Brill, Leiden-Boston 2015, pp. 11-15, and 24-39.

<sup>6</sup> *Chronologia historico-legalis seraphici Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Sancti Francisci*, I, ex typographia Cmilli Cavalli, Neapoli 1650, 106a.

<sup>7</sup> Carlo Delcorno shows how under the apparent simplicity of the observant masters' sermons there was a complex structure of thought. See CARLO DELCORNIO, "Quasi quidam cantus": studi sulla predicazione medievale, Olschki, Firenze 2009, pp. 291-326.

<sup>8</sup> See SIEGFRIED WENZEL, *The Appearance of Artes Prædicandi in Medieval Manuscripts*, in *Medieval Manuscript Miscellanies: Composition, Authorship, Use*, ed. by LUCIE DOLEŽALOVÁ and KIMBERLY RIVERS, Medium Aevum Quotidianum, Krems 2013, p. 103. Something similar happens with other tools for preaching, such as compilations of sermons and models, as illustrated by the manuscripts of the observant convent of San Francesco Grande that will be discussed further.

<sup>9</sup> As suggested by the sources, for example *Scripta Leonis, Rufini et Angeli sociorum S. Francisci*, ed. by ROSALIND BROOKE Clarendon Press, Oxford 1970, p. 202. On the restriction as a strategy to avoid the intellectualisation of the order, see ENRICO MENESTÒ, *Francesco i Minori e i libri*, in *Libri, biblioteche e letture dei Frati Mendicanti (secoli XIII-XIV)*. Atti del XXXII convegno internazionale, Assisi, 7-9 ottobre 2004, Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi Sull'Alto Medioevo, Spoleto 2005, pp. 3-27 (pp. 9-10); PIETRO MARANESI, *Nescientes litteras: l'ammonizione della Regola francescana e la questione degli studi nell'Ordine (sec. XIII-XVI)*, Istituto Storico dei Cappuccini, Roma 2000, pp. 56-63.

nity by restricting the access to books and by establishing that illiterate friars should not be taught how to write. Nevertheless, friars found different ways to secure a long-life relationship with their books without breaking, at least formally, the most important precepts of their own regulations.

This article will explore one of the solutions found by Franciscans to solve the question of ownership of books within the formal observance of the rule. As shown by a selection of manuscripts coming from the reformed observant convent of San Francesco Grande in Padua, the production and use of miscellanies containing personal anthologies of works became a suitable solution to the conflict between the restriction on ownership and the necessity of books in order to study. At the core of this solution there was a clear distinction between two concepts: on the one hand, the 'use' of books and, on the other, the 'ownership' of books. Nevertheless, the evidence suggests that the friars' crafty solution ended by blurring the boundaries between the concepts on which it was built.

In order to better understand the role of manuscript miscellanies within the observant convent of Padua, it is helpful to briefly summarise the prescriptions of the Franciscan rule on study and use of books, as well as the attempts to reconcile the intention of Francis with the presence of books in the order.

## 1. THE QUESTION OF USE OF BOOKS AND THE FRANCISCAN RULE

The question of use of books was already present in the first version of the Franciscan rule as a matter concerning learning and study. The rule prescribed in its third chapter that clerical brothers could have only the books necessary to perform their office, that lay brothers who knew how to read the Psalter could have one, and that illiterate brothers should not have access to books:

Clerici [...] libros tantum necessarios ad implendum eorum officium possint habere. Et laicis etiam scientibus legere psalterium, liceat eis habere illud. Aliis vero nescientibus litteras, librum habere non liceat<sup>10</sup>.

The second and definitive version of the rule, known as *Regula bullata*, considered the question in more or less the same terms in its tenth chapter:

Moneo vero et exhortor in Domino Jesu Christo, ut caveant fratres ab omni superbia, vana gloria, invidia, avaritia, cura et sollicitudine huius sæculi, detractatione et murmuratione et non curent nescientes litteras litteras discere.

Here, the restriction on the access to books becomes a disposition against teaching how to read to those who are not able to do it, which im-

<sup>10</sup> *Die Regula non Bullata der Minderbrüder*, ed. by DAVID FLOOD, Coelde, Werl 1967, p. 57.



plies denying access to books<sup>11</sup>. The continuous arrival of learned brothers to the community and its progressive reorientation towards study and learning made necessary the adaption of the rule through interpretations that aimed to reconcile Francis's admonitions with the intellectual achievement of its members. Roughly, one could say that there were three streams of interpretation, namely, the exegesis of the friars of the community, the interpretation of the friars known as the Spirituals, and the interpretation of the observant friars.

The interpretation of the friars of the community is illustrated by the considerations of Bonaventure of Bagnoregio in his *Epistola de tribus questionibus*, written in the mid-thirteenth century. According to Bonaventure, since one of the main purposes of the order was preaching, the use of books was essential to undertake the task. Moreover, books should not be considered in relation to the question of poverty, but in relation to the question of apostolic commitment and Franciscan identity. Consequently, the perfection of the rule, that is, its proper and complete observance, depended on having books:

De libris autem et utensilibus quid sentiam, audi. Clamat Regula expresse imponens fratribus auctoritatem et officium prædicandi, quod non credo in aliqua regula alia reperiri. Si igitur prædicare non debent fabulas, sed verba divina; et hæc scire non possunt, nisi legant; nec legere, nisi habeant scripta: planissimum est, quod de perfectione Regulæ est libros habere sicut et predicare<sup>12</sup>.

The second way of interpreting the rule was stricter, and expressed the expectations of a group of friars known as the Spirituals, who aimed to achieve the most faithful observance of the Franciscan rule during the early-fourteenth century. Their point of view concerning books was illustrated by Ubertino of Casale in his *Sanctitas vestra*, a treatise that was part of a polemical debate about poverty at the Roman curia in the wake of Pope Clement V's investigation in 1309. When Ubertino considered some questions on the proper observance of the Franciscan life, he pointed out that study represented one of the main risk factors to the spiritual health of the order. In fact, the principle of simplicity illustrated by the life of Francis should lead the friars to the rejection of pagan or scholastic studies and at the same time should stimulate them to preserve carefully the words of the fathers. Nevertheless, for many, study had become an instrument to achieve power and privileges, and to enjoy a life of easy work exercising unfair authority over other friars:

Et omnes dissensiones quasi, que sunt in provinciis multis ordinis, sunt propter ambitionem promocionis ad studia, ut sint lectores et prelati et aliis domi-

<sup>11</sup> *Die Opuscula des Hl. Franziskus von Assisi*, ed. by KAJETAN ESSER, Collegio S. Bonaventura di Quaracchi, Grottaferrata 1976, p. 370. See MARANESI, *Nescientes litteras*, pp. 37-41; 64-66. ROEST, *Franciscan Learning*, pp. 12-18.

