Thought about Emotion among Dominicans in Pisa and the Roman Province in the Thirteenth Century

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Abstract

This dissertation's subject is the discussion of emotions in the Order of Preachers in the thirteenth century. In order to provide precise and concrete context, it focuses on a single convent and region, Pisa and the Roman Province. The first part sketches the community at S. Caterina, describing its early history and introducing aspects of the order's commitment to study. This is followed by a summary of the connection between the thought of the friars-preacher at Paris and the preaching of the Pisan archbishop, Federico Visconti. The second part addresses ideas about emotion put forward in Dominican theological texts and *Sentences* commentaries more directly. The first step is a consideration of the importance of the *Sentences* commentary genre as a means for the diffusion of thought about emotion, taking the discussion of Christ's passions as an example. The next offers a detailed summary of different treatments of hope, outlining developments in the concepts and vocabulary which the friars used in their teaching. The final chapter is an attempt to bring the different threads together by considering the use of thirteenth-century academic thought about emotion, both in later conventual teaching at S. Caterina and in regular preaching to lay men and women in a central Italian commune.

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this submission is entirely my own work except where due acknowledgement is given, and that the work has not been previously presented for an award at this or any other university.

INTRODUCTION

What follows is an attempt to address thought about emotion as practised by the friars-preacher in Pisa and the Roman Province during the thirteenth century. By addressing the problem of 'emotion' in theological texts, this thesis adds to an increasingly large body of historical research, which has been the subject of serious discussion for at least twenty years, and the intellectual origins of which can be traced back much further. The general aim is to follow the articulation of concepts in texts produced for the training of the friars-preacher in the thirteenth century. The starting point for this approach is the view that these forms of thought can be understood historically; a relatively simple claim which places this thesis on the margins of much bolder propositions about the possibilities presented by the history of emotion. The concern for the historical dimension of thought about emotion should not be taken to indicate a particularly strong intellectual allegiance or loyalty to any particular modern theorist, other than to the position that all thought, as the determination of individuals in a particular place and time, is necessarily provisional and subject to change.

A description of the historical study of emotion could begin in 1941 in the Franche-Comté at the farmhouse where Lucien Febvre wrote an article, the crystallisation of a decade or so of work on historical psychology, in which he called for 'a vast collective investigation into the sentiments of man and the forms they take.'[1] For an opening scene, we can picture Febvre at his bureau, surrounded by notes, journal articles, book reviews and monographs. A volume of the recently published *Encyclopédie Française* is prominent. The article Febvre was working on appeared in *Annales* under the title 'Sensibility and History*: How to Reconstitute the Affective Life of the Past'. In it, Febvre argued that, first and foremost, any account of emotion ought to be interdisciplinary; it should attempt to break down the compartments between psychology and history.

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[1] L. Febvre, 'La sensibilité et l'histoire. Comment reconstituer la vie affective d'autrefois?', *Annales ESC* 3 (1941), pp. 221-38, reprinted and translated in *A New Kind of History from the Writings of Febvre*, ed. P. Burke (London, 1973), pp. 12-26; R. Mandrou, 'Pour une histoire de la Sensibilité', *Annales ESC* 14 (1959), pp. 581-88.

Second, it ought to make use of a variety of sources, from political to artistic. On the page in front of him are sentences such as 'the emotions are contagious', explained with reference to Henri Wallon's work on the relationship between affectivity and social life.[2] Language, Febvre suggested, is one way in which groups can act upon and influence the individual's emotional life: 'He tends towards the social life as towards his state of equilibrium.' According to Febvre emotions can and do vary between societies and historical periods, and so to apply a contemporary psychology to the past is to be guilty of anachronism. As an example of how to write historically about emotion, Febvre held up Johann Huizinga's *Autumn of the Middle Ages*, first published in Dutch in 1919.[3] For Febvre, as for Marc Bloch, who had written a glowing review of the second German edition, Huizinga's 'childlike' middle ages, characterised by a general mental changeability and a particular proneness to anger, showed how the collective and social psychology of this period differed from our own.

At this point we might move from Febvre's bureau in his farmhouse in the Franche-Comté to a desk overlooking the ultra-modern campus of Carnegie Mellon University in 1980s Pittsburgh. Here, husband-and-wife team Carol and Peter Stearns, a professional psychiatrist and Harvard-trained historian, wrote a book about anger in Modern America.[4] As well as Carol Stearns's professional interest, Peter Stearns arrived at the subject from a background in labour and family history. He saw work on emotion as (i) an extension of earlier research into cultural expectations of parent-child relations and gender-specific emotional styles, and (ii) an opportunity to put the case for a historical perspective amidst the burgeoning corpus of theoretical work by psychologists, sociologists and anthropologists influenced by cognitive and social constructionist theories of emotion.[5] The Stearnses' research was theoretically up to speed and self-aware. They chose not to recycle English equivalents of Febvre's 'psychologie historique' or 'vie affective', which would have looked old-fashioned. Looking for a word to describe 'the standards by which any society seeks to evaluate and regulate emotions', they coined 'emotionology'; a

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[2] *Henri Wallon: La vie mentale*, ed. Émile Jalley (Paris, 1982).

[3] J. Huizinga, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, trans. R. J. Payton and U. Mammitzsch (Chicago, 1996).

[4] C. Stearns and P. Stearns, *Anger: The Struggle for Emotional Control in America's History* (Chicago, 1986).

[5] J. Plamper, 'The History of Emotions: An Interview with William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein, and Peter Stearns', *History and Theory* 49 (2010), pp. 237-65.

neologism they hoped would allow them to talk about cultural differences in emotional behaviour without confusing expectation and experience.[6]

In part, their work was an off-shoot of social history; the bulk of their attention was 'turned toward the everyday experiences of common folk'. It also contained an implicit assumption of development that echoed the ideas of Huizinga and Norbert Elias.[7] Although accepting the biological certainty of emotion, 'emotionology, by shaping articulate expectations, does influence actual emotional experience.'[8] For proof, we should look at how people tried to get a grip on their emotions in the eighteenth century; 'an anger-control effort that constituted an important shift in emotional values, a new effort at emotional restraint.'

The same year that William Reddy, a labour historian of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century France, began work on his book *The Navigation of Feeling*, in which he unpicked the common-sense view of emotion with John Austin's ideas about linguistic action, there was a session at the American Historical Association on 'The Social Construction of Anger'.[9] Barbara Rosenwein, a Chicago-trained medievalist, was invited to comment on some of the papers. Later, after a suggestion by Peter Stearns, she lengthened the session into an edited volume, which included contributions from European and North American historians.[10] Reading these and, at the same time, familiarising herself with a bibliography of theoretical and historiographical texts, she noticed patterns in how historians wrote about emotions. Her conclusion traced these 'controlling paradigms', showing their roots and durability in historiography. What she had read about medieval emotions, or their equivalents, made it hard to credit the idea there was a Big Bang moment for the super-ego in the sixteenth century; an idea which, she said, still grips many historians' imaginations.

In 2002, Rosenwein published an influential article in the *American Historical Review*, which put flesh on earlier observations, revealing how heavily historians had borrowed – whether knowingly or not – from an inveterate universalist conception of emotion that had been the subject of significant criticism in recent philosophical and theoretical

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[6] C. Stearns and P. Stearns, 'Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards', *American Historical Review* 90 (1985), pp. 813-36.

[7] N. Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, trans. E. Jephcott (Oxford, 1994).

[8] C. Stearns and P. Stearns, *Anger*, p. 15.

[9] W. M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge, 2001).

[10] *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*, ed. B. Rosenwein (Ithaca, 1998).

work.[11] Rosenwein's research was sustained by a critical dialogue with that of men like Huizinga, Elias and Febvre. Emotion is a useful category of historical analysis, yes, but not if emotions themselves are conceived as mental reactions that move fluid-like through the body and which either consume or are controlled. They should instead be understood as forms of judgement which reflect our most deeply held beliefs. Medieval historians were back where Febvre had started, but Rosenwein was intent on the old paradigms being thrown out; emotion words in medieval texts were now, once again, unpossessed and standing in need of an idea or a theory to explain them.

If suffused with thought, emotional experience cannot always be the same and must vary according to cultural norms and expectations. So, with a nod to Brian Stock, Rosenwein argued 'there were (and are) various "emotional communities" at any given time', which she defined as 'groups of people animated by common or similar interests, values and emotional styles and valuations'.[12] Emotional communities have their own 'rules of the game', which the individual will adopt as he moves between them. This, then, is a field that is growing quickly, and moving in many different directions.[13] Those historians who study emotion tend to speak with an awareness of the novelty of the topic, a sensation of treading on unfamiliar or 'soft' ground, and a two-fold feeling, whether justified or not, of, first, lagging behind other disciplines, such as anthropology and philosophy, and, second, of speaking with an authority that flows from recent theoretical advances in psychology and cognitive neuroscience. It is clear that it is no longer possible to move in this direction without first grappling with some of the arguments that historians tend to make about the usefulness and feasibility of this kind of history. With this in mind, it will be useful to begin by describing three problems encountered during the research for this thesis.

First, there is scepticism concerning the field itself. There are a number of possible issues which could be cited here, but it will be sufficient to mention just two. The first relates to the size and nature of the terrain which could conceivably be embraced by the

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[11] B. Rosenwein, 'Worrying about Emotions in History', *American Historical Review* 107, 3 (2002), pp. 821-45.

[12] Plamper, 'The History of Emotions', p. 252; B. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2006), pp. 20-29.

[13] For example, 'AHR Conversation: The Historical Study of Emotions', *American Historical Review* 117 (2012), pp. 1487-1531.

history of emotion.[14] This can create a problem when the similarities between two areas of research are stressed at the expense of real and significant differences in the nature of the sources and disciplines they involve. A second issue concerns the extent to which a self-consciously new discipline with a noteworthy intellectual pedigree and eloquent proponents can fall victim to its own success.[15] It is a danger faced by any genre that is in vogue, and which can lead to the publication of books and articles, which either rest on self-supporting clichés or which fall into the trap of categorising disparate material under headings which bear little useful resemblance to the sources at the historian's disposal. Both of these dangers seem to be especially relevant to the problems raised by the history of emotion, but that is not to say they cannot be overcome.

Second, 'minimalist' studies of 'attitudes towards emotion' or 'thought about emotion' are sometimes viewed with suspicion by those wary of the risk of essentialism.[16] In such arguments, intellectual historians who seek to analyse the vocabulary and concepts used in learned texts do so at the risk of assuming that, although words and categories change, emotions remain essentially unchanged over time. It has been characterised as less innovative and less ambitious than other ways of approaching the history of emotion, which do more to encourage the view that emotions are historically specific and constituted by particular circumstances. Thus, according to this line of thought, it is more intellectually innovative and rewarding to study changes in the objects of emotions, or to address institutional attempts to regulate or promote certain forms of emotional behaviour

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[14] See, for example, J. Arnold, 'Inside and Outside the Medieval Laity: Reflections on the History of Emotions', in *European Religious Cultures*, ed. M. Rubin (London, 2008), pp. 107-30; on semantic imprecision and change, T. Dixon, *From Passions to Emotion: The Creation of a Secular Psychological Category* (Cambridge, 2003); idem, '"Emotion": The History of a Keyword in Crisis', *Emotion Review*, 4 (2012), pp. 338-44 and '"Emotion": One Word, Many Concepts', *Emotion Review* 4 (2012), pp. 387-88.

[15] For useful surveys, see, *Le sujet des émotions au Moyen Âge*, ed. D. Boquet and P. Nagy (Paris, 2009); *Piacere e dolore: Materiali per una storia delle passioni nel Medioevo*, ed. C. Casagrande and S.Vecchio (Florence, 2009); *Politiques des émotions au Moyen Âge*, ed. D. Boquet and P. Nagy (Florence, 2010); *Les Passions antiques et médiévales. Théories et critiques des passions, tome I*, ed. B. Besnier, P.-F. Moreau, L. Renault (Paris, 2003); *A History of Emotions, 1200-1800*, ed. J. Liliequist (London, 2012). M. Scheer, 'Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (and is that what makes them have a history)?', *History and Theory* 51 (2012), pp. 193-220; U. Frevert, *Emotions in History: Lost and Found*. The Natalie Zemon Davis Lectures (Budapest, 2011).

[16] P. Burke, 'Is There a Cultural History of the Emotions', in *Representing Emotions: New Connections in the Histories of Art, Music and Medicine*, ed. P. Gouk and H. Hills (Aldershot, 2005), pp. 35-47.

over others, since these would mean engaging with recent philosophical,[17] psychological and anthropological studies,[18] potentially leading to more significant conclusions.[19] This may well be true, but it perhaps underestimates the challenges of using the literary texts of a learned class of religious, which allow only brief glimpses of the information necessary to sustain broader claims. When confronted by material of this kind, the lens through which we contemplate thought about emotion becomes as important as the thought itself. In defence of this approach, it is possible to deploy familiar arguments about the extent to which all of our thinking about the world is conditioned by a historical context of practices and values.[20]

This leads on to the third point, which concerns the way in which recent historical arguments have tended to integrate or adapt ideas from other disciplines. The problem in this instance is the immense difficulty of contributing to wider debates about the ontological status of emotions on the basis of the evidence and tools of interpretation available. In places, where historians invoke the 'findings' of their research to corroborate universal definitions of what emotions actually are, this can lead to the confusion of different levels of explanation. By trying to rewrite historical explanations in a generalizing form, historians risk succumbing to circularity, with universal definitions being invoked to support an idiographic description, and vice versa. A similar problem has been likened elsewhere to the feeling of 'addressing a peach with a billiard cue – the wrong shape and size of instrument, designed for movement in the wrong direction.'[21] When done well, the two approaches can be mutually supporting, making the historical work enormously valuable.[22] However, where fashionable ideas are mobilized in support

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[17] For example, M. Nussbaum, *Upheavals of Thought: The Intelligence of Emotions* (Cambridge, 2001).

[18] *The Social Construction of Emotions*, ed. R. Harré (Oxford, 1986); K. Oatley, *Best Laid Schemes: The Psychology of Emotions* (Cambridge, 1992). For anthropological studies, M. Rosaldo, *Knowledge and Passion: Ilongot Notions of Self and Social Life* (Cambridge, 1980); L. Abu-Lughod, *Veiled Sentiments: Honor and Poetry in a Bedouin Society* (Berkeley, 1986); C. Lutz, *Unnatural Emotions: Everyday Sentiments on a Micronesian Atoll and Their Challenge to Western Theory* (Chicago, 1988).

[19] On restraint, R. A. Kaster, *Emotion, Restraint, and Community in Ancient Rome* (Oxford, 2005); C. Lansing, *Passion and Order: Restraint of Grief in the Medieval Italian Communes* (Ithaca-London, 2008).

[20] S. Hampshire, *Thought and Action* (London, 1959).

[21] M. Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures* (New Haven, 1985), p. 12.

[22] D. Boquet, *L'Ordre de l'affect au Moyen Âge. Autour de l'anthropologie affective d'Aelred de Rievaulx* (Caen, 2005); P. Nagy, *Le don de larmes au Moyen Âge. Un*

of claims which either misrepresent or cannot be supported by the available evidence, such work can end up obscuring the very material it was intended to highlight. Here, as is generally the case, it is important to concentrate attention on whatever sources are available, whilst also being open to insights from other approaches as and when they can potentially illuminate the problem under discussion. It is important to emphasise, however, that this thesis is not intended as an attempt to deny the validity of any particular method for approaching the history of emotion. These broadly similar problems are mentioned only to provide a sense of the arguments which, at different stages, have informed the development of what follows.

The idea behind the choice of subject emerged slowly from a combination of primary and secondary reading. In its earliest form, it was conceived as an attempt to provide a variegated and contextualised discussion of the way in which emotions, or their nearest equivalents, were talked about in texts written by Dominican friars, with a view to engaging with the ever-increasing volume of work on the history of emotion. Much of this early reading was entirely unstrategic and resulted only in dead-ends and confusion. There were problems of both narrowness and breadth. On the one hand, the material primarily reflected the outlook of an extremely learned group of religious, and it was unclear how far it could be said to have been related to wider social attitudes. On the other, the sheer volume of material produced by the friars-preacher and the various literary genres employed made it difficult to find rational principles of selection. For example, most of what survives of this output is catalogued in the *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum medii aevi*, a reference work which provides the names and known biographical details of friars whose writing survives, and lists their extant works and the manuscripts in which they are located.[23] It comprises four large volumes and, ever since the publication of the fourth volume in 1993, researchers have continued to find additional manuscripts and points which can be corrected. A large proportion of these

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instrument spiritual en quéte d'institution (Paris, 2000); E. Cohen, *The Modulated Scream: Pain in Late Medieval Culture* (Chicago, 2010); D. L. Smail, *The Consumption of Justice: Emotions, Publicity, and Legal Culture in Marseille, 1264-1423* (Ithaca, 2003); idem, 'Hatred as a Social Institution in Late-Medieval Society', *Speculum* 76 (2001), pp. 90-126; M. Rubin, *Emotion and Devotion: The Meaning of Mary in Medieval Religious Cultures*. The Natalie Zemon Davis Lectures (Budapest, 2009); also, in a different tradition, S. C. Jaeger, *Ennobling Love: In Search of a Lost Sensibility* (Philadelphia, 1999).

[23] *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum medii aevi*, ed. T. Kaeppeli and E. Panella, 4 vols. (Rome, 1970-93).

texts contain material which one could conceivably trawl through for information relating to 'emotion' in the Middle Ages.

These problems were addressed at a later stage through attempts to locate emotion by looking at texts associated with different parts of a preacher's way of life, beginning with religious formation and ending with preaching and pastoral care. This line of inquiry was prompted by a relatively superficial familiarity with the texts most frequently cited in general accounts of the Order of Preachers and its early development, and involved an attempt to accommodate various literary genres, which each contained specific kinds of information about emotion or its expression. Recent ideas about the significance of religious and philosophical forms-of-life appeared to provide a way of rendering varied material in a coherent way, whilst also taking a view on one possible approach towards the history of emotion, which went with the grain of concepts and phrases current in the thirteenth century.[24] Although aspects of the sources lent themselves to this treatment, the observations it produced were often thin and uninstructive, failing to bring out the particular significance of the sources under discussion. Ultimately, the requirement to master a variety of sources and disciplines at the same time as engaging with high-level thought was too difficult, and the attempt could not avoid the pitfalls inherent in writing this kind of history.

The breakthrough, when it came, started with books and libraries. When consulting studies and catalogues of mendicant libraries, frequent references to a friar called Proino di Orlandini da Fabro pointed to the Dominican convent of S. Caterina in Pisa as a centre for the diffusion of important theological and philosophical texts.[25] Commenting on Proino, secondary works generally included a few sentences on a large donation he left to the library at S. Caterina, citing a list contained in the convent's chronicle. The effect of

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[24] P. Hadot, *Philosophy as a Way of Life*, trans. M. Chase (Oxford, 1995); idem, *What is Ancient Philosophy?*, trans. M. Chase (Cambridge, MA, 2002); for an English translation of Hadot's inaugural address to the Collège de France, see 'Forms of Life and Forms of Discourse in Ancient Philosophy', *Critical Inquiry* 16 (1990), pp. 483-505. G. Agamben, *Altissima povertà. Regola monastiche e forme di vita* (Vicenza, 2011); idem, *Opus Dei. Archeologia dell'ufficio* (Turin, 2012); E. Coccia, 'Regula et vita. Il diritto monastico e la regola francescana', *Medioevo e rinascimento* 17 (2006), pp. 97-147.

[25] K. W. Humphreys, *Book Provisions of the Mediaeval Friars, 1215-1400* (Amsterdam, 1964), p. 91; D. Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda, 'Bibliothèques en Italie jusqu'au XIIIᵉ siècle', in *Libri, lettori e biblioteche dell'Italia medievale (secolo IX-XV). Fonti, testi, utilizzazione del libro. Atti della tavola rotonda italo-francese (Roma 7-8 marzo 1997)*, ed. G. Lombardi and D. Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda (Rome, 2000), pp. 95-96; L. Pellegrini, *I manoscritti dei predicatori: i domenicani dell'Italia mediana e i codici della loro predicazione (secc. XIII - XV)*, Dissertationes historicae 26 (Rome, 1999), pp. 179-80.

reading the relevant entry was striking. Proino had personally owned copies of many of the most important thirteenth-century theological and philosophical texts that I was trying to think about. Seen on its own, this fact may not appear particularly surprising, since much has been written about the ownership and diffusion of texts by members of the mendicant orders. It nevertheless offered food for thought. When and where did Proino – or his father Orlandini – acquire these texts? How would they have been read and used by Proino and his confrères? If they contained a huge variety of information that falls under the heading 'thought about emotion', what difference could their presence in the conventual library have made to the knowledge and understanding possessed by other friars at S. Caterina? How might this have influenced the flow of ideas from S. Caterina into the urban society in which the friars operated? In many ways, Proino is a reticent interlocutor, since no works of his survive and very little is known about him other than the few details contained in the convent's chronicle. Nevertheless, a conversation with him has continued throughout the preparation of this thesis.

Although Proino's donation helped to narrow the field considerably, difficult organizational problems remained. The community at S. Caterina to which Proino belonged was part of a Europe-wide network full of friars who simultaneously produced voluminous texts in various settings and under different generic constraints. By the middle of the thirteenth century, the order had a presence at Europe's major universities and the teaching of its best theologians was disseminated to hundreds of towns and cities where it had an enormous influence on local friars and lay audiences who engaged with it. Proino's list was proof of Pisa's place in this network. This, in effect, makes it impossible to deal meaningfully with all the relevant material, rich and varied as it may be. Any account can only feasibly address a sample. What follows, then, is not an attempt to provide an all-encompassing summary of the thought about emotion which can be traced to the early brethren at S. Caterina. Instead, it is an attempt to describe a handful of relevant details and certain central practices in the belief that they are important for a better understanding of modern and medieval questions about emotion.

The outline of this thesis is shaped by the desire to address sources which throw light on the thought and activity of the brethren at S. Caterina. Even from this starting point, it is still difficult to find principles of selection. Wherever possible I have selected only those texts most relevant to the terms of problem being addressed. This means there are more gaps than one would expect to find in a general account of the most important sources and themes in this period, but it is hoped that some of these can be filled in at a

later stage. Thus Chapter 1 sketches the community at S. Caterina and their public. Adapting a method described elsewhere, it is an attempt to show the community and their relationships with ordinary Pisans and other friars-preacher in ways that are knowable and communicable.[26] It starts by asking how and what we can know about S. Caterina, before going on to make a number of general observations about their activity and interaction with others.

Chapter 2 outlines the order's system of education as it developed in the Roman Province. Economists might interpret the process described as an example of a 'ratchet effect', since it involved increasingly sophisticated and detailed legislation, increases in the variety and scope of regular academic exercises, the accession of more and more books, and a greater level of specialisation and stratification as friars were effectively 'streamed' according to their academic ability and potential to become conventual lecturers in theology. These changes all took place within fifty years of the community's foundation. They had a significant impact on how the brethren at S. Caterina were trained and on the level and range of intellectual competence that was expected of them.

Chapter 3 addresses the preaching of the Pisan archbishop, Federico Visconti, and in particular how he made use of recent Parisian thought in his discussion of the different kinds of fear. It shows a learned cleric sharing Dominican ideas with his Pisan audience, suggesting a channel through which thought from S. Caterina reached contemporary lay men and women. Chapters 4 to 6, leading on from Federico's use of Dominican texts, describe how preachers addressed questions about Christ's passibility and hope in their lectures on the standard theological text-book, Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, and form the core of the thesis. The *Sentences* attracted the attention of the most famous thirteenth-century theologians and, through its incorporation into the syllabus of the theology faculty at the University of Paris, spawned its own literary genre, which historians now call the *Sentences* commentary. In concentrating on *Sentences* commentaries produced by a tiny minority of the order's brightest friars, it becomes necessary to broach a more difficult question. If we know that a handful of exceptionally bright friars went to Paris to lecture on the *Sentences* and that their commentaries became part of the baggage thrown at young friars training for a life devoted to preaching, how do we know whether any of it actually sank in? Chapter 7 is a final shot at connecting the fourteenth-century brethren at

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[26] R. Williams, *The Country and the City* (London, 1973), p. 165.

S. Caterina to earlier intellectual advances made by their predecessors and also to the wider world in which they operated.

It will already be clear to some readers that much of this is familiar material. It is treated here as part of the solution to a specific problem concerning the character and development of the friars' thought about emotion. The debt to earlier secondary work in this area will be apparent; but where arguments are put forward, it is hoped that their relation to the evidence will be clear, and that they avoid misrepresentation and anachronism of the sort caused by the unhelpful imputation of modern categories of thought and the use of unreliable testimony. Before proceeding further, it will be useful to provide a précis of the main arguments put forward in each chapter. They may appear oversimplified and over-schematic, since they are the distillate of a more complicated process, but they are included primarily for the sake of economy and ease of use. Here, then, are the most significant points made in this thesis:

1) That S. Caterina is very good example of a type of productive and prosperous mendicant community.

2) The historical study of the friars at S. Caterina is helped considerably by the convent's chronicle and surviving legislation from the Roman Province, both of which provide useful information about the friars' activity and form of life.

3) By setting out to investigate theological questions and making their solutions available to others, the preachers functioned as producers and middle-men.

4) That the conditions that prevailed in Pisa during the thirteenth century were favourable to the friars' project, with local families supplying a steady stream of educated recruits and constituting a receptive audience.

5) Study was an essential element in the order's vocation, a fact reflected in all aspects of a preacher's life.

6) The order's regular academic exercises were subject to successive changes, which responded to wider intellectual developments, whilst always reflecting the friars' own priorities.

7) The library at S. Caterina was one of the most important channels through which the latest books found their way into Pisa.

8) The range of books which were read and studied increased as the order steadily introduced more specialised forms of training in the curriculum.

9) The case of Federico Visconti demonstrates the influence of mendicant activity in Pisa, and also how the friars' intellectual authority was promoted by outsiders.

10) The translation and reception of Greek and Arabic texts increased the volume of knowledge which was brought to bear on questions about emotion in the order's specialist study-houses; and these gains filtered through into (i) the regular academic exercises held at S. Caterina, and (ii) the friars' preaching and pastoral work.

11) Daily lectures on the *Sentences* were an increasingly important channel for the secure flow of ideas within the order's network of schools and study-houses.

12) In their commentaries on Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, masters of theology began to integrate a much wider range of material into their discussions of Christ's human nature and the theological virtues, including various questions concerning emotion derived from a reading of, among other things, Greek theology and philosophy.

13) The level of interaction within this network is demonstrated by the popularity of fourteenth-century texts produced by the brethren at S. Caterina, which also testify to the lasting influence of earlier intellectual and institutional developments.

14) The findings of the friars' investigations into the passions of the soul were made available to a lay audience in Pisa and elsewhere, and there is evidence of a liaison between Dominican ideas and the language that certain people used to think and talk about emotion.

The *Sentences* commentaries, confessors' manuals, legislation and medieval historical writing which provide the basis of this study can frequently seem arid and remote, allowing only the odd glimpse of a community of academically minded men who contributed daily to the rush and noise of a thriving medieval city; but in places it is still possible to hear their voices, and to feel the pulse of the Pisan neighbourhoods in which they operated. It has been suggested that *what a man thinks* and *feels* are the history and the character of what he does. When we consider the brethren at S. Caterina from our restricted point of view, their feeling seems remote and inaccessible, while their thought is much closer and easier to recognise. It is hoped that by doing justice to what the friars thought, it will become possible to say something useful about what they could have felt.

Part 1

SANTA CATERINA

1

A KNOWABLE COMMUNITY

'In the beginning there were the towns.'[1] The famous opening line from Jacques Le Goff's *Les Intellectuels au Moyen Âge* prepared the way for his analysis of the emergence and institutional maturation of a category of academically minded man, who carried out his trade by teaching and thinking. Written in France in the 1950s, this was an abundant and ground-breaking narrative, which deliberately evoked present concerns. The anachronism of its title, pitched to draw the reader's mind to Gramsci and to the Dreyfus affair, summarised a challenging proposition that spanned a large canon of evidence. Le Goff observed how indigenous Latin terms, such as 'magister' and 'clericus', fell short of capturing the common social and cultural characteristics of a category of medieval intellectuals, who he argued performed an artisanal function in twelfth- and thirteenth-century cities. In terms of their craft, there was a resemblance between Le Goff's intellectuals and the Dreyfusards. Characterised by the disinterested enthusiasm for reason, as something distinct from pre-existing forms of learning, twelfth-century intellectualism entailed both a profession and vocation. Le Goff was talking to readers newly familiar with Gramsci's notions of the 'organic' and 'traditional' intellectual and the ambience of Latin Quarter.

   Like their modern counterparts, twelfth-century scholars were town-dwellers. The birth of the intellectual, Le Goff argued, was a product of precise historical conditions prevailing in towns and cities – particularly Paris – at a time of widespread urbanisation. In this setting, masters were drawn to the city where their study and teaching was one half a commercial relationship with their students; the practice just one of an increasingly large number of economic transactions taking place in cities across Europe. He traced how, after a brief moment of perfection, intellectuals were gradually subjected to the restrictions of institutional authority, with once productive divisions hardening into

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[1] J. Le Goff, *Intellectuals in the Middle Ages*, trans. T. Lavender Fagan (Oxford, 1993), p. 5.

schism and conflict. Where scholars had once responded to the concrete social conditions of their environment, they retreated and became *deracinés*, concentrating their thought on 'abstract and eternal truths'. The influence of Le Goff's thesis has been deep and varied. As well as directly inspiring others to address academic ideas in relation to their genesis in the social history of university life, he advertised the connection between medieval urbanism and academic thought.[2]

The brief moment of perfection had already passed when mendicant communities spread throughout Europe in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. The pervasive patterns which characterised this process were a later interest for Le Goff. In two articles in *Annales*, he described a process where the Order of Preachers and Friars Minor, to maximise the return from their apostolic work, gravitated towards larger centres of population.[3] Combining religious and urban history, he observed a link between the growth of the new orders and urban expansion. To a certain degree, this pattern reflected a deliberate strategy. Writing in the middle of the thirteenth century, Humbert of Romans advised preachers not to bypass big cities as they contained more sinners, and because people in the countryside tend to follow their lead.[4] Le Goff also provided later evidence of friars weighing up potential locations to determine if they were sufficiently populous to support a convent.[5] Within ten years of the original article, French and Italian historians were testing his hypothesis in other areas, specifically the communes of northern and central Italy.[6]

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[2] For a summary, see A. Boureau, 'Intellectuals in the Middle Ages, 1957-95', in *The Work of Jacques Le Goff and the Challenges of Medieval History*, ed. M. Rubin (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 145-55; and in the same volume, J. Dunbabin, 'Jacques Le Goff and the Intellectuals', pp. 156-167. For a recent 'questionnaire d'orientation' and guide to relevant secondary literature, see *Les débuts de l'enseignement universitaire à Paris (1200 – 1245 environ)*, ed. J. Verger and O. Weijers (Turnhout, 2013). I return to this theme at the end of this chapter, where I also provide a short bibliography. See below, n.87.

[3] J. Le Goff, 'Apostolat mendiant et fait urbain dans la France médiévale: l'implantation des ordres mendiants. Programme-questionnaire pour une enquête', *Annales ÉSC* 23 (1968), pp. 335-52; idem, 'Enquête du Centre de Recherches Historiques: Ordres mendiants et urbanisation dans la France médiévale, *Annales ÉSC* 25 (1970), pp. 924-46.

[4] Cited in Le Goff, 'Ordres mendiants', p. 930.

[5] Le Goff, 'Ordres mendiants', pp. 930-31; also, P. Biller, 'Applying number to men and women in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries: an enquiry into the origins of the idea of "sex-ratio"', in *The Work of Jacques Le Goff and the Challenges of Medieval History*, p. 28.

[6] See the questionnaire d'orientation in A. Vauchez, 'Introduction', *Mélanges de l'École Français de Rome. Moyen Âge – Temps Modernes*, 89/2 (1977), pp. 561-62; in the same

The arrival of the Order of Preachers in Pisa is part of this phenomenon. The foundation of a community of preachers in a half-rural suburb of Pisa, away from the cathedral and commercial centre, was part of the first wave of expansion, led by preachers animated apostolic conviction and carrying a papal mandate.[7] As in cities such as Bologna and Florence, the early years of mendicant activity in Pisa witnessed fairly rapid growth. Chance archival traces and the unusually high literary output of the friars mean that S. Caterina is a good example of a prosperous Italian convent. Various factors suggest the causes of this success, which ultimately depended on a degree of convergence between the order's religious goals and the conditions which prevailed in Pisa during the thirteenth century. The preachers' arrival at S. Caterina, the available sources and the significance of local influence form the basis of this chapter, which is intended to put down a path for what follows.

1.1 Beginnings

The church of S. Caterina predated the arrival of the first preachers. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, Maria Sarda, widow of Pietro di Marogna, founded a small parish church and hospital.[8] A decade or so after she helped to establish the church and hospital of S. Caterina, Maria was involved in the construction of the church of Ognissanti outside the city walls to the south of the Arno.[9] Some thirty years later, Federico Visconti, the archbishop of Pisa, held up the piety of 'this good Sardinian woman' as an example to his audience in the church of S. Caterina, leading us to believe Maria Sarda was someone of means and importance. [10]

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volume, L. Pellegrini, 'Gli insediamenti degli ordini mendicanti e la loro tipologia. Considerazioni metodologiche e piste di ricerca, pp. 563-73; and G. Barone, 'L'ordine dei predicatori e la città. Teologia e politica nel pensiero e nell'azione dei predicatori', pp. 609-18.

[7] See below, n. 71.

[8] M. Ronzani, 'L'organizzazione della cura d'anime nella città di Pisa (secoli XII-XIII)', in *Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche della Toscana medioevale*, ed. C. Wickham et al. (Galatina, 1980), p. 53 (n. 101).

[9] M. Ronzani, 'Il francescanesimo a Pisa fino alla metà del Trecento, *Bolletino storico Pisano* 54 (1985), pp. 38-42.

[10] Federico Visconti, *Les sermons et la visite pastorale de Federico Visconti archevêque de Pise (1253-1277)*, N. Bériou and I. le Masne de Chermont (Rome, 2001), 79, § 12, p. 931: 'Sic fuit *sapiens mulier* illa bona Sarda que duas ecclesias edificavit, scilicet Omnium Sanctorum et hanc que hic fuit, quam nos vidimus, ad honorem beate Caterine, ut ipsa essa particeps orationum suarum ‹ita› quod si‹c› exaudiretur a Deo.'

Among the documents preserved in the archives of S. Caterina there survives a record of Maria's will. Dated to 1 September 1220, and executed by two local nobles, it included a large bequest to the church and hospital, comprising land, twenty sheep, two oxen, and all of her household furniture and books.[11] After a record of Maria's original donation, there is a gap. The next earliest document is a well-preserved exemption granted by Honorius III in 1225 to the Order of Preachers.[12] From here on, the documents describe the steady acquisition of land and papal decrees by the community of preachers in Pisa. The five-year gap between Maria's bequest and the earliest archival reference to the Order of Preachers provides us, in effect, with a date after and before which the first friars started to teach and preach to audiences in Pisa, one of the largest and most powerful cities on the Italian peninsula. Their settlement was facilitated by existing patterns of religious patronage, where wealthy families invested land and resources in exchange for spiritual rewards.[13]

This picture is consistent with information we possess from other sources. That the foundation at Pisa was one of the earliest in the Roman Province is confirmed by the contents of a fourteenth-century manuscript which survives in the Archivio di Stato in Perugia. The small volume is usually referred to as the *Liber privilegiorum provincie Romane ordinis Predicatorum*, or, as described by Emilio Panella, a *vademecum* for provincial priors.[14] Its pocket-sized appearance and contents give the impression of its value as a working source of administrative information. After lists of local bishops and the eighteen provinces of the Order of Preachers,[15] there is another list of the convents of

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[11] E. Paladino, *Le pergamene dell'Archivio del Convento di S. Caterina di Pisa (1212 - 1497)* (Viareggio, 2000), n. 3. It has not been possible for me to consult R. Paesani, 'Codice diplomatico del convent di S. Caterina in Pisa', Tesi di laurea, Università di Pisa (1970-71), in which Paesani transcribes the texts of the earliest documents in the archive, dating from 3 December 1211 to 27 October 1286.

[12] Paladino, *Le pergamene*, no. 5.

[13] On this theme, see G. Sergi, *L'aristocrazia della preghiera: Politica e scelte religiose nel medioevo italiano* (Rome, 1994).

[14] E. Panella, 'Un vademecum dei provinciali romani (secoli XIV-XV)', *Memorie Domenicane* 28 (1997), pp. 279-300; idem, 'Libri della provincia Romana dei Predicatori ad uso dei frati (secoli XIII-XV)', in *Libri, lettori e biblioteche dell'Italia medievale (secolo IX-XV). Fonti, testi, utilizzazione del libro. Atti della tavola rotonda italo-francese (Roma 7-8 marzo 1997)*, ed. G. Lombardi (Rome, 2001), pp. 277-300; S. Tugwell, 'The Evolution of Dominican Structures of Government II: The First Dominican Provinces', *AFP* 70 (2000), pp. 5-109, especially 80-87.

[15] The composition of the list of provinces indicates a date between 1303 and 1378. See Panella, 'Libri della provincia Romana', p. 279.

the Roman Province. In effect, this list amounts to a chronology of the province's development.

The point can be summarised as follows. When the brethren at S. Caterina sat in the choir, they did so according to a firm hierarchy: the longest-serving member of the community sat on the right edge of the *chorus dexter* opposite the next most senior friar in the *chorus sinister*. This alternating pattern continued along the stalls; a physical reminder of the individual friar's place within a larger community.[16] A similar method was used to determine the respective positions of the provincial and conventual priors at the order's annual chapters. Thus, in the seating plan for the annual general chapter, provincial priors for Toulouse and Spain preceded those of France, Lombardy, and the order's other provinces.[17] In the list of convents of the Roman Province, deliberately arranged into two columns and with later additions made in a number of different hands, we find S. Caterina high up the pecking order, placed alongside the province's earliest foundations:

Chorus dexter	Chorus sinister
Florence	S. Sabina, Rome
Siena	S. Maria sopra Minerva, Rome
Pisa	Viterbo
Orvieto	Arezzo
Perugia	Todi
Lucca	Anagni
Pistoia	Spoleto
Rieti	Narni
Città di Castello	Prato
Foligno	Gubbio
Tivoli	Cortona
Bevagna	Sarzana
San Miniato	Terracina

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[16] J. Cannon, *Religious Poverty, Visual Riches: Art in the Dominican Churches of Central Italy in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (New Haven, 2013), pp. 9-13.

[17] S. Tugwell, 'The Evolution of Dominican Structures of Government II', pp. 5-109; more generally, W. A. Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order*, vol. I: *Origins and Growth to 1500* (New York, NY, 1966).

Priverno	San Gimignano

A problem is raised by the presence of S. Maria sopra Minerva, which did not acquire a formal community until after 1275.[18] Nevertheless, the sequence otherwise reflects what we know about the order's diffusion throughout the cities and towns of central Italy. There may already have been convents in Rome and Florence as early as 1219, with a foundation established in Siena in the winter of 1221.[19] According to Simon Tugwell, the convent of Viterbo, opposite S. Caterina in the list, dates to the late 1220s. This puts the initiation of the Dominican community in Pisa in the earliest phase of settlement. It must more or less have coincided with Dominic's death in Bologna in August 1221.

The precedence of cities such as Rome, Florence, Siena and Pisa is consistent with Salimbene's observation of the Order of Preachers' characteristic preference for big cities over less populous places.[20] It also tallies with another list in the *Liber privilegiorum*, which recorded the annual financial contribution due to the province from each community.[21] Here there is a predictable – but nevertheless significant – correlation between the order of precedence and the size of the contributions expected. For our purposes, the usefulness of this hierarchy only takes us so far. It suggests a date; but only loosely – i.e. between the foundation of communities at Siena and Viterbo. It is most valuable as a vivid illustration of the community's significance in the minds of the friars-preacher in the Roman Province and, we might suppose, the brethren of S. Caterina and their local benefactors.

However, in trying to nail down a date for the initiation of a Dominican convent at S. Caterina, there is another source we might use. In a late fourteenth-century manuscript, still kept in the Biblioteca Cateriniana, is the Pisan convent's own chronicle, the *Cronica antiqua conventus Sanctae Catharinae*.[22] The general value of the chronicle and the

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[18] Tugwell, 'The Evolution of Dominican Structures of Government II', p. 83.

[19] *Monumenta diplomatica S. Dominici*, ed. V. J. Koudelka, MOPH 25 (Rome, 1966), 146.

[20] Salimbene de Adam, *Cronica*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH, Scriptores 32 (Hanover and Leipzig, 1905-1913), pp. 233, 236; cited in Le Goff, 'Ordres Mendiants', p. 932, n. 4.

[21] Panella, 'Libri della Provincia Romana', pp. 285-86.

[22] F. Bonaini, 'Cronica del convento di Santa Caterina', *Archivio Storico Italiano* 6 (1845), pp. 399-633; also, *Cronica conventus antiqua Sancte Katerine de Pisis*, ed. E. Panella (2005) [http://www.e-theca.net/emiliopanella/pisa/cronica.htm]. All references to the chronicle are to Panella's online edition.

circumstances behind its composition are addressed later in this chapter. For now it is enough to concentrate on the main points relating to the friars' own account of the convent's foundation. We read that the community of preachers at S. Caterina was founded by Uguccio Sardo.[23] According to the chronicle, Uguccio travelled to Pisa with his mother while still a child. In this and in other respects, the foundation story invited comparisons with classical and biblical precedents. We are told that Uguccio, after he had heard of the fame of Dominic and his followers, who lived in poverty and preached the word of God, chose to renounce the world and left Pisa to receive the habit and make profession 'in manibus Dominici'.[24] There is no mention of any form of novitiate.[25] After profession, Uguccio returned to Pisa and initiated a house (*domus*). Significantly, the chronicle claims this decision had the support of Dominic himself.[26] In line with the Roman order of precedence, it is said this took place in the same year that Dominican communities were established in Florence and Siena. If we accept that Uguccio made profession in Dominic's hands and that the foundation had the founder's approval, there was a community of preachers in Pisa before 6 August 1221.[27] It was only later that Uguccio and his companions were given the church of S. Caterina along with some other houses and an orchard. Given the order's origins and purpose, Maria Sarda's small parish church may have seemed well-suited to the preachers' values.

There are evidently a number of plausible hypotheses which would accommodate the facts as they stand; but large pieces of the picture are missing. For example, problems include the difficulty of squaring the chronicle's claims with the view that the communities in Florence and Siena were founded in different years.[28] There are questions

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[23] *Cronica*, ed. Panella, § 1.

[24] Ibid., n. 1: Qui cum ad discretionis pervenisset etatem, considerans presentis vite fallaciam, audiens tunc temporis beati Dominici famam, tam in fervore perfectissime caritatis quam in ostensione signorum, ad ipsum celeri gradu confugit et ab ipso habitu religionis devote suscepto in eius sacratissimis manibus professionem secura fiducia fecit.

[25] On the order's informal profession rite, see S. Tugwell, 'Dominican Profession in the Thirteenth Century', *AFP* 53 (1983), pp. 5-52.

[26] *Cronica*, ed. Panella, § 1: Postea directus ab eo Pisas et ipse beatus Dominicus pergens Florentiam atque Senas, ibidem conventum accepit, et eodem anno idem frater Uguiccio erexit domum in civitate pisana.

[27] On the date of Dominic's death, 'Schéma chronologique de la vie de Saint Dominique', in *Domenico di Caleruega e la nascita dell'Ordine dei Frati Predicatori: Atti del XLI Convegno storico internazionale, Todi, 10 -12 ottobre 2004* (Spoleto, 2005), pp. 1-24.

[28] Tugwell, 'The Evolution of Dominican Structures of Government II', p. 83; idem, 'Notes on the Life of St. Dominic III: Dominic's Last Years (1219-1221)', *AFP* 66 (1996), p. 67.

about where to place Uguccio's profession and the decision to send a convent to Pisa in the chronology for the last six months of Dominic's life.[29] It is also unclear how much time separated Uguccio's establishment of a 'domus' and the subsequent move to S. Caterina. Ultimately, it may not be possible to say when the first friars-preacher started delivering sermons to audiences in Pisa. Further, it is interesting to note that when Vitale, the archbishop of Pisa, conceded both the church and hospital of S. Caterina to the Order of Preachers, Uguccio and his companions benefited, if only indirectly, from the earlier patronage of Maria Sarda. Whatever connections may have existed between these two Sardinians are now difficult to trace.[30] Still, the fact that, for whatever reason, the fourteenth-century compilers of the chronicle did not give a date for Uguccio's foundation − instead offering details which could have been inferred from the *ordo conventuum* − suggests, perhaps, that we ought not to be too preoccupied by the fervent desire for precision.

1.2 Sources

The subsequent growth and development of the community at S. Caterina marked it out as one of the most influential and active convents in the Roman Province.[31] The evidence for this can be found in a variety of texts. To put the matter simply, S. Caterina is a convenient example of the reality pragmatically described by Humbert of Romans and observed by Salimbene. As a rule, Dominican convents in larger cities left a bigger imprint than those which were smaller and more remote. For the Italian provinces at least, this pattern is widely applicable, with exceptions tending to confirm the rule rather than

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[29] For an outline of Dominic's activities between 1219 and August 1221, see Tugwell, 'Notes on the Life of St. Dominic III', pp. 150-54; idem, 'Schéma chronologique de la vie de Saint Dominique', pp. 1-24.

[30] See *Cronica*, ed. Bonaini, pp. 402-4. Two late inscriptions in the church of S. Caterina, one of which is lost, were reported in 1714. They suggest Uguccio was related to the noble Grugni and Vacca families. Uguccione da Caprona and Gerardo di Pietro Guiliccioni were named as witnesses and executors of Maria's will. The chronicle lists the da Caprona as one of a number of local noble families who supported the early community at S. Caterina. See *Cronica*, ed. Panella, § 1: '…ibi Comites, ibi Orlandi, ibi Verchionenses, ibi Lanfranchi et Cortinghi, Gualandi et P(ar)lascinghi atque nobiles de Caprona et alii venerabiles cives quibus tunc civitas tota florebat.' Also, E. Cristiani, *Nobiltà e popolo nel comune di Pisa* (Naples, 1962), p. 326.

[31] I. Taurisano, 'I Domenicani a Pisa', *Memorie domenicane* 44 (1927), pp. 177-232; also, M. Mulchahey, *"First the Bow is Bent in Study": Dominican Education before 1350* (Toronto, 1998), pp. 180-84.

undermine it. As well as producing more texts and delivering more sermons, friars in larger cities tended to play a greater role in provincial matters, leaving a richer paper trail for historians to follow. The thought and activity of large, well-resourced communities of highly trained religious, with a brief to concern themselves with the practical implications of theology and to communicate their thought to others, had a significant effect on local culture and society. This effect was visible to observers, who left useful descriptions of mendicant activity. Having various sources at our disposal makes it easier to say more, but involves the risks of overstatement and assuming that what stood for one convent necessarily applied to others.

There are, in a very general sense, at least three ways of penetrating the fog which hangs over the early development of the convent at S. Caterina. All have their own strengths and shortcomings; but, with careful handling, they permit general conclusions about the outlines of a community of preachers and its setting. First, there are the documents and legislation which survive in the convent itself and in the acts of the order's general and provincial chapters. Although often little more than fragments, they point to the presence of a significant community at S. Caterina. The next source of evidence, the Pisan chronicle, is already familiar. It has been described by Carlo Delcorno as 'one of the most important sources for the religious and cultural history of Pisa and Tuscany in the thirteenth and in the fourteenth century.'[32] The third way of knowing is more variegated and dispersed. Although arguably richer, it is much harder to fix securely to the facts and material that interests us here: it involves looking at evidence from the city where the brethren preached and where, for the most part, they were recruited. The following section of this chapter is thus an attempt to address the characteristics of these different sources and to understand something of the environment in which the friars at S. Caterina and the Roman Province could have thought about emotion, as well as the intellectual methods they used to do so.

One of the order's strengths was the stability of its legislation and the principles and convictions it served.[33] The earliest chapters of 1216 and 1220 introduced into the order's way of life a distinction between preaching (*praedicatio*), the truthful proclamation of the word, and study (*studium*), which might either be read narrowly as a form of academic

[32] C. Delcorno, *Giordano da Pisa e l'antica predicazione volgare* (Florence, 1975), p. 3.

[33] G. Melville, 'System Rationality and the Dominican Success in the Middle Ages', in *Franciscan Organisation in the Mendicant Context: Formal and Informal Structures of the Friars' Lives and Ministry in the Middle Ages* , ed. M. Robson and J. Röhrkasten (Berlin, 2000), pp. 377-88.

training or more broadly as a consistent concern for truth. The order's earliest legislation was introduced by Dominic and his companions in Toulouse in 1216 in the church of St-Romain, where the preachers took several decisions which came to define their way of life and obligations.[34]

In line with Innocent III's instructions that they adopt a pre-existing rule, the community settled on the Rule of St. Augustine, which was already important to Dominic and which offered, as later preachers observed, a level of flexibility that allowed the order to pursue its aims more effectively.[35] As a supplement to the rule, they also adopted a variety of customs of religious observance, which drew heavily on those of the Premonstratensians. In places the preachers departed from this earlier model to tailor a body of regulations which better served their collective values. On the one hand, they omitted large parts of the Premonstratensian text concerning smaller details of the religious life. On the other, they added a number of measures to do with dispensations and study.[36] Thus, for example, the mistreatment and neglect of books, poor conduct in lectures and the reading of proscribed texts were all categorised as minor faults,[37] while the negligence of masters, students and scribes in the performance of their academic obligations was more serious.[38] Together such measures entailed a moralisation of study.

These early customs survive in the text of the order's primitive Constitutions. When seen on the page, it is clear why historians generally interpret the 'Customs of 1216' as a

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[34] Mulchahey, *Dominican Education before 1350*, pp. 11-18; S. Tugwell, 'The Evolution of Dominican Structures of Government III: The Early Development of the Second Distinction of the Constitutions', *AFP* 71 (2001), pp. 9-12.

[35] The circumstances are described by Jordan of Saxony. See Jordan of Saxony, *Libellus de principiis ordinis Praedicatorum*, ed. H.-C. Scheeben, in *Monumenta historica sancti patris nostri Dominici*, fasc. 2, MOPH 16 (Rome, 1935), n. 42, p. 46: Itaque celebrato concilio reverentes, verbo domini pape fratribus publicato, mox beati Augustini, predicatoris egregii, ipsi futuri predicatores regulam elegerunt, quasdam sibi super hec in victu et ieiuniis, in lectis et laneis arctiores consuetudines assumentes. Proposuerunt etiam et instituerunt possessiones non habere, ne predicationis impediretur officium sollicitudine terrenorum, sed tantum reditus eis adhuc habere complacuit. For a later defence of the Augustinian Rule, see Humbert of Romans, *Expositio regulae b. Augustini secundum b. Humbertum*, in *Opera de vita regulari*, ed. J. J. Berthier, I (Turin, 1956), pp. 49-51; discussed in Mulchahey, *Dominican Education before 1350*, pp. 14-15.

[36] For a useful comparison and translation, see S. Tugwell, *Early Dominicans: Selected Writings*, pp. 455-65.

[37] *Constitutiones antiquae ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum*, in A. H. Thomas, *De oudste Constituties van de Dominicanen. Voorgeschiedenis, Tekst,Bronnen, Ontstaan en Ontwikkeling (1215-1237)*, Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique 42 (Louvain, 1965), p. 332.

[38] Ibid., p. 333.

blueprint for order's later development.[39] The synopsis drawn up in Toulouse accounts for about two thirds of the prologue to the Constitutions; it suggests the outlines of a deliberate legislative programme. To begin with it sketched the contents of the first distinction, which concerns the friars' conduct in the convent. Then we find a thumb-nail picture of a second distinction on preaching and study.[40] Large parts of the first distinction date to the 1216 chapter at St-Romain, although they were later subject to a long process of addition and revision. The practical effect of this is that it is very difficult to know precisely when certain measures were introduced; for the friars' purposes they all belonged to the same evolving body of legislation. It is important to note, however, that when the brethren gathered together in Toulouse in 1216 they could not have foreseen the scale of the dispersal that followed. The process saw the order spread far beyond the dioceses most heavily involved in the Church's struggle against heresy. In the order's subsequent legislation, we can detect certain administrative problems this presented as original ideals were balanced with developing circumstances and particular requirements.

Four years later, when the Order of Preachers held its first chapter in Bologna in 1220, large parts of the agenda had in effect already been drawn up. Over the next decade and a half the brethren made various additions, forming a systematic, concentrated nucleus of measures which carried a direct relevance for the thought and activity of the brethren at S. Caterina and elsewhere. This legislative programme was ongoing before and after the order's arrival in Pisa. Thanks to a series of deft and probing studies by Simon Tugwell we now have a much clearer picture of when and where different measures were introduced.[41] In the next chapter, for example, we will see that how we read certain measures concerning the systematization of theological training and teaching methods can make a substantial difference to our picture of the order's development and evolving commitment to study.

Historians interpret the significance of this process differently. For Herbert Grundmann, it involved the routinization of widespread religious impulses into firm

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[39] S. Tugwell, 'The Evolution of Dominican Structures of Government II', pp. 9-12.

[40] *Constitutiones antiquae*, Prologus, pp. 311-12.

[41] S. Tugwell, 'The Evolution of Dominican Structures of Government I: The First and Last Abbot', *AFP* 69 (1999), pp. 5-60; '~II: The First Dominican Provinces', *AFP* 70 (2000), pp. 5-109; '~III: The Early Development of the Second Distinction of the Constitutions', *AFP* 71 (2001), pp. 5-183; '~IV: Election, Confirmation and "Absolution" of Superiors', *AFP* 72 (2002), pp. 26-159.

legislative procedures and institutional restrictions.[42]   Others, such as Kaspar Elm, observe the basic difference between the early legislation of the Order of Preachers and the Friars Minor. As a layman, Francis desired a new form of mendicant religion. By contrast, Dominic, as a canon regular, sought an alternative, more flexible form of religious life, which would enable him and his companions to devote themselves entirely to a life of preaching and study.[43] By the time the preachers arrived at S. Caterina, there was already a significant community of Friars Minor in Pisa. It is useful to consider the significance of this difference to outsiders.

There is another kind of legislation which we ought to address. The acts of the order's regular general and provincial chapters constituted a more flexible body of legislation. If the Constitutions and rule took care of the fundamental principles, the acts of the different levels of Dominican government reflect the order's interest in details and matters of routine. Taken together, the rule, Constitutions and acts provided a guide against which the brethren at S. Caterina could check their daily activity. For our period, the acts of the order's general chapter survive in their entirety.[44] Increasingly detailed as the order grew in size and influence, they show how the friars-preacher achieved a striking degree of institutional coordination. In general, they provide a rich source of evidence. They form the spine of Michèle Mulchahey's comprehensive reconstruction of the Dominican system of education in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and they are especially useful when trying to describe certain changes in the order's intellectual priorities. It will become clear that they enable valuable insight into progressive developments in the network of Dominican schools and study-houses, which filtered through to the communities of the Roman Province, influencing the daily academic exercises and, perhaps, the range of ideas available to both students and teachers.

The significance of the acts of the Roman provincial chapters is more complicated. There are several reasons for this, both textual and methodological. Twenty years after the first chapter in Bologna, the friars-preacher became more concerned about policy-making and record-keeping. An act from the general chapter of 1243 shows the overlap

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[42] H. Grundmann, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages*, trans. S. Rowan (Notre Dame, 1995).

[43] K. Elm, 'Franziskus und Dominikus: Wirkungen und Antriebskräfte zweier Ordensstifter', Saeculum, 23 (1972), pp. 127-147; cited in John Van Engen, 'From Canons to Preachers: A Revolution in Medieval Governance', *Domenico di Caleruega e la nascita dell'Ordine dei Frati Predicatori*, pp. 266-267.

[44] *Acta capitulorum generalium ordinis Praedicatorum*, Vol. I: *ab anno 1220 usque as annum 1303*, ed. B. M. Reichert, MOPH 3 (Rome-Stuttgart, 1898).

between the different bodies of legislation, describing how convents were instructed to insert an item at a given point in the Constitutions.[45] Such an instruction clearly made several assumptions about (i) the use of the Constitutions in convents throughout the order, and (ii) the level of administrative and codicological skill expected of individual communities. Similar measures were introduced at the general chapter in Cologne in 1245, where we are given a clearer insight into the textual practices that maintaining a working body of legislation entailed. Thus all convents had to keep a volume (*quaternus*) in which every year they would record the acts of the provincial and general chapters. It was then stipulated that these should be read aloud four times a year to impress their significance on the minds of the brethren. Concerned that some convents might make unauthorised changes to the text, the diffinitors made it clear that a ruling should only be deleted if it had been revoked.[46]

It is interesting that the earliest surviving acts from the Roman provincial chapter date to this period. That they happened to coincide with Humbert of Romans's spell as provincial prior (1240-1244) is also noteworthy. On the question of the order's legislation, Humbert took a different view to his old teacher from Paris, Hugh of St. Cher. Hugh was the loudest advocate for a redrafting of the order's ever-changing body of legislation into a single, stable rule designed specifically to reflect the order's priorities and way of life.[47] The idea never got off the ground; but it may still help to explain an increasing interest in such matters around this time. Whatever the reasons, the result is that, from 1243 onwards, we possess a good record of the provincial acts of the Roman Province.[48]

As with the acts of the general chapter, they become increasingly detailed. For instance, the earliest acts contain only a single reference to study relating to restrictions on reading.[49] By the 1260s the provincial acts were, among other things, used to record a

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[45] *Acta I* (Paris, 1243), ed. Reichert, p. 25: 'Et ponatur in constitucionibus post illud verbum. liberam habeant potestatem.' Cited in J. Van Engen, 'From Canons to Preachers', p. 269.

[46] *Acta I* (Cologne, 1245), p. 32: Mandamus quod in quolibet conventu sit unus quaternus in quo scribantur singulis annis acta capituli generalis et provincialis et quater in anno legantur nec deleantur nisi fuerint revocata.

[47] Humbert of Romans, *Legendae Sancti Dominici*, ed. S. Tugwell, MOPH 30 (Rome, 2008), pp. 287-90; also, Van Engen, 'From Canons to Preachers', p. 270.

[48] *Acta capitulorum provincialium provinciae Romanae (1243-1344)*, ed. T. Kaeppeli and A. Dondaine, with an introduction by I. Taurisano, MOPH 20 (Rome, 1941).

[49] *Acta provinciae Romanae* (Rome, 1243), p. 1; cf. *Acta I* (Paris, 1243), p. 26: 'Fratres non studeant in libris philosophicis nisi secundum quod scriptum est in constitucionibus

wide range of assignments and admonitions concerning the organisation and methods of study. Many refer directly to the community in Pisa. Others enable us to trace the local careers of friars who either taught at or belonged to the convent of S. Caterina. Proof of the value attached to these acts comes in the shape of the prologue to the Pisan chronicle. To demonstrate the dignity of their foundation, the fourteenth-century friars selected a handful of early acts which they felt illustrated the convent's pre-eminence in primary aspects of Dominican life.[50]

This brings us to the second and arguably most valuable card in our hand. Carlo Delcorno's enthusiastic endorsement of the *Cronica antiqua conventus Sanctae Catharinae* reflects the detailed biographical information it contains about Giordano da Pisa, a tireless preacher whose sermons, which survive in large numbers, throw light on the social world of Trecento Florence.[51] An entry in the chronicle made after Giordano's death provides evidence for his life and family.[52] It is one of hundreds of similar entries. In each we find descriptions of the character and life of deceased members of the community. They preserved a valuable record of past achievements and were designed to provide examples for the brethren. For our purposes, the chronicle offers a view of the activity and priorities of the first generation at S. Caterina seen through Dominican eyes. It also provides important evidence which is not available in either general or provincial legislation. More widely, as an act of communal recollection, the chronicle bears witness to the values of its fourteenth-century authors; by commemorating exemplary friars, they sought to maintain the religious goals towards which the community imagined itself as moving.

The chronicle survives in a single manuscript, probably written between 1390 and 1406, and still kept in Pisa. The text is a redaction and its author, Domenico da Peccioli,

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nec etiam scripta curiosa faciant.' *Constitutiones antiquae*, I. 28, p. 361; see Mulchahey, *Dominican Education before 1350*, pp. 54-60.

[50] *Cronica*, ed. Panella, Prologus, 2[r].

[51] Giordano da Pisa, *Quaresimale fiorentino 1305-1306* , ed. C. Delcorno (Florence, 1974); also, *Prediche sul secondo capitolo del Genesi*, ed. S. Grattarola, MOPH 28 (Rome, 1999). Earlier editions include: Giordano da Pisa, *Prediche del beato F. Giordano da Rivalto dell'Ordine de' Predicatori*, ed. D. M. Manni (Florence, 1739); *Prediche sulla Genesi recitate in Firenze nel M. CCC. IV. Del Beato F. Giordano da Rivalto dell Ordine dei Predicatori*, ed. D. Moreni (Florence, 1830); *Prediche inedite del B. Giordano da Rivalto dell'Ordine de' Predicatori recitate in Firenze dal 1302 al 1305*, ed. E. Narducci (Bologna, 1860). On Giordano and his preaching, see C. Delcorno, *Giordano da Pisa e l'antica predicazione volgare* (Florence, 1974).

[52] *Cronica*, ed. Panella, § 107.

who pursued a kaleidoscopically successful career within the order, was continuing the work of earlier contributors.[53] We are told that Bartolomeo da San Concordio (d. 1347) was the first from S. Caterina to collect information on the early history of the convent and its members. It was one of a number of similar chronicles produced by the larger convents in the Roman Province during the fourteenth century.[54] Of all the Dominican chronicles from Tuscany and Umbria, says Emilia Panella, the chronicle of S. Caterina is 'the least mindful of the Florentine prototype' and 'the most marked by editorial individuality'.[55] The chroniclers' motives were religious, but, as Panella and others have shown, the chronicle consistently turns up facts of more than religious interest. Much of its detail is three-dimensional. It can be seen from different angles, particularly when placed alongside information from other sources. Such a process involves moving from the relative simplicity of the chronicle's potted biographies to a mass of concrete information; instead of the careful address to conventual memory, we keep returning to an implied question, partly overshadowed by the chroniclers' interest: what difference did Pisa and Pisans make?

After Bartolomeo, the chronicle was continued by Ugolino di ser Nuovo dei Cavalosari da Pisa.[56] It was this work that Domenico da Peccioli built on. Simone di Filippo da Cascina was the next on this conveyor-belt of high-achievers. A master of theology at S. Maria Novella and theologian at the Council of Pisa in 1409, he continued the chronicle in his own hand until 1411.[57] Earlier we saw how the chronicle contains unique evidence concerning the initiation of the community at S. Caterina. In many cases, we know not only about the friars, but also about their families and their interaction with

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[53] On Domenico (d. 1407/8), *SOPMA*, I, pp. 333-34; IV, p. 72. Also L. Pellegrini, *I manoscritti dei predicatori: i domenicani dell'Italia mediana e i codici della loro predicazione (secc. XIII – XV)* (Rome, 1999), pp. 124, 130-31.

[54] '*Necrologio' di S.Maria Novella*, ed. S. Orlandi (Florence, 1955); *La cronaca di S. Domenico di Perugia*, ed. A. Maiarelli (Spoleto, 1995); *Chronique du couvent des Prêcheurs d'Orviéto* (Rome, 1907); A. F. Verde and D. Corsi, 'La "cronaca" del convento domenicano di S. Romano di Lucca', *Memorie Domenicane*, New Series 21 (Pistoia, 1990); E. Panella, 'Cronaca antica di Santa Maria in Gradi di Viterbo: Perduta o mai esistita?', *AFP* 65 (1995), pp. 185-233. On the Roman provincial chronicle in the chronicle entry for Sinibaldus de Alma, see *Cronica*, ed. Panella, § 39: 'Quod in cronica provincialium Romane provincie, que inter secreta scripta provincie reservatur, sic me legisse recordor….' Also, Pellegrini, *I manoscritti dei predicatori*, pp. 113-45. For further discussion of Bartolomeo da San Concordio, see Chapter 7.

[55] E. Panella, 'Cronica di Santa Caterina in Pisa. Copisti, autori, modelli', *Memorie domenicane* 27 (1996), p. 211.

[56] On Ugolino, *SOPMA*, IV, p. 126.

[57] On Simone, *SOPMA*, III, p. 344; IV, p. 277.

the community at S. Caterina. The references to important local benefactors and the family background of some friars make it possible to analyse the relationships between the preachers and their audience. In the next chapter we will see how the chronicle also enables us to develop a fuller understanding of the friars' reading habits.

However, if concerned with the description and explanation of given aspects and consequences of Dominican thoughts about emotion, we do not need to depend only on the friars' own selection and interpretation of the facts. Outside voices offer more than just local colour. Located in the administrative records of earlier institutions and in the sermon collection of the archbishop of Pisa, Federico Visconti, we find important details which we could otherwise have missed. In both cases, the course of inquiry is made easier by impressive pieces of historical scholarship. For example, Mauro Ronzani's studies of the situation in thirteenth-century Pisa demonstrate his mastery of the Pisan archives. As well as describing the local organisation of the *cura animarum* and the relationship between mendicants and lay confraternities, he analyses specific conflicts which arose between the Order of Preachers and local ecclesiastical institutions.[58] The issue of burial rights, for example, seems to have been particularly thorny.[59] But in this and other matters, the sermon collection of Federico Visconti illuminates our view of the historical facts. If the dispute over burial rights gives the impression of an uneasy relationship between the friars-preacher and local ecclesiastical institutions, Federico's sermons show the importance of a nuanced analysis.[60]

Federico served as archbishop of Pisa between 1253 and 1277. His sermons survive in a single manuscript now in Florence's Laurentian library, offering invaluable insight into the daily conduct of episcopal business in one of Europe's largest dioceses.[61] They are thick with details about social and intellectual life in Pisa. Significantly, we see the different ways in which Federico frequently interacted with the mendicant orders in the diocese. He advocated strongly, so it seems, the merits of the community of S. Caterina

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[58] M. Ronzani, 'Gli Ordini Mendicanti e le istituzioni ecclesiastiche preesistenti a Pisa nel Duecento', in *Les Ordres Mendiants et la ville en Italie centrale (v. 1220 – v. 1350)*, Mélanges de l'école de Française de Rome 89 (1977), pp. 667-77; and in the same volume, 'Penitenti e ordini mendicanti a Pisa sino all'inizio del Trecento', pp. 733-47.

[59] G. Geltner, *The Making of Medieval Antifraternalism: Polemic, Violence, Deviance and Remembrance* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 61-62; also, J. Cannon, *Religious Poverty, Visual Riches*, pp. 227-50.

[60] See N. Bériou, 'Introduction historique', in Federico Visconti, *Les sermons et la visite pastorale de Federico Visconti, archevêque de Pise (1253-1277)*, ed. N. Bériou and I. le Masne de Chermont (Rome, 2001), pp. 29-74.

[61] On the sermon collection, see ibid., pp. 75-91.

and its influence. Even more interesting from our point of view is the fact that much of the theology that he propounded to Pisan audiences originated at the Order of Preachers' Parisian study-house.[62] The sermons are commonly integrated into studies of Pisa's political and social history in the thirteenth century.[63] More recently, they have attracted wider attention. The completion of twelve-hundred-page critical edition of the collection by Nicole Bériou and Isabelle le Masne de Chermont, a meticulous and wonderful example of intellectual collaboration, has equipped historians of all kinds with an invaluable research tool with which it is possible address a wide range of different problems. In Chapter 3 I shall try to show how Federico found ways to introduce gobbets from recent academic thought about virtue and the passions to reinforce the message of sermons delivered to lay and clerical audiences in Pisa.

Every one of the texts mentioned is a useful source for understanding the friars' means of thought and expression, and contain good examples of the thought I am attempting to describe. It is important to stress, however, that these three ways of penetrating the life and development of the community of friars-preacher in Pisa could be increased.

1.3 Conditions

What, then, it may be asked, were the constitutive characteristics of the community of preachers in Pisa? The facts about the convent and its local significance are too extensive to distil into a handful of pages, but it will still be useful to summarise those which appear the most important impressions in the form of four basic propositions:

  i.   That the early brethren at S. Caterina and elsewhere were steeped in rich and specific cultural and social context. At one level, this might appear counter-intuitive. Their collective commitment to individual poverty and preaching might lead us to suppose a detachment from the politics and vicissitudes of urban life; it is assumed friars-preacher wanted to transform the world in which they found themselves to make it

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[62] N. Bériou, 'Federico Visconti archevêque de Pise, disciple de Hugues de Saint-Cher', *Hugues de Saint-Cher (†1263), Bibliste et théologien*, ed. L.-J. Bataillon, G. Dahan, and P.-M. Gy (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 253-69; also, A. Murray, 'Archbishop and Mendicants in Thirteenth-Century Pisa', in *Stellung und Wirksamkeit der Bettelorden in der Städtischen Gesellschaft*, ed. K. Elm (Berlin, 1975), pp. 19-75.

[63] For example, D. Herlihy, *Pisa in the Early Renaissance. A Study of Urban Growth* (New York-London, 1958).

conform to their own spiritual convictions. There is a valid hypothesis that the values of Dominican communities were gradually diluted by the interests of powerful local families. It has been elegantly expressed by Alexander Murray in a recent book review:

> In 1326 the authorities of the Dominicans' *provincia romana* made it policy for each convent to recruit only from its own city. Thus an order which had begun life as an association of the spiritual commandos in the service of a universal papacy was becoming more localized. By the middle of the fourteenth century, the Dominican convent in a typical Tuscan city had begun to resemble the devout wing of the local ruling class.[64]

The argument is persuasive, but carries with it a danger of obscuring certain points. In particular, it is important to examine the degree to which the order's values and outlook were aligned to those of an intellectual and cultural élite from the beginning. A reader of Jordan of Saxony's letters and *Libellus*, for example, may be struck by the way in which the order's second master-general proudly described the wealth and education of many of the earliest recruits.[65] For Grado Giovanni Merlo, such remarks are indicative of a 'marked cultural and social elitism' among the first generation of Dominicans.[66]

Evidence from Pisa can be invoked in support of this view. In the chronicle we have a list of families said to be among the first patrons of the friars' church.[67] They constituted an essentially noteworthy public. The same names feature prominently among the one thousand Pisans who swore to peace with Genoa in 1188.[68] They also correspond closely to a list of nobles exiled from the city in the 1270s at the height of Guelf-Ghibelline tensions.[69] Emilio Cristiani's rich prosopographical study succeeded in uncovering the reach and influence of these families in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries

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[64] A. Murray, 'Objects of Devotion', review of *Religious Poverty, Visual Riches: Art in the Dominican Churches of Central Italy in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* by Joanna Cannon, *TLS*, July 4, 2014, p. 9.

[65] Jordan of Saxony, *Libellus de principiis ordinis Praedicatorum*, ed. H.-C. Scheeben, MOPH 16 (Rome, 1935); idem, *Beati Iordani de Saxonia Epistulae*, ed. A. Walz, MOPH 23 (1951).

[66] G. Merlo, 'Gli inizi dell'ordine dei frati predicatori: Spunti per un riconsiderazione, *Rivista di storia e Letteratura Religiosa*, 31 (1995), pp. 415-42, especially pp. 435-45.

[67] See above, n. 30.

[68] F. Dal Borgo, *Raccolta di scelti diploma pisani* (Pisa, 1765), pp. 114-26.

[69] *Historie pisanae fragmenta auctore Guido de Corvaria*, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, 24 (Milan, 1738), 674.

as part of a larger thesis about the progressive transformation of the nobility and *popolo* into a single urban patriciate. More recent work has tried to show their involvement in several distinct phases of political upheaval in Pisa during the second half of the thirteenth century.[70]

Mainly through recruitment and patronage, the activity of the early community at S. Caterina was influenced by pervasive social and cultural patterns. The influence of families such as the Gualandi, Lanfranchi and Caprona families was one instance, but there were others. In several important articles, Alexander Murray has elsewhere addressed the mendicants' understanding of ordinary people and their spirituality.[71] The observation of Humbert of Romans, one-time provincial of the Roman Province, that 'the poor rarely go to church, and rarely to sermons; so that they know little of what pertains to their salvation' offers one starting point.[72] Commenting on the circumstances created by urban growth, Murray describes how 'the bulk of the immigrants who swelled thirteenth-century towns lived outside the twelfth-century wall, in what would now be called the housing estates.'[73] Both points should be in our mind when considering about the friars' thought and the extent of their influence; but both must be treated carefully.

For a helpful image, we can turn to a sermon delivered by Federico Visconti outside the church of S. Francesco on the edge of Pisa's Mezzo district, where he assumed his average listener was a trader or a merchant ('negociator sive mercator').[74] The small church of S. Caterina was to the north, further from the main market in the Foriporta, and further from the Chinzica, the city's business quarter on the Arno's south bank. There is evidence that, in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century, Pisa witnessed

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[70] A. Poloni, *Transformazioni della società e mutamenti delle forme politiche in un comune italiano: Il popolo a Pisa (1220-1330)* (Pisa, 2004).

[71] A. Murray, 'Piety and Impiety in Thirteenth-Century Italy', *Popular Belief and Practice*, ed. C. J. Cumming and D. Baker, Studies in Church History, 8 (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 83-106; also, 'Religion among the Poor in Thirteenth-Century France: The Testimony of Humbert de Romans', *Traditio* 30 (1974), pp. 285-324. For a map of mendicant settlements in Pisa, see A. Murray, 'Archbishop and Mendicants', p. 40; based on E. Tolaini, *Forma Pisarum. Storia urbanistica della città di Pisa. Problemi e ricerche*, 2nd edition (Pisa, 1979); also, Bériou, 'Introduction historique', in Federico Visconti, *Les sermons*, p. 126; for comparison with other Italian cities, see Murray, 'Piety and Impiety', p. 85 (note: in 'Piety and Impiety', S. Caterina is mislocated).

[72] Cited in Murray, 'Piety and Impiety', p. 92; on Humbert's career in the Roman Province, see Tugwell, 'Election, Confirmation and "Absolution" of Superiors', pp. 116-17.

[73] Murray, 'Piety and Impiety', p. 86.

[74] Federico Visconti, *Les sermons*, 56, § 13, p. 772.

unprecedented population growth and demographic change. It was probably one of the ten largest cities on the Italian peninsula. This commercial expansion was built on overseas trade and the shrewd exploitation of its hinterland; something suggested by Federico's reference to merchants and traders.[75] Many who migrated to Pisa in search of work and opportunity may well have settled in such areas. The presence of a large and prosperous mendicant community must have conditioned the neighbourhood's development in a fundamental way.[76] For David Herlihy, this period was a 'golden age' in Pisa's history. He summarised a change, which embraced architectural and artistic initiatives as well as improvements in diet and methods of construction in vivid terms: 'This is the age of brick, now widely applied in construction, of earthenware, of the peach and orange, of the use of the vernacular in literature and spaghetti in the diet, in short, of a changing and advancing standard of living that argues an increase in population.'[77] For many in Pisa, it must also have seemed like the age of mendicants and the preacher.

ii. That the brethren at S. Caterina were, by almost any standards, extraordinarily active. The chronicle shows how they understood (or were encouraged to understand) this intensity of apostolic activity. It was something that the contributors to the chronicle both observed and interpreted in their recollections of the earliest recruits. Thus Enrico de Cornaçano, an early companion of Uguccio Sardo, won many converts to the order through his preaching.[78] Leo di San Sisto, apparently one of the first theology lecturers at S. Caterina, contributed to the order's mission through sedulous study and thought.[79] We also hear about the daily toil and nocturnal prayer of Ugolino di Silva, whose preaching led droves of ordinary Pisans to cries of penitence.[80] The average number of sermons delivered in a Dominican church in a single liturgical year is estimated to have been

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[75] D. Herlihy, *Pisa in the Early Renaissance. A Study of Urban Growth* (New York-London, 1958); for a useful bibliography of relevant secondary work, see *Les sermons*, ed. Bériou et al., pp. 271-77.

[76] E. Guidoni, 'Città e ordini mendicanti: Il ruolo dei conventi nella crescita e nella progettazione urbana XIII e XIV secolo', *Quaderni medievali* 4 (1977), pp. 69-106.

[77] Herlihy, *Pisa in the Early Renaissance*, p.39.

[78] *Cronica*, ed. Panella, § 2.

[79] Ibid., § 5.

[80] Ibid., § 3 : 'Frater Ugolinus de Silvalonga. Iste surexit gratia verbi mirabiliter a Deo dotatus ut totam civitatem in eius auditum converteret, cuius exemplis et sermonibus catervatim populi ad lamenta penitentie sunt conversi.' There is a reference to Ugolino in the acts of the provincial chapter. In 1252 he was sent to settle the debts of the convent in Lucca. *Acta provinciae Romanae* (Anagni, 1252), p. 14.

between 240 and 250.[81] In Florence, Giordano da Pisa preached as many as four or five times in a day. That he and his confrères at S. Maria Novella preached without interruption was something Giordano understood and advertised: 'Noi siamo continuamente predicati!'[82] We can understand Giordano's Florentine sermons as one of many important texts produced by friars with links to S. Caterina in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Seen together they provide tangible evidence of the community's productivity. All were, in one way or another, intended to aid the care of souls.

iii.   That when they arrived in Pisa early in the thirteenth century the preachers, whose purposive activity was directed towards an order-wide goal, found a receptive environment which helped them to meet their obligations and satisfy their apostolic desire. As suggested by the patronage of Maria Sarda, their arrival was one of a cluster of changes to Pisa's religious landscape. The Franciscans had arrived ten years earlier.[83] Some of those recruited to the Order of Friars Minor in Pisa had risen quickly to prominence. Agnellus and Albertus Pisanus, for example, were famously instrumental in spreading the order's message into new provinces.[84] A practical consequence of Franciscan activity in Pisa was that the basic ideal of fundamental poverty, made real in the mendicant form of life, was already available and familiar. Moreover, when the first friars-preacher arrived in Pisa, there was already an established pattern of lay religious patronage. For example, we know that the Duodi, Gaetani and Gusmari donated land for the church at the monastery of S. Vito sull'Arno.[85] In exchange, they requested that the monks offered prayers for the families and their ancestors. When a member of the family or *consorteria* died the peal of S. Vito's bells would lament his death 'pro collecta hominum'. In an environment where different groups vied to make their authority visible to others, the audible range of the bells may have described the limits of a geographically

[81] G. G. Meersseman, 'La prédication dominicaine dans les congregations mariales en Italie au XIIIème siècle', *AFP* 18 (1948), p.149.

[82] Giordano da Pisa, *Quaresimale fiorentino 1305-1306*, ed. C. Delcorno (Florence, 1974), p. 72.