<sup>12</sup> DOCTORIS SERAPHICI S. BONAVENTURÆ *Opera Omnia*, VIII, Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventuræ, Ad Claras Aquas 1898, pp. 332-333.

nentur [...]. Quia non multi sunt ingeniosi et apti ad subtilia et tamen, ut honorentur, volunt mitti ad studia et habere nomen lectoris, licet parum sciant, ideo postea fastidi de studio efficiuntur ociosi et vagi et indevoti nec curant chorum sequi, sed uno socio habito servitore discurrunt, ut volunt, et stant in terris propriis ceteris fratribus dominantes [...]. Et quia a talibus ordo regitur cum quasi semper sint de corporibus capitulorum provincialium et postea generalium; ideo semper Ordo tendit ad ima<sup>13</sup>.

Therefore, for Ubertino books and study had a secondary role in Franciscan spirituality. Only the spirit of prayer and simplicity could defeat the arrogance and pride that usually characterised scholars, because Franciscan identity, contrary to other orders, did not depend upon books and study, but upon prayer:

Et dicebat, quod nolebat, quod fratres cupidi essent de scientia et libris, sed volebat quod studeret habere sanctam simplicitatem et oracionem devotam et dominam paupertatem. Et hanc dicebat securiorem viam pro salute anime et vocacionem ordinis sui a domino principalem [...]. Et si aliorum religiones vocantur ad studia ex sui institucione, licet ubique reprehendenda sit abusus studiorum, huius religionis vocacio ex expressione fundatoris, superius est descripta, ad orationem et studium modiis aliis moderatum<sup>14</sup>.

The third interpretation was developed by the observant friars of the late-fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. To Observants, the distinctive virtues that characterised Franciscan spirituality derived from the strict obedience to the rule, as the writings of John of Capistrano, one of the 'four pillars' of the observant spirituality, show. When Capistrano was designated as the vicar of the reformed provinces of Italy in 1443, he prepared a set of regulations for the friars under his care in the form of a detailed commentary to the rule. Capistrano's programme confirmed the importance of proper guidance in order to avoid the blind pursuit of knowledge, a quest that could suffocate the humility of the Franciscan mission<sup>15</sup>. Naturally, under the spirit of the observant reform, the friars' spiritual duties were considered of vital importance, and it was in order to satisfy this need that the regulations on study, learning and use of books became of great significance. For example, in order to guarantee that confessors and preachers could properly exercise their duties, Capistrano's constitutions established that one or more observant houses in each province should be designated to instruct friars 'in primitivis scientiis' and in 'sacra pagina', that is, theology. The study of those subjects was considered at the same level as preaching, confessing or providing spiritual advice:

<sup>13</sup> *Archiv für Literatur und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, ed. by HEINRICH DENIFLE and FRANZ EHRLER, III, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, Berlin/Freiburg-i-B., 1887, pp. 73-74.

<sup>14</sup> *Ivi*, pp. 74, 76.

<sup>15</sup> ROEST, *A History of Franciscan Education*, p. 156.

Quod etiam sane intelligendum est circa spiritualia exercitia cum corporalibus intermixta; ut neque in prædicationibus, neque in confessionibus, neque in studiis, sive lectionibus; vel etiam spiritualibus consiliis, personis regularibus, vel sæcularibus exhibendis, adeo se occupent, quod divinas laudes et ordinarium officium prætermittant<sup>16</sup>.

Consequently, observant *studia* were founded in Bologna, Ferrara, Mantua, Fabriano, Florence, Pavia, Milan, Verona, Padua and Venice, all of them furnished with libraries:

Omnibus Vicariis suæ curæ commissis quatenus quilibet Vicarius in sua Provincia determinaret unum vel plura loca, iuxta possibilitatem et aptitudinem Fratrum Provinciæ, in quo vel quibus locarentur Fratres idonei ad docendum pariter et discendum, qui proficere valerent, nedum in principiis scientiæ sed etiam in Sacra Pagina, Deo Duce<sup>17</sup>.

In February 1444 Capistrano wrote a letter to all provincial vicars of the Observance in Italy in order to secure the proper understanding of the directions he had established in 1443. The letter confirms the fundamental role of study in the fulfilment of the duty of preaching. For Capistrano, the possession of correct knowledge was not only necessary for the clerical friar in charge of pastoral care, but had also spiritual significance, because it was directly linked to the deepest nature of man as a creation of God. Therefore, those who despised knowledge inevitably sinned against human nature and the gifts of the Holy Spirit:

Turpissima est iactura quæ fit per ignorantiam et negligentiam. Inimicus nature est, qui scire contemnit; quia naturaliter est homini scientiam concupiscere. Contra naturam ergo peccat, qui scientiam despicit; Spiritum Sanctum blasphemare convinquitur qui Spiritus Sancti donum negligit et talentum [...]. Quomodo poterit quisquam benefacere se nescit? Quomodo sciet, si non didicerit? Quomodo discet, sine docente?<sup>18</sup>.

A swift analysis of these different interpretations of the Franciscan rule shows that books never were forbidden, even within the most rigorous forms of Franciscan spirituality, and that it was their misuse which was condemned. Schematically, one could say that Franciscans were allowed to use books, but they should never dare to exercise ownership on them. Nevertheless, this was not an easy question to solve. If, on the one hand, one of the most evident and common forms of exercising property rights on books consisted in restricting their use to only one reader, usually its owner, on the other, to use books for limited, short periods of time could

<sup>16</sup> *Chronologia Historico-Legalit Seraphici Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, I, 1756, 105a.

<sup>17</sup> Ivi, pp. 106-08. See also ROEST, *A History of Franciscan Education*, pp. 164-65.

<sup>18</sup> ANICETO CHIAPPINI, *S. Iohannis de Capistrano Sermones Duo ad Studentes et Epistola Circularis De Studio Promovendo inter Observantes*, «Archivum Franciscanum Historicum», 11 (1918), pp. 128-129. See also ROEST, *A History of Franciscan Education*, pp. 164-65.

bring serious consequences for the discipline of study. As scholarship has shown, the normal practice of study, especially at higher levels, implied long periods of work and, most importantly, continuous interaction with the book by writing personal comments, by identifying passages of interest with the aid of *maniculæ*, by adding cross references to the same text, or by adding references to other works<sup>19</sup>. It was necessary, therefore, to find a way to continuously work with books without breaking the regulations on poverty and property.