[83] M. Ronzani, 'Il francescanesimo a Pisa fino all metà del Trecento', *BSP* 54 (1985), pp. 1-55.

[84] J. H. Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order from Its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 23, 64.

[85] W. Heywood, *A History of Pisa* (Cambridge, 1921), pp. 259-60.

and socially distinct group within the city.[86] In this context, it is potentially significant that those families behind the donation to S. Vito sull'Arno do not appear to have been involved in the later patronage of S. Caterina.

iv.   That, for a preacher who observed, reflected upon and diagnosed the spiritual well-being of others in order to see that they obeyed certain values and rules, Pisa and its inhabitants would have raised typical concerns. The view that the mendicant ideal reflects an upsurge in urban commercial activity is well-rehearsed and sometimes overstated. Nevertheless, the interaction between religion and economics is a longstanding and valid concern of historians interested in understanding different forms of urban piety and spirituality. This interaction is most visible in attempts to address the widespread reemphasis on voluntary poverty and hardening attitudes of mendicants and secular clergy towards avarice.[87] As we have seen, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, facilitated by thriving maritime trade, Pisa and its economy grew considerably. The

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[86] See J. H. Arnold and C. Goodson, 'Resounding Community: The History and Meaning of Medieval Church Bells', *Viator* 43 (2012), pp. 99-130. Also, A. Corbin, *Village Bells: Sound and Meaning in the Nineteenth-Century French Countryside*, transl. M. Thom (Basingstoke, 1998). On the politics of architectural competition in Italian cities, see M. Miller, *The Bishop's Palace: Architecture and Authority in Medieval Italy* (Ithaca-London, 2000). For a view of family loyalty in Italian communes, see D. Herlihy, 'Family Solidarity in Medieval Italian History', in *Economy, Society and Government in Medieval Italy: Essays in Memory of Robert L. Reynolds*, ed. D. Herlihy, R. S. Lopez and V. Slessarev (Kent, 1970), pp. 173-84; reprinted in Herlihy, *The Social History of Italy and Western Europe 700-1500* (London, 1978); also, M. Ronzani, 'Famiglie nobili e famiglie di Popolo nella lotta per l'egemonia sulla Chiesa cittadina a Pisa fra Due e Trecento', in *I ceti dirigenti nella Toscana tardo comunale. Atti del II Convegno di studi sulla storia dei ceti dirigenti in Toscana* (Monte Oriolo, 1983), pp. 117-34.

[87] M.-D. Chenu, 'Monks, Canons, and Laymen in Search of the Apostolic Life', reprinted in *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century: Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West* (Toronto, 1997); B. H. Rosenwein and L. K. Little, 'Social Meaning in Monastic and Mendicant Spiritualities', *Past and Present* 63 (1974), pp. 4-32; L. K. Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, NY, 1978); J. Le Goff, *Your Money or Your Life: Economy and Religion in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1988). For an important response to some of these arguments, see D. d'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons diffused from Paris before 1300* (Oxford, 1985), ch. 4, esp. the conclusion on pp. 207-8. For more recent work in this area, see *Économie et religion: l'expérience des ordres mendiants (XIIIè - XVè siècle)*, ed. N. Bériou (Lyon, 2009); and *Moines et religieux dans la ville, XIIe- XVe siècle*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 44 (Toulouse, 2009). For the effects of economic change on intellectual activity at Paris schools, see J. W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants. The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and his Circle*, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1970). Cf. D. R. Lesnick, *Preaching in Medieval Florence: The Social World of Franciscan and Dominican Spirituality* (London, 1989).

earliest preachers in Pisa would have encountered the city's profit economy and been familiar with its symptoms. The significance of economic pressures on spiritual choices and thought was highlighted by Marie-Dominique Chenu, who supported the potential of a sociological approach to ideas:

> …Christians found themselves having to make various clear-cut religious choices even before they had had a chance to orient themselves intellectually. In using these options they consciously faced up to the perennial problems of nature and grace, of the world and the gospel; and for them this problem was not so much an object of theological debate as it was the shifting, controverted, or bold expression of their encounter with a new society which they were having to penetrate as apostles.[88]

We know that sermons delivered in Pisa addressed questions about wealth and avarice. But we should not assume that this necessarily implies the friars-preacher were automatically hostile to economic developments. The basic impression is one of contrast and interaction between the desired destinations that different groups aspired towards, as well as the paths they took to get there.

This picture – of a new community in a growing city; responsive to and dependent on certain groups; interested in conveying their ideas to anyone who would listen – is our starting point. In the sermons of Federico Visconti, we find described an episode which can help us to form the disparate evidence and interpretations into a single, clear image in our minds. The setting is inside S. Caterina itself, where Federico delivered a vernacular sermon to the laity on 5 August to commemorate the feast of St. Dominic.

We can observe a number of interesting features. It had been over forty years since the Order of Preachers had first arrived in Pisa but, Federico complained, they still carried out their vocation in a small and dilapidated church.[89] Like the order to which it belonged, the convent had grown considerably since its initiation. There were now more than fifty friars at S. Caterina, and there is a suggestion of overcrowding. Federico talked with a deliberate intensity conducive to persuasion. As the friars were honourable men, whose wisdom and learning benefited the city, they ought to have a beautiful and honourable

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[88] M.-D. Chenu, *Nature, Man and Society*, p. 203.
[89] Federico Visconti, *Les sermons*, 44, § 23, p. 681; cited in Murray, 'Archbishop and Mendicants', p. 60.

church. He appealed to his audience to help the brethren, who lived in individual poverty. They required supplies for rebuilding, provisions of food and clothing, and books and treasures to improve their church. The dignity they bestowed on the city and its inhabitants merited recognition. Federico's plea anticipated the later rebuilding of S. Caterina. Thus the convent was the product of a social relationship. On the one hand, there were the friars who delivered sermons for the spiritual benefit of others. On the other hand, there were the people of Pisa who were asked to supply some of the means required for them to do so. Each had the capacity to influence the other in different ways.

The picture fits with what we know about the Pisan community from the chronicle and the acts of the provincial chapter. At Orvieto in 1250 the Roman Province, concerned about the order's reputation and the possibility of scandal, identified Florence, Rome and Pisa as special centres of preaching: friars should only be sent to preach in these cities if they were famous and experienced.[90] A year later at Siena, S. Caterina was, along with other large convents in the province, required to send tunics to the community in Arezzo.[91] As in the provincial *vademecum*, the size of provision required provides a rough measure of the relative importance of different convents. The brethren at Lucca only had to send two tunics; Pisa, Florence and Siena all sent three. On their own, such measures may not seem especially compelling. However, as parts of a jigsaw they add significantly to our knowledge, and testify to the importance of the community of S. Caterina, both for Pisans and the wider Roman Province.

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[90] *Acta provinciae Romanae* (Orvieto, 1250), p. 11: 'Item volumus quod ad predicationes solemnes, sicut Rome, Florentie, Pisis et in aliis locis, nec passim licentientur fratres nisi famosi et probati predicatores, de quorum predicationibus scandalum non timeatur et qui libenter a populo audiantur.' In the chronicle's version, *Cronica*, ed. Panella, Prologus: 'Quod hoc ordine prosequar, Domino concedente. Primo de dignitate conventus pisani antiqua.Primo de predicationibus. In capitulo Urbeveteri 1250: Volumus quod ad predicationes sollempnes, sicut Rome Florentie et Pisis, non mictantur nisi famosi fratres.'

[91] *Cronica*, ed. Panella, Prologus: 'Tertio de provisionibus. In capitulo Sen(is) 1251 quod fratribus aretinis provideat conventus pisanus in 3 tunicis, florentinus in tribus, senensis in 3 et lucanus in 2.' Cf. *Acta provinciae Romanae* (Anagni, 1252), p. 13.

2

THE PRACTICE OF STUDY AT S. CATERINA

'These men are the true soldiers of Christ, who give up the world to study the sacred page with great vigilance, suffering and poverty of body and soul, both south and north of the Alps.'[1] This is a description by Federico Visconti of Pisa's mendicant theologians from a vernacular sermon delivered on 4 October 1257 outside the new church of S. Francesco to mark the feast of St. Francis. Federico commended the learning of Franciscan and Dominican masters of theology in other sermons, but this particular remark tells us something quite specific about Pisa's place in a coordinated system of theological study, which encompassed a wide terrain and linked different cities and provinces. The renunciation of the world for a religious form of life enabled the friars from S. Caterina and S. Francesco to travel north of the Alps to Paris and other important centres of scholastic learning. Throughout his sermons Federico was concerned to draw his audience's attention to the mendicants' role in opening out university learning into the wider world, a process which enabled ordinary people to engage with the currents and interests of academic thinking.

2.1 S. Caterina and the production of texts

Even by the standards of their order, the brethren at S. Caterina were exceptionally productive. To a certain degree the extent and range of their output is surprising. S. Caterina never maintained a general study-house, a lack which prevented it from attracting bright friars from outside the Roman Province.[2] Instead of high-grade academic

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[1] Federico Visconti, *Les sermons*, 56, § 12, p. 771: Hii sunt veri milites Christi, qui ad hoc reliquunt seculum, ad hoc student in sacra Pagina, tam citra montes quam ultra, cum magnis vigiliis et afflictionibus et necessitatibus corporum et animarum.

[2] On study at S. Caterina, see I. Taurisano, 'I Domenicani a Pisa', *Memorie domenicane* 44 (1927), pp. 177-232; G. Fioravanti, 'Il Convento e lo *Studium* domenicano di Santa

thought, the community's reputation appears to have rested on the cultivation of knowledge useful for preaching. The books acquired for its library, which went well beyond the core texts required by an average preacher, were supplemented by the activity of a well-organised *scriptorium*, which was a source of pride for members of the community. Among other things, S. Caterina's literary output is noteworthy for a shift towards vernacularisation; an offshoot of vernacular preaching aimed at an élite of literate laymen.[3] A quick sampling of the friars' literary output, both in Pisa and elsewhere in the Roman Province, will reveal why Federico was such an enthusiastic advocate of the mendicant ideal.

For more or less the first sixty years of the convent's history, there is very little evidence of literary production at S. Caterina. There are no traces of its regular academic exercises or any direct evidence of its preaching. This paucity of literary evidence is stark and presents an obvious problem. One way to redress this situation is through projection; evidence from other places, where circumstances correspond to those the preachers may have found in Pisa, gives some idea of the things Pisan friars *could* have said in their academic exercises and sermons. For example, the *Sermones dominicales* of Iacopo da Varazze, composed in 1255 at the convent of S. Domenico in Genoa, can offer a sense of a thought style and generic characteristics.[4] Similarly, the sermons of Aldobrandino Cavalcanti, one of the most important friars in the Roman Province, show the compatibility of the high-level thought from Paris and regular preaching in Tuscan cities. Aldobrandino held a series of important positions in the province. His fame and the sophistication of his preaching is suggested by the diffusion of his surviving model

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Caterina', in *Pisa crocevia di uomini, lingue e culture: l'età medievale; atti del convegno, Pisa, 25 - 27 ottobre 2007*, ed. L. Battaglia Ricci (Rome, 2009), pp. 81-96; Mulchahey, *Dominican Education before 1350*, pp. 183-84.

[3] On vernacular preaching, see C. Delcorno, *Giordano da Pisa e l'antica predicazione volgare* (Florence, 1975), pp. 37-43.

[4] See A. Murray, 'Piety and Impiety in Thirteenth-Century Italy', in C. J. Cuming and D. Baker (eds.), *Popular Belief and Practice*, Studies in Church History, 8 (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 83-106; S. Bertini Guidetti, *I Sermones di Iacopo da Varazze. Il potere delle immagini nel Duecento*, Millennio Medievale 8 (Florence, 1998); for a modern critical edition of Iacopo's Lenten sermons, see Iacopo da Varazze, *Sermones Quadragesimales*, ed. Giovanni Paolo Maggioni, Edizione Nazionale dei Testi Mediolatini, 13 (Florence, 2005). On Ambrogio Sansedoni, see T. Kaeppeli, 'Le prediche del b. Ambrogio Sansedoni da Siena', *AFP* 37 (1968), pp. 5-12.

sermon collections, some of which were included on the Paris stationers' list of 1286, while others were later misattributed to his famous contemporary, Thomas Aquinas.[5]

We can also speculate about an earlier and fundamentally different type of preaching style. Augustine Thompson's sophisticated analysis of the activity of revivalist preachers during the 'Great Alleluia' of the 1230s describes how members of the new mendicant orders engaged in urban politics and, Thompson suggests, sought to orchestrate emotion through collective ritual and the creation of an 'existential community'.[6] Were the early brethren of S. Caterina exercised by anything comparable to the preaching of John of Vicenza in Bologna? There is little evidence about the convent of S. Caterina during the 'Great Alleluia' and no traceable link from John of Vicenza to similar preachers to Pisa; but this could just be the outcome of our limited knowledge. It seems likely that the community shared John's interest in peace-making and in advocating the importance of compassion and reconciliation to urban audiences; ideas which carried so much force in Bologna and the Veneto. Given the cosmopolitan spread of the community's preaching it would be surprising if similar themes had not been aired at S. Caterina.

The evidence begins to pick up from the last quarter of the thirteenth century. From this point, the list of works produced by the brethren at S. Caterina is relatively long. We have various theological and pastoral works, both in Latin and in the vernacular, many of which circulated widely. Aldobrandino da Toscanella (d. 1314) was one of the forerunners. In 1287 he was made preacher-general. He was not originally from Pisa; but

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[5] On Aldobrandino, see *SOPMA*, I, pp. 34-38; also, Mulchahey, *Dominican Education before 1350*, pp. 434-35. For a useful survey, see L.-J. Bataillon, 'La predicazione dei religiosi mendicanti del secolo XIII nell'Italia centrale', in *Les Ordres Mendiants et la ville en Italie centrale (v. 1220 – v. 1350)*, Mélanges de l'école de Française de Rome, 89 (1977), pp. 691-94; reprinted in *La prédication au XIIIe siècle en France et Italie: études et documents* (Aldershot, 1993); idem, 'Le prédication populaire d'un dominicain italien à la fin du XIIIe siècle (Göttingen Univ. Bibl. Theol. 156A)', *AFP* 65 (1995), pp. 171-83, where Bataillon discusses the sermons of an anonymous friar from Lombardy. On the influence an earlier Parisian master of theology, L.-J. Bataillon, 'L'influence d'Hugues de Saint-Cher', in *Hugues de Saint-Cher (†1263), Bibliste et théologien* (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 497-502; also, Bartolomeo da Breganze, *I "Sermones de beata Virgine"*, ed. L. Gaffuri (Padua, 1993). For an important study, see L. Pellegrini, *I manoscritti dei predicatori: i domenicani dell'Italia mediana e i codici della loro predicazione (secc. XIII - XV)* (Rome, 1999).

[6] A. Thompson, *Revival Preachers and Politics in Thirteenth-Century Italy: The Great Devotion of 1233* (Oxford, 1992). For the usefulness of Victor Turner's analysis of ritual and symbolic action, see p. 74 and 155, n. 70; for a recent analysis of revival preaching, see D. L. d'Avray, *Medieval Religious Rationalities: A Weberian Analysis* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 103-4.

he was described in the provincial acts as 'lector Pisanus'.[7] The main evidence of his activity is found in his extant sermon collections. These include the *Scala fidei*, a group of Lenten sermons preached in 1280, and the *Collationes de peccatis*, which he later revised into a longer treatise. They show that he cited heavily from Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas. The frequent use of Thomas's works is not surprising. Aldobrandino's work had its foundation in his training in the Roman Province. We know he could have consulted Thomas's works in the library at S. Caterina. Further, he could have read William of Peter Godin's *In Sententiis Petri Lombardi*, based on lectures delivered at Paris in the 1290s and kept in the conventual library, where it was given the rubric 'Lectura Thomasina'.[8] And, like Remigio de' Girolami at S. Maria Novella, Aldobrandino and his confrères had access to copies of works by the Parisian master of theology Bernard of La Treille, whom Bernard Gui described as 'strongly imbued with the nectar of brother Thomas's teaching'.[9]

Judging by the manuscript tradition, Aldobrandino's sermons were in demand. Kaeppeli lists over a hundred copies of his *Sermones quadragesimales* alone.[10] Letizia Pellegrini has recently suggested that Aldobrandino's sermon collections were a bridge between the convent's *studium* and preaching.[11] Aldobrandino may have been responding specifically to the needs of conventual lecturers.[12] Carlo Delcorno suggests they might be seen as academic treatises in sermon form, offering an insight into the daily exercises

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[7] *Acta provinciae Romanae* (Rome, 1287), p. 80.

[8] See Pelster, 'Die Bibliothek von S. Caterina zu Pisa: eine Büchersammlung aus den Zeiten des heiligen Thomas von Aquin', in *Xenia Thomistica* 3 (Rome, 1925), p. 18 (printed separately with pagination 1-30, which I cite here).

[9] Étienne de Salagnac and Bernard Gui, *De quatuor in quibus Deus Praedicatorum ordinem insignivit*, ed. T. Kaeppeli, MOPH 22 (Rome, 1949), p. 35: 'Fr. Bernardus de Trilia, natione Provincialis, de Nemauso, magister in theologia, imbutus potissime nectare doctrine fratris Thome'. See Pelster, 'Die Bibliothek von S. Caterina zu Pisa', p. 18. On Remigio de' Girolami's copy of Bernard of La Treille's *quodlibeta*, see R. Friedman, 'Dominican Quodlibetal Literature, ca. 1260-1330', in *Theological Quodlibeta in the Middle Ages*, vol. 2: *The Fourteenth* Century, ed. Christopher David Schabel (Leiden, 2007), pp. 409-411.

[10] T. Kaeppeli, 'La tradizione manoscritta delle opera di Aldobrandino da Toscanella', *AFP* 8 (1938), pp. 163-92; also, Mulchahey, *Dominican Education before 1350*, p. 446. For a study of one of Aldobrandino's sermons from the Bibliothèque Municipale at Troyes, see A. Pecorini Cignoni, 'Il sermone Francisci confessoris di Aldobrandino da Toscanella', *Studi Francescani* 97 (2001), pp. 285-299; accessed online, http://eprints.adm.unipi.it/id/eprint/474.

[11] Pellegrini, *I manoscritti dei predicatori,* pp. 206-12.

[12] C. Delcorno, *La predicazione nell'età comunale* (Florence, 1974), p. 29.

conducted in the classrooms of the Roman Province. The sophistication of his sermons earned Aldobrandino a reputation as a 'vir intelligens'; another factor which may also help to explain their wide diffusion.[13]

Giordano da Pisa (d. 1311), whose sermons were discussed briefly in the last chapter, shared Aldobrandino's loyalty to the teaching of Thomas Aquinas. The evidence for Giordano's life is varied and significant. As well as the biography found in the Pisan chronicle, we can catch glimpses of his career through his sermons.[14] It followed a familiar pattern. He entered the Order of Preachers at Pisa, and would have pursued the convent's curriculum of studies. At some point he was chosen to continue his studies at Bologna and Paris.[15] His subsequent teaching career in the Roman Province took him to Siena, Viterbo and Perugia before he arrived at S. Maria Novella. His sermons show the wide-ranging academic interest facilitated by a Parisian education and access to good libraries. In 1309 he returned to S. Caterina to lecture on the bible.[16] Two years later the master-general of the order, Amerigo di Piacenza, assigned Giordano to read the *Sentences* at St-Jacques. He died on the way to Paris. His Parisian *Sentences* commentary, bible commentaries and disputed questions, the kind of texts associated with the Parisian regency, might be considered masterworks *manqués*.

There were other friars from S. Caterina who studied at Paris and taught at S. Maria Novella. When Giordano was reading the *Sentences* in Florence and serving as preacher-general in the 1290s, Bartolomeo da San Concordio was just starting his teaching career. He produced a diverse series of texts, some of them extraordinarily popular. As well as gathering material for the convent's chronicle, he compiled the *Summa de casibus conscientiae*, an alphabetically arranged confessor's manual, which developed earlier works by Raymond of Peñafort and John of Freiburg.[17] He also produced less specialist

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[13] Cited in Mulchahey, *Dominican Education before 1350*, pp. 438-39.

[14] C. Delcorno, *Giordano da Pisa e l'antica predicazione volgare* (Florence, 1975), pp. 3-28.

[15] *Cronica*, ed. Panella, § 107: 'Literis quas liberales vocant, funditus aprehensis et doctis, studiis Bononie et parisino discursis, librum Sententiarum theologicum legit eleganter Florentie in studio generali; deinde ibidem tribus annis lector principalis existens ut stella candida corruscavit.'

[16] *Acta provinciae Romanae* (Florence, 1309), p. 174: 'Item assignamus [studium] theologie in conv. Pisano ubi leget biblice fr. Iordanus'.

[17] Bartolomeo's *Summa* enjoyed wide popularity. It was on the Paris stationers' list of 1304 and was copied into vademecum books which preachers owned and carried with them for reference. For an example, see Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS 267, ff. 325. The manuscript, once owned by 'frater Johannes de Houdain', contains Bartolomeo's

works. For example, the *Liber de documentis antiquorum* was a moralised compilation of classical and patristic authorities, in which Bartolomeo brought together sacred and pagan authorities in an ordered arrangement to convey a Christian message.[18] Significantly, Bartolomeo also translated the work into the vernacular. In translation, the *Libro degli ammaestramenti degli antichi* made a relatively sophisticated text available to a wider audience. We can assume that a literate Pisan was able to engage with Bartlomeo's work in a meaningful way: he might have recognised that the authorities had been arranged to narrate a certain message and to impress this on the mind.

The desire to make learning accessible is also apparent in the works of Bartolomeo's contemporary, Domenico Cavalca (d. 1342). Popular works, such as the *Specchio di Croce*, *Pungilingua* and *Frutti della lingua*, made moral thought and new learning available to a wide audience. They are valued for the fluency with which Domenico was able to clarify spiritual truths in the vernacular.[19] Although apparently distinct, Domenico's literary activity was part of the same perspective that lay behind drier texts pitched at different readers. For example, Giordano da Pisa's nephew, Ranièro da Pisa (d. 1348) showed a characteristic concern for comprehensiveness and searchability in his *Pantheologia*, a highly popular encyclopedia of scholastic thought, much of it Thomistic in origin.[20] It is important to note that Bartolomeo, Domenico and Ranièro were all actively engaged in the same communal initiative.

We can see something of how the community in Pisa developed an apparently distinctive and highly sophisticated approach to the cure of souls. Its development is an illustration of how convents were subject to local conditions, and a reminder of the usefulness of 'zeroing in' on circumstantial factors when talking about the details of

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Summa de casibus and John of Freiburg's *Confessionale*, copied together in 'a beautiful small Italian hand'. M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Pembroke College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1905), p. 245. For further discussion of the *Summa de casibus*, see Chapter 7.

[18] Bartolomeo da San Concordio, *Ammaestramenti degli antichi latini e toscani raccolti e volgarizzati per fra Bartolomeo da San Concordio pisano dell'Ordine de' Frati Predicatori*, ed. V. Nannucci (Florence, 1840).

[19] C. Delcorno, 'Cavalca, Domenico', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 22 (1979); accessed online, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/domenico-cavalca_(Dizionario-Biografico)/. On Domenico's use of Pisan forms in his translation of the *Vitae Patrum* see Domenico Cavalca, *Vita dei santi Padri*, 2 vols., ed. C. Delcorno, Archivio Romanzo 15 (Florence, 2009).

[20] Ranieri da Pisa, *Pantheologia sive summa universae theologiae*, 2 vols. (Venice, 1486); *SOPMA*, III, pp. 292-93. Kaeppeli cites over 30 extant manuscripts, as well as a number of early modern printed editions.

friars' texts and preaching. However, this is not to deny that they reached for common goals. To convey this feature of Dominican literary activity, Leonard Boyle used the word 'pastoralia' to describe any literary work designed as an aid to the *cura animarum*.[21] He suggests that the genus 'pastoralia', initially stimulated by the concerns of Fourth Lateran Council, embraces almost all Dominican literary activity. This proposition casts a light on a basic aspect of the texts produced by, or connected to, the brethren of S. Caterina. Many of these texts have been the subject of modern studies by those interested in addressing religious and cultural questions, including some work related to the history of emotion.[22]

Such works appear to support Federico Visconti's observations about the friars' academic output and its influence, except that Federico was not talking about any of these late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century friars. The problem we face is that the lack of sources makes it difficult to reconstruct the early conditions of teaching at S. Caterina; but it is not impossible. To address this problem we can return to the path Federico has laid out for us. His vision of mendicant theologians as model *engagés* intellectuals who combined learning and preaching is suggested by certain references in his sermons. For example, on 25 May 1260, in a synodal sermon, Federico referred directly to two mendicant 'magistri in theologia' who were present.[23] The first is probably Mansueto da Castiglione Fiorentino, who served as chaplain to Alexander IV and later as a papal legate.[24] The second is almost certainly Proino di Orlandini da Fabro, a member of the community at S. Caterina and a more elusive figure.

To learn more about him we can turn to his entry in the convent's chronicle, which reveals that he had been one of the earliest recruits at S. Caterina.[25] When he sat and listened to Federico's sermon on 25 May 1260, he may have been in his fifties or sixties. Before he attended the synod in 1260, he had been appointed preacher-general for the

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[21] L. Boyle, '*Summae confessorum*', in *Les genres littéraires dans les sources théologiques et philosophiques médiévales: Définition, critique et exploitation*, Université Catholique de Louvain, Publications de l'Institut d'Études Médiévales ser. 2/5 (Louvain, 1982), pp. 227-37.

[22] For example, C. Casagrande, '"Motions of the heart" and sins: the "Specchio de' peccati" by Domenico Cavalca, OP', in *In the Garden of Evil: The Vices and Culture in the Middle Ages*, ed. R. Newhauser (Toronto, 2005), pp. 128-44.

[23] Federico Visconti, *Les sermons*, 3, § 2, p. 362.

[24] The identification of 'Frater Mansuetus' as Mansueto da Castiglione is not beyond doubt. For a recent biography, see G. Taddei, *Fra' Mansueto da Castiglione: un legato apostolico presso Pisa, Firenze, Londra e Parigi alla metà del Duecento* (Florence, 2010); also, *Les sermons*, p. 1122.

[25] *Cronica*, ed. Panella, § 10.

Roman Province at the provincial chapter in Naples.[26] He shared the title with three other friars, including Thomas Aquinas, who had recently returned to the Italian peninsula after spending most of his early career at the order's specialist study-houses in Paris and Cologne. The only reference to Proino in the acts of the provincial chapter was at Lucca in 1267, where he was chosen to represent the province at the next general chapter.[27] By the end of his career, Proino had been a novice, an eager student of theology, a talented preacher, a lecturer, a preacher-general and a provincial 'socius': from religious and intellectual formation to institutional authority, his career typified the order's distinctive vocation. From Pisa, he could have witnessed the progressive articulation of the order's commitment to study and the *cura animarum*. The next part of this chapter describes some of the changes which had a direct bearing on Proino and his confrères at S. Caterina. It is followed by a summary of the books he left to S. Caterina and a short description of his links to other, more famous theologians.

2.2 The development of study through legislation

Proino and the earliest recruits at S. Caterina would have been familiar with the decisions taken at Bologna in 1220 and with the order's subsequent effort to formulate a coherent body of legislation. It is through this process that we start to find clear evidence of the friars' sense of collective identity. 'Our order is recognised at the outset as having been especially instituted for preaching and the salvation of souls.'[28] To promote this goal, the early priors at S. Caterina could grant dispensations for reasons of study.[29] At the same time, they had to guard against negligence among student friars and their teachers. As observed in the last chapter, such measures were still fire-new when the first preachers arrived at S. Caterina in the early 1220s.

One of the issues raised in the primitive Constitutions would have had a direct bearing on their situation. It concerned the minimum requirements for the initiation of a convent. The importance of this to a new religious order animated by apostolic fervour is clear. In

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[26] Ibid., § 10: Cum enim esset coetaneus sancti Thome, meruit ascribi in sodalitio provinciam gubernantium quia fuit diffinitor capituli provincialis, et cum sancto Thoma factus predicator generalis Neapolim in capitulo M°cclx°, cum solum quatuor facti fuerunt.

[27] *Acta provinciae Romanae* (Lucca, 1267), p. 34.

[28] *Constitutiones antiquae*, Prologus, p. 311.

[29] Ibid., I. 1, p. 314.

total there were four different requirements: (i) a licence from the order's general chapter, (ii) a community with a minimum of twelve members, (iii) one of whom had to be the prior, while (iv) another had to be the in-house doctor of theology.[30] Thus we know not only that the preachers were creating an institution, but also the nature of the institution they were attempting to create. Every community was intended to be a school with its own teacher; and, therefore, every preacher was also a student.

Such legislation reflected the priorities of the earliest brethren in Toulouse. To demonstrate the original importance of study as a way of cultivating orthodoxy and more truthful preaching, later preachers told a story about Dominic and his companions attending theological lectures.[31] It was a significant event in Dominican tradition because it symbolised the place of study in the order's way of life. One source describes how, before the arrival of Dominic and his companions, the master in Toulouse dreamt of seven stars 'growing in brightness and quantity'.[32] Simon Tugwell suggests that if an accurate reflection of the size of the community, this would imply a date of around 1215. We can be fairly confident that the master was English; but whether it was really Alexander of Stavensby (or Stainsby), as claimed by a friar writing in the fourteenth century, is uncertain.[33] An incomplete note in the margins of a manuscript in Toulouse and the silence of earlier sources leave the question open to debate. For our purposes, it is enough to understand that Dominic and his companions attended theological lectures in Toulouse, and that they did so to prepare to preach and 'uproot root heretical depravity' in the Narbonensis. It was from this example that successive generations of preachers took their lead.

The reference to 'doctores theologie' is indicative of another of the order's characteristics. Although it did not describe a formal academic title, it nevertheless suggests the semantic influence of the schools and universities.[34] It referred to an individual within the community who sought, through his lectures and daily conduct, to help his confrères to approach secure theological knowledge and to meet the demands of the preacher's vocation. The principle evokes Gilbert Ryle's notion of the 'sighted leader

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[30] Ibid., II. 23, p. 358; Tugwell, 'The Evolution of Dominican Structures of Government III', pp. 112-14.

[31] Humbert of Romans, *Legendae Sancti Dominici*, ed. Simon Tugwell, MOPH 30 (Rome, 2008), pp. 82-91.

[32] Ibid., § 33, p.484.

[33] Ibid., p. 87-91; also, M. Gibbs and J. Lang, *Bishops and Reform, 1215-1272* (Oxford, 1934), pp. 29-34. Cf. Mulchahey, *Dominican Education before 1350*, p. 10.

[34] See O. Weijers, *Terminologie des universités au XIIIe siècle* (Rome, 1987), pp. 142-47.

of the blind', who instead of seeking to increase a field of knowledge guides others through questions and answers he already knows.[35]

Two later sources, both with quite distinct generic concerns, give an impression of how far this original idea was taken by later friars. First, Humbert of Romans considered the duties of the conventual lecturer as part of his *Instructiones de officiis ordinis praedicatorum*, a useful *instrument de travail* for the holders of conventual offices.[36] In Humbert's view, it was the responsibility of a good *lector* to:

> conform himself to the capacity of his listeners; to lecture clearly and intelligibly on things both useful and expedient to them; to reject any new opinions and to hold to older and more secure opinions; and never to say anything about things he does not understand well himself....[37]

Teaching failed if it did not assist students in their collective effort to master a body of knowledge that had been identified and certified by the order's constitutions as requiring intensive study. Secondly, not long after Humbert had written *De officiis*, Thomas Aquinas was forced to defend the place of study and teaching in the pursuit of spiritual perfection during a quodlibetal question held at Paris. His critics were most likely secular clergy influenced by the opinions of theologians such as Gerard of Abbeville and William of Saint-Amour.[38] The point at issue was whether someone who had devoted himself to pastoral care sinned by whiling away his time at university ('Videtur quod aliquis qui

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[35] Gilbert Ryle, "The Thinking of Thoughts: What is 'Le Penseur' Doing?", reprinted in Gilbert Ryle, *Collected Essays 1929-1968: Collected Papers*, Vol. 2 (London, 1971), pp. 480-96.

[36] Humbert of Romans, *Instructiones de officiis ordinis*, in *Opera de vita regulari*, II, ed. J. J. Berthier (Turin, 1956), pp. 254-56. On the date and circumstances, see E. T. Brett, *Humbert of Romans. His Life and Views of Thirteenth-Century Society*, Studies and Texts 67 (Toronto, 1984), pp. 134-35; also Humbert of Romans, *Legendae Sancti Dominici*, pp. 22-23.

[37] Humbert of Romans, *De vita regulari*, II, p. 254: 'Officium boni lectoris est conformare se capacitati auditorum; et utilia, et expedientia eis faciliter et intelligibiliter legere; opiniones novas refugere, et antiquas, et securiores tenere; ea quae non bene intelligit nunquam dicere....'

[38] For Gerard's biography, see P. Grand, 'Gérard d'Abbeville, maître en Sorbonne, †1272', *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* 6 (Paris, 1967), cols. 258-263; also, A. Pattin, *L'anthropologie de Gérard d'Abbeville: Étude préliminaire et édition critique de plusieurs 'Questions quodlibétiques' concernant le sujet, avec l'édition complete du "De cogitationibus"* (Leuven, 1993).

potest saluti animarum curam impendere, peccet, si circa studium tempus occupat').[39] It was a good question for a room full of students who belonged to the theological faculty at Paris, many of whom were on track for a career devoted to pastoral care in one form or another.[40]

Thomas's reply was consistent with the order's position on the necessity of preliminary theological study as training for pastoral care. The status of a teacher is, said Thomas, higher than that of those who simply devote their time to administering the sacraments.[41] 'Doctores theologie' were like foremen who oversee the building of a spiritual edifice without having to dirty their hands by chopping wood or cutting stone. Thomas later developed his position. Like Humbert, he talked about the dangers of confusing the simple and uninitiated through wordy and repetitive teaching: it confused students and left their heads empty of useful understanding.[42] Thomas and Humbert, senior and authoritative members of the Order of Preachers, thus expressed similar views on the importance of teachers for the order's way of life. Both men can be linked to the development of study in the Roman Province.

Moreover, it was generally understood that the teaching of Dominican lecturers was open to outsiders. For example, preaching in the church of S. Sisto in either 1263 or 1264, Federico Visconti spoke to the local clergy about the value of theological study. At one time, he said, Pisans were prevented from pursuing further study at Bologna by a lack of books and money.[43] Now, however, there were *doctores iustitie*, masters of theology of the Order of Preachers and Friars Minor, who lived in your own land and lectured for free on the bible and subjects such as the divinity and humanity of Christ. For Federico, the

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[39] Thomas Aquinas, *Quaestiones quodlibetales*, ed. R. Spiazzi (Rome-Turin, 1956), Qdl. I. q. 7, a. 2: 'Utrum aliquis teneatur dimittere studium theologiae, etiam si aptus ad alios docendum, ad hoc quod intendat saluti animarum.'

[40] On everyday questions in quodlibetal debates, see L. E. Boyle, 'The *Quodlibets* of St. Thomas and Pastoral Care', reprinted in *Facing History: A Different Thomas Aquinas*, Textes et Études du Moyen Âge 13 (Louvain-la-Neuve, 2000), pp. 13-37.

[41] Thomas Aquinas, *Quaestiones quodlibetales*, Qdl. I. q. 7, a.2: 'Ipsa enim ratio demonstrat quod melius est erudire de pertinentibus ad salutem eos qui et in se et in aliis proficere possunt quam simplices qui in se tantum proficere possunt.'

[42] Ibid., Qdl. IV q. 9, a. 3: Quaedam vero disputatio est magistralis in scholis, non ad removendum errorem sed ad instruendum auditores ut inducantur ad intellectum veritatis quam intendit: et tunc oportet rationibus inniti investigantibus veritatis radicem et facientibus scire quomodo sit verum quod dicitur; alioquin si nudis auctoritatibus magister quaestionem determinet, certificabitur quidem auditor quod ita est, sed nichil scientiae vel intellectus acquiret et vacuus abscedet.

[43] Federico Visconti, *Les sermons*, 7, § 7, pp. 388-89; cited in Murray, 'Archbishops and Mendicants', p. 67.

arrival of mendicant orders devoted to study and preaching entailed free education for others.

This description of the role of mendicant theologians is consistent with earlier and later evidence. There is a letter from 1221 in which the archbishop of Metz, Conrad of Scharfeneck, described the new Order of Preachers and the benefits it could bring to his diocese.[44] Writing to his local clergy to persuade them that the interests of the new religious order coincided with their own, he said they would be able to attend regular sacred lectures in the preachers' convent. The letter was written a year after the friars had gathered in Bologna. There is nothing in their early legislation to suggest they would lecture publicly. It is likely that Conrad came by this piece of information through other channels. Simon Tugwell points out that Honorius had earlier sent his emissary Rinaldo Monaldo to discuss a land transfer from the emperor to the papacy.[45] It is tempting to imagine the two men discussing the new order of religious and their educative project. Conrad's subsequent letter suggests an early desire on the order's part that its lecturers should teach widely, responding to the intellectual needs of others. There are numerous later examples of friars who taught in local schools and abbeys; while at universities which lacked a formal theology faculty, such as Bologna, Padua and Montpellier, the mendicant study-house could play a significant role through the provision of trained theologians and regular lectures.[46] Such was their impact that, by the fourteenth century, Giordano da Pisa could boast to a Florentine audience about how the order had covered the map of the Christian world with schools of theology.[47]

There is a third source which also suggests how the school at S. Caterina appeared to others. Discussing the different varieties of religion that had spread across Europe, Jacques de Vitry sketched the way of life observed by a new congregation of canons in Bologna.[48] The first thing he noted was the community's commitment to the apostolic life. They were bound to the Rule of St. Augustine and their lives followed the order of canonical Offices. The other point he noted about them was their collective interest in bible studies. With a note of approval he said the congregation consisted mainly of

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[44] *Monumenta diplomatica S. Dominici*, pp. 157-58.

[45] S. Tugwell, "Notes on the Life of St Dominic, III", *AFP* 66 (1996), pp. 51-54.

[46] W. A. Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order*, vol. II: *Intellectual and Cultural Life to 1500* (New York, N.Y., 1973), pp. 12-13.

[47] Cited in ibid., p. 12.

[48] Jacques de Vitry, *The Historia Occidentalis of Jacques de Vitry. A critical edition*, ed. John Frederick Hinnebusch, Spicilegium Friburgense 17 (Fribourg, 1972), pp. 142-44.

Bologna students. They would gather together daily to hear lectures on scripture delivered by a member of the community. As well as praising the canons' intellectualist religion, Jacques observed that the members of the house were also committed preachers. Like vessels of knowledge, they poured out for others the things they had diligently learned.[49] By spending their time talking to others about God and following a rule-bound way of life, they had conjoined the *ordo praedicatorum* and the *ordo canonicorum*.

There is an obvious problem with Jacques's account. Historians have disagreed quite fundamentally on the community's identity. Were they even Dominicans? Philipp Funk and Heinrich Denifle both argued that the community Jacques described was not, in fact, that at San Niccolò, but rather the community of canons regular of St. Saviour outside the city at Reno.[50] Mandonnet, and subsequently John Hinnebusch, have both questioned the basis of this claim by showing how Jacques may have had the opportunity to observe the community during a visit to Italy in 1222-1223. Even if Jacques's information were only second-hand, or if he was actually talking about an entirely different religious community, we can still observe the affinity between the life he described and that promoted by the order's early Constitutions. Moreover, there are signs that, even as late as 1256, the communities at San Niccolò and St-Jacques may have still identified themselves as a house in the same way that a group of canons regular would have done.[51] Its ambiguities aside, Jacques's description reads like an advert for evangelical spirituality. The friars would have particularly appreciated how, like Federico and Conrad, Jacques recognised that this new religious community was, above all, a society of study.

As suggested earlier, we know very little about early conventual lectures at S. Caterina, except for what can be inferred from later evidence or other places. However, we know a little more about the order's early provisions for its most promising students. The order's commitment to teaching meant it stood in need of theologians capable of delivering doctrinally secure lectures. The problem was addressed very early on. Before or by 1221, the diffinitors introduced a relevant provision into the second distinction of the order's Constitutions. It made provincial priors responsible for sending suitable

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[49] Ibid., p. 143.
[50] Ibid., pp. 16-20.
[51] See John Van Engen, 'From Canons to Preachers: A Revolution in Medieval Governance', *Domenico di Caleruega e la nascita dell'Ordine dei Frati Predicatori: Atti del XLI Convegno storico internazionale, Todi, 10 -12 ottobre 2004* (Spoleto, 2005), pp. 262-95.

candidates to places of advanced study.[52] The requirement must have presented a sizeable administrative challenge. On the one hand, provincial priors had to find the brightest students and decide where they would continue their formation. On the other hand, those communities which attracted future lecturers had to balance the institutional need for teachers with more everyday matters, such as the availability of space and resources. Even allowing for Michèle Mulchahey's arguments for the early importance of St-Jacques, it is difficult to imagine that a semi-official hierarchy for the training of conventual teachers was already in place by 1221.[53] It is more plausible that the early brethren had an idea of the future shape of the order's education system in their minds. In the short term, they may have been prepared to accept any form of advanced theological education that was available. We have seen that for Federico Visconti, further study entailed travelling north to Bologna or Paris. For Pisans, it would not have out of the ordinary if some of the early brethren at S. Caterina had joined the regular flow of students across the Alps and the Apennines to the communities at Paris and Bologna.

Study of this kind was evidently considered necessary and positive. The early friars highlighted its significance by contrasting it to other forms of learning which they viewed as anything but. Among the provisions for study in the second distinction of the Constitutions, we find evidence of a deliberate narrowing of the order's syllabus through the restriction of the books which could be read in daily conventual lectures.[54] The diffinitors said students should not study the books of the pagans or the philosophers. Instead of the secular sciences and the liberal arts, young friars should devote their attention solely to theological books. There was clearly an institutional interest in placing canonical restrictions on the order's teachers and students. In his edition of the Constitutions, Thomas suggests the diffinitors were citing Gratian's *Decretum* rather than earlier Parisian prohibitions against the study of Aristotelian natural philosophy.[55] Either

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[52] *Constitutiones antiquae*, II. 16, p. 353: 'Curet prior provincialis vel regnorum ut, si habuerit aliquos utiles ad docendum, qui possint in brevi apti esse ad regendum, mittere ad studium ad loca ubi viget studium.' Cf. Tugwell, 'The Evolution of Dominican Structures of Government III', p. 161: 'Curet prior prouinciarum uel regnorum ut, si habuerit aliquos utiles ad docendum qui possint in breui apti esse ad regendum, mittere ad studendum ad loca ubi uiget studium.' On the date and significance of this provision, see Tugwell's discussion in the same article, pp. 30-32.

[53] Mulchahey, *Dominican Education before 1350*, p. 351.

[54] *Constitutiones antiquae*, II. 28, p. 361: '[Studentes] in libris gentilium et philosophorum non studeant, etsi ad horam inspiciant. Seculares scientias non addiscant, nec etiam artes quas liberales vocant, sed tantum libros theologicos tam iuvenes quam alii legant.'

[55] Mulchahey, *Dominican Education before 1350*, pp. 55-57.

way, the prohibition was later amended. In 1228 the master-general of the order was given the power to grant dispensations, allowing for the restricted study of philosophy at some convents.[56] Such legislation offers a view of the order's early aspiration for a simple, coherent, ideal way of life with the study of theology at its centre. It should not be interpreted as a rejection of a belief in the necessity of the liberal arts or secular sciences; but rather as an indication that the brethren valued uniformity above variety in the training of preachers. Although they aimed at specialisation, Proino and the brethren at S. Caterina would have pursued the study of theology with an understanding of its place in a single integrated whole. This was one reason why the order was so positive about university-trained recruits from the arts, legal and medical faculties.[57]

The brethren were still refining the Constitutions in the 1230s. At the Most General Chapter in Paris in 1236 they completely reshaped the second distinction.[58] In the process they introduced a series of measures concerning the organisation of studies first proposed in Paris two years earlier. They divided the second distinction into individual sections, each with its own heading. Rather than a shift in direction, this reorganisation supported and intensified the order's earlier priorities. For example, two measures formulated in Paris in 1234 were introduced under the heading 'De doctore'. The first rendered explicit the expectation of a lecturer's expertise, stipulating that a friar could not teach publicly unless he had heard theological lectures for at least four years.[59] The second measure was just as characteristic and carried with it notions of the intrinsic value of certain forms of interpretation: no friar should read the Psalms or Prophets in anything other than the literal sense without a recognised and authoritative precedent.[60] The prioritisation of the literal sense suggests the sort of teaching the order sought to promote.

In Federico's sermon to his clergy, we have already seen some of the barriers faced by students in the thirteenth century. Federico cited the lack of money and books as inhibiting factors which deterred his clergy from pursuing further study. In the Constitutions and subsequent legislation, we read how the Order of Preachers made provisions for both. Under the responsibilities of the master of students, the diffinitors

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[56] *Constitutiones antiquae*, II. 28, p. 361.

[57] G. Merlo, 'Gli inizi dell'ordine dei frati predicatori: Spunti per un riconsiderazione', *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa* 31 (1995), pp. 435-45.

[58] Tugwell, 'The Evolution of Dominican Structures of Government III', pp. 175-82.

[59] *Constitutiones antiquae,* II. 30, p. 363: 'Nullus fiat publicus doctor, nisi per quatuor annos ad minus theologiam audierit.'

[60] Ibid., II. 30, p. 363: 'Item, nullus fratrum nostrorum legat in psalmis vel prophetis alium sensum litteralem, nisi quem sancti approbant et confirmant.'

listed the works that a province had to supply to the students it sent to specialist study-houses. The list definitely included Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica* and the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, the two principal text-books of the Parisian theology faculty. However, there is some uncertainty about the third item. It is likely the phrase 'et textu in glosis' referred to the bible and glosses, but Simon Tugwell has shown that there was some doubt about this identification.[61] In his analysis, the problem can be explained if we assume that the draft measure introduced at the 1234 general chapter in Paris required that friars sent away for further study were given three texts, including the bible and its gloss. However, two years later, when this legislation had to be confirmed, the Most General Chapter dropped the bible from the list, but not the add-on phrase 'et textu in glosis'.[62] The process tells us about the list of required reading for bright students, as well as the order's decision-making. It is unclear how far this provision reflects the texts read in less specialist schools. The main concern was to ensure that the order's students were equipped with the texts they would read at an advanced study-house.

Federico's second obstacle was money. Sending students to Bologna or Paris was costly.[63] Whilst evidently attractive, it must have been beyond the reach of many. The network of *studia* developed by the Order of Preachers and other religious orders deliberately opened out academic activity in the hope that the ideas it produced might influence the thoughts of others. We have later evidence of this institutional concern to facilitate learning and, significantly, of the role played by the wealthiest communities such as S. Caterina. For an example, we can turn to an act included in the prologue to the conventual chronicle, along with others which later friars thought conferred dignity on the community.[64] Introduced in 1265 at the Roman provincial chapter in Anagni, it specified

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[61] Tugwell, 'The Evolution of Dominican Structures of Government III', p. 180: 'Statuimus autem ut quelibet prouincia fratribus suis missis ad studium ad minus in tribus libris theologie prouidere teneatur. Et fratres missi ad studium in ystoriis et sententiis, et textu et glosis, precipue studeant et intendant.' This version differs from the prescription in Thomas, *Constitutiones antiquae*, II. 28, p. 361: 'Statuimus autem ut quelibet provincia fratribus suis missis ad studium ad minus in tribus libris theologie, videlicet biblia, sententiis et historiis, providere teneatur. Et fratres missi ad studium in historiis et sententiis et textu et glosis precipue studeant et intendant.'

[62] Tugwell, 'The Evolution of Dominican Structures of Government III', pp. 128-30.

[63] See J. Dunbabin, 'Meeting the cost of university education in northern France, c.1240-1340', *History of Universities* 10 (1991), pp. 1-27.

[64] Cronica, ed. Panella, Prologus, 2ʳ.

that the convent in Pisa would provide 26 pounds Tournois for the students at Paris.[65] Here we have an insight into the practical implications of maintaining a Europe-wide network of schools and *studia*. It is possible the friars at S. Caterina were told to send the French currency to Paris because it could be more easily obtained in Pisa than elsewhere in Roman Province. It could also have been because it was where the students in question had started their academic careers.

As the order grew, there were more convents in need of a lecturer. This played a part in the progressive elaboration of specialist study-houses and the development of intermediate centres of study.[66] In 1246, at the general chapter in Paris, there was a proposal to introduce four new *studia*. It was confirmed two years later. As a result the provinces of Provence, Lombardy, Germany and England officially established general and specialist centres of study or 'studium generale et sollempne'.[67] The labels multiplied: in Mulchahey's study of the order's system of education, we can trace the integration of specialist forms of knowledge into the syllabus. To begin with, these developments were based around university cities, where books and other necessary resources would have been on hand. However, as the number of schools and specialist study-houses increased, advanced level study became increasingly widespread. Proino and other early recruits would have observed and participated in these changes.

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[65] Ibid. (Anagni, 1265), p. 32: 'Conv. Pisanus solvet XXVI lib. Turon. pro studentibus qui sunt Parisius.' See P. Spufford, *Money and Its Use in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 200, 405; at Viterbo a year earlier the diffinitors had set the annual stipend at 20 pounds Tournois for the three students sent to Paris. Money was raised by selling copies of text-books. *Acta provinciae Romanae* (Viterbo, 1264), p. 30.

[66] See M. M. Mulchahey, 'The Dominican *Studium* System and the Universities of Europe in the Thirteenth Century. A Relationship Redefined', in *Manuels, programmes de cours et techniques d'enseignement dans les universities médiévales*, ed. Jacqueline Hamesse (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1994), pp. 277-324. On the order's pursuit of a 'distributed university', see F. M. Powicke, 'Some problems in the history of the medieval university', in *Ways of Medieval Life and Thought: Essays and Addresses* (Oxford: OUP, 1949), pp. 180-198. Cf. 'The Franciscan Studium generale: A New Interpretation', in *Philosophy and theology in the studia of the religious orders and at papal and royal courts: acts of the XVth annual colloquium of the Société Internationale pour l'Étude de la Philosophie Médiévale, University of Notre Dame, 8 - 10 October 2008*, ed. K. Emery (Turnhout, 2012), pp. 221-36; and in the same volume, S. Piron, 'Les *studia* franciscains de Provence et d'Aquitaine (1275-1335)', pp. 303-58.

[67] *Acta I* (Paris, 1243), ed. Reichert, pp. 34-35, 38, 41. The original proposal from 1246 reads: In constitucione ubi dicitur. tres fratres mittantur Parisius tantum de provincia ad studium. addatur iiii[or]. autem provincie scilicet Provincia. Lombardia. Theutonia. Anglia provideant ut semper in aliquo conventu magis ydoneo sit generale studium et sollempne.et ad illum locum quilibet prior provincialis potestatem habeat mittendi duos fratres ad studium.

In the late 1250s we find a small group of extremely influential Paris-trained friars who took an active interest in the development of the order's system of education. There were five, and all had served – or were on course to serve – as masters of theology at Paris. At some stage they were commissioned by the master-general of the order, Humbert of Romans, to put together a programme of studies.[68] The proposals they put forward were introduced at the 1259 general chapter in Valenciennes. There were twenty-four in total, and they reflected a desire to standardize classroom practices and introduce greater coordination. In addition, they made provisions for the creation of new specialist schools of logic, increasing the range of knowledge which the order made available for the training of preachers. This series of advisory admonitions is generally referred to by historians as the 'ratio studiorum'; a convenient but slightly anachronistic term borrowed from a later period. There was evidently a feeling that classroom practices needed to be more clearly defined. Again, the programme of studies can be interpreted as an attempt by the second generation of friars-preacher to ensure uniformity and obedience to the order's original ideals.

The measures described the duties of provincial priors, lectors, visitators and students in detail. This precision is helpful, providing a clearer impression of the lecturer's brief, going well beyond the Constitutions. For example, the measures safeguarded a lecturer's special status by exempting him from any offices or activities which might stop him teaching. Any convent without a lecturer should make alternative arrangements for its youngest friars to continue their studies. Similarly, if a lecturer was absent for a period of time, someone should be found who could give private lessons on Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica*, the *Summa de casibus* or something similar in case the friars should lose the habit of daily study and grow accustomed to idleness.[69] There were reminders of the importance of regular participation in the convent's academic exercises. Friars who missed lectures should be reprimanded, while priors were instructed to attend lectures

[68] On Humbert's role, see Mulchahey, *First the Bow is Bent in Study*, pp. 223-224, and M. –H. Laurent, *Le Bienheureux Innocent V (Pierre de Tarentaise) et son temps*, Studi e testi 129 (Città del Vaticano, 1947), pp. 46-51. The names of the friars appointed to this committee are not recorded in the *acta* of the general chapter. Our only knowledge comes from the provincial chapter held in Béziers in 1261. See *Acta capitulorum provincialium ordinis fratrum praedicatorum. Première province de Provence, province romaine, province d'Espagne. 1239 –1302*, ed. C. Douais, 2 vols. (Toulouse, 1894), vol. 1, p. 88.

[69] *Acta I* (Valenciennes, 1259), ed. Reichert, p. 99: Quod si non possunt inveniri lectores sufficientes ad publice legendum saltem provideatur de aliquibus qui legant privatas lectiones vel hystorias vel summam de casibus vel aliquid huiusmodi ne fratres sint ociosi.

with their confrères. Likewise, unassigned lecturers ('lectores vacantes'), who were not in the middle of a cycle of lectures, were reminded to attend communal lectures and disputations. Those in the middle of a series of lectures should continue to lecture without unnecessary interruption.

As well as those defining a lecturer's responsibilities, there were a number of measures intended to protect a certain notion of good conventual teaching. In this as in other aspects of their way of life, the friars-preacher were concerned about unanimity and observance. The acts specify that visitators should report to the provincial chapter on how much ground lecturers covered during the academic year, and how often they held disputations and gave determinations.[70] In a similar vein, the visitator should scout the province for bright students who could usefully pursue advanced studies elsewhere. Cases of convents without serving lecturers had to be reported to the province. His role was thus two-sided: firstly, he was tasked with ensuring the consistency of a way of thinking and imposing its rules of thought; secondly, he was responsible for finding those friars with the ability to progress along the order's scale of knowledge and understanding. In the Roman Province, we can trace the maturation of this process. We see how the different convents were grouped together geographically and how visitators were assigned to areas outside their usual field of activity. Thus a friar from Rome might visit the Tuscan convents and vice versa, perhaps reducing the danger of intrinsic local rivalries or inconsistencies impeding the pursuit of the order's goals and values.[71]

Other measures sought to spell out the form which academic exercises should follow. Lecturers, or their assistants, had to make sure their students only brought the text-book to lectures. In a nod to the vocabulary and teaching practices of the universities, the order's study-houses should have a bachelor, or sub-lector, to read under the regent lecturer. To ensure his teaching had been fully understood, the lecturer should appoint a friar to carefully repeat ('frater qui diligenter repetat') his daily lectures and review them in weekly disputations.[72] For some, the raft of new measures introduced at Valenciennes in

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[70] Ibid., p. 100: Visitatores singulis annis diligenter inquirant de lectoribus quantum legerint in anno et quociens disputaverint et determinaverint et quot conventus sue visitacionibus careant lectoribus et quid circa hoc invenerint referant in capitulo provinciali et defectus notabiles qui circa hoc inventi fuerint priores et diffinitores referant postmodum capitulo generali.

[71] For example, *Acta provinciae Romanae* (Florence, 1281), p. 57.

[72] *Acta I* (Valenciennes, 1259), ed. Reichert, p. 100: 'Quod in quolibet conventu ubi est lector instituatur aliquis frater qui diligenter repetat dum[modo] sit in conventu aliquis sufficiens.'

1259, and the values that they were designed to protect, might lend themselves to a particular sort of modern interpretation, which is suspicious of attempts to transmit specific forms of knowledge and to impose a hegemonic set of cultural monuments through education and educational workers. From our point of view, however, it is sufficient to note their scale and to consider their impact.

When discussing the factors behind the requirement for every province to have a designated study-house for the study of the arts, many historians take a broadly similar view. The basic hypothesis is that the new educational ordinance shows the Order of Preachers bringing its curriculum closer to that followed at the University of Paris.[73] In this reading, a 'studium artium' was a school of philosophy, intended to cover ground consistent with the new syllabus at the Paris arts faculty. It is suggested that the second generation of Paris-trained preachers were seeking to rebalance the order's organisation of studies and to find a way around the constitutional ban on the study of philosophy. However, Michèle Mulchahey and others suggest the order's use was narrower and more specific. In this Dominican sense, an 'arts' school was a place for the study of logic.[74] The evidence for this claim is found in later provincial and general acts where the terms 'studia in logicalia' and 'studia in artibus' were interchangeable. Both evidently referred to same places. Lecturers sent to these schools were thus described as 'lecturers in logic' (*lectores in loyca*), assigned to read logical works (*ad legendum logicalia*). There is evidence that these positions were lower down in the order's educational hierarchy. Contrary to measures introduced at Valenciennes in 1259 and to the constitutional requirement for lecturers to receive at least four years of training, such positions were typically occupied by younger friars. Bernard Gui, for example, was assigned to teach logic to friars from a number of convents in Provence in 1284, having entered the order at Limoges on 16 September 1280.[75] We can imagine a situation where provinces fast-streamed suitable recruits whenever it was necessary or appropriate.

It is possible to reconstruct the list of logical works which teachers such as Bernard Gui could have read to students at the new schools. The province of Provence described its *studia artium* as schools of 'new logic'. We can suggest then that the preachers had in

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[73] On changes to the syllabus at the Paris arts faculty, *Chartularium universitatis parisiensis*, I, ed. H. Denifle and E. Chatelain (Paris, 1889), pp. 277-279. Mulchahey, *Dominican Education before 1350*, pp. 223-24.

[74] See also C. Douais, *Essai sur l'organisation des études dans l'ordre des frères Prêcheurs au treizième et au quatorzième siècle (1216-1342)* (Paris, 1884), pp. 58-68.

[75] Ibid., p. 184.

mind the categories of 'old' and 'new' logic which were used to differentiate traditional works from others that had been made available through the recovery and translation of Greek texts from the twelfth century onwards. Thus 'old logic' included works such as Porphyry's *Isagoge*, the *Liber de sex principiis*, Boethius's *De topicis differentiis* and *De divisione*, and the *Categories* of Aristotle. In contrast, 'new logic' consisted of Aristotelian works such as the *Topics, Sophistici elenchi*, and the *Prior Analytics* and *Posterior analytics*.[76] Any lecturer assigned to read logic at a *studium artium* would have had to lecture on a combination of these texts. It is not clear if he would have lectured on 'old' as well as 'new' logic. Early on, we might also suppose that choices were constrained by practical matters, such as the availability of good copies of relevant books.

By the end of the thirteenth century, we have evidence that the traditional classification of *logica vetus* and *logica nova* had been adopted widely by the order. In 1291, the Roman provincial chapter introduced a distinction between schools for the study of 'new logic' (*studia nove logice*) and schools for the study of 'old logic' and handbooks (*studia logice veteris et tractuum*).[77] New logic was read at Pistoia, Spoleto and S. Sabina in Rome, while the texts from the older Aristotelian-Boethian corpus along with more recent treatises were read at Prato, Todi, Anagni, L'Aquila and Barletta. The teacher at the study-house at Anagni is a familiar face. Bartolomeo da San Concordio was assigned a class of eight students to whom he would have to read a selection of Aristotelian texts.[78] The following year he continued to teach logic at the school at Todi. Having demonstrated his ability, Bartolomeo was sent to hear theological lectures at Bologna and Paris, returning to Italy to teach theology at Florence and Rome. Like Bernard Gui in Provence, Bartolomeo served as a teacher of logic before he had been exposed to the advanced theological teaching of the order's *studia generalia*, which, when it came, must have been exciting.

In the last chapter I stated that, from the 1260s onwards, the surviving Roman provincial acts are increasingly detailed. From this point, it is possible to talk of a

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[76] On the reception of Aristotelian logic in the twelfth and thirteenth century, see S. Ebbesen, 'What Counted as Logic in the Thirteenth Century?', in *Methods and Methodologies: Aristotelian Logic East and West*, ed. Margaret Cameron and John Marenbon (Leiden, 2011), pp. 93-108; idem, 'The Reception of Aristotle in the 12th Century: Logic', in *Albertus Magnus und die Anfänge der Aristoteles-Rezeption im lateinischen Mittelalter: Von Richardus Rufus bis zu Franciscus de Mayronis*, ed. Ludger Honnefelder, Rega Wood, Mechthild Dreyer and Marc-Aeilko Aris (Münster, 2005), pp. 493-513.

[77] *Acta provinciae Romanae* (Spoleto, 1291), pp. 101-103.

[78] Ibid., p. 102.

working, traceable network of schools and study-houses, which is significant because it allows us glimpses of the careers of particular friars from S. Caterina. It is also suggestive of the community's place in the provision of studies in the Roman Province. In 1288 the Roman Province followed the example of Provence by using provincial legislation to administer a network of study-houses for natural philosophy.[79] The community at Pisa took a leading role. The acts from the provincial chapter in Lucca record the assignment of a 'studium in naturis' to S. Caterina. They record the names of the new study-house's teacher, Iacopo Donati, and his eight students, many of whom went on to successful academic and administrative careers. We know that Gherardo Pisano was assigned to serve as the community's lecturer, and also that he had studied at St-Jacques in Paris.[80] His experience would have been beneficial to younger friars pursuing knowledge and understanding useful for the *cura animarum*. In the chronicle we have evidence that Gherardo was from the prominent Donoratico family. He would have known those family members who were exiled from Pisa in 1270 at the height of Guelf-Ghibelline conflict.[81] His situation is a reminder of how narrow the division between religious and political action could be. Gherardo and the brethren at Santa Caterina did not have to argue their way to political relevance. In a city where the first loyalty of many was to their household, it is worth thinking about how the loyalty of the friars may have been divided between the demands of consanguinity and religious obedience.

2.3 The diffusion of texts among Dominican theologians

In the remaining pages of this chapter we return to Federico and the masters in theology. Earlier we observed how in 1263 or 1264 Federico advertised the expertise of mendicant 'doctores iustitie' to his clergy in Pisa. It is interesting to note that around the same time two of the theologians behind the legislation at Valenciennes happened to be working and teaching in the Roman Province. Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas were part of a small group of extremely influential friars within the order who (i) took an active interest in the recovery of Aristotelian thought through translation and commentary, and (ii) thought deeply about the relevance of philosophy for the needs of others. The order's

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[79] Ibid. (Lucca, 1288), p. 86.
[80] Ibid., p. 83; *Cronica* ed. Panella, § 84.
[81] Herlihy, *Pisa in the Early Renaissance*, pp. 58-59; also, Cristiani, *Nobiltà e popolo nel comune di Pisa* (Naples, 1262), pp. 387-88.

system of studies took much from their knowledge of secular science. Their notion of its importance, shared and expressed by other masters of theology, was an active one, which was brought to bear in the conventual classroom and regular activity of other preachers.

We can start with Albert the Great. At the end of 1260 Albert, as bishop of Regensburg, travelled to Italy to submit his resignation to Pope Alexander IV.[82] He had received his appointment in January 1260 and, according to most accounts, the diocese he inherited was in parlous state. In eight months of fervent activity following his enthronement, he introduced a series of reforms, issuing numerous decrees and travelling widely. For a man in his early sixties who was devoted to study, the role must have felt like a burden. We find him again in July 1261 at the papal curia at Viterbo, where he arrived two months after Pope Alexander's death. Released from his episcopal duties, Albert had time to prepare his paraphrase of the *Ethics*; a text he first lectured on at the study-house at Cologne.[83] Around the same time he also began to work on paraphrases of Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics* and *Politics*.[84] Both were part of an ongoing project to render Aristotle's thought intelligible to his confrères.

By the end of the summer the new pope, Urban IV, had been elected. He was consecrated at Viterbo on September 4. Albert had to wait until November for Urban to accept his resignation, and it was not until 11 May 1262 that the former dean of the chapter at Regensburg, Leo Torndorf, was confirmed as his successor. Albert stayed at the papal curia at Viterbo throughout the summer. He was one of a number famous scholars attached to the court around this time. It was once thought that Albert held lectures and disputatations at the *studium Romanae curiae*, the school at the papal curia established by Innocent IV in 1245, although there is no firm evidence that he did so.[85] Either way, Urban IV valued his presence enough to take Albert with him when the curia moved to Orvieto in the autumn of 1262.

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[82] J. A. Weisheipl, 'The Life and Works of Albert the Great', in *Albertus Magnus and the Sciences. Commemorative Essays 1980*, ed. J. A. Weisheipl (Toronto, 1980), p.38.

[83] See J. Dunbabin, 'The Two Commentaries of Albertus Magnus on the Nicomachean Ethics', *RTAM* 30 (1963), pp. 232-50; and Chapter 5 below, n. 80.

[84] Weisheipl, 'Life and Works', p. 39.

[85] For example, in the first edition, H. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, vol. 2, I (Cambridge, 1895), p. 28, n. 3. For an recent account, see M. M. Mulchahey, 'The Dominican Studium Romanae Curiae: The Papacy, the Magisterium and the Friars', in *Philosophy and Theology in the Studia of the Religious Orders and at Papal and Royal Courts*, pp. 577-60.

Released from the pressures of episcopal office, Albert was catching up with research. This productive spell continued in Orvieto, where he had the opportunity to discuss work and perhaps some Italian politics with his former student Thomas Aquinas, who was serving as lector in the convent of S. Domenico.[86] There were various political questions that may have jostled in Urban IV's mind, and the two famous theologians, both familiar with Aristotelian political and ethical science, were well placed to offer expert opinions. Should Urban make peace with Manfred in order to help the Latin emperor of Constantinople? Or did Manfred and the Hohenstaufen pose too large a threat to Italian communities? As Jeremy Catto has shown, these were questions in which Thomas had a close personal interest, with members of his family divided by fragile loyalties to the Angevins and the Hohenstaufen.[87] An Aristotelian vocabulary, which distinguished between *bonum* and *utilitas*, may have helped Thomas and Albert to think about the respective importance of moral goodness and immediate practical ends.[88] Other conversations could have centred on the recent translation of Aristotle's *De motu animalium* by William of Moerbeke, a Flemish Dominican and prolific translator who, informed by a sophisticated philosophy of translation, produced revised and new translations of Aristotelian texts.[89] On learning of the new translation, Albert started to revise an earlier paraphrase of the *De animalibus*, which he had begun during a visit to Italy in the 1250s and read at Cologne in 1258.[90]

Here we have at least two of the most important elements in the Dominican recovery of Aristotelian thought. First, there is the paraphrase or commentary, made by an authoritative and highly experienced theologian, the expressed aim of which was to render the Philosopher's thought more intelligible through an exposition of the *intentio auctoris*.

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[86] Weisheipl, 'Life and Works', pp. 38-39; cf. idem *Friar Thomas d'Aquino* (Oxford, 1975), p. 358.

[87] Jeremy Catto, 'Ideas and Experience in the Political Thought of Aquinas', *Past & Present* 71 (1976), pp. 3-21; also, D. Abulafia, *Frederick II: A Medieval Emperor* (Oxford, 1988), pp.413-16.

[88] For example, Albert the Great, *Super Ethica commentum et quaestiones*, ed. W. Kübel, 14, 1-2 (Aschendorff, 1968-1972), pp. 469-70.

[89] L. Minio-Paluello, 'Moerbeke, William of', *Dictionary of Scientific Biography* 9, pp. 434-40.

[90] A *reportatio* of the disputations held by Albert in Cologne survives in a manuscript in Milan. See Albert the Great, *Quaestiones super De animalibus*, ed. E. Filthaut (Aschendorff, 1955), pp. xxxv, 50-55; cited in Weisheipl 'Life and Works', pp. 36-37. On the reception of the *De animalibus* in thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and its impact on demographic thought, see P. Biller, *The Measure of Multitude: Population in Medieval Thought* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 253-76.

Second, there is a member of the Order of Preachers at Thebes, William of Moerbeke, whose translation of the *De motu animalium* was one of a fundamentally important series he produced during his life, and who also spent the papal curia at Viterbo as chaplain and confessor to the pope. Traditionally, historians have sought to see a connection between these two elements by seeing William's translations as the fruits of collaboration. The main evidence to support this belief is located in a fourteenth-century catalogue reference to William of Moerbeke, which records him as 'translator of all the books of Aristotle on natural and moral philosophy' at the request of Thomas ('ad instantiam fratris Thomae').[91] At this stage, there is no evidence of collaboration between the translator and the two theologians. However, it is difficult to believe that Thomas and William did not meet after 1265, when Thomas was serving in Rome as lector at S. Sabina and William in Viterbo as chaplain to Clement IV.

With this setting in mind, it is worth remarking that both Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas can, in different ways, be linked to Proino di Orlandini da Fabro, the man who heard Federico's synodal sermon and who had been one of the first to join the new community of preachers in Pisa. The clearest evidence for Proino's connection to Thomas is the chronicle's reference to the 1260 provincial chapter in Naples. The tie between Proino and Albert is more tenuous, but no less important. In addition to a short biography, the chronicle lists the titles of forty-seven books that Proino left to the library at S. Caterina.[92] The list is extraordinarily rich. It did not include anything lightweight. It contained biblical glosses, *Sentences* commentaries, text-books for canon law from Bologna, as well as the core texts required for the study of logic, grammar and philosophy. According to the chronicle, some of the texts had been given to Proino by his father, Orlandini da Fabro.[93] In keeping with Federico Visconti's impression, the list suggests the reading habits of someone remarkably erudite. It also invites speculation about the course of Proino's education and extent of his collaboration with more famous theologians.

The order in which the books were arranged within the list was significant. There was a reasonably clear rationale of priority and affinity. If we look at the list, we find the works of Italian jurists, such as Gratian and Azo of Bologna (1-4). There are the

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[91] Cited in Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas*, p. 151.

[92] *Cronica*, ed. Panella, § 10.

[93] Discussed in Murray, 'Archbishop and Mendicants', p. 23, n. 11; also, Pelster, 'Die Bibliothek von S. Caterina zu Pisa', pp. 1-30.

Sentences of Peter Lombard, Parisian works of theology and bible study aids (5-19). There is a volume of the works of Pseudo-Dionysius, and a copy of Albert's lectures from Cologne, including his commentary on the Aristotle's *Ethics* (20-21). Aristotle's *libri naturales* and *Metaphysics* are among Arabic commentaries and Albert's paraphrases (22-28).[94] There are religious and devotional works by patristic and monastic writers (29-31). There is an unidentified 'Summa' by Raymond of Peñafort, and Geoffrey of Trani's treatise on the decretals.[95] Moneta of Cremona's *Summa adversus catharos et valdenses* is in the same volume as two anonymous works, and a *Summa contra haereticos*, which could be the work once ascribed to Preposito of Cremona (32-34).[96] The remainder of the list is taken up with texts for the study of logic, grammar and moral philosophy. There are the first sixteen books of Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae* and Uguccio da Pisa's *Derivationes*, as well as Peter of Spain's *Summa logicales* and the *Distinctiones* of

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[94] Latin translations of Arabic texts include no. 24 ('Libri naturales Avicenne et Alphagrani, in uno'). The latter refers to Al-Farghani, usually Alfraganus, whose treatise on astronomy and geography was translated in the twelfth century by Gerard of Cremona. For Gerard's translation, see Alfragano, *Il 'Libro dell'aggregazione delle stelle' (Dante, Conv., vi-134) secondo il codice Mediceo-Laurenziano PL. 29-Cod. 9*, VIII, ed. R. Campani (Città di Castello, 1910); discussed in Biller, *Measure of Multitude*, pp. 245-46. For a description of thirteenth-century copy of Michael Scot's translation of *De animalibus*, *Aristoteles Latinus, Codices: Pars Posterior*, ed. G. Lacombe, et al., Corpus Philosophorum Medii Aevi (Cambridge, 1955), pp. 1051-52, no. 1530.

[95] It is not clear which of Raymond's *summae* this refers to. *SOPMA*, III, pp. 283-87; see P. Michaud-Quantin, *Sommes de casuistique et manuels de confession au moyen âge: XII - XVI siècles*, AMN 13 (1962), pp. 34-42; also, Mulchahey, *Dominican Education before 1350*, pp. 533-36. Given its proximity to Geoffrey of Trani, it could perhaps have been the *Summa iuris canonici*, which Raymond had written while serving as regent master in the law faculty at Bologna. It is worth pointing out that Raymond's *Summa de casibus* and Geoffrey of Trani's *Summa super titulis decretalium* were among the works which Humbert of Romans said should be kept chained in a convenient place in the library where they could be easily consulted. Humbert of Romans, *De vita regulari*, II, p. 265: 'Item ad ipsum pertinet providere quod in aliquo loco silentii et apto sit aliquis pulpitus magnus vel plures in quibus ligentur aliqui libri bene legibiles quibus frequentius fratres indigent cum habentur: ut est Biblia glossata in toto vel in parte, Biblia sine glossis, summa de casibus Gaufredi et De viciis et virtutibus et de quaestionibus, Concordantiae, Interpretationes, Decreta, Decretales, Distinctiones morales, Sermones varii de festis et de Dominicis per totum annum; Historiae, Sententiae, Chronica, Passiones et Legendae Sanctorum, Historia ecclesiastica et similia multa ut communitas fratrum in promptu possit illa habere.'

[96] *SOPMA*, III, pp. 138-39; also, Salagnac and Gui, *De quatuor*, p. 33: 'Fr. Moneta, natione Lombardus, qui contra machinationes haereticorum maximam et validissimam summam scripsit.' See L. Sackville, *Heresy and Heretics in the Thirteenth Century: The Textual Representations* (Woodbridge, 2011), pp. 14-15. On Praepositinus, ibid., p. 13; also, *The Summa contra haereticos, ascribed to Praepositinus of Cremona*, ed. J. A. Corbett, Publications in Mediaeval Studies 15 (Notre Dame, Ind., 1958).

Mauritius. In the same group, immediately before a glossed copy of the bible in twelve volumes, we find a translation of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, a volume of 'Libri loycales et ethicorum', and Albert's second commentary on the *Ethics* (35-46).[97]

Like other friars, then, Proino had a large personal collection of books, many of which were evidently useful for teaching, while others could have been used frequently in the course of his pastoral activity. The extent of private book ownership among the friars, as opposed to books which belonged to the province or convent, is not easy to determine. Some of the best evidence comes from general and provincial acts, but it is difficult to disentangle. Generalized admonitions and specific dispensations concerning the buying and selling of books, as well as provisions for the distribution of a lecturer's books after his death, crop up relatively frequently.[98] Much of the evidence suggests the preachers were enthusiastic collectors; indeed, they were often permitted to possess money on the understanding that it would be spent on useful books. In general, capitular legislation sought to regulate the use and provision of books for novices and students, and control the flow of teaching materials from convents to lectors and vice versa.[99] In cases such as Proino's, dispensations were granted to prevent a province from claiming the books of a deceased friar that had been given to him by friends and relatives. At the general chapter in Florence in 1257, the diffinitors distinguished between the books given to a friar by the province and those provided by his convent.[100] The former should be returned to the province, while the latter should be put at the disposal of the convent. If the books had come from any other source, they should be returned to the convent in which the friar died.[101]

Observations about book ownership and exchange among the friars prepare the way for larger points about the spread of ideas. In his study of the diffusion of Parisian

[97] If William Moerbeke's translation of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, it would mean a date of after 1269. See G. Dahan, 'L'entrée de la Rhétorique d'Aristote dans le monde latin, entre 1240 et 1270', in *La Rhétorique d'Aristote. Traditions et commentaires de l'Antiquité au XVIIe siècle*, ed. G. Dahan and I. Rosier-Catach (Paris, 1998), pp. 65-86; also, P. O. Lewry, 'Rhetoric at Paris and Oxford in the mid-thirteenth century', *Rhetorica* 1 (1983), pp. 45-63.

[98] For a summary of the order's provisions, see K. W. Humphreys, *The Book Provisions of the Mediaeval Friars, 1215-1400* (Amsterdam, 1264), pp. 18-45.

[99] For a useful comparison, see N. Şenocak, 'Book Acquisition in the Medieval Franciscan Order', *Journal of Religious History* 27 (2003), pp. 14-28; idem, 'Circulation of Books in the Medieval Franciscan Order, *Journal of Religious History* 28 (2004), pp. 146-61.

[100] *Acta provinciae Romanae* (Florence, 1257), p. 21.

[101] *Acta I* (Florence, 1257), ed. Reichert, p. 86.

preaching, David d'Avray observes that 'in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Dominican and Franciscan convents must have been the major centres for the diffusion of ideas into the city.'[102] In this respect, Proino's list is illuminating. Which points we pick out depends on prior expertise and the level of interest. In any library readers develop habitual patterns of association based on the frequent consultation of different texts. When Proino's books were placed in the library at S. Caterina, they would have been integrated into these patterns. It is significant that Proino's bequest increased the number of moves, from one text to another, which the library at Santa Caterina could facilitate. In addition to translations of Greek and Arabic texts, he owned a number of different works by Thomas Aquinas and Albert the Great. When and how he acquired these is unclear. However, put at the disposal of the brethren, they must have influenced the thoughts and sermons of Pisan preachers and, as a result, increased the intellectual resources communicated to a growing public. In Chapter 4 I shall attempt to discuss Proino's list from a different point of view. For now it is enough to observe that he owned a remarkable range of texts, including recent work by the order's most advanced thinkers. By facilitating the diffusion of recent academic texts from the *studia generalia*, Proino and other local friars participated in a significant process. Many of the books he acquired were new and reflected the various changes that had taken place during his career as a preacher.

The friars' libraries had to accommodate these new interests. The organisation of a library purpose-built for the study of the bible would have been sensitive to any shift towards the teaching of books previously proscribed by the Constitutions. The order was responsible for providing the works required as part of a working library for preachers, as well as those texts that had slowly been added to the curriculum. For an idea of how a Dominican library may have looked and functioned, we can return to Humbert of Romans's *De officiis*. In the process of setting out the responsibilities of a conventual librarian, Humbert described how books were kept:

> The cupboard in which the books are placed should be of wood for better preservation of the books from decay as a result of the condensation of the moisture in the air; it should have many shelves and divisions in which the books

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[102] D. d'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars*, p. 157.

may be placed according to the various faculties, or different books and postills, or subjects separately and without confusion, with signs written on each.[103]

The demarcation of the library's bookcases into different sections reflected a conception of knowledge and its divisions, which acted on the friars' habits of thought on a daily basis and was the starting-point of all tasks of enquiry. The development of new *studia* entailed a widening of focus. To make room, librarians presumably found more cupboards and made new signs.