One of the most efficient answers to the question relied on the possibilities of interpreting the 'use' of books. In effect, as the commentaries to the rule show, the restriction forbade the possession, not the use of books. Moreover, the dispositions said nothing about limiting the period of use, and therefore there was room for a long-term use of books without exercising property. How? Through long-term loans of books.

In the case of the Franciscan order, the earliest evidence for the assignment of books on long-term loan comes from the first general constitutions in 1239. These statutes established that friars who held the office of preacher could take the books granted to them for life, or «concessi ad vitam». Neslihan Şenocak has shown how some Franciscan *lectors* and preachers received books in concession for life, for example, friar Monaldo of Todi, who received, in 1245, three volumes: a commentary to the Gospel of Luke by Bonaventure, the commentary of William de la Mare on the first and second book of *Sentences*, and a commentary to the Gospel of Matthew by Nicholas Gorran.<sup>20</sup> One of the manuscripts registered the concession, indicating that the book was destined to be used by friar Monaldo, and that anyone who dared to take the books from him without the proper authorization would be under anathema. Here appears the expression that typically indicates the concession of books on loan for long periods of time, usually for life, «Concessus ad usum»:

Iste liber est deputatus ad usum fratris Monaldis de Tuderto lectoris. Quicumque alienavit absque eius licentiam, anathema sit<sup>21</sup>.

As will be seen further, this practice was very common within the friars, particularly observants, who usually borrowed manuscript miscellanies.

<sup>19</sup> JACQUELINE HAMESSE, *The Scholastic Model of Reading*, in *A History of Reading in the West*, ed. by GUGLIELMO CAVALLO and ROGER CHARTIER, University of Massachusetts Press, Amherst & Boston 1999, pp. 103-119; NESLIHAN ŞENOCAK, *Circulation of Books in the Medieval Franciscan Order: Attitude, Methods and Critics*, «The Journal of Religious History», 28 (2004), pp. 146-161, p. 153.

<sup>20</sup> NESLIHAN ŞENOCAK, *Book Acquisition in the Medieval Franciscan Order*, «The Journal of Religious History», 27 (2003), pp. 14-28, and IDEM, *Circulation of Books in the Medieval Franciscan Order*.

<sup>21</sup> TODI, BIBLIOTECA COMUNALE, MS 60, fol. 1<sup>v</sup>.

## 2. MANUSCRIPT MISCELLANIES AND OBSERVANTS

In spite of the restrictions and warnings, Franciscans embraced learning with remarkable enthusiasm<sup>22</sup>, and consequently were willing to explore all the possibilities offered by the book as a tool of study<sup>23</sup>. As a result, Friars embraced written practices that have called the attention of scholars and led them to explore the question of whether there is or not a 'Franciscan book'<sup>24</sup>. In the case of Observants, one of the most common types of

<sup>22</sup> For a description of the development of the relationship between the Franciscan order and the practices of learning, see NESLIHAN ŞENOCAK, *The Poor and the Perfect: The Rise of Learning in the Franciscan Order, 1209-1310*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London 2012, pp. 144-188, and ROEST, *A History of Franciscan Education*.

<sup>23</sup> On medieval mendicant written culture in general, see NICOLETTA GIOVÈ MARCHIOLI, *I protagonisti del libro: gli ordini mendicanti*, in *Calligrafia di Dio: la miniatura celebra la parola*, ed. by GIORDANA MARIANI CANOVA - PAOLA FERRARO, Franco Cosimo Panini, Modena 1999, pp. 51-57. For fundamental insight on the medieval Franciscan written culture in Italy, see NICOLETTA GIOVÈ MARCHIOLI - STEFANO ZAMPONI, *Manoscritti in volgare nei conventi dei Frati Minori: testi, tipologie librerie, scritture (secoli XIII-XIV)*, in *Francescanesimo in volgare (secoli XIII-XIV)*. Atti del XXIV Convegno internazionale (Assisi, 17-19 ottobre 1996). Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, Spoleto 1997, pp. 301-336, and NICOLETTA GIOVÈ MARCHIOLI, *Codici francescani a Roma nel Duecento. Le testimonianze, le assenze e i problemi*, «Scripta», 7 (2014), pp. 127-138. A brilliant analysis of the impact of Franciscan's written culture on the Paduan context can be found in NICOLETTA GIOVÈ MARCHIOLI, *Circolazione libraria e cultura francescana nella Padova del Due e Trecento*, in *Predicazione e società nel medioevo: riflessione etica, valori e modelli di comportamento*. Atti del XII Medieval Sermon Studies Symposium, ed. by RICCARDO QUINTO - LAURA GAFFURI, Centro Studi Antoniani, Padova 2002, pp. 131-141; EADEM, *Scriptura per me. Copisti, sottoscrizioni e scritture nei manoscritti della Biblioteca Antoniana*, «Il Santo», 43 (2003), pp. 671-690; EADEM, *La cultura scritta al Santo nel Quattrocento: fra produzione, fruizione e conservazione*, in *Cultura, arte, committenza al Santo nel Quattrocento* (Padova, Basilica del Santo, 25-26 Settembre 2009), Centro Studi Antoniani, Padova 2010, pp. 361-388; and EADEM, *Mitologia di un manoscritto, storia di un manoscritto, archeologia di un manoscritto. Il cosiddetto «Codice del Tesoro» (MS 720) della Pontificia Biblioteca Antoniana di Padova*, in *Antonio di Padova e le sue immagini*. Atti del XLIV Convegno Internazionale (Assisi, 13-15 ottobre 2016), Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, Spoleto 2017.

<sup>24</sup> Concerning the fundamental question of the 'Franciscan codex', see NICOLETTA GIOVÈ MARCHIOLI, *Il codice Francescano, l'invenzione di un'identità*, in *Libri, biblioteche e letture dei Frati Mendicanti (secoli XIII-XIV)*. Atti del XXXII convegno internazionale, Assisi, 7-9 ottobre 2004, Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, Spoleto 2005, pp. 375-418, and EADEM, *Scrivere (e leggere) il libro francescano*, in *Scriptoria e biblioteche nel basso medioevo (secoli XII-XV)*. Atti del LI Convegno Storico Internazionale (Todi, 12-15 ottobre 2014), Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, Spoleto 2015, pp. 179-211. The most recent findings on the question of books and Franciscans were presented by NICOLETTA GIOVÈ MARCHIOLI in *Frati e manoscritti in movimento. La mobilità di scriventi (e libri) nel mondo dei frati Minori fra XIII e XV secolo*. At the 47° Convegno Internazionale di Studi Frati mendicanti in itinere (secc. XIII-XIV), Assisi-Magione, 17-19 ottobre 2019, Società Internazionale di Studi Francescani (a forthcoming publication).

manuscript employed by friars were small, modest and flexible volumes, usually containing textual compilations, currently designed by the term 'miscellanies'<sup>25</sup>. This choice of manuscript is quite understandable, since miscellanies were perhaps the most recurrent form of the late-medieval manuscript. In fact, miscellaneity has been acknowledged as the normal context for late-medieval book production and transmission of texts<sup>26</sup>. Nevertheless, we are still far from a consensus on what a medieval manuscript miscellany is, as shown by the attempts to produce a comprehensive notion<sup>27</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> See NICOLETTA GIOVÈ MARCHIOLI, *Sante scritture: l'autografia dei santi francescani dell'Osservanza del Quattrocento*, in *Entre Stabilité et itinérance: livres et culture des ordres mendiants XIII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. by NICOLE BÉRIOU, MARTIN MORARD and DONATELLA NEBBIAI, Brepols, Turnhout 2014, pp. 162-187, and EADEM, *Note sulle caratteristiche dei codici francescani del Quattrocento*, in *Presenza ed opera di san Giacomo della Marca in Veneto*. Atti del convegno di studi, 18 ottobre 2008, Montepreandone (AP), a cura di FULVIA SERPICO, «Picenum Seraphicum», 27 (2009), pp. 19-53.

<sup>26</sup> Miscellanies have been defined as the «Final frontier in the study of the medieval book». RALPH HANNA, *Pursuing History: Middle English Manuscripts and their Texts*, Stanford University Press, Stanford 1996, p. 9; JOHN SCAHILL, *Trilingualism in Early Middle English Miscellanies: Languages and Literature*, «The Yearbook of English Studies», 33 (2003), pp. 18-32 (p. 18); *Introduction*, in *Insular Books: Vernacular Manuscript Miscellanies in Late Medieval Britain*, ed. by MARGARET CONNOLLY - RALUCA RADULESCU, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2015, p. xiii.

<sup>27</sup> See *The Whole Book. Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany*, ed. by STEPHEN G. NICHOLS and SIEGFRIED WENZEL, The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor 1996, particularly the *Introduction* and the *Retractions* by JAMES J. O'DONNELL, pp. 169-173. See also CARRIE GRIFFIN, *Anthologies and Miscellanies*, in *The Encyclopedia of Medieval Literature in Britain*, ed. by SIÂN ECHARD - ROBERT ROUSE, I, John Wiley and Sons, Chichester 2017, p. 1. Among the many contributions that offer a definition of miscellany are: DENIS MUZERELLE, *Vocabulaire codicologique: répertoire méthodique des termes français relatifs aux manuscrits*, CEMI, Paris 1985; MARILENA MANIACI, *Terminologia del libro manoscritto*, Istituto Centrale per la Patologia del Libro, Roma 1998; J. PETER GUMBERT, *Codicological Units: Towards a Terminology for the Stratigraphy of the Non-Homogeneous Codex*, in *Il codice miscellaneo. Tipologie e funzioni*. Atti del convegno internazionale Cassino 14-17 maggio 2003, ed. by EDOARDO CRISCI - ORONZO PECERE, Università degli studi di Cassino, Cassino 2004, pp. 17-37; PATRICK ANDRIST - PAUL CANART - MARILENA MANIACI, *La syntaxe du codex. Essai de codicologie structurale*, Brepols, Turnhout 2013; *Medieval Manuscript Miscellanies: Composition, Authorship, Use*; MARILENA MANIACI, *Miscellaneous Reflections on the Complexity of Medieval Manuscripts*, in *Collecting, Organizing and Transmitting Knowledge: Miscellanies in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. by SABRINA CORBELLINI - GIOVANNA MURANO - GIACOMO SIGNORE, Brepols, Turnhout 2018, pp. 11-22. Recent scholarship is increasingly focusing its attention on intention, authorial agency and the contexts of production and interpretation as a result of the assumption of the validity of the principle of 'exemplar poverty', for example, RICHARD FIRTH GREEN, *Textual Production and Textual Communities*, in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Literature, 1000-1500*, ed. by LARRY D. SCANLON, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2009, pp. 25-36, p. 33; HANNA, *Pursuing History*, p. 31; GRIFFIN, *Anthologies and Miscellanies* p. 5.

A simple definition describes a miscellany as a multi-text manuscript, a statement that raises the question of the distinctive features that separate a miscellany from an anthology or a compilation. Therefore, the grade of planning involved in the production of the written volume is a key factor in setting the differences between these types of manuscript<sup>28</sup>. Most of the difficulty in finding a suitable definition for a manuscript miscellany derives from its nature as a flexible tool of literacy. From an exclusively textual point of view, a miscellany is the result of an operation of textual assemblage. However, there is also a codicological feature involved, and in this sense the textual assemblage is the outcome of a codicological process. Therefore, it is possible to ask whether there is a substantial difference between a 'codicological' miscellany and a composite manuscript<sup>29</sup>.

Meanwhile, and for the purposes of this study, it will be assumed here that a manuscript miscellany is the result of a process of selection of texts from heterogeneous sources, presented under the form of a unitary volume. This implies that both a textual compilation and a composite manuscript will be encompassed by the term 'miscellany'<sup>30</sup>. And although this understanding of miscellaneity derives from the textual assemblage, it is flexible enough to maintain awareness of the codicological processes that lead to the configuration of a composite manuscript.

Being a powerful tool for the late-medieval transmission of texts, miscellanies swiftly became popular among medieval scholars, and therefore, for mendicant friars. Moreover, one could say that in the case of Franciscan observants, miscellanies could be considered as a characteristic form of manuscript. In fact, these volumes were remarkably flexible and versatile, and became not only tools for learning and fulfilling pastoral duties, but played other significant roles for the community of friars; for example, they contributed to address the question of the friars' compelling need of books in front of the restriction on possession. In the following section, specific examples of manuscripts from the observant convent of San Francesco Grande in Padua will help us to understand how this happened.

<sup>28</sup> GRIFFIN, *Anthologies and Miscellanies*, p. 2; CONNOLY - RADULESCU, *Introduction*, p. 21.

<sup>29</sup> ALEXANDRA GILLESPIE, *Medieval Books, Their Booklets, and Booklet Theory*, in *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700*, ed. by RICHARD BEADLE and COLIN BURROW, The British Library, London 2011, pp. 1-29, p. 1-12. For a detailed description and analysis of the processes of transformation of the codex, see ANDRIST - CANART - MANIACI, *La syntaxe du codex*, pp. 61-79.