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[103] Humbert of Romans, *De vita regulari*, II, p. 263; cited in Humphreys, *The Book Provisions of the Mediaeval Friars*, p. 32.

3

PARISIAN THEOLOGY AND THE SERMONS OF FEDERICO VISCONTI

Like their books, preachers travelled widely. In his article on Federico Visconti and the mendicant orders in Pisa, Alexander Murray makes an observation about the impact of this activity. 'By their asceticism', he suggests, 'the mendicants did for learning what the Cistercians had done for farming: they drastically lowered production-costs.'[1] From convents such as S. Caterina, the mendicants gradually flooded the market, increasing the supply of learning in a society that grew progressively hungrier and more receptive.

The case of Federico Visconti using Parisian theology in his sermons helps to illustrate this point. It provides an example of a cleric who participated in recondite discussions at Paris and Bologna and later circulated such thought through his preaching. The parallels with the Order of Preachers, which had taken early steps to introduce provisions for the further training of its members, are worth considering. Reduced to basics, the long-term pattern was that the network of mendicant convents across Europe facilitated the transmission of the friars' literary works, whether tools for bible study, commentaries on theological text-books, or model sermon collections.[2] Thus a neat piece of exegesis or a hard-won definition written by a Dominican friar from somewhere far away like Paris or

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[1] A. Murray, 'Archbishop and Mendicants in Thirteenth-Century Pisa', in *Stellung und Wirksamkeit der Bettelorden in der Städtischen Gesellschaft*, ed. K. Elm (Berlin, 1975), p. 74.

[2] On the development of preaching at Paris, see N. Bériou, *L'avènement des maîtres de la Parole. La prédication à Paris au XIIIe siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1998); on diffusion and reception of texts, D. d'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons diffused from Paris before 1300* (Oxford, 1985); also, R. Rusconi, 'Predicatori e predicazione', in *Intellettuali e potere*, ed. C. Vivanti, Storia d'Italia, Annali 4 (Turin, 1981), pp. 951-1035, especially pp. 977-85; for a useful collection of articles and discussion of methodology, see *Modern Questions about Medieval Sermons: Essays on Marriage, Death, History and Sanctity*, ed. N. Bériou, D. d'Avray, et al. (Spoleto, 1994); also, *Predicazione e società nel Medioevo: riflessione etica, valori e modelli di comportamento. Proceedings of the XII Medieval Sermon Studies Symposium, Padova, 14 - 18 Iuglio 2000*, ed. L. Gaffuri and R. Quinto (Padua, 2002).

Lyons could conceivably find its way into sermons delivered to lay and clerical audiences in an Italian city.

What follows is an attempt to show how this process applied to early Dominican thought about fear. Federico Visconti's sermon collection, which offers insight into the arrival and diffusion of new theological opinions in Pisa, is the main source of evidence. Federico frequently cited Dominican authors in his sermons, but he did not cull ideas indiscriminately. The analysis of a single sermon will suggest how Federico used the *Sentences* commentary of Hugh of St. Cher to introduce recent thought about the division of fear into his preaching. The sermon is especially useful because its shows how Hugh's commentary added to the knowledge Federico could communicate to his audience, as well as suggesting the principles of selection which a preacher used when consulting such a work. Before looking at this process, it will be useful to look at Federico's early education and ecclesiastical career in more detail.

3.1 Federico Visconti's intellectual formation and early ecclesiastical career

In the last chapter it was observed how, in a sermon addressed to the Pisan clergy, Federico underlined the benefits of a theological education. In the same sermon, he also provided personal details by talking about a time when, as a student in Bologna, he met and even touched St. Francis.[3] The anecdote, evidently a source of pride, suggests he may have been in Bologna at some stage in the early 1220s, but Federico provides no indication of what he was studying. Alexander Murray and Nicole Bériou both suggest the possibility that he attended theological lectures at the new Dominican school.[4] He could equally have heard the lectures of other theologians, such as Alexander of Stavensby.[5] His sermons show he was comfortable moving between different fields of knowledge. He demonstrated a familiarity with medical language and concepts, and had an understanding of some canon and communal law.[6] This wide-ranging familiarity with

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[3] Federico Visconti, *Les sermons*, 58, § 11, p. 789; on the date and circumstances, see pp. 38, 218.

[4] On the possibility that Federico attended lectures at S. Niccolò, see Murray, 'Archbishop and Mendicants', p. 30; Federico Visconti, *Les sermons*, p. 37.

[5] On Alexander's presence in Bologna, see Tugwell's discussion in Humbert of Romans, *Legendae Sancti Dominici*, ed. Simon Tugwell, MOPH 30 (Rome, 2008), pp. 88-89.

[6] Murray, 'Archbishop and Mendicants', pp. 29-30. Murray's suggestion that Federico's knowledge of physics was 'possibly learned from Albert of Cologne' should be

contemporary academic disciplines is consistent with the picture presented by the case of his cousin, Iacobus, who, perhaps at Federico's expense, spent ten years studying 'in physica' at Bologna before returning to Pisa as the chaplain and *medicus* of S. Simone in Parlascio.[7] In general, the combination of references to law, astronomy, meteorology, and an interest in medicine give the impression of someone who had been exposed to the academic learning at Bologna and influenced by circumambient ideas.

We know that after Bologna Federico returned to Pisa to begin his ecclesiastical career. Between 1227 and 1230 he was appointed rector at Vicopisano, a small village to the east of Pisa.[8] In a later sermon, he talked about being in Vicopisano to preach on Good Friday. This offers an interesting glimpse of Federico's early career in a provincial setting; but it is not enough to say that this is where he was based.[9] It was apparently also a period in which Federico made important friends. On 15 February 1230 he is named as one of the chaplains who accompanied the Genoese cardinal Sinibaldo Fieschi to Perugia.[10] Against a background of strained relations between the two communes, most recently concerning the scramble for control of Sardinia, the image of the Pisan chaplain and Genoese cardinal together is interesting.[11] A year later on 19 May 1231 Federico was made a canon of the cathedral chapter in his native Pisa, after which the next trace of his early career is not until 23 July 1235, when we find him again listed among the Pisan canons.

Here it becomes difficult to follow the course of Federico's career. There is one sermon in the collection which is said to have been delivered after he first returned from Paris but while he was still a canon.[12] The implication is that he studied at Paris after 1231, but it is not clear when he first made the journey north. There is also very little to tell us when he returned. One of the few clues we possess is another sermon which

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approached with caution, since it is not clear the two men were in Paris at same time. Albert the Great was not at St-Jacques before 1240.

[7] Federico Visconti, *Les sermons*, 59, § 13, pp. 796-97.

[8] Like many of the points that follow, this is based on Bériou's analysis in the 'Introduction historique' to the modern critical edition of Federico's collection. For Federico's career at Vicopisano, see 'Introduction historique', pp. 36-38.

[9] Ibid., p. 37.

[10] M. Ronzani, 'Pisa nell'età di Federico II', in *Politica e cultura nell'Italia di Federico II*, ed. S. Gensini (Pisa, 1986), p. 165; cited in Bériou, 'Introduction historique', p. 3.

[11] See F. Artizzu, *La Sardegna pisana et genovese* (Sassari, 1985); also R. Brentano, *Two Churches: England and Italy in the Thirteenth Century* (Princeton, 1968), pp. 194-204.

[12] Federico Visconti, *Les sermons*, 48, pp. 705-14.

Federico delivered at the papal chapel in Lyon.[13] He was serving as chaplain to Sinibaldo Fieschi, now pope Innocent IV (25 June 1243 – 7 December 1254). In the sermon, Federico made a brief reference to the moment – perhaps dim and distant – when he had started to study theology.[14] Seen together, the two pieces of information suggest that Federico had completed his studies some time before the early 1240s. Bériou ventures the possibility that he returned to Paris to continue his studies after we last hear of him in Pisa in 1236. In these glimpses of his early career, then, we see Federico benefiting from the best education available and from the patronage of high-ranking friends.

Awareness of when Federico studied at Paris helps to explain certain characteristics of his preaching and provides an indication of the people or groups that influenced him. For an impression of how this process worked, we can look at the sermon Federico delivered to archbishop Vitale and local clergy on the 8 September to commemorate the Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary after he first returned to Pisa, and which he prepared using ingredients sourced in Paris.[15] The editors of the modern critical edition have shown the sermon is based on a model provided by John of La Rochelle, a Franciscan theologian who preached and taught at Paris during the 1230s.[16] The template was exactly the kind of reliable preaching aid which poured out of Paris during the thirteenth century and its use is a reasonably clear-cut example of the influence of Parisian model sermon collections. The pattern continues elsewhere in Federico's sermons. The St-Jacques Dominican Pierre de Reims (d. 1247) may have been serving as the provincial prior of France when Federico arrived in Paris, and in Federico's collection we find him following Pierre's example by preaching on the same themes in similar ways.[17]

The list of Federico's citations provides other examples of his exposure to this milieu and demonstrates his familiarity with other genres. He cited William of Auxerre's *Summa*

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[13] Ibid., 6, pp. 375-84.

[14] Ibid., 6, § 2, p. 377.

[15] Ibid., 48, p. 705 (n. 2).

[16] For a discussion of this sermon and the use of John of La Rochelle, see Bériou, 'Introduction historique', pp. 140-48. On John of La Rochelle's sermons and their diffusion, see d'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, pp. 101-2, 140-2.

[17] *SOPMA*, III, p. 256; d'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, pp. 44-52; also, for the transmission and a critical edition of one of Peter's sermons on marriage, idem, *Medieval Marriage Sermons: Mass Communication in a Culture without Print* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 50-126.

aurea, an influential theological treatise written in Paris before 1229.[18] This may indicate that he consulted the work in Pisa, or that he knew pieces of William's text from his time in Paris. Equally, his use of Peter the Chanter's *In unum ex quattuor* suggests his exposure to the same real-world currents of thought which flowed into the exegesis of the brethren at St-Jacques.[19] Nor is it surprising to find that Federico frequently cited the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, the principal theological text-book at Paris which was read and circulated widely.[20] By integrating these important authorities into his sermons, Federico demonstrated an affinity with the leading Parisian theologians, and, by making use of contemporary academic thought in this way, he broadcasted its relevance for preaching and the *cura animarum*.

The use of William of Auxerre and Peter Lombard is significant, but neither coloured Federico's thought to the extent that another group of Parisian theologians did. Support for the hypothesis that Federico studied in Paris during the 1230s is provided by the frequency with which he cited works by members of the Order of Preachers and Friars Minor. This mendicant group of theologians was remarkably active and its success attracted many of the most talented teachers and students.

Around this time, although he may no longer have been serving as a master of theology, Hugh of St. Cher was overseeing an ongoing programme of biblical research at the convent of St-Jacques. He was one of a number of exceptional theologians, including Roland of Cremona, John of St. Giles and Guerric of St-Quentin, who taught at the community in Paris.[21] Their skills and expertise, and the time they spent thinking about the practical implications of their work, did much to transform the intellectual

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[18] For example, Federico Visconti, *Les sermons*, 8, § 10, pp. 400-1: '"Latria" enim grece dicitur, "pietas" latine, que alias grece dicitur "theosobia", idest Dei cultus, vel "eusebia", idest bonus cultus, sicut Magister in Sententiis libro III, distinctione IX, et magister Guilielmus Altisiodorensis, in Summa, libro II, capitulo CLI.' Cf. William of Auxerre, *Summa aurea*, 1. 3, t. XXXII, *De dono pietatis*, ed. J. Ribailler III/2, c. 182, pp. 631-34. On the date of the *Summa aurea*, see below, n. 90.

[19] Federico Visconti, *Les sermons*, 9, § 9, p. 470: 'Potest tamen hic dici sine preiudicio quod relinquintes cum ylaritate iudicabunt, alii vero non, sed iudicabuntur. Sic determinat Cantor Parisiensis in Uno ex quatuor, super Mt. XIX.' See B. Smalley, *The Gospels in the Schools, c. 1100 – c. 1280* (London, 1985), pp. 101-18, especially 107-8.

[20] On the diffusion of the *Sentences*, see below, n. 77.

[21] See L.-J. Bataillon, 'L'activité intellectuelle des Dominicains de la première génération', in *Lector et compilator: Vincent de Beauvais*, ed. S. Lusignan et al. (Bar-le-Duc, 1997), pp. 9-19. On early mendicant study of the bible, see B. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 3rd edition (Notre Dame, Ind., 1964), pp. 264-355; idem, *The Gospels in the Schools*, pp. 99-196. On John of St. Giles and the early masters at St-Jacques, see Chapter 5 below, n. 19.

environment at Paris around the time Federico would have known it. The mark they left on his thought and preaching was pronounced.

Indeed, Federico cited the Hugh's works consistently. Bériou suggests that the sheer weight of citations is suggestive of the relationship between a master and his student.[22] He evidently had a strong working knowledge of both Hugh's *Postills* and his commentary on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard. Thought of this kind, and the way it was generated by the two communities of mendicant theologians in Paris, was advanced and metropolitan. The sight of the new religious orders pulling up trees at the Parisian theology faculty was something that stayed with Federico throughout his ecclesiastical career.

Furthermore, in a marginal annotation in the manuscript of Federico's sermon collection, there is other evidence for the flow of ideas from Paris to Pisa, and also perhaps for his methods. The annotation on the seven deadly sins is identified as an extract from the second book of Hugh of St. Cher's commentary on the *Sentences*, but as a matter of fact it cannot be located in Hugh's text.[23] The only place where it has been found is in a thirteenth-century manuscript of Hugh's commentary on the *Sentences* now in Assisi, where it is included as an original note at the end of the second book.[24]

There are a number of questions that spring to mind. For instance, who copied the text and who added the note? Also, who owned the manuscript before it was acquired by the Franciscans in Assisi at the end of the fourteenth century? There is also another note written in the same hand, which describes the condemnation of the Dominican master of theology Étienne de Venizy by the bishop of Paris, William of Auvergne, in 1244.[25] Despite the obvious temptation, both Bériou and Barbara Faes de Mottoni have prudently resisted the urge to jump to a verdict and emphasize the need for caution, suggesting that to be able to offer a conclusion, one would first need to carry out a systematic comparison of the Assisi manuscript and the text of Federico's sermon collection.[26]

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[22] N. Bériou, 'Federico Visconti, disciple de Hugues de Saint-Cher', in *Hugues de Saint-Cher (†1263), bibliste et théologien*, ed. L.-J. Bataillon, G. Dahan and P.-M. Gy (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 253-69.

[23] Federico Visconti, *Les sermons*, 66, § 8, pp. 854-55; see Bériou's discussion in 'Introduction historique', pp. 291-92 (and pl. 16).

[24] On the manuscript, see B. Faes de Mottoni, 'Ugo di s. Cher e i manoscritti 130 e 131 della Biblioteca Comunale di Assisi', in *Revirescunt chartae codices documenta textus miscellanea in honorem Fr. Caesaris Cenci OFM*, vol. 1 (Rome, 2002), pp. 151-69 .

[25] Bériou, 'Introduction historique', p. 292, n. 1.

[26] Faes de Mottoni, 'Ugo di s. Cher e i manoscritti', pp. 157-58.

The fact that the manuscript in Assisi carries traces of Parisian academic life and politics is a reminder of another contentious issue, which divided opinion at Paris in the 1230s and 1240s. It was here that Federico could have heard fraught discussions about the recovery of Aristotelian and Arabic thought and its use in the theology faculty. Federico was cautious in the way he integrated Aristotelian authorities into his preaching. Although he shows some familiarity Aristotle's *Ethics* and the *Posterior Analytics*, he did not really try to grapple with them. Overall, Federico cites Aristotle four times, never giving the specific book, and not always bringing attention to the reference with an 'ut dicit Philosophus'.[27]

We should, however, be careful about rushing to see this as an indication of Federico's knowledge or understanding, since it could be that he believed, along with other medieval preachers, that lengthy disquisition on Aristotelian ideas might detract from a sermon's message. There are some preachers, said Humbert of Romans, who 'occupy themselves… with philosophical things, wanting to aggrandize their tongues.'[28] For an example of how a sermon's setting could determine the authorities a preacher cited, we could compare Federico's sermons to those of Aldobrandino da Toscanella, whose sermons, as we observed in the last chapter, are so strewn with Aristotelian authorities that Carlo Delcorno has suggested they could have been intended as part of an in-house natural philosophy course.[29] Compared to the sermons of a Dominican lecturer like Aldobrandino, Federico's use of Aristotle is arguably consistent with that of a high-ranking cleric who operated on the peripheries of a large body of systematic thought rather than at its centre. When Federico preached to an audience of Pisan laymen it mattered most that his sermons were useful. This was something else he could have learned from the preachers at St-Jacques.

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[27] For example, Federico Visconti, *Les sermons*, 11, § 6, pp. 424-25: 'Naturalis timor est quo quilibet timet mortem, quo etiam Christus timuit, Mc. XIIII d (14, 33): *Cepit* Iesus *pavere et tedere*. Tali timore timere non est meritorium, quia quod naturale est nec meritorium nec demeritorium est, nec laudabile nec vituperabile est, ut dicit Philosophus.' On discussions of natural fear, see below, n. 98.

[28] Humbert of Romans, *De eruditione praedicatorum*, in *Opera de Vita Regulari*, II, ed. J. J. Berthier, pp. 394-95: Sed sunt quidam praedicatores, qui cum student ad praedicandum, interdum applicant studium suum circa subtilia, volentes plectere et texere subtilia; interdum circa nova, more Atheniensium, vacantes ad dicendum nova; interdum circa philosophica, linguam suam volentes magnificare.

[29] C. Delcorno, *La predicazione nell'età comunale* (Florence, 1974), p. 29. See Chapter 2 above, n. 5.

3.2 The influence of Dominican bible studies on Federico Visconti

Trained at Paris and Bologna, then, Federico was *au courant* with the latest scholarship and liked to intersperse his sermons with 'pearls' of Parisian theology. His preferred source of moral interpretation of Scripture was, overwhelmingly, Hugh of St. Cher. He scattered his sermons with citations from the *Postills*, sometimes with direct acknowledgement, but often without. [30] He viewed the work as one of the most important tools of his trade. We know this because he said so explicitly in a sermon to the people delivered in the church of Santa Caterina:

Holy Scripture, earlier on, before it had been glossed by the saints, that is to say, Jerome, Bede, Ambrose, Raban, and Augustine, was like a blunt sword, not yet applied to a <sharpening> wheel; but what had earlier been opaque and dull was made sharp and clear by their expositions and glosses. Then came Dominic and the Preachers: what had been clarified by the aforesaid saints was made lustrous, as though polished and whetted, as is evident. For the whole of the Old and the New Testament was postillated by brother Hugh of the Order of Preachers, who was a cardinal priest of Santa Sabina. So Holy Scripture says, 'Those who illuminate me', that is to say, the Brother Preachers who, in giving explanations in the form of useful, various and diverse moralizations for the edification of the faithful and the confusion of heretics, 'shall have life everlasting' [Ecclesiasticus 24.31].[31]

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[30] Bériou, 'Introduction historique', pp. 171-73.

[31] Federico Visconti, *Les sermons*, 45, §7, p. 687: Similiter dicere potest sacra Scriptura, quia ipse beatus Dominicus et fratres ipsius scolas theologie ordinavit, per quos fratres magistros sacra Scriptura tota elucidata est. Erat enim prius sacra Scriptura, antequam per sanctos, scilicet Ieronimum, Bedam, Ambrosium, Rabanum et Augustinum, glosaretur, sicut *gladius* non *acutus*, non ductus ad rotam, sed per eorum expositiones et glosas facta est clara et acuta que prius erat opaca et ebetata. Sed supervenit beatus Dominicus et Praedicatores. Que per dictos sanctos declarata erat, fuit elucidata, quasi polita et affilata, sicut patet, quia Vetus Testamentum et Novum Testamentum totum postillatum est per fratrem Ugonem de ordine Predicatorum qui fuit presbyter cardinalis tituli Sancte Sabine. Dicit ergo sacra Scriptura: *Qui elucidant me*, scilicet fratres Predicatores, exponendo per moralitates utiles, varias et diversas ad hedificationem fidelium et confusionem hereticorum, *vitam eternam habebunt*.

Beryl Smalley once talked about 'history from the pulpit' when discussing works such as Salimbene's *Cronaca* and Iacopo da Varazze's *Cronica civitatis Ianuae*.[32] This is Federico doing 'intellectual history from the pulpit', in which he enthusiastically publicised the *Postills* as evidence of Dominican achievement.

One way in which we might piece together Federico's point of view is to look at the forms of instruction which were in vogue at Paris when he was a student. Beryl Smalley and others have shown that the biblical scholarship of the early Paris Dominicans followed in the wake of the 'biblical-moral' school first identified by Martin Grabmann.[33] The preachers at St-Jacques aligned themselves, more or less advertently, to an established group of biblical reformers who enjoyed the same assurance about the value of theological study. In particular, the order's institutional emphasis on reading the bible for practical rather than spiritual purposes echoed the personal interests of men such as Peter Comestor, Peter the Chanter and Stephen Langton. Or, to quote Smalley again, 'Peter the Chanter acted as St. John the Baptist to the friars.'[34] Peter anticipated the friars in arguing that the lives of secular clergy should be reformed in accordance with the Gospel, and the friars' way of life lends itself to being understood as the realisation of Peter's arguments about the need to coordinate reading (*lectio*), debate (*disputatio*), and preaching (*praedicatio*).[35] 'The Chanter', says Smalley, 'did not live to see the Mendicants' arrival in Paris; but he would surely have approved of both their way of life and their studies.'[36]

The first generation of preachers at St-Jacques accomplished massive feats of biblical research; all of which can be traced to Pisa, whether through the sermons of Federico Visconti or through the library at S. Caterina. In the 1230s, working under the direction of

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[32] B. Smalley, *Historians in the Middle Ages* (New York, N. Y., 1974), pp. 164-65.

[33] Smalley, *The Study of the Bible*, pp. 196-263; M. Mulchahey, *Dominican Education before 1350*, pp. 480-85. The fundamental study of the moral thought of this school is J. W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and his Circle*, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1970).

[34] Smalley, *The Gospels in the Schools*, p. 101.

[35] On this point, see R. Quinto, 'Hugh of St.-Cher's Use of Stephen Langton', in *Medieval Analyses in Language and Cognition: Acts of the Symposium, The Copenhagen School of Medieval Philosophy, January 10 - 13, 1996* (Copenhagen, 1999), pp. 281-300, especially the literary schema on pp. 281-83; idem, 'The Influence of Stephen Langton on the Idea of the Preacher in the *De eruditione predicatorum* of Humbert of Romans and the *Postille* on the Scriptures of Hugh of Saint-Cher', in *Christ among the Medieval Dominicans: Representations of Christ in the Texts and Images of the Order of Preachers*, ed. K. Emery and J. P. Wawrykow (Notre Dame, Ind., 1998), pp. 49-91.

[36] Smalley, *The Gospels in the Schools*, p. 117.

Hugh of St. Cher, a team of friar-students completed three works – the verbal concordance, the *correctorium*, and the *Postills* – designed to facilitate closer reading of the bible. They were once attributed only to Hugh. The notion that they could have been produced by a single author working alone can never have been especially plausible, but it has been irreversibly undermined by careful reading which, in the case of the *Postills*, has shown that the text contains different views on similar questions, suggesting multiple authorship.[37]

Smalley argued that the purpose of this communal enterprise was 'to provide masters and students of the sacred page with a vast *instrument de travail'*, which updated the exegesis of the Gloss. More recently, Robert Lerner has argued that the Gloss was just one of a diverse collection of sources, which ranged from the verses of Latin poets to a series of excerpts from an anonymous authority identified as 'Philosophus'.[38] Lerner calls the *Postills* a 'great bulging duffel bag'.[39] Recent work on the duffel bag's contents has confirmed the influence of the Parisian exegesis of biblical-moralists such as Stephen Langton and Peter the Chanter, and, at the same time, shown the text to be unmistakably mendicant and 'Dominican' in its character and form of attention.

We can see this clearly in a series of comments on the story of Ruth, recently studied by Riccardo Quinto, and a summary of the main points will provide a sense of work which Federico praised to his audience at S. Caterina.[40] For example, we read how the widespread famine and hunger in the time of Judges signified a scarcity of the Word. In the story of Ruth, Elimelech's family were *Effrataei*, that is, from Bethlehem in Juda. This provided the postillators with three elements to interpret, which according to Hugh – and Stephen Langton before him – signified the characteristics of good preaching: *Effrataei* for the bearing of fruits to others; Bethlehem for the bread of doctrine; and Juda for

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[37] R. Lerner, 'Poverty, Preaching, and Eschatology in the Revelation Commentaries of "Hugh of St Cher", in *The Bible in the Medieval World: Essays in Memory of Beryl Smalley*, ed. K. Walsh and D. Wood (Oxford, 1985), pp. 157-89; also, on 'Hugh's team', see Smalley, *The Study of the Bible*, xiii; the aspect is also discussed by Mulchahey in '"Societas studii": Dominic's Conception of Pastoral Care as Collaborative Study and Teaching', in *Domenico di Caleruega e la nascita dell'Ordine dei Frati Predicatori: Atti del XLI Convegno storico internazionale, Todi, 10 -12 ottobre 2004* (Spoleto, 2005), pp. 441-65.

[38] R. Lerner, 'The Vocation of the Friars Preacher: Hugh of St. Cher between Peter the Chanter and Albert the Great', in *Hugues de Saint-Cher (†1263)*, pp. 216-17.

[39] Ibid., p. 216.

[40] Quinto, 'The Influence of Stephen Langton', pp. 53-56.

confessio and preaching by example.[41] The preacherly emphasis continued in Hugh's interpretation of Naomi's speech to Ruth and Orpha, the widows of her two sons. Here 'widows' could be interpreted as churches in need of a good priest.

Moreover, in the ears of wheat, which Ruth gleaned in fields of Bethlehem after her arrival from Moab, Hugh identified the different aspects of study. The white and bristly beard was hard and difficult rumination on the text, while the plain bran and sweet corn was the unadorned *littera* and sustaining mystical sense.[42] On this last point, as elsewhere in his commentary on Ruth, Hugh's exegesis followed Stephen's closely, demonstrating a strong affinity with biblical-moralist sentiments.

But the friars could be discriminate users of biblical-moral sources, and Quinto has shown how they often borrowed selectively, picking and choosing from earlier interpretations, and generally opting for those which suited their tastes. When and where it was useful Hugh's team were more than prepared to put forward their personal point of view. For instance, Stephen and others had traditionally viewed Scripture as a large field ready for harvesting. As gleaners gather up the ears of corn left by reapers, so theologians collect the grains of useful material left by the fathers. Hugh's commentary took a different line. The reaping is done by educated 'preachers' who separate the wheat from the chaff and gather souls together into sheaves. Ruth and the other gleaners are the simple Friars Minors, who work the field, converting large numbers of souls with 'rough and rude preaching'.[43]

In general, Hugh's *Postills* were strongly critical of prelates who were too stupid and ignorant to preach effectively. Like Dominic, good messengers should have the letters of scripture engraved in their hearts. This was the reason why no one believed those unlettered doctors, preachers and prelates who preached in ignorance.[44] Elsewhere, there is a jibe about prelates who paid others to write their sermons, and who could only speak with other people's voices.[45] However, the worst prelates were those who never did any preaching themselves and also refused to allow preachers to work in their dioceses. Based on the evidence of his advanced education, his knowledge of the *Postills*, and his

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[41] Ibid., p. 54.

[42] Ibid. pp. 54-55.

[43] Ibid., pp. 55-56; also, Lerner, 'The Vocation of the Friars Preacher', pp. 228-29.

[44] On this and other criticisms of the clergy, see Lerner, 'The Vocation of the Friars Preacher', 218-22.

[45] Ibid., p. 221.

endorsement of the communities at S. Francesco and S. Caterina, Federico Visconti was innocent on all three counts.

3.2 Timor (*i*): *A memorial sermon for the archpriest of Massa*

We can see the extent to which Federico's theological arguments were manufactured from Parisian materials in a sermon he delivered to secular clergy after the death of the archpriest of Massa.[46] Found towards the beginning of the collection, the sermon is located among a group of sermons that were delivered on special occasions to secular or regular clergy.[47] They are full of local detail and academic learning, and, seen collectively, show Federico as the distinguished bishop at the head of the Pisan church.[48]

The sermon was preached on the *thema* 'Well done, good and faithful servant' (Mt. 23:25). It followed a pattern generally found in other medieval memorial sermons, a genre of preaching which has been analysed by David d'Avray.[49] In d'Avray's analysis, the value of memorial preaching rests on its potential to help us penetrate the priorities and values of other cultures or periods remote from our own. 'Preachers of memorial sermons presented to listeners a true if simplified likeness of their own world.'[50] In this instance, Federico recommended the archpriest's virtue by discussing the gifts given to men by God, thereby showing how the deceased lived up to these in his thought and practice. From our point of view, it is interesting to observe that Federico used this opportunity to introduce some relatively recent interpretations of the place of fear in Christian life, addressing the subject as a desirable element in man's relationship with God.

The sermon shows traces of its scaffolding, which would have meant more to an audience of skilled listeners with the requisite technical knowledge of the literary form and the ideas being expressed. It will thus be useful to outline the sermon's structure, which can be numbered and summarised schematically as follows:

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[46] Federico Visconti, *Les sermons*, 11, pp. 422-433. The only known archpriest of Massa is a 'dominus Albertus', who is referred to in 1258.

[47] On the organisation of the sermon collection and earlier parallels from Paris, see Bériou, 'Introduction historique', pp. 76-79

[48] On this point, and for a description of Federico's visitation of Sardinia, see R. Brentano, *Two Churches: England and Italy in the Thirteenth Century*, esp. pp. 191-202.

[49] D. L. d'Avray, 'The Comparative Study of Memorial Preaching', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, vol. 40 (1990), pp. 25-42; and idem, *Death and the Prince: Memorial Preaching before 1350* (Oxford, 1994).

[50] D. L. d'Avray, *Death and the Prince*, p. 220.

Thema: *Euge serve bone et fidelis*, etc. (Mt. 23:25). These words can apply to the deceased and every one of us. They deal with merit and reward.

1. *Euge serve*: We are not only the sons of God, but also his servants. We should serve him in fear. But fear comes in many forms, so what sort of fear? In total, there are six different species, which can be differentiated and sorted into a graduated scale by their relation to God, the Holy Spirit, and love:

	naturalis	(i)
	humanus	(ii)
	mundanus	(iii)
Timor	seruilis	(iv)
	initialis	(v)
	filialis	(vi)

Exemplum: There is a question about the desire to separate the soul and the body, which can be illustrated using an *exemplum* from the *Vitae Patrum*, where it is read how angels could not carry the soul of a holy man to heaven until David started to play his lyre.

2. *Serve bone*: Goodness of life is a necessity for those who offer the sacrifice of the altar to others, and so that we might deserve to hear the words 'Well done, good servant'. Many, however, succumb to fornication.

3. *Serve fidelis*: We need to be faithful in the government of the talents entrusted to us, which signify sensible knowledge, acquired without an understanding or knowledge of scripture. He gave to each according to his ability, that is, according to his natural capacities. These goods should be multiplied whether by the teaching of faith or the teaching of morals.

4. The senses of *Euge*: There are five different contradictory senses of the word *Euge*: mocking; applauding; adulatory; admiring; and commendatory or exulting.

5. Another interpretation of *serve fidelis*: There is an alternative exposition of the third part on faith. Man must be faithful in regards to the body, the goods of this world and the soul, which return to the earth, the world and to God respectively.

6. A recommendation of the deceased: He was a good and faithful servant who managed well the talents which God had entrusted to him.

Within this neatly arranged structure, there were some relatively new ideas. The six-fold definition of fear, and the subsequent attempt to integrate the different parts into a coherent account of the problem, appears to have been based on the account provided by Hugh of St. Cher in his commentary on the *Sentences*.[51] Federico's learned clerical audience would presumably have been up to speed with the basic distinctions: they were a commonplace of medieval preaching and a subject of conversation at the schools and universities. However, they may not have been quite so familiar with the treatment of the problem by Hugh of St. Cher and his Parisian contemporaries.

The concept of fear attracted significant attention from theologians in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, reflecting the incompatibility of some of the material included in this broad theological category.[52] While the fear of God was clearly desirable, there were other types of fear, such as the fear of losing one's possessions, with less useful or even positively unhelpful consequences. The apparent contradiction stimulated theological efforts to differentiate between the various types of fear, both by their structural characteristics and their significance. It was important that theologians could distinguish between the different senses in regular discourse.

Richard Southern used the progressive development of theological opinions on the question of fear to illustrate the process of scholastic thought and textual analysis.[53] The problem, he observed, was partly caused by a long series of biblical verses concerning fear, many of which are ostensibly contradictory. It mattered to theologians that there were clear solutions available which could account for these differences. The contradictory biblical texts cited by Federico in his sermon provide an indication of the basic problem. On the one hand:

i) 'Jesus began to be dismayed and distressed.' (Mark 14, 33)

ii) 'The holy fear of the Lord, which perdures forever and ever' (Ps. 18, 10)

And on the other:

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[51] On Federico's use of Hugh's *Sentences* commentary, see Bériou, 'Introduction historique', pp. 181-83. There was also a copy at S. Caterina, see Pelster, 'Die Bibliothek von S. Caterina zu Pisa', p. 18, (cod. 53).

[52] R. Quinto, 'Per la storia del trattato tomistico de *passionibus animi*. Il *timor* nella letteratura teologica tra il 1200 e il 1230ca', in *Thomistica*, ed. E. Manning (Louvain, 1995), *RTAM*, *Supplementa* 1, pp. 35-88.

[53] R. W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, vol. 1: *Foundations* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 125-32

iii) 'There is no fear in charity.' (1 John 4, 18)

iv) 'Perfect charity casts out fear.' (1 John 4, 18)

v) 'Do not fear those who kill the body.' (Mt. 10, 28)

It is possible these verses were clustered together in Federico's memory; part of what Mary Carruthers might call his 'mental filing system'.[54] Scriptural citation was the preacher's most important tool. The recollection of relevant and varied citations, and their accurate interpretation, gave an indication of his prowess and skill.

A preacher ought to be knowledgeable, since he needed teach others. All preaching, said Humbert of Romans in the *De eruditione praedicatorum*, ought to be taken from sacred scripture.[55] When a preacher listened to lectures or heard sermons that addressed the concept of *timor*, he learnt to categorize his thoughts about fear according to a specific set of pigeon-holes, each one recognisable by an association with a particular piece of scripture, and complete with an identifying book, chapter and letter. Importantly, this was true not only for fear, but also for other categories which a preacher might use in sermons or pastoral work. It seems likely that these verses were rehearsed in theological lectures where the question of fear was addressed. At S. Caterina they could have been incorporated into regular academic exercises, being reviewed and reinforced as part of daily procedures and routines developed specifically for the training of preachers.

3.4 Timor *(ii): The verbal concordance*

The *Postills* were not the only biblical study aid produced by the friars at St-Jacques. For example, there was also the *Correctorium*, a list of corrections and alternative readings, initially devised by the Paris Dominicans in the early 1230s in an attempt to emend the twelfth-century text of the Vulgate.[56] The *correctorium* was the product of specialist study and expertise, in which Dominican compilers corrected the mistakes of earlier copyists by consulting Greek and Hebrew originals, studying the manuscripts of Jerome's text, and utilising earlier glosses and commentaries. Significantly, we know that the brethren at S. Caterina had access to this kind of study aid, since there were 'Correctiones

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[54] M. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 127.
[55] Humbert of Romans, *De vita regulari*, 2, p. 400.
[56] Smalley, *The Study of the Bible*, pp. 329-33, 334-35; Mulchahey, *Dominican Education before 1350*, pp. 506-9.

biblie' listed among the works donated by Proino.[57] However, since multiple *correctoria* were produced in Paris during the thirteenth century, it is not clear that the *correctorium* on Proino's work-table was Hugh's text, which Smalley dates to between 1244 and 1263; but it seems quite likely.[58]

There was another work connected to the friars at St-Jacques, which was arguably more consistent with Federico's interests in his memorial sermon for the archpriest of Massa. Started at St-Jacques at some point in the 1230s, the verbal concordance was an innovative work designed to facilitate preaching, which was equally ambitious, if somewhat sparser than the *correctorium* and *Postills*.[59] We know that a version of the concordance was completed and in circulation by 1239, but there is no clear evidence – or reason to think – that Federico used it to prepare this particular memorial sermon.[60] Instead, its relevance here relates to (i) developing attitudes towards the use of the bible for preaching, and (ii) the influence that the study of the bible at St-Jacques, which was ongoing during Federico's time at Paris, came to exert on the processes of reading and preaching. Put simply, biblical concordances can tell us about the procedures of medieval preaching, and also something of how a large theoretical point of view, specifically the intellectual outlook of the Paris Dominicans, influenced specific categories of thought as much through the stock-in-trade as through the sophisticated arguments of famous theologians.

So, if literary genres are identified by the aims and expectations of producers and readers, the St-Jacques verbal concordance should be seen as fully commensurable with the needs of academic-minded preachers preparing sermons structured around and a *thema* and *distinctiones*.[61] Not to overcomplicate, the concordance was conceived against

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[57] *Cronica*, ed. Panella, § 10. The entry is listed as 'Correctiones biblie, Expositio prologorum biblie, Postille super Penthatheucum, in uno volumine'.

[58] See Smalley, *The Study of the Bible*, pp. 335-8. Also, Pelster, 'Die Bibliothek von S. Caterina zu Pisa', p. 17.

[59] On the concordance, see R. H. and M. A. Rouse, 'The Verbal Concordance to Scripture', *AFP* 44 (1974), pp. 5-30; and by the same authors, '*Statim invenire*: Schools, Preachers, and New Attitudes to the Page', in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. R. L. Benson, G. Constable, and C. Lanham (Cambridge, MA, 1982), pp. 210-25; reprinted in *Authentic Witnesses*: *Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts*, pp. 191-219.

[60] On Federico's possible use of a concordance, see Bériou, 'Introduction historique', p. 169.

[61] On verbal concordances as tools for preachers, see d'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, pp. 77-78; also, C. Delcorno, *Giordano da Pisa e l'antica predicazione volgare*, pp. 92-93.

two basic requirements: on the one hand, it had to be comprehensive, covering all the scriptural material which preachers were likely to cover during the course of the liturgical year; on the other, it needed to be readily searchable, organising the material in such a way that it was put at the reader's fingertips. Thus the brethren at St-Jacques compiled a large, clear, alphabetised companion to the bible to show the instances and location of different keywords.

However, the concordance may only have been a work-in-progress when Federico composed the sermon for the deceased. The studies of Richard and Mary Rouse demonstrate how it was developed in three separate stages, with each draft more detailed than its predecessor.[62] This revision modified earlier views, which, following the account of Tolomeo of Lucca (or Bartolomeo Fiadoni), attributed the concordance to Hugh of St. Cher and his contemporaries at St-Jacques.[63] Through careful study of surviving manuscripts, they were able to uncover the system of production behind the first draft, as well as the subsequent improvements made by other friars from the same community. As with the *Postills*, the concordance was a group project, with different compilers assigned to cover specific alphabetical sections. As well as arranging the keywords alphabetically, the friars introduced an innovative system of reference: 'each appearance of a word was indicated by book of Bible, by chapter divisions attributed to Stephen Langton, and by one of seven letters A-G to indicate relative position within the chapter.'[64] This was heavy work and it must have required significant resources of time and expertise. It was probably ongoing in the 1230s, allowing for the possibility that Federico was aware of it from his time at Paris.