<sup>30</sup> J.P. Gumbert observes that whenever one meets a medieval textual miscellany it is reasonable to ask whether there is a pre-existent composite manuscript behind it: GUMBERT, *Codicological Units*, p. 18.

### 3. OBSERVANT MANUSCRIPT MISCELLANIES IN PADUA

As we have seen the long-term loans were an answer to the restriction on the possession of books. Traces of this practice may be found in the Franciscan manuscripts from the convents of Padua. The first one was the convent of Sant'Antonio, an old unreformed convent that had an impressive library, the Biblioteca Antoniana, which held more than a thousand volumes organised in two collections: one for consultation and one for loan. The second was the convent of San Francesco Grande, a reformed observant convent, founded in 1420 that had a smaller but, nonetheless, important library. Recent research has made significant contributions to the reconstruction of its holdings. Martina Pantarotto has edited the three ancient inventories of the library, and has identified, through codicological and philological evidence, a large corpus of manuscripts that undoubtedly were in the library before 1525, many of which are currently held in the collection of the Biblioteca Universitaria in Padua<sup>31</sup>.

According to the inventories retrieved by Pantarotto, the main textual typologies held by the library of San Francesco Grande were the Bible, biblical texts and commentaries, tools for the training of preachers, tools for the composition of sermons, tools for pastoral care and volumes concerning Franciscan institutional life such as the order's regulations and papal bulls. A swift survey of the surviving manuscripts provides evidence of two distinctive features of this book collection. On the one hand, most of the manuscripts were produced during the fifteenth century. On the other, almost all of these manuscripts were miscellanies. This certainly was related to the fact that by the end of the fifteenth century the convent was a very recent foundation that gathered reformed friars who needed efficient tools for a ministry focused on pastoral care and preaching. Their manuscripts usually brought together selections of fragments of different texts, and careful observation of their material support shows that their miscellaneity is the result of the agency of the scribe, who conceived the original unit of production as the repository of several internal units of content<sup>32</sup>. Nevertheless, many manuscripts suffered further transformations through additions of diverse materials according to the needs of the reader, and there are significant cases where the unit of circulation is the result of the addition of fragments from pre-existent units of production<sup>33</sup>. In what follows, examples of two types of Paduan miscellanies will be described with further detail: on the one hand, manuscripts used as tools for pastoral care,

<sup>31</sup> MARTINA PANTAROTTO, *La biblioteca manoscritta del convento di san Francesco Grande*, Centro Studi Antoniani, Padova 2003.

<sup>32</sup> For a comprehensive definition of these concepts, see ANDRIST - CANART - MANIACI, *La syntaxe du codex*, pp. 51, 105-07.

<sup>33</sup> See Ivi, pp. 59, 63-81, particularly, p. 72. A clear example of miscellaneity related to the codicological process of configuration of a composite manuscript is PADOVA, BIBLIOTECA UNIVERSITARIA, MS 1789, as will be shown further.



and on the other, manuscripts useful for the composition of sermons and preparation for preaching. All of the miscellanies considered show traces of concession on long-term loans to friars of the community. This will allow us to better understand the relationship between miscellaneity and the transformation of the concession 'ad usum' into a form of property within the observance.

The first volume is Padua Biblioteca Universitaria MS 736, an anthology of treatises on confession and pastoral care. It is a paper manuscript in octavo of approximately 143 x 107 mm, and 118 leaves, written in semi-gothic cursive script, with a clear notarial influence. The decoration of the manuscript is limited to some initials in red. On fol. 117<sup>v</sup> there is a note that declares that the book belongs to the convent of Saint Francis in the hospital of Padua, but that it is on loan to friar Simon of Parma:

Hic liber pertinet ad locum S. Francisci apud hospitale Paduæ. Concessum ad usum fratris Simonis de Parma ordinis Minorum die X iuli 1462<sup>34</sup>.

Another example is Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 1159, an anthology of treatises and cases useful for pastoral care. It is a paper manuscript in octavo of approximately 154 x 102 mm, and 188 leaves, written in a highly abbreviated cursive script with traces of a hand with notarial training. The decoration of the manuscript consists of capitals in red and some marks of paragraph, or paraphs, also in red. On fol. 188<sup>r</sup> there is a note: «Ad usum fratris antonii de Padua»<sup>35</sup>. The note clearly was written after the main text of the manuscript was completed, probably during the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, which suggests that the volume was available for loan in the library, and most probably was bequeathed to the convent by its scribe.

A third case is Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 1503, an anthology of treatises useful for confession and pastoral care. It is a paper volume, in octavo of approximately 143 x 108 mm, with 92 leaves written in an elegant cursive, closer to the bookhand style. Since the hand that writes the rubric in Italian vernacular is the same of the main text, it is reasonable to suppose the scribe to be an Italian hand. The decoration of the manuscript offers some examples of initials decorated in red and blue and capitals highlighted in red, with some red paraphs. On fol. 39<sup>v</sup> there is a note explaining the textual origin, the identity of the scribe, and the place of production:

Iste tractatus est secundum fratrem Nicholaum de Ausma de ordine Fratrum Minorum. Ego frater Petrus de Citonio scripsi in loco sancti Blasii extra Vicentiam<sup>36</sup>.

<sup>34</sup> *Ivi*, MS 736, fol. 117<sup>v</sup> (Tav. 1).

<sup>35</sup> *Ivi*, MS 1159, fol. 188<sup>r</sup> (Tav. 2).

<sup>36</sup> *Ivi*, MS 1503, fol. 39<sup>v</sup> (Tav. 3).

However, on the pastedown there is a note, rather difficult to read but very significant:

Olim fr[atris] Ang[eli] de Padua<sup>37</sup>.

And thanks to the interest of friar Angelo in stating clearly who was the user of his books, we can be certain of the attribution, because on Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 1742, fol 1<sup>r</sup> there is the same ownership inscription.

Another example of the concession in use of observant manuscripts is the case of Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 2036, an anthology with works of the Dominican preacher Antoninus of Florence. It is a paper volume in octavo, of approximately 143 x 107 mm, with 114 leaves written in an elegant and balanced cursive script, closer to the protohumanistic style, as suggested by the low number of abbreviations and the balance in the writing space. The decoration is limited to some initials and some paraps, both in red. On fol. 110<sup>v</sup> there is the following colophon:

Et sic est finis libellum istud per me fratrem Franciscum<sup>38</sup>.

Here we do not have a concession 'ad usum', but a scribe that confirms that the manuscript is his personal copy.

An important part of the book collection in San Francesco Grande was devoted to the tools for the preparation for preaching. These manuscripts were miscellanies containing fragments of different sources, such as manuals, excerpts from sermons, literary texts, and compilations of topics. In this sense, these volumes clearly illustrate Siegfried Wenzel's observation, namely, that the works known as *artes prædicandi* «Appear in their manuscripts in the company of works that are not of the same genre or by the same author – in other words, in volumes for which the term "miscellanies" is appropriate.»<sup>39</sup> In what follows, the miscellaneity of some tools for preaching, as well as their role in the development of friars' relationship with books will be considered.

Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 1789 is an anthology of materials useful to the composition of sermons. It is a paper manuscript, in quarto, of 169 x 120 mm, and 238 leaves, written by several hands that have in common the use of a semigothic cursive script. The decoration is limited to highlighting some capitals in the main part of the text, rubrics, and specific passages underlined in red. This manuscript offers a synthesis of the main features of interest to this analysis, namely, it is at the same time a textual miscellany, a composite volume, and has traces of being conceded on loan "ad usum"<sup>40</sup>.

<sup>37</sup> *Ivi*, I.

<sup>38</sup> (Tav. 5). See PANTAROTTO, *La biblioteca manoscritta*, p. 201.

<sup>39</sup> WENZEL, *The Appearance of Artes Prædicandi in Medieval Manuscripts*, p. 103.

<sup>40</sup> (Tav. 4). On fols 33<sup>r-v</sup>, 34<sup>r</sup>, 157<sup>v</sup>, 158<sup>r</sup>, and from fol. 176<sup>r</sup> onwards, there is evi-

The manuscript starts with a list of the contents and a heading that shows clearly that this is a work related to preaching: «Iste sunt predicationes facte in loco». An anthology of treatises on devotional topics begins on fol. 3<sup>r</sup> and continues until fol. 37<sup>r</sup><sup>41</sup>. This anthology constitutes the first section of the manuscript, and could be described as a gathering of notes on penitence and moral edification<sup>42</sup>.

An excerpt from the *Distinctiones* of Alexander of Hales starts on fol. 38<sup>r</sup>, and explores cases and questions. A section with a selection of excerpts clearly focused on the preparation of sermons starts on fol. 43<sup>v</sup>, where the manuscript offers a treatise on the topic of death and a detailed description of its features: «fraudentissima, potentissima, crudelissima». The purpose of assuming an approach oriented to the audience is illustrated by a dramatic resource employed to describe the 'crudelissima morte': Death comes to meet a man. He says that he is afraid of dying, and asks a series of questions, trying to buy some extra time, but Death answers directly, leaving no space to doubt<sup>43</sup>. Finally, the man, acknowledging the power of Death's reasoning, peacefully embraces his fate<sup>44</sup>. A marginal comment underlines the usefulness of this section by declaring: «Hic potes facere sermonem ad mortem die de Ieronymo, in transitu et post».

Another tool for the composition of sermons is the volume PADOVA, BIBLIOTECA UNIVERSITARIA, MS 1851, an anthology of diverse materials, mainly treatises on devotion. It is a manuscript in quarto of 215 x 154 mm, and 282 leaves, written in cursive script, heavily abbreviated, whose distribution varies from the full page to a two-column setting. The decoration of the manuscript is limited to the use of rubrics, decorated initial letters and some passages that are underlined in red. On fol. 1<sup>r</sup> there is an incomplete table of contents and an ownership inscription: «Libri ad usum mei fratris Pellegrini».

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dence of the codicological configuration of a composite. Additionally, there is a note on the ancient binding -currently separated- that reads «<ist>e liber concessus e<st> <a>d...», thus confirming the concession 'ad usum' of the manuscript. See PANTAROTTO, *La biblioteca manoscritta*, p. 188.

<sup>41</sup> Some of the treatises are incomplete or partially developed. For example, on fol. 33<sup>r</sup>: Scripture comminatio; on fol. 33<sup>v</sup>: Mortalitates nostre conditio, and Proximi edificatio; on fol. 34<sup>r</sup>: Sanctorum intercessio, and Vite eterne expectatio.

<sup>42</sup> Some of the topics of this section are: 'De resurrectione Christi; 24 fructus penitentiae; 24 catene qui ligant pectorem cum penitentiam', and '24 tube qui vocant peccatorem ad penitentiam.'

<sup>43</sup> On fol. 43<sup>v</sup>: 'Hic fac dyalogus inter mortem et hominem [...] On fol. 44<sup>r</sup>: 'H[omo]: quidde patrimonio meo erit? R[espondit]: quid curas de tibi accomodatio. H: quid facient filii mei? R: Quid tu post obitum patris. H: En uxoram meam dilectam relinquo. R: Non dictis tuam, quod mors faciet non tuam. Si non buona fuit, gaude quod iugo solveris. Si buona, e duobus: aut altius subieriet, aut libera vagabitur. H: En morior sin filiis. R: Moreris letior quod de eis non dolebis.'

<sup>44</sup> On fol 44<sup>r</sup>: 'Volo mori quod persuasisti veraciter.'

From fol. 1<sup>r</sup> to fol. 170<sup>v</sup> the manuscript contains the transcription of fragments of sermons and treatises, mostly by Iacopo della Marca, organised by topics and complemented by marginal comments<sup>45</sup>. On fols 84<sup>v</sup>-86<sup>v</sup>, there is a *Tabula peccatorum*, a tool for quick reference, and from fol. 266<sup>r</sup> to fol. 278<sup>v</sup> there is a selection of texts under the heading «Auctoritates, excerpta and exempla», gathered as a reference resource. Among the texts there is a selection of fables by Aesop with specific indications on their application, for example: «Contra ingratos, dum lupum; Contra invidiam, dum vulpem», and so on. The final leaves of the manuscript, namely, fols 279<sup>v</sup>-282<sup>v</sup>, are employed in the transcription of some excerpts from the *Summa de esentia* by Bonaventure. In spite of gathering numerous works of very different types, the selection of texts is characterised by offering brief excerpts with essential information. This feature, and the absence of long single treatises on morality, pastoral care or consideration of cases, suggest that this volume had the function of being an efficient source of examples, admonitions and exhortations.

Finally, PADOVA, BIBLIOTECA UNIVERSITARIA, MS 2103 is worthy of special attention. The miscellany is a collection of treatises and fragments used as a tool in the preparation of sermons. It is a paper volume, in quarto, of approximately 218 x 152 mm, written in a semigothic script by, at least, four different hands, with very different graphic styles. The manuscript has no remarkable decoration, except for some rubrics at the end of the volume, most probably part of another manuscript. On its fol. 1<sup>r</sup> it is possible to read very clearly:

Iste liber est mei. Agustini Magister Blasii.