To begin with, the friars gave only the location of the word without citing it in context; each heading was accompanied by a list of abbreviated references and nothing more.[65] After Federico had left Paris, an English Dominican, Richard of Stavensby, probably with help from other English students at St-Jacques, such as John of Darlington and Hugh of

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[62] R. H. and M. A. Rouse, 'The Verbal Concordance to Scripture', pp. 5-30.

[63] Tolomeo of Lucca, *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, book 22, ch. 2: 'primas concordantias super bibliam cum suis fratribus adinvenit'; cited in 'The Verbal Concordance to Scripture', p. 7, n. 10. On Hugh's role, see M. Albaric, 'Hugues de Saint-Cher et les concordances bibliques latines (XIIIᵉ-XVIIIᵉ siècles)', in *Hugues de Saint-Cher (†1263)*, pp. 467-79.

[64] R. H. and M. A. Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons: Studies on the* Manipulus florum *of Thomas of Ireland*, Studies and Texts, 47 (Toronto, 1979), p. 9.

[65] For an example, see M. Albaric, 'Hugues de Saint-Cher et les concordances bibliques latines', p. 470.

Croydon, undertook to write a second concordance which contextualised the use of the keywords, providing all or most of the quotation in question. Having studied at the evidence for its circulation, Richard and Mary Rouse suggest that this second work – generally referred to by contemporaries as the *Concordanciae anglicanae* – may have been too bulky for the needs of preachers.[66] This may be the reason why it appears only to have enjoyed limited popularity. In any case, the English concordance was succeeded by a third revision, again originating from St-Jacques, which followed a more concise formula, limiting the quotation to between four and ten words. We can see how entries follow this clearer pattern in a fourteenth-century manuscript:

Timor

Ge.   xxxi. c. nisi Deus patris mei Abraham et timor Isaac adfuisset

       xxxi. g. iuravit ergo Iacob per timorem patris sui Isaac

Deu. xix.   d. ut ceteri timorem habeant

Jos. xxii. c. avertent filios a timore Domini

Jud. xviii b. videruntque populum in ea absque ullo timore, etc.[67]

The fact that it was *possible* for Federico and others to consult such a work, with its practical teleology and the implications it brought for the organization of knowledge, is significant. It was, as Federico said in his sermon at S. Caterina, proof of the effort by the Order of Preachers and its members to make scripture less opaque and to render its sense intelligible to others.

3.5 Timor *(iii): Theological discussions*

The evidence from Federico's sermons allows us to form a hypothesis about the flow of a certain kind of thought into Pisa from centres of academic learning, and to propose that the content, as well as the form, of Federico's preaching was visibly affected by his experience in Paris and the availability of scholastic material in personal book collections and institutional libraries. In what follows, I shall try to show how the division of fear in

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[66] On the *Concordantiae Anglicanae*, see W. A. Hinnebusch, *The Early English Friars Preachers*, Dissertationes Historicae, XIV (Rome, 1951), pp. 298-9.

[67] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS. lat. 520, 460ᵛ- 461ʳ.

Peter Lombard's *Sentences* and its subsequent interpretation influenced how Federico addressed the subject in his sermon for the archpriest of Massa, a process which suggests how exposure to such ideas could increase the range of possible thoughts about the concept of fear.

We have seen that Federico told his clerical audience that there were six different types fear. However, in the twelfth century, most theologians only divided fear into four.[68] For example, Hugh of St. Victor (d. 1141), a canon and theologian at the abbey of St. Victor outside Paris, addressed the question in his wide-ranging treatise *De sacramentis*, written either in the late 1120s or between 1130 and 1137.[69] Hugh discussed fear as an inner movement of the heart, differentiating between good and bad forms, all of which related in some way to the individual's pursuit of charity and his position in relation to the good. Hugh's exposition is interesting because, although he used the same categories as later writers, he treated the moral value of each differently. He separated servile fear and worldly fear from initial and filial, examining each in turn to see how far they expressed inner change. Servile fear is a side-effect of the desire to avoid punishment and willing about evil, while the fear of earthly punishment can turn the individual away from God.[70] Initial fear, or the fear of the beginner, arises when the individual inwardly seeks to avoid wayward responses, only to be betrayed by his outer behaviour. Filial fear is a later stage of spiritual growth, which involves the feeling that

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[68] See, for example, O. Lottin, *Psychologie et morale aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles*, vol. 5 (Gembloux, 1959), pp. 293-5; also, idem, 'Les "Sententiae Atrebatenses', *RTAM*, 10 (1938), p. 219. For a summary, see R. Quinto, 'Per la storia del trattato tomistico *de passionibus animae*: il *timor* nella letteratura teologica tra il 1200 e il 1230ca', in *Thomistica*, ed. E Manning, Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale, Supplementa, 1 (Leuven, 1995), pp. 46-7 and n. 38.

[69] On the date, D. Van den Eynde, *Essai sur la succession des écrits de Hugues de Saint-Victor*, Spicilegium Pontificii Athenaei Antoniani 13 (Rome, 1960), p. 215; cited in Biller, *The Measure of Multitude*, p. 29. On Victorine influence on the early preachers, see D. Poirel, 'Dominicains et Victorins à Paris dans la première moitié du XIIIe siècle', ed. S. Lusignan and M. Paulmier-Foucart, *Lector et compilator. Vincent de Beauvais, frère prêcheur: un intellectuel et son milieu au XIIIe siècle* (Grâne, 1997), pp. 169-87. On Hugh and the school of Laon, C. Giraud, *Per verba magistri. Anselme de Laon et son école au XIIe siècle* (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 454-77.

[70] Hugh of St. Victor, *De sacramentis*, 2. 13. 5 (*PL* 176, 528): 'Servilis timor est, pro evitanda poena abstinere a malo, retenta voluntate mala. Mundanus timor est pro evitanda poena abstinere a bono, retenta voluntate bona. Initialis timor est pro evitanda poena cum perverso opera etiam pravas cogitationes resecare. Filialis timor est bono firmiter adhaerere quia illud amittere nolis.' Trans. R. J. Deferrari, *On the Sacraments of the Christian Faith (De sacramentis)* (Cambridge, Mass., 1951).

arises when the individual desires the good and fears its loss. It could contribute to an individual's progress towards God and charity. Hugh of St. Victor's position on the moral gradations of fear, as summarised in the *De sacramentis*, can be represented as follows:

	seruilis	(i)
	mundanus	(ii)
Timor		
	initialis	(iii)
	filialis	(iv)

Hugh's thought was influential, but the story of theological ideas about fear could also begin with the 'school of Laon'. Cedric Giraud's recent study on Anselm of Laon (d.1117) and his reputation in the twelfth century has succeeded in clarifying his importance as a source in the teaching of later theologians at Paris and elsewhere in Europe.[71] 'The great theological *summae*, such as the *De sacramentis* of Hugh of St. Victor (d.1141), the *Summa sententiarum* of Otto of Lucca (d.1146) and the *Sententiae* of Peter Lombard (d.1160), organised the theological material gathered together by the previous generation.'[72] According to Anselm of Laon, 'it is clear that there are four fears.' Similarly, in another collection of *Sententiae* from the same school: 'Note that there are four fears, two earthly and two divine.' Together the statements, and others like it, show how, in the twelfth century, in places such as Laon and St. Victor, an attempt was made to arrive at a satisfactory account of fear, which needed to be consistent with aspects of human experience and a wider theological view.

However, the most important vehicle for systematic thought and new theological questions in the thirteenth century was Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, which helped to generate both on a mass scale. Peter Lombard, born between 1095 and 1100, probably heard Hugh's lectures at St. Victor in the 1130s. In Ignatius Brady's intellectual biography in the *Prolegomena* to the modern critical edition of the *Sentences* we find a picture of a teaching career that was generally recognised by contemporaries as

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[71] C. Giraud, *Per verba magistri. Anselme de Laon et son école au XIIe siècle* (Turnhout, 2010).

[72] Ibid., p. 455.

outstanding, with most traces of his activity coming either from commendatory remarks or traces left by his advancement from the school in Reims to election as the bishop of Paris.[73] He could, for example, claim Bernard of Clairvaux as his patron, and shortly after his arrival in Paris in the early 1130s, poems such as those attributed to Walter Map talked about 'the famous Lombard theologian', who was consulted by the pope and who weighed up accusations of heterodoxy against famous contemporaries such as Gilbert de la Porrée.[74]

An outcome of his Parisian teaching career, the *Sentences* were subject to successive revisions and organised according to a deliberately usable structure and system of referencing. Peter completed a first draft after a visit to Rome in 1154, where, among other things, he consulted Burgundio of Pisa's recent translation of John Damascene's *De fide orthodoxa*.[75] He was later able to add finishing touches during two series of lectures at the cathedral school of Notre-Dame, first in 1156-1157 and then finally in 1157-1158, making numerous 'flying' glosses in the margins of the earlier text.[76]

Although it is apparent that Peter designed his work with the classroom in mind, it is unlikely he could have foreseen the impact it would have. The fate of the *Sentences* was fixed by its use as a theological text-book in schools and universities in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[77] Its extraordinarily wide diffusion is witnessed by the vast number of surviving manuscripts, a figure estimated to be somewhere between six hundred and nine hundred, a misleadingly low figure, since it does not account for manuscripts of

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[73] I. Brady, *Prolegomena*, vol. i, part 1 of Peter Lombard, *Sententiae in IV libris distinctae*, ed. I. Brady, 2 vols., Spicilegium Bonaventurianum 4-5 (Grottaferrata, 1971-81).

[74] Ibid., pp. 8, 17. On the accusations, in which Peter, Suger of St. Denis and Bernard of Clairvaux censured Gilbert's opinions, see P. W. Rosemann, *Peter Lombard* (Oxford, 2004), p. 37.

[75] On the trip to Rome and Peter's use of the *De fide orthodoxa*, Brady, *Prolegomena*, p. 121.

[76] For the date of composition, Brady, *Prolegomena*, pp. 120-29.

[77] P. W. Rosemann, *The Story of a Great Medieval Book: Peter Lombard's "Sentences"* (Peterborough, Ont., 2007); for important surveys of the latest research, see *Mediaeval Commentaries on the "Sentences" of Peter Lombard: Current Research*, vol. 1, ed. G. R. Evans (Leiden, 2002); and *Mediaeval Commentaries on the "Sentences" of Peter Lombard*, vol. 2, ed. P. W. Rosemann (2010). For editions and manuscripts, F. Stegmüller, *Repertorium commentariorum in Sententias Petri Lombardi*, 2 vols. (Wurzburg, 1947); V. Doucet, *Commentaires sur les Sentences: Supplément au répertoire de M. Frédéric Stegmüller* (Quaracchi, 1954).

commentaries which include the *Sentences*.[78] Generations of university and mendicant lecturers were expected to read Peter's text, reinforcing its importance through commentary and exposition.

Like his contemporaries at St. Victor, Peter assumed that the findings of famous theologians and Christian authorities ought to be made available in a single text. This desire to create a unifying synthesis of Christian faith presented problems of order and structure. In the *De sacramentis*, Hugh of St. Victor had joined topics together by locating them historically in the chronology of man's salvation. Peter, however, was concerned with the construction of an alternative system that could be held together thematically.[79] In this way, the inspiration and purpose of the work would be discernible to a reader through its formal unity as well as its content. He was interested in the potential for all doctrine to be understood according to Augustinian principles of differentiation, sketching the outline of a system in an epilogue, where he distinguished between four different aspects of theological teaching, moving from discussions of the Trinity and the creation of things to the Incarnation of the Word and questions about the sacraments or signs of grace.[80]

As a result, readers familiar with the text and its construction were able to learn where they could find sentences on specific themes, facilitating the quick and uncomplicated retrieval of relevant information. The ubiquity of Peter Lombard's *Sentences* was a prominent feature of academic thought in the thirteenth century, which was widely used as a starting point by theologians. For example, when Federico Visconti wanted a general account of theological positions on the gift of fear, he could turn to the Lombard's analysis of fear as one of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit.[81] If fear was to be understood as a gift, it had to be possible to demonstrate its link to charity.[82] This problem and others like it were important, and it mattered that theologians got them right.

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[78] The *Sentences* was one the works which Humbert recommended should be kept in a convenient place in conventual libraries in Humbert of Romans, *De vita regulari*, II, p. 265.

[79] For a useful summary, see P. W. Rosemann, *Peter Lombard*, pp. 54-70; also Martha Colish's interpretation in *Peter Lombard*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1994); and the introductions to *The Sentences*, trans. G. Silano, Mediaeval Sources in Translation 42, 43, 45, 48 (Toronto, 2007-2010).

[80] Peter Lombard, *Sententiae*, I. i. 1, no. 9; cited in Rosemann, *Peter Lombard*, p. 60.

[81] Ibid., III. xxxiv. 3, pp. 191-92.

[82] Ibid., III. xxxiv. 5, pp. 194-94; cf. Federico Visconti, *Les sermons*, 11, § 13, pp. 426-27.

In total, seven out of the nine chapters in which Peter addressed the gifts dealt with the subject of fear. His discussion began with filial fear, which was understood as a combination of a fear of separation and reverence or the fear of offending God.[83] He was following Augustine and Bede by separating servile fear from chaste or filial fear, something which in turn enabled him to offer a solution to the well-worn problem of how fear could be categorised as a gift if it could not conceivably exist in heaven. The conclusion he reached was that filial fear was a product of man's immersion in the world, and that in heaven, reunited with God, there will be no fear of separation, only reverence. This was the same definition of filial or chaste fear that we find Federico using in his memorial sermon for the archpriest of Massa.[84]

Peter went on to address the concept of fear in greater detail. He went through each type of fear in turn, enabling him to reflect on the relevant scriptural authorities and incorporate them into his treatment. Like Hugh of St. Victor and Anselm of Laon, he divided fear into four:

Timor
- mundanus sive humanus (i)
- seruilis (ii)
- initialis (iii)
- filialis (iv)

However, Peter's inquiry into fear yielded different results to Hugh of St. Victor's *De sacramentis*. In Peter's ethics, for example, we encounter a second type of servile fear, capable of improvement and assisting the individual's pursuit of justice: the fear of hell focused the mind on the avoidance of sin.[85] Initial fear, on the other hand, is present when the individual starts to act out of love, and when there is positive deliberation about the good. Worldly and filial fear represented the two ends of a spectrum, where the former

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[83] Ibid., III. xxxiv. 3, no. 4: Ut, verbi gratia, timor filialis modo facit timere ne offendamus quem diligimus, et ne separemur ab eo; facit etiam nos revereri eundem; in futuro vero faciet nos revereri, quando non timebimus separari vel offendere.

[84] Federico Visconti, *Les sermons*, 11, § 11, p. 426: 'Item est filialis timor, quo quis timet peccare solum ne offendat et separetur a Deo.'

[85] Peter Lombard, *Sententiae*, III. xxxiv. 4, pp. 193-94.

indicated a presentist concern for 'the dangers of the flesh and the loss of worldly goods', while the latter involved the perfecting fear of separation from God.[86]

Peter also recognised a different sort of natural fear, which he kept separate from the four-fold division. Instead of making his schema look like a creaky device for the analysis of fear, this alternative type of fear was introduced from the point of view of Christ's assumption of human nature, cross-referencing an earlier discussion of Christ's passibility.[87] It is important to note that, for Peter and his contemporaries, the forms of *timor* reflected different levels of explanation and were discussed at different points in the curriculum.

Later theologians made changes to the division of fear they found in the *Sentences*. Riccardo Quinto has recently shown how Stephen Langton was one of the first to depart from the traditional four-fold division in order to introduce greater clarity and untangle the various authorities.[88] In his *Quaestiones theologicae*, Stephen differentiated between six types of fear, having already taken a step towards this position in his gloss on Peter Lombard's *Magna glossatura*. In both texts, Stephen demonstrated his familiarity with ideas put forward by Peter of Poitiers, who, writing before 1170, had integrated natural fear into his division to account for the form of human weakness assumed by Christ.[89]

Stephen travelled further in the same direction by distinguishing between the human fear (*timor humanus*) of an object detrimental to the individual person and the worldly fear (*timor mundanus*) of losing one's possessions. After *timor naturalis*, the remaining three definitions of fear – *seruilis*, *initialis* and *filialis* – would all have been familiar to a reader of Peter Lombard's *Sentences*. Stephen's account was thus a good example of the sort of progress made through the approach of Parisian theologians. It is worth observing the six-fold division of fear he introduced was more or less the same as that used by Federico in his sermon to his clergy in Pisa in the middle of the thirteenth century, suggesting how the conceptual resources at Federico's disposal were built on foundations established by earlier theologians.

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[86] Ibid., III. xxxiv. 4, p. 193.

[87] On the Christ's fear and sadness as a 'propassion', ibid., III. xv. 2, pp. 98-100, and Chapter 4 below.

[88] On Stephen's treatment, see Quinto, Quinto, 'Il *timor* nella letteratura teologica', pp.48-50; 'Le commentaire des *Sentences*', in *Hugues de Saint-Cher (†1263)*, pp. 305-307; also, 'Hugh of St.-Cher's Use of Stephen Langton', pp. 286-87.

[89] Quinto, 'Le commentaire des *Sentences*', p. 305.

In the early thirteenth century the six-fold classification adopted by Stephen was gradually introduced into discussions of fear. We find evidence for this process in the treatment of fear in William of Auxerre's *Summa aurea*, an influential work which, as we have seen, Federico cited in his sermons. Writing between 1215 and 1229, William was influenced by ideas recently made available through the recovery and translation of Greek and Arabic texts.[90] In his treatment of fear, however, he used Stephen Langton's six-fold division, apparently accepting that this reflected a leap in thought compared to earlier divisions found in twelfth-century works.

Quinto has carried out a comparison of the two texts and suggests that William's observations about servile fear show signs of Stephen's influence. However, the similarity ends abruptly when William starts to discuss filial and initial fear, the two negative counterparts to servile fear. Based on a study of the extant manuscripts of Stephen's text, Quinto proposes that William only had access to an incomplete manuscript, which included a discussion of servile fear, but not filial and initial.[91] He thus had to make do, incorporating his predecessor's insights when and where he could. Again, the reception of Stephen's division by William of Auxerre shows how theologians tried to build on the work of their predecessors. In general, William's arguments in the *Summa aurea* confirm the impression that the divisions put forward by Peter Lombard and Hugh of St. Victor had been updated to reflect the latest advances.

Until now we have been looking at fear from only one point of view. We can see that when different theologians addressed the problem of fear as a gift of the Holy Spirit they kept the basic structure of the concept more or less intact, only adapting the terms they inherited when it helped to convey a more nuanced solution. However, from the early thirteenth century, theologians at Paris started to address questions about fear which had not been posed by earlier thinkers, a process which involved them in the assimilation of unfamiliar categories and concepts. The impetus for this process came primarily from the

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[90] Most date the *Summa aurea* to the early 1220s. See, for example, Quinto, 'Le commentaire des *Sentences*', in *Hugues de Saint-Cher (†1263)*, p. 307. For a summary, see J. Ribailler, *Introduction générale* to the critical edition of the *Summa aurea*, Spicilegium Bonaventurianum, 20 (Paris-Grottaferrata, 1987), p. 16. Recently, Peter Biller has suggested the possibility of an earlier date (after 1218) in *Measure of Multitude*, pp. 97-98, n. 35.

[91] Quinto, 'Les commentaire des *Sentences*', pp. 307-12; also, Quinto's discussion in Appendix II of 'Hugh of St.-Cher and Use of Stephen Langton', pp. 295-97.

reception of John Damascene's *De fide orthodoxa*.[92] It is worth summarising the important details of this process since they throw useful light on the sermon in question and the way in which generic constraints influenced the preaching of Federico Visconti; both in what he included and in what he appears to have left out.

The *De fide orthodoxa* was translated into Latin by Burgundio of Pisa by the early 1150s, adding to chapters already made available through the partial translation of Cerbanus.[93] Dating to the early eighth century, John's text was witness to an earlier theological tradition, which offered a systematically arranged compilation of Greek theology presented in Aristotelian terms, moving thematically from the creation to the sacraments and eschatology. For example, in a comparatively detailed discussion of the passions, John provided twelfth-century readers with a paraphrase of Nemesius of Emesa's *De natura hominis*.[94] In this and in other areas the complete translation of John's text made a large amount of unfamiliar material available to theologians at Paris and elsewhere. It does not come as a particular surprise to learn that there was a copy in the library at S. Caterina.[95]

We know that in 1154 Peter Lombard travelled to Rome with the bishop of Paris and that while he was there he had the opportunity to consult Burgundio's new translation.[96] At some stage he also consulted the Cerbanus translation, including quotations in his collection of *Sententiae*. The opportunity to familiarise himself with other parts of the *De fide orthodoxa* did not cause Peter to radically alter the structure or content of his text. Brady observes that he only appears to cite passages which would already have been known to him through Cerbanus. Was he just using the opportunity to check the latest translation? The interesting point from our point of view is that he did not try to integrate John Damascene's discussion of fear into his own.

In Paris in the early thirteenth century theologians set about adapting earlier categories to accommodate the *De fide orthodoxa*. For evidence of this process we can consider the

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[92] John Damascene, *De fide orthodoxa, versions of Burgundio and Cerbanus*, ed. E. M. Buytaert, The Franciscan Institute Publications, Text Series 8 (St Bonaventure, N. Y., 1955).

[93] On Burgundio's translation, M.-T. d'Alverny, 'Translations and Translators', in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. R. L. Benson and G. Constable (Oxford, 1982), pp. 430-31.

[94] On John's use of Nemesius, S. Knuuttila, *Emotions in Ancient and Medieval Philosophy* (Oxford, 2004), p. 213.

[95] Pelster, 'Die Bibliothek von S. Caterina zu Pisa', p. 16.

[96] Brady, *Prolegomena*, p. 121.

debates recorded in a manuscript in the Bibliothèque municipale in Douai, which has been studied by Palémon Glorieux and Riccardo Quinto.[97] Dating to around 1230, the manuscript is an invaluable source of evidence for the theological questions that exercised Parisian masters and their students in the early decades of the thirteenth century. Among the numerous questions, we find evidence of an attempt to resolve the inconsistency between John Damascene's discussion of fear and traditional concepts discussed by Peter Lombard and his successors. In questions 209 to 212, we see how a 'magister G.' addressed this problem by starting with a question about John Damascene's definition of natural fear (*timor naturalis*):

> The Damascene describes natural fear as follows: 'Natural fear is when the soul is unwilling to be separated from the body because of the natural sympathy and familiarity placed in it from the beginning by the creator, which causes it to fear naturally, suffer agony and resist death.'[98]

Here we have a definition of fear which was not available in the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard or other theological texts from the twelfth century. John's explanation of why people were afraid of death was evidently relevant to discussions of Christ's assumption of human nature and would have been at Peter's fingertips in Rome. The onus was on later theologians to incorporate it into their teaching.

The early brethren at St-Jacques made use of Burgundio's translation of the *De fide orthodoxa*. We can see that in doing so they were following other Parisian theologians who were also reading John Damascene's text and citing it as an authority in their own works. We have an example of this process in Hugh of St. Cher's commentary on distinction 34 of book 3 of the *Sentences*, where he used William of Auxerre's *Summa aurea*.[99] We find the same six-fold division of fear, which Hugh ordered according to the moral value of each individual type. Recently, Riccardo Quinto has used this treatment of

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[97] P. Glorieux, 'Les 572 Questions du manuscrit de Douai 434', *RTAM* 10 (1938), pp. 123-52, 225-67; Quinto provides an edition of two questions on fear from the Douai manuscript in 'Il *timor* nella letteratura teologica', pp. 72-87.

[98] Quinto, 'Il timor nella letteratura teologica', p. 84: 'De timore naturali. Damascenus sic describit naturalem timorem: "timor naturalis est nolente anima diuidi a corpore propter eam que ex principio a conditore ‹imposita› est ei naturalem compassionem et familiaritatem propter quam naturaliter timet et agoniam patitur et renuit mortem".' John Damascene, *De fide orthodoxa*, 67, ed. Buyatert, p. 265.

[99] Quinto, 'Le commentaire des *Sentences*', pp. 317-21.

fear to clarify the relationship between Hugh's *Sentences* commentary and Roland of Cremona's *Liber quaestionum*, proposing that both Dominican theologians consulted William of Auxerre's *Summa aurea* and that this can account for certain similarities between them.[100] He finds evidence in the way that Roland of Cremona did not venture beyond the division of fear found in the *Summa aurea*, even though he addressed the problem of natural fear in some detail.[101] By contrast, Hugh of St. Cher went on to introduce a second six-fold division of fear according to John Damascene:

	Segnities	(i)
	Verecundia	(ii)
Timor	Erubescentia	(iii)
	Admiratio	(iv)
	Stupor	(v)
	Agonia	(vi)

Hugh devoted a paragraph in his commentary to John Damascene's unfamiliar division, introducing the definitions of each. Modesty (*verecundia*), for example, is defined as the fear of shameful behaviour, which is necessary for salvation; while feebleness (*segnities*) is the fear of future action.[102] John Damascene's account of fear evidently posed new questions for theologians. The two taxonomies had developed separately and addressed different problems; there was no easy way to iron out the differences. Later theologians, including Thomas Aquinas, returned to this problem, offering alternative ways to present a coherent account of the different forms of fear, both as a gift and a passion.

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[100] See Chapter 5 below, n. 24.

[101] Ibid., p. 321; also, Appendix II in his 'Hugh of St.-Cher's Use of Stephen Langton', pp. 295-96.

[102] For a partial edition, see Appendix I in Quinto, 'Hugh of St.-Cher's Use of Stephen Langton', p. 293: 'Set prius videtur quod plures sint species timoris quam predicte vi. Dicit enim Damascenus quod timor in sex dividitur species, scilicet segnitiem, verecundiam, erubescentiam, admirationem, stuporem, agoniam, et ponit descriptionem cuiuslibet: segnities est timor future operationis; erubescentia timor est in expectation convitii, et dicit quod optima est hec passio; hec de futuro esse patet; verecundia est timor in turpi actione, et de hac dicit: hec passio inseparabilis est ad salutem, quasi diceret, "sine verecundia non potest esse salus"; admiratio est timor ex magna ymaginatione, stupor est timor ex inconsueta ymaginatione, agonia est timor per casum scilicet per infortunium.'

We can now return to the division of fear provided by Federico Visconti. The editors of Federico's sermon collection identify Hugh's commentary on the *Sentences* as the source for the discussion in the memorial sermon for the archpriest of Massa. We can see the correspondence when we place the two texts side by side. Where Federico provided definitions for the different types of fear, he seems to have used Hugh of St. Cher's commentary as his starting point, sometimes elaborating on a point to make it more vivid. For example, both Hugh and Federico defined initial fear (*timor initialis*) as either the fear of someone who fears hell and offending God or the fear of separation from God, before going on to say how it looks both ways, with one eye on punishment, and the other on God. However, Federico tweaked this image, possibly with a view to making it more memorable, by specifying that it was the left eye which focused on punishment, while the right focused on the prospect of eternal life.[103] Federico's use of Hugh's *Sentences* commentary in this instance is instructive. On the one hand, it demonstrates the influence of Hugh of St. Cher's academic thought on his preaching. On the other hand, it suggests how Federico's priorities were shaped by generic pressures peculiar to sermons in which it mattered that ideas were communicated in a clear and memorable way.

With his copy of Hugh's commentary on the *Sentences* to prepare his memorial sermon, we can see how Federico considered it necessary to emend Hugh's scholastic language. In a similar vein, we can also understand why he chose to leave out the second six-fold division of fear according to John Damascene as he ordered the different constituent parts of his sermon. Its omission could be an indication that Federico considered John's division unhelpful to the logical development of the argument, and that its inclusion would therefore hinder understanding of the material he wanted his learned audience to appreciate. This might be evidence that John Damascene's division was still too unfamiliar to be incorporated into what was essentially a fairly traditional account of the significance of fear in man's relationship with God.

With this is mind, we can start to see how Federico's sermons were a spin-off of academic learning. First, in the St-Jacques concordance, we find a list of examples of biblical texts on fear presented in a way that facilitated the easy location of material

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[103] Federico Visconti, *Les sermons*, 11, § 10, p. 426: 'Item est initialis, quo quis timet peccare partim timore pene, partim timore separationis a Deo. Sinistro enim oculo respicit penam, dextro vero vitam eternam.' Cf. Quinto, 'Hugh of St.-Cher's Use of Stephen Langton', p. 292: 'Timor initialis est quo quis timet gehennam et offensam dei sive separationem a deo, unde habet quasi duos oculos, unum ad penam, alterum ad deum, et hic est principalior.'

relevant to preachers. Next, we have an academic text-book and later theological texts, which addressed questions about fear in different ways. Finally, we have an instance of this thought being given a practical application in sermons delivered to a learned clerical audience by a Paris-trained archbishop.

It is also worth pointing out that Federico was not the only preacher influenced by Hugh of St. Cher in thirteenth-century Italian cities. Here I have tried to suggest the influence of Hugh's commentary on the *Sentences*, but the basic point about Dominican influence on Italian preaching could also be made by focusing on the diffusion and reception the *Postills*.[104] As observed by Louis-Jacques Bataillon, the case of Federico Visconti is particularly striking, but it is not unique: there were other channels that linked Hugh's Parisian theology to regular preaching in the cities and towns of the Italian peninsula.

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[104] On this point, see L.-J. Bataillon, 'L'influence d'Hugues de Saint-Cher', in *Hugues de Saint-Cher (†1263)*, p. 500, where he cites the preaching of Bartolomeo da Breganze as an important example of the diffusion of the *Postills*. For an example of Bartolomeo preaching on the gift of fear, Bartolomeo da Breganze, *I "Sermones de Beata Virgine" (1266)*, ed. L. Gaffuri (Padua, 1993), 26, pp. 154-59. On Bartolomeo's teaching at the papal *studium* at Perugia, see M. Mulchahey, 'The Dominican *Studium Romanae Curiae*: The Papacy, the *Magisterium* and the Friars', in *Philosophy and Theology in the 'Studia' of the Religious Orders and at Papal and Royal Courts*, p. 579.

Part 2

THE SENTENCES

4

THE *SENTENCES* AS A VEHICLE FOR THOUGHT ABOUT EMOTION

So far the discussion has been concerned with the conditions of thought and teaching in Pisa and S. Caterina in the belief that we can obtain a greater understanding of the friars' concepts and values if we immerse ourselves in the patterns of life they were intended to assist. It is now time to address the evidence for the friars' thought about emotion as it featured in their theological discourse. We find a way to approach this problem in surviving theological texts and *Sentences* commentaries, which show how, in the course of their teaching, Dominican lecturers discussed various questions about emotion or similar concepts. After looking at the changing use of the *Sentences* in the Roman Province, this chapter will look at examples which came out of the friars' interest in understanding Christ's human nature. How did the daily discussion of such questions serve as a medium for the introduction of new thoughts about human emotion and the elaboration of existing concepts? How far should the friars' routine theorizing be understood as a local – as well as an institutional – phenomenon addressed to individuals in a particular place and time, and consistent with accessible categories and standards?

4.1 The reception of Thomas's Scriptum super libros Sententiarum *in Pisa and the Roman Province*

The intellectual formation of masters of theology was something to which the early friars-preacher attached a great deal of value. Once the order had acquired its two chairs in the theology faculty at Paris, there was an onus on the master-general and senior friars to find candidates of sufficient talent to be able to prepare their confrères for a life devoted to the *cura animarum*. By the 1250s, to gain recognition and to pass into this élite corps of theologians, a young friar ear-marked for the Parisian regency first had to lecture as a

bachelor of the *Sentences*.[1] It was a demanding process, designed to produce a thinker with a thorough knowledge of the most important theological text-book. Once complete, the bachelor could go about revising the reports of his daily lectures, fashioning them into a polished commentary, which could be made available to other friars, who might incorporate its arguments into their own reading of the *Sentences*. Thus a revised *Sentences* commentary could provide a bridge between ordinary lecturers teaching in local convents and licensed professionals with Parisian credentials. The importance attached to this process was reflected in the reception within the order of Parisian *Sentences* commentaries, which were frequently accorded precedence over other works which lacked such a strong association with the highest level of academic training.

The academic career of Thomas Aquinas provides an extraordinary example. In 1252, as Albert's student at the order's new study-house in Cologne, he was well positioned to begin preparation for the Parisian regency. As observed in Chapter 2, as master at the Cologne *studium*, Albert had lectured on Aristotle's *Ethics* as part of a broadly conceived programme to render Aristotelian learning intelligible to his students and, unusually, had also lectured on the corpus of Pseudo-Dionysius.[2] As a result of the newness of the *studium* in Cologne, and its distance – intellectual and geographic – from the university at Paris, Albert may have profited from a degree of institutional flexibility, or at least from weaker restrictions on what he was and was not allowed to teach. It seems unlikely that lecturers who lacked Albert's authority and expertise would have been granted this sort of dispensation from the constitutional ban on the study of secular science.

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[1] P. Glorieux, 'L'enseignement au moyen âge. Techniques et méthodes en usage à la Faculté de Théologie de Paris, au XIIIe siècle', *ADHLMA* 35 (1968), pp. 96-99; for a useful survey, R. L. Friedman, 'The *Sentences Commentary*, 1250-1320: General Trends, the Impact of the Religious Orders, and the Test Case of Predestination', in *Mediaeval Commentaries on the* Sentences *of Peter Lombard: Current Research*, vol. 1, ed. G. R. Evans (Leiden, 2002), pp. 41-128; for an overview, G. Leff, *Paris and Oxford Universities in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries: An Institutional and Intellectual History* (London, 1968).

[2] *Alberti Magni Super Ethica: Commentum et quaestiones*, ed. W. Kübel in *Opera omnia*, ed. Coloniensis 14.1 (Münster, 1968), v-vi; *Alberti Magni Super Dionysius De divinis nominibus*, ed. P. Simon in ed. Coloniensis 37.1 (Münster, 1972), vi-ix; Weisheipl, 'Life and Works of St. Albert', pp. 29-30; idem, *Friar Thomas d'Aquino*, p. 46; also, M. Mulchahey, *"The use of philosophy especially by the Preachers…": Albert the Great, the* Studium *at Cologne and the Dominican Curriculum*, The Étienne Gilson Series 32 (Toronto, 2008).

According to William of Tocco, Thomas took an active part in the work being carried out at the *studium*.[3] By serving as a *respondens* in academic disputations and as an assistant to the order's most acclaimed theologian, he would have gained first-hand experience of this work. When the order's master-general, John of Wildeshausen, later sought out candidates for the Parisian chair, he consulted Albert, a friend from his own province, for advice. Albert recommended Thomas and shortly afterwards, in the summer of 1252, Thomas must have made the journey from Cologne to Paris.

Over the next four years Thomas lectured on the books of Peter Lombard's text as *baccalaureus sententiarum*, doing so in a way that owed much to the environment at St-Jacques and Cologne, as well as Albert's teaching. The impression left on Thomas's thought by his training in Cologne is illustrated by the prologue to his commentary, which was one of the first by a member of the Order of Preachers to articulate the status of theology as a science by establishing its object and purpose according to Aristotelian procedure.[4] It was an apprenticeship which involved giving roughly two hundred lectures on the four books of the *Sentences*.[5]

The book which emerged, the *Scriptum super libros Sententiarum*, is a revised version of Thomas's lectures, rather than an unpolished verbatim report. William of Tocco states that Thomas continued to revise his commentary after his inception as master early in 1256, something confirmed by Adriano Oliva's recent critical work showing how additional material was incorporated into later copies. Thomas was in his early thirties. After studying at St-Jacques and Cologne, and completing his course of lectures on the *Sentences*, he had achieved something decisive. We have an indication of the extent of this achievement in the way the *Scriptum* was read and taught throughout the order, becoming progressively more important as Thomas's fame and reputation grew.

After serving as master of theology at St-Jacques, Thomas returned to his native Roman Province. In his seminal article on the background to Thomas's *Summa theologiae* Leonard Boyle described how Thomas's arrival in the Roman Province after years spent studying and teaching at Cologne and Paris had an invigorating effect on

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[3] Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas d'Aquino*, p. 46.

[4] For an edition of the prologue and introduction, see A. Oliva, *Les débuts de l'enseignement de Thomas d'Aquin et sa conception de la 'Sacra Doctrina', avec l'édition du prologue de son Commentaire des 'Sentences'* (Paris, 2006).

[5] Ibid., pp. 240-41.

learning.[6] The sudden increase in references to study in surviving provincial *acta* after Thomas had been made preacher-general is particularly striking. Formed at two of the order's *studia generalia*, Thomas had an academic view on his vocation: he had an interest in seeing the provision of studies in the Roman Province brought up to the standards Albert and others had made possible, and he was able to work towards this through his participation in the annual provincial chapter.

With a few precise brushstrokes Boyle provides a picture that is simple and entirely plausible. It works as an explanation by taking a restricted view on a large body of relevant material. The problem he addressed was how a comprehensive theological textbook for 'the instruction of beginners' squared with wider developments. The intensification of focus can be understood in light of wider circumstances, such as the order's attempts to improve conventual education following the 1259 general chapter at Valenciennes, a programme which, as we have seen, Thomas had helped to formulate.[7] It is certainly true that similar steps were being taken around the same time in the provinces of Lombardy and Provence.[8]

One charge which could be levelled at Boyle's explanation is that it places too much weight on the friars' own assessment of the provision of study in the Roman Province. It was announced at the provincial chapter in Viterbo in 1264 that 'study in this province is neglected.'[9] 'At Rome in 1263', writes Boyle, 'the Chapter for the first time ever comes out openly on studies, ruling that all the brethren, the old with the young, should attend

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[6] L. Boyle, *The Setting of the* Summa theologiae *of Saint Thomas*, The Étienne Gilson Series 5 (Toronto, 1982); reprinted in *The Gilson Lectures on Thomas Aquinas*, ed. J. P. Reilly, Étienne Gilson Series 30 (Toronto, 2008), pp. 19-45 (which I cite here).

[7] *Acta I* (Valenciennes, 1259), ed. Reichert, pp. 99-100. Boyle, 'The Setting of the *Summa*', pp. 22-23; Mulchahey, *Dominican Education before 1350*, pp. 222-24.

[8] T. Kaeppeli, *Acta capitulorum provinciae Lombardiae (1254-1293) et Lombardiae Inferioris (1309-1312)*, *AFP* 11 (1941), pp. 138-72; *Acta capitulorum provincialium ordinis fratrum Praedicatorum. Premier province de Provence, province romaine, province d'Espagne*, ed. C. Douais, 2 vols. (Toulouse, 1894), vol. 1, p. 93; also C. Douais, *Essai sur l'organisation des études dans l'ordre des frères Prêcheurs au treizième et au quatorzième siècle (1216-1342)* (Paris, 1884).

[9] *Acta provinciae Romanae* (Viterbo, 1264), p. 29: Item quia videmus quod in ista provincia studium negligitur, volumus et districte iniungimus quod priores circa hoc diligentiam maiorem apponant et ad studium cogantur fratres, et ordinent quod in qualibet septimana lectiones semel repetant; et examinentur diligenter, maxime iuvenes, a magistro studentium de his que in scolis per septimanam audierint a lectore. Volumus etiam quod lectores non sint faciles ad dimittendum lectiones et maxime absque priorum suorum licentia et assensu.

classes and "repeat" what they had learned.'[10] At Orvieto in 1245 the province admonished all priors to provide students with parchment and necessary things for their study, adding that those students should diligently repeat all the lectures they heard; any friar who failed to do this should be denied parchment and necessary writing materials.[11] This need not undermine Boyle's hypothesis, but it does mean that we need to be careful about how we read the friars' criticism of their predecessors. Indeed, by creating the impression of previous neglect, such statements could have performed an important and necessary function, helping to pave the way for educational reform along the lines envisaged by Thomas and other masters of theology.

We could also ask whether the idea of 'doctrinal gap' between a narrow tradition of practical theology and the more systematic theology of the *studia generalia* is a fair characterisation of the provision of studies in the Roman Province. There is perhaps a risk of overlooking earlier evidence of philosophical interest in the Roman Province in an effort to account for the integration of Thomas's doctrine into the order's curriculum. We know that in 1243 and 1244 there was something of a crackdown on the ownership of books of philosophy. First, in 1243, Bonifazio of Siena was ordered to hand all of his philosophical texts to the prior. A year later all friars in the Roman Province, except lecturers, were ordered to hand over their books on the secular sciences, except for those on moral philosophy and logic, to their prior within seven days of hearing the order.[12] Here we have a demonstration of the forcefulness of the order's interpretive restrictions, as well as the trust that the order invested in its conventual lecturers.

Bonifazio of Siena's collection of books suggests his genuine interest in recent philosophical learning. In view of the number of recruits mentioned by Jordan of Saxony who were said to have been trained in logic or the arts, Bonifazio's interests may have been relatively common. To provide a more recent example: we might not be surprised to learn that a civil servant or politician who read Greats continued to pursue an interest in

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[10] L. E. Boyle, 'The Setting of the *Summa theologiae*', p. 28; also, *Acta provinciae Romanae* (Rome, 1268), p. 28.

[11] *Acta provinciae Romanae* (Orvieto, 1245), pp. 4-5: Item monemus priores quod studentibus provideant in cartis et aliis ad studium necessariis, et fratres studentes repetant diligenter lectiones quas audiunt; quod si non faciunt, non teneantur priores in cartis et aliis necessariis providere.

[12] *Acta provinciae Romanae* (Rome, 1243/1244), pp. 1, 2; cited in Humphreys, *Book Provisions of the Mediaeval Friars,* p. 42. On the possible role of Humbert of Romans and the question of whether there was a provincial chapter in Lent 1244 , see S. Tugwell, 'The Evolution of Dominican Structures of Government IV', *AFP* 72 (2002), pp. 112-22, 137-46.

classical literature alongside his professional career. The point at issue appears to be whether or not such interests were aligned with the aims of the order, and the restrictions – or system of dispensations – which were in place to regulate them. The difference is arguably that, in 1243, Bonifazio's interests did not correspond to the goals or expectations of his institution. Thus, rather than an indication of previous neglect, the emphatic statement in the provincial acts of 1264 might be interpreted as a way of justifying the implementation of changes based on new attitudes and concerns. Further, the fact that the 1263 ordinance reinforced existing legislation on the repetition of theological lectures suggests that, although the study of theology in the Roman Province was taking new forms, they were consistent with Dominican tradition, and testified to a continued interest in practical theology and to the desire to drum in knowledge through *repetitiones* and other academic exercises.

The pattern continued at the provincial chapter in Anagni in 1265, where we find evidence directly relevant to the brethren at S. Caterina. Earlier I discussed the reference to Pisa's role in the financial provisions for the province's students at Paris as an example of the practical difficulties posed by the maintenance of an order-wide network of *studia*.[13] More specifically, it might be possible to understand the measure in light of a possible change in the province's priorities following Thomas's return from Paris. By providing 26 pounds Tournois for the students at Paris, it is possible the brethren at S. Caterina were not only sponsoring the training of provincial *doctores theologie*, but also helping to narrow the cultural and intellectual gap between regional study-houses and local schools.[14]

The chroniclers also drew attention to other legislation concerning Pisa's importance as a centre of preaching and the form of daily lectures at S. Caterina. First, they referred to the convent's designation as a location of 'predicationes solemnes' in the acts of the 1250 provincial chapter in Orvieto.[15] This placed it on a par with S. Maria Novella in Florence and S. Maria sopra Minerva in Rome. They also mentioned more detailed legislation, which offers insight into the evolving organisation of the school at S. Caterina, and allows us to discern real differences between Pisa and other communities in the Roman Province. However, since it was enacted twenty-seven years after Proino and

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[13] See Chapter 2, n. 65.

[14] Ibid. (Anagni, 1265), p. 32: 'Conv. Pisanus solvet XXVI lib. Turon. pro studentibus qui sunt Parisius.'

[15] *Acta Provinciae Romanae* (Orvieto, 1250), p. 11; the text is given in Chapter 1, n. 90.

Thomas were made preacher-generals, it is difficult to estimate its significance for the earlier period. One hypothesis, for which there is support in Boyle and Mulchahey, is that it constituted a mature version of scholastic exercises introduced or inspired by Thomas Aquinas and his students. It speaks to the consolidation of the *Sentences* and its importance as a unifying scientific text, and possibly also to the flow of talent in the Roman Province:

> We ordain that lecturers who have bachelors shall only give one lecture a day from the text of the bible, and that they shall dispute in an ordered fashion at least once a week, and that the bachelor shall give the second lecture from the *Sentences*, except for the lecturers at Pisa and Naples, who are to give two lectures a day in an ordered fashion – that is, one on the text of the bible and the other on the *Sentences*. Also, they should avoid going on too long, lest they interfere with the bachelors' lectures, and they shall dispute at least once a week. Other lecturers who do not have bachelors shall read the two lectures in theology every day. The aforesaid bachelors may not sit in the lecturers' chair, but in a more humble place apart from them, except the bachelors of the communities of Pisa and Naples who may sit in the same places together with their lecturers.[16]

There are clear signs of influence, with the diffinitors apparently importing vocabulary from contemporary university legislation.[17] The constitutional requirement for every community to have a 'doctor of theology' has been strengthened through practice and

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[16] *Acta provinciae Romanae* (Rome, 1287), p. 79: Ordinamus quod lectores qui habent baccellarios, legant in die unam lectionem tantum de testu biblie et disputent ordinate ad minus semel in septimana, secundam vero lectionem legant baccelarii de Sententiis, exceptis lectoribus Pisanis et Neapolitano qui singulis diebus legant duas lectiones ordinate, unam videlicet de testu biblie et aliam de Sententiis, et vite[n]t prolixitatem, ne lectio bacellariorum valeat impediri, et disputabunt ad minus semel in qualibet septimana. Alii vero lectores baccellarios non habentes legent in die qualibet duas lectiones in t[h]eologia. Bacellarii vero predicti non sedeant in cathedra lectorum, sed in alio loco magis humili eis seorsum separato, exceptis bacellariis conventuum Pisani et Neapolitani qui in eisdem locis cum suis lectoribus sedeant.

[17] On the reading of texts 'ordinarie', see 'L'enseignement au moyen âge: Techniques et methods en usage à la Faculté de Théologie de Paris au XIIIe siècle', *AHDLMA* 43 (1968), p. 115; more generally, M. Mulchahey, 'Dominican Educational Vocabulary and the Order's Conceptualization of Studies before 1300: Borrowed Terminology, New Connotations', in *Le vocabulaire des écoles des Mendiants au Moyen Âge. Actes du colloque Porto (Portugal), 11-12 octobre 1996*, ed. R. M. Pacheco and M. C. da Costa (Turnhout, 1999), pp. 89-118.

though imitation of the system at Paris, where bachelors would serve under masters prior to their inception. It also confirms the meticulous attention paid to the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard above all other theological text-books as a means of concentrating attention and structuring doctrinal content. We have seen that in 1288 the lecturer at S. Caterina was Gherardo Pisano, a relation of the counts of Donoratico.[18] We also know that when Gherardo took up his post as lecturer at S. Caterina he had recently returned from the *studium* at St-Jacques.[19] And so, as Thomas may have intended, there *was* continuity between the centre and periphery, there *was* coherence of structure and, we can suppose, coherence of thought.

Boyle's view pits Thomas's systematic theology against the meagre diet of practical theology which sustained the majority of his confrères in the Roman Province, arguing for Thomas's instrumental role in overseeing lasting changes to the way study was organised and administered. He looks out from one of 'a number of possible windows', the size and shape of which reflects the scale and scope of Thomas's achievements. Still, sources such as the Pisa chronicle and Federico Visconti's sermons prove there is use in seeing the same scene from S. Caterina and other convents in the Roman Province. This alternative window is more restricted, but nevertheless allows us to glimpse the favourable landscape that Thomas was seeking to influence.

Proino di Orlandini da Fabro, the in-house lecturer at S. Caterina, is known to have owned a copy of Thomas's Parisian commentary on the *Sentences*.[20] We have seen how

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[18] *Acta provinciae Romanae* (Lucca, 1288), p. 83. On Gherardo, see Chapter 2, n.8061.

[19] *Cronica*, ed. Panella, § 84: Tandem rediens de studio parisiensi, iam factus predicator generalis et lector pisani conventus, non sine magno ordinis detrimento ad magna sibi bona paratus cessit vite mortali, quam Deus non dono eratico sed eterno et copioso premiat in excelsis.

[20] *Cronica*, ed. Panella, § 10 (nos. 7-9). Pelster identifies nos. 7-9 as the *Scriptum* in 'Die Bibliothek von S. Caterina zu Pisa', p. 17 ; cf. Alexander Murray, 'Archbishop and Mendicants', p. 23, n. 11. Murray identifies the three codices as the *Summa theologiae*, citing Pelster in support of this identification. The early dates of the other works in the list make this unlikely. In the donation nos. 7-9 were grouped alongside other works of high scholastic theology, such as the *Summa fratris Alexandri*, the description ('Primus et secundus sancti Thome in uno volumine') tells us the entry was made after Thomas's canonization in 1323. By this time, the *Scriptum* had been integrated into the order's curriculum, and was frequently distinguished from his *Summa* in educational legislation. Moreover, it is hard to see why the compiler of the list would have divided the *Summa* into four books. For legislation from the Roman Province relating to the *Summa*, see *Acta proviciae Romanae* (Perugia, 1308), p. 169. Also, the differentiation between the *Summa* and *Scriptum* in the provincial vademecum in Panella, 'Libri della Provincia Romana', p. 290.

Federico Visconti placed Proino on the same level as Mansueto da Castiglione Fiorentino, his fellow mendicant and 'magister in theologia', chaplain to Alexander IV and later papal legate, suggesting his status as one of the Pisa's most authoritative theologians.[21] In his sermon Federico identified Proino and Mansueto by their mendicancy and learning, holding them up as examples of men capable of moving others to action. Affiliated to their respective orders, they operated on the edge of the local church, speaking with the authority attained through learning and expertise.

In Chapter 2 we observed that Proino was remarkably up to speed with current theological and philosophical literature. Proino's family background may have played some part in his determination to enter the order and to train as a theologian, since we are told that some of the books he left to the community once belonged to his father, Orlandini da Fabro.[22] It is highly unlikely that Thomas's *Sentences* commentary was part of this earlier donation. Proino and Thomas Aquinas were both appointed as preacher-generals at the 1260 provincial chapter in Naples.[23] This must have provided Proino with the opportunity to catch up with the latest theological developments at Paris.

The picture of Proino as book collector and associate of Thomas Aquinas is strongly suggestive of his social standing and intellectual significance, but there are gaps. He was one of the community's earliest recruits. If he had joined the order as a young man in the 1220s he would have been in his late fifties when he attended the synod in 1260 and well into his sixties if he attended the general chapter in Viterbo. His early education would have been at the conventual school, possibly under someone such as Leo di San Sisto, where he could have heard daily lectures inculcating him with the basics of theology. There may also have been opportunities for Proino to familiarise himself with works that were not on the curriculum, but which were kept in the convent's library. If he had been determined to educate himself as a preacher, he could have managed it without leaving Pisa. Is this picture plausible for one of S. Caterina's most famous lecturers? Did the question of sending Proino to hear theological lectures at Paris or Bologna ever arise? No direct evidence survives. His rich collection of theology and philosophy, provincial importance, and local reputation as a *magister in theologia* suggest the possibility. Would

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[21] Federico Visconti, *Les sermons*, 3, § 2. See above, p. 46.

[22] *Cronica*, ed. Panella, § 10: 'Et pater eius scilicet Orlandinus dictum filium multis libris predotavit, quos ipse conventui dedit'.

[23] Ibid., § 10; also, Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas d'Aquino*, p. 146.

Federico have put Proino on the same footing as Mansueto if he had not pursued further studies at Bologna or Paris?

Given Federico Visconti's enthusiastic appraisal of the brethren at S. Caterina and our knowledge of Proino's personal book collection, it is conceivable that attempts to update aspects of the order's provision of studies went down well in Pisa. If there was a desire to broaden theological education beyond workaday questions geared towards the needs of *fratres communes*, it would have been endorsed and promoted by men such as Proino di Orlandini da Fabro, Aldobrandino Cavalvanti,[24] and Ambrogio Sansedoni,[25] who each had a personal and intellectual connection to Thomas and his teaching. In light of scholarship emphasising the collaborative nature of research undertaken at places such as St-Jacques, we might consider the process identified by Boyle as the product of an effective 'societas studii' in the Roman Province, a term used by Thomas in his *Contra impugnantes cultum Dei et religionem* of 1256 to describe the state of affairs prevailing in his order: in learning, Thomas suggested, society benefits from collective enterprise, where knowledge can be shared as soon as it is acquired.[26]

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[24] In 1261, Aldobrandino Cavalcanti was serving as prior of Lucca when he was chosen to attend the 1262 general chapter in Bologna. *Acta provinciae Romanae* (Orvieto, 1261), p. 26. On Aldobrandino's life and the diffusion of his *Sermones provincialis Tusciae*, see Orlandi, *Necrologio*, I, n. 124, p. 10; and *CUP*, ed. H. Denifle and E. Chatelain, II, p. 717. For a summary of his influence and Thomism, see Mulchahey, *Dominican Education before 1350*, pp. 433-35.

[25] Ambrogio studied with Thomas at Albert's *studium* at Cologne. Mulchahey, *Dominican Education before 1350*, p. 256. On Ambrogio's subsequent use of Thomas's *Scriptum super libros Sententiarum*, see T. Kaeppeli, 'Le prediche del B. Ambrogio Sansedoni da Siena', *AFP*, 38 (1968), pp. 5-12. There were therefore at least two former students of Albert the Great in the Roman Province during the 1260. Could this explain how Proino obtained a copy of Albert's Cologne lectures on the corpus of Pseudo-Dionysius and Aristotle's *Ethics? Cronica*, ed. Panella, § 10, no. 21: 'Opus Alberti super Dyonisium, super ethicam, et quaedam questiones, in uno'.

[26] Thomas Aquinas, *Contra impugnantes cultum Dei et religionem*, ed. Leonina, v. 41, II. ii: 'Utrum religiosus possit esse de collegio saecularium licite.' See M. Mulchahey, '*Societas studii*: Dominic's Conception of Pastoral Care as Collaborative Study and Teaching', in *Domenico di Caleruega e la nascita dell'Ordine dei Frati Predicatori: Atti del XLI Convegno storico internazionale, Todi, 10 -12 ottobre 2004* (Spoleto, 2005), pp. 441-465. Mulchahey gives the date of Thomas's refutation of William of St-Amour's *De periculis novissimorum temporum* as 1260. Weisheipl suggests it was written between Thomas's inception as master in spring 1256 and August in the same year. See Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas d'Aquino*, pp. 383-84. The *Contra impugnantes cultum Dei et religionem* is, arguably, the most likely candidate for no. 10 in Proino's donation, the 'Liber sancti Thome contra magistros parisienses'. If so, why push Proino's donation as late as 1278? See Murray, 'Archbishop and Mendicants', p. 23, n. 11.

Where else can we see evidence of collaborative effort to share and to increase the knowledge cultivated by the order's system of education? I shall now summarise some specific examples, which suggest how the *societas studii* worked in practice.

The first example concerns letter-writing and making use of expertise. Earlier I observed how the order was divided along lines of rank or status, with Parisian masters of theology among the highest positions. This distribution of authority is observable in the surviving half of an exchange of letters between Thomas Aquinas and the lecturer at S. Maria Novella in Florence, James of Viterbo, who wrote to Thomas at Orvieto between 1262 and 1263.[27] The letter concerned the legitimacy of buying and selling credit, a down-to-earth point of immediate relevance to friars serving in the cities of northern and central Italy.[28]

For Leonard Boyle, James's question offers an insight into the type of practical question which might arise during the convent's 'collationes de moralibus', academic exercises through which the brethren could prepare themselves for their lives as confessors and preachers.[29] Because of their oral and routine character, the importance of such exercises in the preacher's intellectual and spiritual transformation is not reflected by the surviving evidence. In this instance, James appears to have sought the opinion of Thomas and the archbishop elect of Eboli on four problematic cases for which he could not find satisfactory answers in the library at S. Maria Novella or among his confrères. In reply, Thomas told James he had discussed the cases with the archbishop elect as well as Hugh of St. Cher, then resident at Orvieto, who was familiar with legal matters from his previous career as a master of the law faculty at Paris, where we know he happened to be

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[27] Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas d'Aquino*, p. 397.

[28] O. Langholm, *Economics in the Medieval Schools: Wealth, Exchange, Value, Money and Usury according to the Paris Theological Tradition, 1200-1350* (Leiden, 1992); L. K. Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe* (London, 1978); also, G. Todeschini, *Il prezzo della salvezza. Lessici medievali del pensiero economico* (Rome, 1994); for a recent account of Albert's discussions of value in the *Ethics*, see S. Piron, 'Albert le Grand et le concept de valeur', in *I Beni di questo mondo. Teorie etico-economiche nel laboratorio dell'Europa medievale*, ed. R. Lambertini and L. Sileo (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 131-56.

[29] L. Boyle, 'The Setting of the *Summa theologiae*', p. 23. On 'collationes de moralibus', see Boyle's 'Notes on the Education of the *Fratres communes* in the Dominican Order in the Thirteenth Century', in *Xenia medii aevi historiam illustrantia oblata Thomae Kaeppeli, O.P.*, ed. R. Creytens and P. Künzle (Rome, 1978), pp. 249-67; reprinted in *Pastoral Care, Clerical Education and Canon Law, 1200-1400* (London, 1981). See also, Mulchahey, *Dominican Education before 1350*, pp. 198-203.

instructing Humbert of Romans at exactly the moment that both men chose to enter the Order of Preachers.[30]

Together the three men reached firm and definite decisions concerning each of the four cases, clarifying whether they were necessarily usurious. This was part of an important pattern in the religious and social world of Italian communes, whereby the mendicants and secular clergy were forced to formulate doctrinally sound responses to increasingly complex forms of profit-making. Can a vendor legitimately claim more than the just price in cases where payment is deferred? If a debtor settles his accounts before payment is due, is he entitled to claim a partial remission?[31] That James chose to seek Thomas's opinion suggests the extent of his importance and intellectual reputation. The opinions of the lector of Orvieto were respected and sought as a guide through difficult terrain. But before Thomas responded to James's letter, he made use of the expertise of another former master of theology who also happened to be in Orvieto. This was the *societas studii* in action.

Letter-writing was one way of using Thomas as a connection to the *studium* at St-Jacques, but a more regular channel of communication could be opened up through the acquisition and consultation of Thomas's theological and philosophical writings. We have seen there are good reasons for thinking that the brethren at S. Caterina had access to all four books of Thomas's *Scriptum super libros Sententiarum*, as well as his defence of the mendicant form of life against William of St-Amour and the Parisian masters. We can easily imagine circumstances in which the lecturer or his bachelor turned to Thomas's commentary on the *Sentences* when preparing their own theological lectures in an attempt to bring their teaching into line with the latest opinions.

There were also strong personal connections between Thomas and other important friars in the Roman Province. For example, we know that Annibaldo Annibaldi, a member

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[30] Gérard of Frachet, *Fratris Gerardi de Fracheto O. P. Vitae fratrum ordinis praedicatorum necnon Cronica ordinis ab anno MCCIII usque ad MCCLIV*, ed. B.-M. Reichert, MOPH 1 (Louvain, 1986), pp. 170-73; for Hugh's conversion and early career, see ibid., p. 173. On Hugh's legal digressions in his *Sentences* commentary, see M. Bieniak, 'The *Sentences* Commentary of Hugh of St.-Cher', in *Medieval Commentaries on the* Sentences *of Peter Lombard*, vol. 2, ed. P. W. Rosemann (Leiden, 2010), p. 142, n. 130. On Hugh's career as cardinal and funeral at Orvieto, see P.-M. Gy, 'Hugues de Saint-Cher Dominicain', in *Hugues de Saint-Cher (†1263)*, pp.26-28, esp. n. 22.

[31] *De emptione et venditione ad tempus*, in *Opuscula theologica*, vol. 1, ed. R. A. Verardo (Rome, 1954), pp. 185-86; trans. O'Rahilly, *The Pocket Aquinas*, ed. V. J. Bourke (New York, 1960), pp. 223-25.

of one of Rome's wealthiest families, was a student under Thomas at St-Jacques and later read the *Sentences* at Paris, probably between 1258 and 1260.[32] In the early 1260s, following his return to Rome, Annibaldo was made a cardinal by Urban IV, and it was to these two men that Thomas dedicated his *Catena aurea*. Annibaldo's commentary on the *Sentences* drew heavily from the *Scriptum*, as well as the commentary of Peter of Tarentaise, who was serving as master of theology at St-Jacques at same time that Annibaldo was reading the *Sentences*.[33] Similarly, Ambrogio Sansedoni, who had studied with Thomas at Cologne and Paris, frequently cited the *Scriptum* in the course of his regular preaching; an indication, perhaps, of the impression the 'dumb ox' made on the thought of his fellow students and contemporaries.

We encounter a third source of evidence in texts where Thomas's successors sought to consolidate the gains he made in the *Scriptum* by incorporating its findings into lower-profile *instruments de travail*. We can trace this pattern in Giovanni Balbi's *Catholicon*, a grammatical treatise completed at the convent of S. Domenico in Genoa around 1286, which included an alphabetised list of *dictiones* found across an encyclopaedic variety of sources – biblical, patristic and literary. Giovanni's word-list was remarkably comprehensive, updating earlier works such as Uguccione da Pisa's *Derivationes* and Papias's *Elementarium*.[34] After a short summary of the headword's derivation, stresses and grammatical points, Giovanni expanded each entry with a series of authorities, which provided up-to-date definitions and relevant information. In many of the entries, we have the impression that the material Giovanni included overlapped closely with the curriculum at the convent in Genoa.

For example, under 'propassio', Balbi included various sayings on the passibility of Christ's soul. The entry was a conveyor of standard authorities in abbreviated form, all of which would have been covered by a lecturer reading the *Sentences*:

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[32] On Thomas and the Annibaldi, see J. Catto, 'Ideas and Experience in the Political Thought of Thomas Aquinas', *Past and Present* 71, 1 (1976), pp. 16-17.

[33] *SOPMA*, II, pp. 174-76; IV, p. 110; Étienne de Salagnac and Bernard Gui, *De quatuor*, p. 34. See R. L. Friedman, 'The *Sentences* Commentary, 1250-1320: General Trends, The Impact of the Religious Orders, and the Test Case of Predestination', in *Mediaeval Commentaries on the* Sentences *of Peter Lombard*, vol. 1: *Current Research* (Leiden, 2002), p. 49; also, A. Oliva, *Les débuts de l'enseignement*, pp. 129-30.

[34] *Cronica*, ed. Panella, §10, nos. 39 and 40. On 'dictionaries', L. W. Daly and B. A. Daly, 'Some Techniques in Medieval Latin Lexicography, *Speculum* 39 (1964), pp. 229-239; O. Weijers, 'Lexicography in the Middle Ages', *Viator* 20 (1989), pp. 139-154.

Propassion is put together from 'pro' and 'passion'; it is said to be a propassion when the flesh is tickled by the sight of a woman, but a passion when that evil affect afterwards spils over into effect. Passion and propassion are described thus by Jerome in his gloss on Matthew 5: '...whosoever shall look on a woman to lust after her, hath already committed adultery with her in his heart.' A propassion is a sudden movement of the soul without deliberation of good or evil. A passion is an affection of the soul, deliberating if there is opportunity to benefit.

Item, note that 'a passion brings about change in the one undergoing it. It is not however said that something changes simply, when that which is principal in itself remains unchanged. And so, simply speaking, when reason is not changed either in its equity or equilibrium, it is not said to be a passion, but a propassion, as it were'[35] a first or incipient passion; or propassion, as it were an imperfect passion – but passion is said to be a passion that has been brought to a conclusion through consent. I want you also to know that in one way there was propassion in Christ, but that it is different in us. For as it is said in Book 3 of the *Sentences*, distinction 20 [*r.* 15]: 'Christ had true fear and sorrow in his human nature, but not in the same way we do, who are his members. We are subject to these defects by necessity because of our sin, and these defects correspond to our propassion and passion; but in Christ they exist only in relation to propassion. [*Rubric omitted*] For just as propassion and passion constitute degrees in sins, so they are also in the affections which are the punishments <for sin>. For one is sometimes affected by fear or sadness, but not in such a way that the mind's understanding is moved away from righteousness or the contemplation of God, and this is a propassion. Sometimes, however, it is moved and disturbed, and this is a passion. [*Jerome's name omitted*] Christ, however, was not so disturbed in his soul by fear or sadness that he strayed to any extent from righteousness or the contemplation of God; and this is how it should be understood when it is said that Christ was not fearful or sad. So Jerome', in his commentary 'on Matthew, where it is said, *He began to grow sorrowful and to be sad* [Matthew 26:37], says, "He was truly saddened in order to prove the truth that he had assumed human <nature>; but because this passion did not dominate his mind, it was, properly speaking a propassion. This is why it says, *He began to grow sorrowful*, that is, saddened in another way,

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[35] See the citation of Thomas's *Scriptum* below, n. 38.

because by propassion." And following this distinction, it is said that at times Christ was not truly afraid, at others times he was truly afraid, because he had true fear and sadness: but not according to a passion, or from the necessity of his condition.[36]

The entry has a clear structure, which hangs on the relations between the different parts; scriptural authorities, a patristic commentary, and Parisian theology are woven together. As a definition, it was highly specialized, covering points that fell within a preacher's theological area of interest. We can imagine a conventual lecturer in Lombardy – or the Roman Province – raising the same points under his discussion of distinction 15 in book 3 of the *Sentences*, and also how the *fratres communes* might have used the bite-sized entries to prepare for the community's regular repetitions. It is interesting that Giovanni integrated Aristotelian vocabulary, suggesting the basic philosophical competence which was expected of the preacher.[37] And, it is likewise interesting that before including a long quotation from the *Sentences*, Giovanni added a shorter one from Thomas's *Scriptum*, showing how, by the middle of the 1280s, its status as an authoritative teaching aid could be taken as read.[38]

Before moving on to look more closely at the development of theological ideas about passions and propassions, it is worth looking at one final example, which ties together the different threads of our discussion. Balbi's *Catholicon* shows how the content of Thomas's lectures on the *Sentences* penetrated more run-of-the-mill teaching of the sort that went on in religious communities across northern and central Italy. In part the speed of its diffusion was an outcome of the text's comprehensive sweep: a lecturer could mine it for summaries of opinions from Paris and some of the more difficult authorities. A

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[36] Giovanni Balbi, *Summa que vocatur Catholicon* (Venice, 1490), s.v. 'Propassio'. The last two-thirds of the entry are taken directly from the *Sentences*, see Peter Lombard, *Sententiae*, III. xv. 2; Brady, ii. 98-99.

[37] Giovanni treated the similar material in a different form in his *Dialogus de quaestionibus animae ad spiritum*, in which the spirit responds to the soul's questions, sometimes philosophically framed, about Christ's suffering and human weakness, in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS. Vat. lat. 1308/1309; *SOPMA*, II, pp. 379-83; IV, pp. 143.

[38] Thomas Aquinas, *Scriptum super libros Sententiarum magistri Petri Lombardi episcopi Parisiensis*, III. XV, ed. M. F. Moos (Paris, 1933), t. 3, p. 504: Dicendum, quod passio importat immutationem patientis. Non autem dicitur aliquis immutari simpliciter, quando id quod est principale in ipso, permanet immutatum: et ideo simpliciter loquendo ratio non immutatur a sui aequalitate, vel aequitate, non dicitur passio, sed propassio, quasi imperfecta passio; et hoc modo fuit in Christo.

second point in its favour was Thomas's extraordinary intellectual charisma. It was packed full of the vouchsafed doctrine of a master of theology who was deeply respected by his contemporaries and canonized by his successors.

However, constantly spurred on by new ideas and stimuli, ambitious thinkers developed their ideas. Thomas was no exception. His commentary on the *Sentences* was based on lectures delivered between 1252 and 1256, and by the middle of the 1260s he was a master of theology at the height of his powers with several years of conventual teaching behind him. In 1265 he was instructed by the Roman Province to establish a *studium* at S. Sabina in Rome.[39] Bright students from within the province were sent to study under him. The impression is of a local theological hothouse: we read that if any of the students were intellectually lacking, Thomas had the power to send them back to their own communities.[40]

The period was productive even by Thomas's standards. Tolomeo of Lucca, who served as his confessor at Naples in 1272-74, described how Thomas followed Albert's lead by expounding 'almost all of the natural philosophical works of Aristotle, whether natural or moral, while in charge of the *studium* at Rome, and wrote his lectures up in the form of a *scriptum* or commentary on each work, particularly on the *Ethics* and *Metaphysics*.'[41]

However, the bulk of the material covered at Thomas's personal *studium* was theological. For this Thomas returned to the *Sentences*. Tolomeo described how he also lectured on book 1 of the Lombard's text, adding that a copy of these lectures was once kept in the library at S. Romano in Lucca. As Leonard Boyle points out, this is the first known example of the *Sentences* being used formally as a theological textbook outside the order's *studia generalia*.

His Roman lectures on book 1 of the *Sentences* included revisions, with new arguments added and old ones rephrased. We know this because Leonard Boyle rediscovered a student's redaction of Thomas's lectures in a late-thirteenth century manuscript now in

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[39] *Acta provinciae Romanae* (Anagni, 1265), p. 32: Fr. Thome de Aquino iniungimus in remissionem peccatorum quod teneat studium Rome, et volumus quod fratribus qui stant secum ad studendum provideatur in necessariis vestimentis a conventibus de quorum predicatione traxerunt originem. Si autem illi studentes inventi fuerint negligentes in studio, damus potestatem fr. Thome quod ad conventus suos possit eos remittere.

[40] Mulchahey, *Dominican Education before 1350*, pp. 278-81.

[41] Cited in Boyle, 'The Setting of the *Summa theologiae*', p. 26.

Oxford.[42] Most of the manuscript is taken up by Thomas's Paris *Scriptum*, but packed into the margins we find a second commentary consisting of a prologue and ninety-seven articles, which cover most of the first 24 distinctions of book 1 of Peter's text. The student-scribe apparently took care to align the later commentary with the earlier discussions from Paris, allowing him to see where Thomas's thought had moved in new directions and where it had been refined through experience.

Before it ended up in Oxford, the manuscript was sold by a 'Frater Jacobus Raynucii'. It seems likely that this was the same Jacobus Raynutii (Jacopo Rainucci) who served as lecturer at the new community in Città di Castello in 1273-1274.[43] There is evidence to suggest it may have been a challenging post. Four years earlier, not long after they had received a donation of land and small buildings on which to build a church, the brethren had been physically attacked by members of the commune.[44] After serving as preacher-general in 1281, Jacopo was made bishop of Florence in 1286.[45] Based on his profile and later career, he could well have been one of those students chosen to attend the *studium* at S. Sabina, where he would have heard Thomas's lectures on the *Sentences*. Either way, it seems that the *Sentences* and Thomas's theology were becoming an increasingly important component in the friars' system of study.[46] Proino's copy of the *Scriptum* must have been in high demand among the brethren at S. Caterina.

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[42] For a modern critical edition of MS. Lincoln College, Oxford, lat. 95, see Thomas Aquinas, *Lectura romana in primum Sententiarum Petri Lombardi*, ed. Leonard E. Boyle and John F. Boyle (Toronto, 2006). Leonard Boyle's original article, 'Alia lectura fratris Thome', *Mediaeval Studies* 45 (1983), pp. 418-29, is reprinted in *Lectura romana*, pp. 58-69. On Thomas's 'intermediate theology model', see Mulchahey, *Dominican Education before 1350*, pp. 278-306.

[43] *Acta provinciae Romanae* (Rome, 1273), p. 43.

[44] Joanna Cannon, 'Dominican Patronage of the Arts in Central Italy: The Provincia Romana, c. 1220-c.1320', PhD diss., University of London (Courtauld Institute of Art) (1980) s.v. 'Città di Castello'. See G. Geltner, 'Mendicants as Victims: Scale, Scope and the Idiom of Violence', *Journal of Medieval History* 36 (2010), pp. 126-41. The incident is not included in Geltner's online appendix which lists violent offences against friars and mendicant convents in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Idem, *The Making of Medieval Antifraternalism: Polemic, Violence, Deviance, and Remembrance* (Oxford, 2008).

[45] *Acta provinciae Romanae* (Florence, 1281), p. 57; K. Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi*, vol. 1(Münster, 1898), p. 250.

[46] See A. Oliva, 'L'enseignement des *Sentences* dans les *studia* dominicains italiens au XIIIe siècle: L'*Alia lectura* de Thomas d'Aquin et le *Scriptum* de Bombolognus de Bologne', in *Philosophy and Theology in the 'Studia' of the Religious Orders and at Papal and Royal Courts*, ed. K. Emery, Jr., W. J. Courtenay, and S. M. Metzger, Rencontres de Philosophie médiévale 15 (Turnhout, 2012), pp. 49-73.

4.2.1 De hominis defectibus*: The passions taken up by Christ's soul*

In Chapter 3, we derived from Federico Visconti's use of Hugh of St. Cher's commentary on the *Sentences* a picture of increasing conceptual resources being brought to bear on theological discussions of fear. If we now turn to Thomas's *Scriptum* we may see the extent to which textual recovery yielded important results in theology through a richer and more detailed analysis of Peter Lombard's *Sentences*. In effect, in their copy of the *Scriptum*, the brethren at S. Caterina could find a guide to recent thought, much of which reflected a time of considerable upheaval in the intellectual landscape around the Parisian community of St-Jacques. It is interesting to imagine how big the knowledge gap between Federico Visconti and Proino might have been on certain points of theology, since if Proino had studied his copy of the *Scriptum* closely, it could have been considerable. The remaining parts of this chapter are an attempt to show how far this point could have been true for thought about Christ's passibility. In an effort to make comparison of the relevant texts easier, and dependence simpler to identify, the discussion will follow a chronological order.

Theologians asked questions about Christ's fear, sadness and pain in order to explain his human nature. What did it mean when it is said that, in Gethsemane, 'Christ began to be sorrowful and troubled' (Matt. 26:38)? How could Christ have experienced fear or sadness if such feelings were afflictions caused by man's fallen state? How could the weakness and passibility of the Incarnate Word be explained? These were naïve questions that served as cues for theological inquiry; but they may nevertheless have reflected a deep unease concerning the image of a doubting and powerless redeemer. In the *Sentences*, once these questions were in place, Peter Lombard reflected on how various Christian fathers had gone about addressing the problem.

He placed his discussion in distinction 15 of book 3 – or, rather, he reached the question in the course of a larger treatment of the incarnation, Christ's role in man's redemption, and the virtues through which man can live in imitation of his example.[47] He presented his reader with the Christological opinions of four patristic authors: Ambrose, Hilary of Poitiers, Augustine and Jerome all put forward ostensibly contradictory positions on the question of Christ's suffering.

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[47] For a summary of the structure of book 3, see P. W. Rosemann, *Peter Lombard* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 119-21.

There are some people, said Peter, who hollow out Christ's suffering by wrongly thinking he only experienced something resembling pain and fear. These people could be persuaded of the truth by the testimonies of patristic authorities.[48] The basic position had been summarized by Augustine: Christ took on 'the affects of human infirmity, just as he did flesh itself and death, that is, not out of necessity but by the will of compassion.'[49] *Sententiae* from Ambrose's *De trinitate* and Jerome's *Explanatione fidei* made the position clearer. Although the same authorities provided apparently contradictory arguments, they were not decisive. In the explanation put forward by Jerome, Christ's suffering was distinguished from ordinary human affliction by the differentiation between 'passion' and 'propassion'. As we have seen already in the *Catholicon*, it was thought that Christ experienced only part of the afflictions that can overwhelm a human soul; thus Matthew stated that Christ *'began* to be sorrowful and troubled'.[50]

However, to reach this point, it was necessary for Peter to solve a number of problems posed by the opinions of Hilary of Poitiers. Hilary was problematic because it appeared he consistently maintained, in contrast to Ambrose, that Christ did not really experience suffering because his divine nature transcended the wounds inflicted upon him.[51] The chapters in Hilary's *De trinitate* were sufficiently awkward to warrant their own treatment. This was an example that later commentators considered it necessary to follow. Addressing Hilary's position, Peter impressed on his reader the importance of trying to perceive the real sense, however dimly discernible it may have been: 'But if you set aside all opinionated and impious bluntness, and note diligently what has been said and consider

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[48] Peter Lombard, *Sententiae*, III. xv. 1.9; Brady, ii.96: Auctoritatibus probat Christum secundum hominem vere dolores sensisse et timuisse, contra quosdam hoc negantes. Sed quia nonnulli de sensu in passione humanitatis Christi male sensisse inveniuntur, asserentes similitudinem atque imaginem passionis et doloris Christum hominem pertulisse, sed nullum omnino dolorem vel passionem sensisse, auctoritatum testimoniis, eos convincentes, indubitabile faciamus quod supra diximus.

[49] Ibid., III. xv. 1.10; Brady, ii. 96.

[50] Ibid., III. xv. 2. 3; Brady, ii.99: Christus vero non ita fuit turbatus in anima timore vel tristitia, ut a rectitudine vel Dei contemplatione aliquatenus declinaret: secundum quem modum intelligitur, cum dicitur non timuisse vel tristis fuisse. Unde Hieronymus, *Super Matthaeum*, ubi legitur: *Coepit contristari et moestus esse:* 'Ut veritatem, inquit, probaret assumpti hominis, vere contristatus est; sed non passio eius dominatur animo, verum propassio est. Unde ait: *Coepit contristari*. Aliud est enim contristari, aliud incipere contristari', quod est, aliter contristatur quis per propassionem, aliter per passionem. (See the entry from the *Catholicon* translated above, pp. 114-15.)

[51] Ibid., III. xv. 3. 1; Brady, ii.100.

the circumstances of what was written, you may understand in one way or another the reason and strengths of the sayings, and you will not try to dispute its understanding.'[52]

Peter resolved the cross-purposes by concentrating on the common desire to show that Christ's human suffering did not have dominion over his soul. Unlike us, he did not have the kind of nature to be fearful or sad. There was no reason why he should. And, according to Peter, Hilary's chapters confirmed that it was not necessary for Christ to have suffered or to have been afraid, as it is for us. Hilary may have taken an unfamiliar route, but he had still arrived at the right destination.

If the aim was to provide an account by which Christ's human and divine natures could be accommodated, there was a strong incentive to consider the question at a level of theoretical precision which allowed for differentiation and close analysis. In Peter Lombard, the most important distinction was between *passiones* and *propassiones*. The particular strength of this account was that it used scriptural authorities as a basis for the moralization of Christ's experience. Christ was never troubled by fear and sadness to the extent that he turned away from the contemplation of God.