This is not a concession 'ad usum' or a colophon by a scribe, but a direct declaration of property (Tav. 6).

## CONCLUSION

This brief overview of examples of miscellanies produced and read within the observant milieu in Padua illustrates how flexible and powerful these manuscripts were as tools for learning, study and pastoral care. Usually, they do not contain complete cycles of sermons or anthologies of the most representative works of a famous preacher. Instead, they gather examples, rhetoric resources, cases, or specific devotional and moral questions, and play a substantial role as practical guides to select and explore key topics.

<sup>45</sup> Some of the headings are: De fide, De iustitia, De predicatione, De penis inferni, De intemperantia, De blasfemia, De correctione fraterna, De virtutibus, De ligno vite, De caritatis ordine, De amore proximi, De mercanciis, De sacrilegio, De pace, De nomine Jesu, De vanagloria, De mendacio, De septem peccatis mortalibus, De lingua, De gratia et eius fructibus, De causis, De misericordia Dei, De divite apulone, De mortuis, De morte, De confessione.

These small paper manuscripts offer also significant information on the environment in which Observants developed their preaching activity. The use of Latin and the local vernacular in the preparation of sermons shows, not only the adaptability of observant friars as preachers, but also their flexibility concerning the practices of reading and study. In this sense, these miscellanies were proper *Hausbuch*<sup>46</sup>. Most significantly, these examples illustrate that by the end of the Middle Ages the strategy of long-term loans or concession in use of books was a common practice in Franciscan convents. However, it is necessary to make, at least, two further observations.

First, the manuscript evidence suggests that the elaboration of personal textual compilations was an effective way of having an exclusive long-term relationship with the books that contained them. In fact, observant miscellanies were personal libraries that reflected the interests and expectations of their scribes and usually had different linguistic layers, and different genres, such as prose, poetry and even bits of dramatic pieces under the form of dialogues. In this sense, there is a striking parallel with the manuscripts of friar Johannes Sintram, as revealed by the fundamental work of Kimberly Rivers<sup>47</sup>. In both cases, miscellanies reflected the needs and cultural background, not only of their readers, but first and foremost, of their scribes. Personal annotations, colophons and references contributed to outline late-medieval scribes' desire to assert ownership of texts and to record the details of their life or career.

The second observation aims to underline how Franciscan miscellanies illustrate the progressive dissolution of the boundaries between use and ownership. If the first manuscripts here considered were conceded 'ad usum', that is in a life-long loan, the final examples show how the scribe declares the individuality of his work in terms of a personal copy and, by the end, is not afraid of acknowledging a relationship of possession with the miscellany that he has in hand.

One could wonder at this point whether the friars were aware of the progressive blurring of the boundaries between use and ownership of their manuscripts. It seems that this increasing uncertainty reflected the affirmation of the figure of the individual friar as the exclusive user of the book he was copying. This means that the distinction between use and ownership of books as a source of conflict for the individual Franciscan friars was gradually heading to a new phase, that is, the user was becoming an exceedingly satisfied owner.

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<sup>46</sup> EVA NYSTRÖM, *Looking for the Purpose behind a Multitext Book: The Miscellany as a Personal "One-Volume Library"*, in *Medieval Manuscript Miscellanies: Composition, Authorship, Use*, pp. 70-81.

<sup>47</sup> KIMBERLY RIVERS, *Composition and Career. The Composite Manuscripts of Johannes Sintram, OFM*, in *Collecting, Organizing and Transmitting Knowledge*, pp. 145-159.

## SUMMARY

The swift intellectual achievement of medieval Franciscans conveyed a fundamental question: should friars possess books in an apparent departure from the rule established by the founder? This question remained one of the fundamental topics of discussion for the friars of the Community, as well as for the movements of Franciscan reform, including the Observance of the late fifteenth century. This article assesses the role of manuscript miscellanies as a tool to solve the question of ownership of books within the Franciscan observance. The analysis of manuscript evidence coming from the observant convent of San Francesco Grande in Padua shows how manuscript miscellanies, usually written by their own readers, on the one hand were personal tools for learning, preparation for preaching and pastoral care and, on the other, played a decisive role to solve, from the observant standpoint, the question of exercising ownership of books while maintaining a reasonable adherence to the Franciscan rule.

*Keywords:* Franciscan Manuscripts; Franciscan Rule; Medieval Miscellanies.

## SOMMARIO

L'eclatante successo dei frati francescani nella vita intellettuale tardomedievale sollevò una questione fondamentale all'interno dell'Ordine: dovevano i frati avere la proprietà/possesso dei libri a loro necessari, allontanandosi così dalla regola stabilita dallo stesso Francesco? La legittimità o meno del possesso dei libri divenne tema fondamentale di discussione per i frati della Comunità e dei movimenti di riforma, compresa l'Osservanza del secondo Quattrocento. Il presente contributo indaga sul ruolo dei manoscritti miscellanei come uno dei modi per aggirare la questione della proprietà dei libri all'interno dell'Osservanza. L'analisi dell'evidenza manoscritta proveniente dal convento di San Francesco Grande mostra come le miscellanee, di solito scritte dagli stessi lettori, risultavano indispensabili per la formazione dei frati, per la preparazione alla predicazione e per la cura pastorale, ma anche come strumenti per risolvere, dal punto di vista osservante, il dilemma della proprietà dei libri di fronte a una sfuggente aderenza alla regola francescana.

*Parole chiave:* Manoscritti francescani; Regola francescana; Miscellanee medievali.

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Deus et boni in se p. l. dno. vbi in vno  
vota. a. c. v. dno. vbi in vno  
scilicet. v. dno. vbi in vno  
p. l. dno. vbi in vno

Ano f. r. v. v. ad Albo. Ely. i. p. m. h. n.  
adg. r. o. l. y. Et videns r. o. s. f. a. n. e. y. q. r. o. p. u. l. e. t. e. n. t.  
c. a. p. ad b. i. s. p. u. l. u. d. q. b. v. i. d. e. n. s. n. i. t. v. i. f. e.  
r. u. l. e. s. t. o. p. t. e. q. a. s. i. c. c. o. m. u. n. i. t. a. c. o. r. d. p. r. a. d. p. r. i. n. c. i. p.  
m. o. d. o. p. a. l. l. e. r. o. n. y. c. u. h. u. i. t. a. t. e. t. m. a. t. e. s. t. d. e. d. e.  
m. o. d. o. i. d. e. n. t. d. n. o. q. a. m. o. d. o. c. o. d. i. m. t. h. u.  
e. t. o. p. a. r. t. m. u. l. t. a. n. o. f. i. d. n. t. q. a. t. p. a. r. t. e. d. e. i. t. e. t.  
v. i. p. a. r. t. e. p. e. t. u. r. i. f. i. d. n. t. r. u. l. e. t. a. g. n. t.

hic liber venit ad lo. f. f. a. g. x. p. u. d.  
hospitale padue. gressus ad x. p. u. i.  
f. d. i. m. o. n. i. o. d. p. a. r. t. a. o. d. i. s. m. u. n. e. r. p.  
hic x. July. 1462.

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488  
 nō gratuita pactio aliq̄ dato, l' rector. l' pmissa. ff. de  
 translat. l. 1. c. ex. co. Sup. co. ct. E. co. l. i. i. i. i.  
**T**erit fuit de uno gētu ad cūdes gētu dr. cas. muti  
 nō possit fide iube gstituit se pncipales debitor. et tu  
 fideiubet p. ca. Tercio cas. tute uelano qua ad fideiubet  
 ut nō ualor. ff. ad uel. l. Quāvis. p. Cas. cō  
 et 33. 4. 4. Mulier. l. h. sufficiat quo ad 3. ar.

Ad vsu Fris. Ant. de Padua

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Tav. 2: Padua Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 1159, fol. 188r



**E**t de istis quibus dicitur po ex d' quibus existit i pua naufragula istuc ex qbz  
 on' natus rse ab ipetu aquarū defendes p' istas naufragas i r'ia puenit  
 salu'. **A**l' istas i aq' ad h'et' iberi i r'ia pua fluit existit. ad ramos se tenet  
 s'ur i p'cto suffocandi. **A**l'us caput r'ipū pua arboris i r'ia se tenet q' non  
 uadat s'ur et s'ur usi ad b'abz i aq' i g'idi p'cto. **A**l'us caput subum  
 spinosuz i se tenet ne p'eat i r'ia i aq' i m'io p'cto usi ad l'aba. **A**l'iqn  
 i g'uguar aqua. **A**l'us i suffocant' et i p'fudu uadit. p'um' q' n'at' i  
 saluati est. ille q' uult p'ot i facit. **I**lle q' ad h'et' arboris i tenet se ad  
 ramos i ille q' uult i differt. **I**lle qui caput s'urpū i r'ia se tenet i ille q'  
 p'ua p'ro uult i r'istit. **I**lle q' uadit i p'fudu aq' i suffocant' est ille q' n'  
 uult i r'istit. **A**d cultu d'uz q' h'ec p'icta r'istit i allegatim  
 uoluntate bz i r'istit i hereditate m'az i i h'ebim' s'taz sup'iaz d'uz  
**I**ste tractus est s' f'ig' nicholau' i austria. **V**ordic f'ig' quoz ego s'  
 p'ent' d'etronio s'epi. **L**ao s'it blas' ex uictuaz.

## De Morte

Fraudulentissima.

Potentissima.

Crudelestima.

p<sup>ri</sup> fraudulentissima. p<sup>ri</sup> n. p<sup>ri</sup>te fraudulentissima et nesatVbi. Ang<sup>l</sup>. Nemo s<sup>ci</sup>usVbi. In meditac<sup>o</sup>ne. Certe e<sup>st</sup> q<sup>uod</sup> morietur

Curse

Quo. ex<sup>o</sup> de nauia mitigato i<sup>st</sup>o.

In quo. s. statu.

2 p<sup>ri</sup> Potentissima p<sup>ri</sup>te apoc. 13. Et data e<sup>st</sup> illi d<sup>omi</sup>n<sup>u</sup>s p<sup>ro</sup>ptas i<sup>st</sup>o s<sup>ci</sup> t<sup>em</sup>p<sup>or</sup>eet p<sup>ro</sup>ptas i<sup>st</sup>o s<sup>ci</sup> t<sup>em</sup>p<sup>or</sup>e.et p<sup>ro</sup>ptas i<sup>st</sup>o s<sup>ci</sup> t<sup>em</sup>p<sup>or</sup>e.

Contra Sapienter mundi

Scos

Potentes a p<sup>ri</sup>te mundi usq<sup>ue</sup> m<sup>u</sup>ndi. Ro<sup>ma</sup> 1. h. 2. m<sup>u</sup>ndi.a p<sup>ri</sup>te s<sup>ci</sup> t<sup>em</sup>p<sup>or</sup>e d<sup>omi</sup>n<sup>u</sup>s i<sup>st</sup>o s<sup>ci</sup> t<sup>em</sup>p<sup>or</sup>e. Et n<sup>u</sup>m<sup>er</sup>o v<sup>er</sup>o i<sup>st</sup>o s<sup>ci</sup> t<sup>em</sup>p<sup>or</sup>e.Sapienter. s<sup>ci</sup> t<sup>em</sup>p<sup>or</sup>e v<sup>er</sup>o s<sup>ci</sup> t<sup>em</sup>p<sup>or</sup>e v<sup>er</sup>o.Scos. De q<sup>uod</sup> apoc. 14. Audiu<sup>er</sup> uoc<sup>em</sup> d<sup>omi</sup>n<sup>u</sup>s i<sup>st</sup>o s<sup>ci</sup> t<sup>em</sup>p<sup>or</sup>e.  
q<sup>uod</sup> p<sup>ro</sup> morte s<sup>ci</sup> t<sup>em</sup>p<sup>or</sup>e v<sup>er</sup>o effici<sup>er</sup>et b<sup>ea</sup>t<sup>u</sup>s q<sup>uod</sup> custodit m<sup>u</sup>ndi i<sup>st</sup>o.

legitū nō additū ut neque et iō absolute apertis  
et nō aut apertis quāvis pectus absolute ē  
quē nō debet quia absolute ab excoīcāto; dī  
pcedē absolute apertis tū sūmū excoīc  
ordo q nō nūmū debet aut pcor qu pcedit  
de errore illū ad mparē ut pcor absolute  
ab excoīcāto ē

ut pcor

si quis pcor tēpō; tūlir ut cūclis cūclis dī  
modo dī inficāto pcor  
Grime pcor et pcor  
pcor uti et pcor uti  
Defloratō vīgini  
baptizātō pcor filios sine nūclis  
pcor lūpā mcor pcor  
pcor nō pcor ut pcor  
pcor vīgini pcor  
pcor mcor pcor pcor pcor  
pcor pcor i pcor pcor  
pcor et blaspemātō pcor et pcor  
pcor vīgini q nō et mcor nō  
pcor mcor nō pcor  
pcor pcor pcor nō pcor

Et sic est finis libelli quidā me pcor pcor





Tav. 6: Padua Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 2103, fol. Ir