The process of interpreting and reconciling different opinions concerning the nature of Christ's experience was closely related to the practice of teaching. Peter of Poitiers, chancellor of Notre Dame, had probably attended Peter Lombard's Parisian lectures. In his own collection of *Sentences*, he adhered to his teacher's theology, while also making use of recent developments in 'new logic'. For example, Peter Lombard divided Christ's will between a rational human part, which corresponded to his divine nature and natural human appetites, using the categories *affectus rationis* and *affectus sensualitatis* to do so.[53] His student followed by adding that Christ's fear and sadness were related to the superior part of his sensuality only: they were the outcome of man's inherited weaknesses, not of illicit movements in an inferior part of his sensual nature.[54] So, although Christ's passibility

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[52] Ibid., III. xv. 3.5; Brady, ii.102: Audisti lector, verba Hilarii, quibus dolorem excludere videtur. Sed si excussa sensus et impietatis hebetudine, praemissis diligenter intendas atque ipsius scripturae circumstantiam inspicias, dictorum rationem atque virtutem percipere utcumque poteris, et intelligentiam arguere non attentabis.

[53] Ibid., III. xvii. 2; Brady, ii.106.

[54] Peter of Poitiers, *Sententiarum libri quinque*, *PL* 211, 1196D-1197A: '…sensualitatem etiam habuit Christus juxta superiorem partem ex qua procedunt motus defectuum ut fames, sitis, et huiusmodi; sed non habuit eam secundum inferiorem partem, ex qua procedunt motus illicitorum, id est superbiae, libidinis, iracundiae, quorum omnium expers fuit divina essentia.' On similar distinctions, see S. Knuuttila, *Emotions in Ancient and Medieval Philosophy* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 193-95.

confirmed his humanity, it differed from operations of the sensual part which were specifically human. His suffering was an act of obedience rather than necessity.[55]

4.2.2 William of Auxerre

In the second decade of the thirteenth century there was a perceptible movement towards new Aristotelian learning and the production of large theological syntheses, which resulted in works such as William of Auxerre's *Summa aurea* and Philip the Chancellor's *Summa de bono*. In the influential chronology established by Daniel Callus, the style of this group's thought was a bridge between the most important theologians of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries and the later emergence of mature Aristotelian thought in university theology faculties and mendicant *studia*.[56]

In Chapter 3 we observed how William of Auxerre's *Summa aurea* influenced both Hugh of St. Cher and Roland of Cremona, two of the earliest Dominican masters at St-Jacques, in their discussions of the different types of fear.[57] We can derive a similar picture from the discussions of Christ's human nature and passibility in Roland's *Liber quaestionum* or *Quaestiones super quatuor libros sententiarum*, and Hugh's commentary on the *Sentences*.[58] For example, there are a number of points where Roland seems to have relied on William's solution in the *Summa aurea*. However, Roland's psychological theory, as seen from a theological standpoint, shows evidence of a much wider group of influences. His treatment incorporated ideas which were not present in William of Auxuerre's *Summa aurea* and which must have come from somewhere else. Some passages indicate an interest in medicine, while others show a familiarity with Aristotle and contemporary writings on faculty psychology. It will be useful to determine how this

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[55] Ibid., 1198D-1199A.

[56] D. A. Callus, *Introduction of Aristotelian Learning to Oxford*, Proceedings of the British Academy, XXIX (London, 1943), pp. 5-6.

[57] For a summary, see 'Appendix II' in R. Quinto, 'Hugh of St.-Cher's Use of Stephen Langton', in *Medieval Analyses in Language and Cognition* (Copenhagen, 1999), pp. 295-96.

[58] Roland called his work a 'Liber quaestionum' and 'Quaestiones super quatuor libros sententiarum', but it was subsequently referred to in medieval catalogues as 'Summa fratris Rolandi'. See D. N. Hasse, *Avicenna's* De anima *in the Latin West: The Formation of a Peripatetic Philosophy of the Soul* (London, 2000), p. 36, n. 132.

dependence led to new ways of talking about the problem long before Thomas's arrival on the scene.[59]

In William of Auxerre's *Summa aurea* we encounter a very clear solution to the problem of Christ's fear, which depended less on patristic authorities than on the integration of an Aristotelian causal explanation, reflecting a wider trend ongoing in the emerging Parisian faculties. Surviving manuscripts show that, along with other major works from the first quarter of the thirteenth century, William's treatise, probably written after 1218, became an important textbook, which was distributed by the *pecia* system before the Paris stationers' list of 1275.[60] Unbound quires of different parts of the *Summa aurea* would have been available at the university stationers, where they could be rented for a fixed price.[61]

The pattern of the argument is familiar. Fear was not derivative of Christ's sensuality, but was willed and rational. As an act of reason intended for our instruction, the presence of fear in Christ is meritorious. This position was an Aunt Sally, of which William, who was described by Salimbene as a great logician and great theologian but tongue-tied

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[59] See Chapter 5 below for a discussion of date of the *Liber quaestionum.* On the prologue and modern critical edition, C. Vansteenkiste, 'L'editio princeps della Somma di Rolando da Cremona', *Angelicum* 41 (1964), pp. 421-37; on Roland's commentary on Job, A. Dondaine, 'Un commentaire scripturaire de Roland de Crémone, le livre de Job', *AFP* 11 (1941), pp. 109-37; G. Odetto, 'Cronica maggiore dell'ordine domenicano di Galvano Fiamma, *AFP* 10 (1940), p. 352: 'Hoc anno (1228) fr. Rolandus Cremonensis conventum Cremonensem in loco qui dicitur S. Gullelmi extra civitatem fundavit.' G. Cremascoli, 'La "Summa" di Rolando da Cremona. Il testo del prologo', *Studi medievali*, serie terza 16 (1975), pp. 825-876. For Gauthier's dating of the *Summa*, see R. A. Gauthier, 'Notes sur les débuts (1225-1240) du premier "averroisme"' *RSPT* 66 (1982), p. 331; also, A. Oliva, *Les débuts de l'enseignement* (Paris, 2006), pp. 259-261.

[60] L.-J. Bataillon, 'Les textes théologiques et philosophiques diffusés à Paris par exempla et pecia', in *La production du livre universitaire au moyen âge.* Exemplar *et* Pecia, ed. L.-J. Bataillon, B.-G. Guyot and R. H. Rouse (Paris, 1988), pp. 158 and 161, n. 27. See also, S. E. Young, *Scholarly Community at the Early University of Paris: Theologians, Education, and Society, 1215-1248* (Cambridge, 2014), pp.102-30. Young identifies a series of *quaestiones* attributed to a 'Master G.' as the work of William of Auxerre, and argues that they constitute 'a significant witness to the impact of his work among his contemporaries.'

[61] J. Destrez, *La pecia dans les manuscrits universitaires du XIIIᵉ et du XIVᵉ siècle* (Paris, 1935); L.-J. Bataillon, 'Exemplar, Pecia, Quaternus', in *Vocabulaire du livre et de l'écriture au Moyen Âge* (Turnhout, 1989), pp. 206-19; R. H. Rouse and M. A. Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons: Studies on the* Manipulus florum *of Thomas of Ireland* (Toronto, 1979); on the diffusions of sermons by *pecia*, D. d'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars*, 98-99, 160-63.

preacher, made short shrift.[62] He did not cite Peter Lombard or the familiar Hieronymian distinction between *propassiones* and *passiones*. Instead he explained Christ's fear of death using more up-to-date psychological theory concerning the division of the soul. Genuine fear, whether taken as the fear of death or the will to avoid dying, was in Christ, because of his sensuality.[63] However, his fear was not altogether unmediated. As something willed, it involved the intellect, the imagination, and the estimative faculty. But, at the moment in question, Christ experienced genuine fear as a necessary feature of his sensuality.

This was the core of William's solution and it enables us to see how he sought to integrate his explanation of Christ's fear of death with a particular notion of the will and human psychology. The gist of his argument was there had been a category mistake: fear is not from the will, but from the estimation of the senses or imagination. The will mattered because it allowed for the *possibility* of Christ's fear.

William cited some examples to make the point clearer. Although a man can let light into the house by opening a window, it takes the sun to make it brighter. The example evokes Avicenna's definition of darkness as the privation of light. Or, to put it another way, the cause of hunger and craving during periods of fasting is not the will, but the sensitive appetite: an empty stomach desires food naturally and by necessity.[64] It is true to say that Christ feared death because he willed, *if* the 'because-of-which' between the will and the fear of death is understood as denoting chance and an accidental causal relation. One needed to tread carefully when talking about Christ doing things 'willingly' and 'unwillingly'. William granted that 'Christ willingly wanted to avoid dying', but argued that this did not mean that 'Christ did not want to die as a result of free will'. He was not

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[62] Young, *Scholarly Community*, pp. 90-91, n. 87.

[63] William of Auxerre, *Summa aurea* III.vi.2 (XVIIIA, p. 80): Ad primum dicimus quod re vera timor sive horror mortis seu voluntas non moriendi fuit in Christo, tamen ex sensualitate; et licet in Christo omnino non cecidisset horribile in sensum eius nec in ymaginationem a sensu, tamen sicut voluit, cadere fecit illud horribile ab intellectu in ymaginationem et ab ymaginatione in estimationem vel estimativam, et ab estimativa in sensualitatem necessario.

[64] Ibid., III.vi.2, p. 81: '…sicut ille qui aperit fenestram non illuminat domum nisi occasionaliter, quia facit aliquid, quo facto domus illuminetur, non ab ipso, sed a sole, sicut et voluntas illius qui vult ieiunare diu et diu ieiuni‹at›, non est causa quare ipse appetat comedere. Appetit enim comedere velit nolit; sed est quedam occasio, quia facit aliquid, scilicet diuturnam abstinentiam, quo facto fit ille appetitus, non ab illa prima voluntate, sed a vi appetitiva sensibili. Stomachus enim sentiens suam inanitionem naturaliter appetit et necessario. Eodem modo fuit in timore Christi, quia voluntas illius fuit prima occasio sed non fuit causa proprie.'

wanting *qua* his rational will. In the same way the monk's empty stomach makes him crave food, it was Christ's human sensuality which made him fear death.[65]

4.2.3 Roland of Cremona

It looks as though Roland of Cremona had William's *Summa aurea* at his disposal when he addressed the same question in his *Liber quaestionum*. On one particular point, he appears to be quoting more or less directly from William of Auxerre's *Summa aurea*. The authority was Isaiah (53, 7), 'He was immolated because he himself willed it'. His fear was rational because he willed it; it was the result of free will.[66] As we have seen, William's argument was that the 'because' denoted an accidental cause, not an immediate one. In answer to the same objection, inserted almost verbatim, Roland reached the same solution, but added an extra psychological dimension. It is true to say, said Roland, 'Christ feared because he willed it' if the link between the two is understood to have been mediated. The immediate cause was the irascible power of Christ's soul.[67]

Roland had already given a quite lengthy account of the human soul and its natural powers (*vires naturales*) in book 2 of the *Liber quaestionum*, which took the form of a digression inserted into his discussion of the sixth day of creation. This, said Roland, seemed like a good point at which to determine the place of man's natural faculties.[68] The section takes up the entirety of folios 32vb-34vb in the Mazarine manuscript of Roland's *Summa*, amounting to 'twenty printed pages' in a transcription made by Dag Nikolaus

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[65] Ibid., III.vi.2, pp. 81-82.

[66] Ibid., III.vi.2, p. 80: 'Item, Christus *oblatus est, quia ipse voluit* (Ysaias, liii); similiter passus, quia ipse voluit; ergo eadem ratione timuit, quia voluit; ergo ille timor fuit ex libera voluntate sive ex libero arbitrio; ergo fuit meritorius.' Cf. Roland of Cremona, *Summae magistri Rolandi Cremonensis O.P.. Liber tercius*, Q. XXXII, ed. A. Cortesi (Bergamo, 1962), p. 104: 'Item in Ysaia (LIII C): *Oblatus est quia voluit*. Ergo, eadem ratione, timuit quia voluit. Ergo ille timor fuit voluntarius. Ergo non fuit naturalis. Ergo videtur quod fuit rationis, ex quo fuit voluntarius, quia ex hoc videtur quod fuit liberi arbitrii; et, si fuit liberi arbitrii, fuit rationis, quia liberum arbitrium est ratio.'

[67] William of Auxerre, *Summa aurea* III.vi.2 (XVIIIA, p. 81): 'Ad quartum dicimus quod hec conclusio: 'Christus timuit mortem quia voluit', vera est, si hec dictio 'quia' notet occasionem sive primam causam accidentalem. Si vero notet causam immediatam, falsa est.' Cf. Roland of Cremona, *Summae magistri Rolandi*, Q. XXXII, p. 106: 'Tamen nota quod ista debet distingui duplex ex equivocatione: 'Christus timuit quia voluit', quia hec dictio *quia* potest notare causam mediatam, et sic est vera, ita quod illud verbum *voluit* notet voluntatem rationis; vel potest notare causam immediatam, et sic est falsa, quoniam ille timor immediate processit a vi irascibili, mediate autem processit a ratione.'

[68] See the discussion in Hasse, *Avicenna's De anima in the Latin West*, pp. 39-40.

Hasse, who suggests this mini-treatise was an original step. There was nothing comparable in Hugh of St. Cher or William of Auxerre, both of whom preferred to include psychological thought as and when it could add something to the discussion of a theological question. For Hugh and William, the illustrative use of Aristotle and Avicenna on human psychology did not call for a stand-alone survey.

This is not to say that Roland's introductory course in psychology spilled out in untheological directions. He was too good a teacher to try to turn short theological arguments into long philosophical or medical ones. Hasse identifies two separate comments on the need to delimit the theological from the medical and psychological. These can be added to the various passages gathered by Michèle Mulchahey under the same heading.[69] Mulchahey thinks Roland's positive attitude to secular science could have been a reaction to 'recent warnings from the papacy' and 'his own order's anti-liberal arts leanings'.[70]

Nevertheless, the picture of an expert in philosophy, whose knowledge distinguished him from his contemporaries, is made more attractive by the remarks of Gérard of Frachet in the *Vitae fratrum*. A certain kind of philosophical argument may have come easily to Roland, who had once served as master of arts at Bologna and whose works show familiarity with medical learning.[71] We might imagine that in Toulouse, freed from the denser concentration of theological activity at Paris, it may have been easier for Roland to move in different directions. This could be why his observations were more obviously indicative of his own interests and wider reading than the even more institutionally conditioned thought of other senior friars tied to the Parisian theology faculty.

Roland based his psychological study on a rule of twelve. Following a short prologue, his discussion comprised eleven parts: the external senses, common sense, the estimative faculty, memory, *ingenium*, the rational faculty, the intellect, the irascible faculty, the concupiscible faculty, the vegetative faculty, and free will.[72] After he had discounted *ingenium* and free will, Roland was left with twelve *vires naturales*: five external senses, five internal senses, and the irascible and concupiscible faculties. Hasse observes how Roland reduced these complex problems to a more memorable form by comparing the

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[69] Mulchahey, *Dominican Education before 1350*, pp. 60-67.
[70] Ibid., p. 64.
[71] On Gérard of Frachet's description of Roland, see Chapter 5 below, n. 20.
[72] *Avicenna's De anima in the Latin West*, pp. 37-42.

'twelve faculties to the twelve sons of Job, to the twelve cows carrying the 'iron sea' of Solomon's temple and to the apostles'.

The theological structure of Roland's psychology was built on Augustine, whose works provided the basis of his distinction between *sapientia* and *scientia*. Meanwhile, the briefly stated view that inferior reason, intermixed with the body and used by the spirit, was located 'in medio ventriculo cerebri' was a sign of the intercourse between Roland's theology and medical knowledge. His respect for the opinions of the *philosophi* Aristotle and Avicenna extended the scope of his treatment still further. He cited Aristotle's *De anima* on the fallibility of the intellect, using the same authority and reaching the same conclusion as Hugh of St. Cher in his commentary on the *Sentences*.[73] Quotations from Avicenna's *Metaphysics* and *De anima* are symptomatic of their influence on the thought of Roland and his contemporaries, whilst his use of the *Canon medicinae* was much more unusual.[74] The use of Avicenna's thought anticipated the interest of later generations: copies of his *Metaphysics* and 'Libri naturales', for example, were owned by the community of S. Caterina.[75]

The theological relevance of this section on man's natural faculties was upheld by the subsequent discussion of Christ's human weakness. Roland took it for granted that his reader was familiar with the nature of the irascible and concupiscible faculties, and of the different affective responses assigned to them. He began by explaining the meaning of Augustine's position that 'Christ was not truly afraid', introducing the familiar distinction between the necessity of man's fear as a token of his sinful nature and Christ's wilful assumption of human weakness.

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[73] Roland of Cremona, *Summae magistri Rolandi Cremonensis O.P.. Liber tercius*, QQ. XCIV-CXX, ed. A Cortesi (Bergamo, 1962).

[74] Although the *Canon* was translated before 1190, it seems it was not widely read until the second half of the thirteenth century. See D. Jacquart, 'La réception du *Canon* d'Avicenne: comparison entre Montpellier et Paris au XIIIᵉ et XIVᵉ siècles', in *Histoire de l'école médicale de Montpellier*, Actes du 110ᵉ Congrès national des sociétés savamtes (Paris, 1985), pp. 69-77; see also, M. R. McVaugh, 'The "humidum radicale" in thirteenth-century medicine', *Traditio* 30 (1974), pp. 259-283. The earliest citation found by McVaugh dates from around 1240. Jacquart uses the reception of the *Canon* to show some differences in the conditions of teaching between Montpellier and Paris. The links between Toulouse and Montpellier in this context are worth considering. On Roland's use of the *Canon*, see D. N. Hasse, *Avicenna in the Latin West*, pp. 40-41. Also, on the diffusion of Avicenna's *Metaphysics* and the sale of a copy of an unidentified work by Avicenna by the convent at Viterbo, see Chapter 5 below, n. 50.

[75] Pelster, 'Die Bibliothek von S. Caterina zu Pisa', p. 19.

To clarify what it meant to fear voluntarily, Roland directed the reader to book 3 of Aristotle's *Ethics* and to his useful definition of actions that are both voluntary and involuntary.[76] He argued that Christ's fear was not voluntary according to the standards of the principle introduced in the *Ethics*, where Aristotle discussed the case of sailors who decide to jettison goods during a storm to save their lives. Voluntary actions involved things within the individual's power and must be judged according to the particular circumstances of the action in question. Nobody would claim sailors would wilfully throw their cargo overboard, except out of fear, just as nobody ought to think Christ chose to feel fear and sorrow in Gethsemane. But, if talking about fear as something naturally belonging to the irascible faculty, his fear should also be understood as an outcome of his sensuality, which he had willingly assumed.[77]

Roland's *Liber quaestionum* also shows how questions were added to Peter Lombard's discussion of Christ's passibility, and that these questions were consistent with currents in early-thirteenth century psychology. For example, we read that there were some who denied that irascible movements – understood as involving reactions to bad things – were in Christ because he was never angry. Roland cleared up the confusion by commenting that the anger in Christ was the specific outcome of his zeal and charity, explaining that it in no way affected his reason or led to any sin.[78] The idea that there was never any anger in Christ was problematic because of his irascible faculty, the existence of which was confirmed by his fear which, in one sense, was wilful. Ultimately, it was important to remember that there was one rule for Christ and another for the rest of us.[79]

At another point Roland found opportunity to put right a misunderstanding by drawing on an example from medical tradition. For the objection that when Christ was led to the cross his fear was rational because it arose from contemplation rather than the perception of the senses, imagination or estimative faculty, Roland developed a solution that drew attention to the behaviour of timorous and melancholic men. Fear sometimes originates in

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[76] Roland of Cremona, *Summae magistri Rolandi*, Q. XXXII, pp. 104-105.

[77] Ibid., p. 105: Unde naturaliter exibat ille timor de vi irascibili ex quo ratio posuit horribile in irascibili, sive potius in extimativa. Sed ex propria voluntate posuit; sed naturaliter exibat ille timor ex irascibili.

[78] Ibid., p. 105: Ad aliud quod dicit – quod motus naturalis irascibilis nunquam fuit in Christo, scilicet irasci, ergo nec motus secundus – dicimus quod ira fuit in Christo, scilicet ira per zelum, que est caritatis. Sed illa ira ita fuit in ipso quod nullo modo perturbavit rationem eius; et sine omni peccato fuit in ipso. Unde non est conveniens si dicatur quod fuit ita iratus ira per zelum, quod dicitur in Marcho.

[79] Ibid., p. 106.

the estimative faculty, and so precedes the experience of the senses. This was the case for men unusually prone to fear, for whom simply the deliberation of a future evil involved the soul's estimative faculty.[80] Perhaps drawing on his medical knowledge, Roland noted that we can observe the same thing in men whose brains are afflicted by melancholy.[81] By impressing the relevance of such categories onto the minds of his students, Roland also, whether knowingly or not, echoed the advice and language of at least one confessors' manual from the start of the thirteenth century.[82] Thus such categories could have passed from the academic lives of religious such as Roland of Cremona and his friar-students into the 'lived religion' of the laity.

To summarize, in the *Liber quaestionum* we have a demonstration of what it meant to study Peter Lombard's *Sentences* at Toulouse during the early years of the 1230s. The focus of attention on a single authoritative text did not prevent the Dominican master of theology from talking about other texts or from introducing new topics with a view to improving existing accounts, but when newly framed ideas about the soul's natural faculties were added to the discussion, they were subject to quite rigorous formal and intellectual constraints. This process was in keeping with the outlook of the Order of Preachers and the new university of Toulouse; two learned institutions with a brief to promote orthodoxy.

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[80] Ibid., p. 106: Dicimus quod Christus poterat facere sine aliquo sensu preambulo quod caderet horribile in extimativam, sicut si precederet sensus. Et ita fecit ibi. Aliquando enim ex sola cogitatione cadit horribile in extimativam, et fit homo timidus; et non precedit sensus, sicut videmus in melancolicis.

[81] On Melancholy, R. Klibansky, E. Panofsky and F. Saxl, *Saturn and Melancholy: Studies in the History of Natural Philosophy, Religion and Art* (London, 1964); P. Levron, 'Mélancolie, émotion et vocabulaire : enquête sur le réseau lexical de l'émotivité intrabilaire dans quelques textes littéraires des XIIe et XIIIe siècles', in *Le sujet des émotions au Moyen Âge*, ed. P. Nagy and D. Boquet (Paris, 2009), pp. 231-72.

[82] For example, the *Summa de poenitentia iniungenda*, which Gründel dates to the first decade of the 1300s, in J. Gründel, *Die Lehre von den Umständen der Menschlichen Handlung im Mittelalter* (Münster, 1963), pp. 398-99: 'Sequitur de qualitate, pro qua ideo peccatorum dico fore puniendum, quia si duo sint, quorum unus sit sanguineus vel colericus, alius melancholicus vel flegmaticus, in eodem genere delecti scilicet in fornicatione pariter peccent, magis est puniendus melancholicus vel flegmaticus quam sanguineus vel colericus, quia iste causam habet impellentem, ille vero nequaquam, licet flegmaticus maiorem materiam habet.' For a discussion of early thirteenth-century pastoral care, see A.Murray, 'Confession before 1215', *TRHS* 6th Series, 3 (1993), pp. 51-81.

4.2.4 Thomas Aquinas

If we now return to the *Scriptum* on the *Sentences*, one of the first differences we notice between Thomas's text and Roland's earlier *Liber quaestionum* is its more exhaustive method and the clearer scholastic apparatus. In the twenty or so years separating the two works, the process of producing a new reading of the *Sentences* had become much more clearly defined. Even though Thomas and Roland both reworked their lectures into an *ordinatio*, they did so under very different circumstances. In 1252, Peter Lombard's *Sentences* was establishing itself as the standard text of the theology faculty, intensively studied by all teachers and students every academic year.[83] It had become the basic gauge of a bachelor's competence, as well as a way to demonstrate the progressive elaboration of theological ideas by scholastic techniques. Lecturing on the *Sentences* at Paris, Thomas was able to make use of Albert's teaching, and could also draw on recent lectures by Bonaventure, a student of Alexander of Hales at the Paris *studium* of the Friars Minor. Alexander had been the first master of theology at Paris to base his ordinary lectures on the *Sentences* instead of Scripture.[84] A generation earlier, probably between 1223 and 1227 (and not after 1230), he had reorganised Peter Lombard's text by dividing its chapters into thematically arranged distinctions to aid quick reference, underlining its importance as a textbook.[85] Work on Thomas's *Scriptum* has shown he knew or consulted Bonaventure's commentary, suggesting how such works were circulated and read in thirteenth-century Paris.[86]

Thomas's commentary ought to be read with consideration of the conditions of teaching, since this helps us to understand how the arrangement of the *Scriptum* derived from a pedagogical concern for the effective communication of theological doctrine. The essential elements of the commentary comprised a series of questions arranged by articles and small questions, bookended by an introductory division of the different parts of the text and a final *expositio*.[87] The whole of the commentary was an opportunity for the bachelor to establish his theological opinion on a wide range of theological subjects. As

[83] Friedman, 'The *Sentences Commentary*, 1250-1320', pp. 44-56.
[84] See H. W. Weber, 'The *Glossa in IV libros Sententiarum* by Alexander of Hales', in *Mediaval Commentaries on the* Sentences *of Peter Lombard*, vol. 2, ed. P. W. Rosemann, pp. 79-109.
[85] Brady, *Prolegomena*, p. 144. Also, see Chapter 5 below, n. 9.
[86] J. G. Bougerol, *Introduction à saint Bonaventure* (Paris, 1988), pp. 113-118.
[87] See Chenu's discussion in *Toward Understanding Saint Thomas*, trans. A.-M. Landry and D. Hughes (Chicago, 1964), pp. 264-72.

attention turned in this direction, the importance placed on the bachelor offering his students a literal commentary of Peter Lombard's text gradually diminished.

Beyond the differences in form we notice the inclusion of a much larger number of sources, the majority of which had played little or no part in Roland's account. Thomas's lectures on Christ's passibility were flooded with high-grade psychological and philosophical thought. A cursory reading of distinction 15, question 2 in book 3 of the *Scriptum* turns up citations from eight different works by Aristotle, the *De fide orthodoxa* of John Damascene, several works from the Pseudo-Dionysian corpus, Seneca's *Epistulae morales,* various *loci* from Augustine and Hilary, Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob* and the sermons of Leo I.[88] The sheer range of information, and the density of Thomas's analysis, was indicative of the amount of interpretive work Thomas expected his reader to do. In this context, the concept of an 'implied' or 'model' reader developed by Wolfgang Iser and Umberto Eco is helpful: it can help us to imagine the level of understanding, knowledge and technical competence assumed of the friar-students at the order's Paris *studium*.[89] It also seems to confirm the view that *Sentences* commentaries absorbed new categories and vocabulary, which were made available through the translation and intellectual recovery of texts. Interesting in this context was Thomas's use of a term that was new to these discussions. Where Roland of Cremona had asked how the passage 'Coepit Iesus pavere et taedere' (Mark 14:33) should be understood, Thomas included a relatively long question on the passions of the soul (*passiones animae*).[90]

In the first article, Thomas discussed the definition of passion before proceeding to ask whether Christ's soul was truly passible. These definitions were the raw materials, or necessary instruments, of the business in hand. The starting points were the fundamental and universal categories of passion, action and motion. The interrelationship between these discrete ontological units was a difficult problem, which attracted the attention of lecturers from the arts and theology faculties. He paraphrased a passage from Aristotle's *Physics*: everything that is moved is also acted upon (*pati*), since the motion in the thing

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[88] Thomas Aquinas, *Scriptum super libros Sententiarum III*, XV. ii, p. 481-93.

[89] W. Iser, *The Implied Reader* (Baltimore, 1974); idem, *The Act of Reading* (London, 1978); also, U. Eco, *The Role of the Reader: Explorations in the Semiotics of Texts* (Bloomington, Ind., 1979).

[90] On the importance of earlier discussions, see A. Boureau, 'Un sujet agité. L'émergence des passions de l'âme au XIIIe siècle', in *Le sujet des émotions au Moyen Âge*, ed. P. Nagy and D. Boquet (Paris, 2009), pp. 187-200, especially pp. 192-94.

that is moved is a passion.[91] Since bodies are capable of being moved, it follows that all bodies can be acted upon.

In the arguments against, Thomas introduced two relevant opinions from the *Topics* and *De generatione et corruptione*. The first related to the problem apparently presented by Aristotle's argument that everything that is passible is necessarily corruptible. How could all bodies be passible if they were not all corruptible? Similarly, in *De generatione*, Aristotle had established the principle that every action involved a contrary passion. The objection was that, because there are some bodies which do not have contraries, they cannot all be acted upon. Material for these arguments against the idea that Christ truly experienced fear and sorrow evidently came from natural-philosophical sources, but the thrust of the discussion was still familiar and overwhelmingly Christological.

In response Thomas moored his solution in the general definition of passion found in John Damascene's *De fide orthodoxa*. According to this definition, passion should be considered as 'a movement in one thing caused by another'.[92] Thus, properly speaking, a passion involved a material change. The strict sense of passion as a modification which entailed the reception of one thing and loss of another, which Thomas developed here in response to arguments against Peter Lombard's treatment of Christ's possibility in the *Sentences*, can also be found in Thomas's own theological resource-book, the *Summa theologiae*.[93] This brief discussion of the relationship between the categories of passion and modification and their relationship to motion was intended as a means of establishing the fundamental points. The new vocabulary put certain obstacles in the way of traditional theological arguments. Thomas cleared the path. Having defined passion in its strictest sense, he could now clarify what it meant for a passion to belong to the soul.

The classification took up the two remaining 'little questions' or *quaestiunculae*. Before Thomas could say definitively whether the soul was passible, he first had to establish how the soul and the body were able to act upon each other. He said the confusion over how there is passion in the soul could be easily dealt with through a discussion of its nature, its link to physical changes, and the operation of its powers. In this context, passion practically refers to the operation of the sensitive and nutritive part of

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[91] Thomas Aquinas, *Scriptum super libros Sententiarum III*, XV. ii. i., p. 481: Omne enim quod movetur, patitur; quia motus in eo quod movetur est passio, ut dicitur in III Phys.. Sed omne corpus movetur. Ergo omne corpus patitur.

[92] Ibid., XV. ii. i., p. 483.

[93] For a recent discussion, R. Miner, *Thomas Aquinas on the Passions* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 29-35.

the soul. He integrated Aristotle's *Physics* and *De anima* to establish how passions constituted acts of the sensitive appetite, a point he supported with two further quotations, one from Aristotle and another from John Damascene.[94] When giving the second Thomas slipped by misattributing it to Remigius; this could have been his mistake or it could just as easily have been second-hand. The idea that passions could be seen as a function of the soul's sensitive appetite was a common position in the philosophical psychology of the mid-thirteenth century. It was summarised by Thomas as follows:

> It remains to be said, therefore, that passion is properly said to belong to the powers of the sensitive appetite, as these powers are material and are moved by things according to their own nature, and since it is not an appetite of the intention, but the thing itself. And according to this, the thing is either in harmony with the soul or contrary to it. This is why the Philosopher says in book 2 of the *Ethics* that passion is followed by pleasure or sadness, and why Remigius says that 'a passion is a motion of the soul regarding the apprehension of good or evil'. Pleasure, on the other hand, occurs when there is a conjunction with an agreeable and natural cause. For this reason, these passions are more properly said to be the sensitive affections that are followed by sadness, or even those that are accompanied by vehement pleasure or sorrow, as the Philosopher says in book 5 of the *Metaphysics*, because in such cases the soul is drawn from its natural course. And it is this sense that we are discussing the passions.[95]

It is clear that Thomas's familiarity with John Damascene *De fide* and his exposure to Aristotelian thought had left him with a fundamentally different set of definitional issues

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[94] Thomas Aquinas, *Scriptum super libros Sententiarum III*, XV. ii. i., p. 485.

[95] Ibid., XV. ii. i, pp. 485-86: Relinquitur ergo quod passio proprie dicatur secundum vires appetitivas sensitivas, quia hae vires et materiales sunt et moventur a rebus secundum proprietatem rei, quia non est appetitus intentionis, sed rei ipsius; et secundum hoc habet res convenientiam ad animam vel contrarietatem. Et ideo dicit Philosophus in II *Eth*., quod passio est quam sequitur delectatio vel tristitia; et Remigius dicit quod *passio est motus animae per suspicionem boni vel mali*. Sed quia accidit delectatio secundum conjunctionem convenientis et connaturalis, ideo adhuc magis proprie dicuntur passiones illae affectiones sensitivae ad quas sequitur tristitia, vel etiam quae sunt cum vehementia sive delectationis sive tristitiae, ut dicit Philosophus, V *Meta*, quia sic trahitur anima extra modum suum naturalem. *Et sic loquimur hic de passionibus*.' In the 1956 edition, Moos has "suspicationem" instead of "susceptionem". The source here was not Remigius but John Damascene, *De fide orthodoxa*, II. 22.

to address. In part, this was the outcome of a concerted effort to develop such lines of thought on the part of earlier theologians, such as William of Auvergne, John of La Rochelle and Albert the Great, all of whom had applied substantial learning to the elaboration of ideas about human psychology. We might also refer to the working ambience that prevailed at St-Jacques and more widely in Paris. For example, did Thomas consult either of the verbal concordances to John Damascene's *De fide orthodoxa* produced by the community at St-Jacques?[96] It is interesting to speculate about what sort of difference the easy accessibility of such material – together with the intellectual variety of Albert's lectures at Cologne – made to Thomas's thought.

Compared to his discussion of what passions were and how they pertained to the soul, Thomas's discussion of the passibility of Christ was relatively brief; but this is not to say he did not provide his reader with interesting solutions. He started by clarifying the interrelationship between Christ's human and divine natures, locating passibility within the former, whilst drawing attention to how the two were conjoined by beatitude. Christ's soul suffered from the bodily wounds inflicted during the passion, but it also suffered certain incomplete passions, which involved its powers and some modification of their organs.[97] At this point Thomas's explanation seems to have come very close to that put forward by Bonaventure in his earlier commentary on the *Sentences*. Perfect virtue does not entirely remove man's animal passions, and besides sometimes a use can be found for them, as is the case for well-directed and spirited anger. This point was further demonstrated by Christ's soul, in which the lower faculties were totally obedient to the superior, with the result that a complete passion could never arise without the consent of reason.[98]

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[96] See Chapter 6 below, n. 46.

[97] Thomas Aquinas, *Scriptum super libros Sententiarum III*, XV. ii. i, p. 487: Unde anima Christi secundum essentiam tota patiebatur ex corporis laesi passione; sed quantum ad potentias patiebatur quidem passiones imperfectionis, secundum operationes virium affixarum organis.

[98] Ibid., XV. ii. i, p. 487: 'Ad secundum dicendum quod perfecta virtus non omnino tollit animales passiones, quia et aliquando utitur eis, sicut fortitudo ira, ut dicit Philosophus in III *Eth*.; sed facit ut nulla passio surgat quae rationem impediat. In Christo autem amplius fuit, quia in eo fuit perfecta obedientia virium inferiorum ad superiores; ideo nulla passio in eo surgebat nisi ex ordine rationis.' Cf., Bonaventure, *Commentaria in quatuor libros sententiarum*, vol. 3 (Quaracchi, 1887), XVI. dub. 4, p. 342: 'In Christo autem aliter esse potuit, qui fuit plenus scientia et in quo fuit obedientia perfecta virium inferiorum respectu superiorum.'

Following a path similar to the one he would later pursue in questions 22-48 of the *Summa theologiae* 1a2ae, Thomas then presented his reader with a series of *quaestiunculae* exploring the particular passions as they pertained to Christ's soul. Perhaps because he was interested in showing how existing theories of the passions could assist the resolution of certain longstanding Christological problems, Thomas tended to reiterate the same central ideas. Yet, in these arguments, we still catch a very brief and clear glimpse of an increasingly large stock of conceptual resources, which had apparently been made available to members of the theology faculty. Of particular interest here were the discussions of individual passions in Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*. The text and its usefulness would have been fixed in Thomas's memory from his spell at the *studium* of Heilig Kreuz in Cologne, where along with Ambrogio Sansedoni, Thomas of Cantimpré and Ulrich of Strasbourg, he attended Albert's lectures on Aristotle's text, and where he could have discussed interesting problems during regular *repetitiones*.[99] Anyone studying with the intensity and frequency sustained by Thomas and his confrères was likely to have encountered these ideas and considered their theological significance. For Thomas and his contemporaries the opportunity to use Aristotle's thought as a way of obtaining a truer picture of Christ and his human nature was too good to pass up. Apportioned to Christ, the passions of the soul could explain his alikeness and also his difference.

In the fact of Christ's sadness Thomas found an exemplary reflection of humanity and rationality. Doubts about whether or not Christ actually experienced true fear turned on a familiar group of scriptural, Peripatetic and classical authorities. In response Thomas reiterated the nature of Christ's sadness, arguing that it was a passion according to the soul's sensitive appetite.[100] Insofar as he willed sadness, Christ undertook what was necessary for our redemption.

Thomas differentiated between joy (*laetitia*) and pleasure (*delectatio*) in Christ, locating the former, which implied the possession and enjoyment of what is loved, in the superior part of Christ's soul, whilst relegating the latter to the inferior part where it had its contrary in the form of passionate sadness.[101] The difference between the fact of these two contraries in Christ's soul and their coexistence in man was based on the command of reason. In Christ, argued Thomas, there never at any time arose movements of sadness which were not subject to superior reason. In other words, he grew saddened because of

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[99] Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas d'Aquino*, pp. 40-47.
[100] Thomas Aquinas, *Scriptum super libros Sententiarum III*, XV. ii. i., p. 485.
[101] Ibid., XV. ii. i., p. 490.

his sensuality, which was in his soul voluntarily, and not by necessity.[102] This was the reason why in Isaiah (42:5) it is said 'non erit tristis neque turbulentus'. Likewise Thomas included Seneca's syllogistic proof of the incompatibility of virtue and mental disturbance, namely that since virtue was stronger than vice, it could not be disturbed by it; moreover, it could not even be disturbed by another virtue, since no one virtue was contrary to another.

He ended by contrasting the view expressed by Aristotle in the *Topics*, according to which it was always better not to experience sadness, with a section from the *Ethics*. If sadness could be understood as a kind of aversion, it was possible for it to be directed by the good, like the sadness of the penitent. It was in this sense, said Thomas, that Christ's sadness should be understood, that is to say, as something directed towards man's redemption.[103] This was a theme to which Thomas later returned in his commentary on John as part of the *Catena aurea*, which he dedicated to Annibaldo Annibaldi, who may still have had a mental image of Thomas's Parisian lectures from his own studies at St-Jacques.

Next, to begin talking about anger Thomas differentiated between three different senses. The first type of anger was the sort of habitual, vicious anger which was at the opposite end of scale to mildness (*mansuetudo*). In the *Ethics* Aristotle referred to this type of anger as irascibility, and it was not something that affected Christ.[104] Of greater relevance, however, was a second type of anger which, by seeking to redress perceived wrongdoing, embodied an understanding of the good. Properly speaking, this sort of anger was not a passion. It was the sort of anger that could be found in God, the saints, and, of course, in Christ. The bulk of Thomas's interest was given over to the third type of anger, which was understood as a passion of the irascible power. Belonging to the sensitive appetite of the soul, it tended towards the destruction of anything perceived to be contrary to the will or to desire.

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[102] Ibid., XV. ii. i., p. 490: Sed in Christo nunquam surgebat motus tristitiae nisi secundum dictamen superioris rationis quando scilicet dictabat ratio quod sensualitas tristaretur secundum convenientiam naturae suae; et ideo in eo neque, fuit tristitia rationem pervertens, neque fuit necessaria, sed voluntaria quodammodo.

[103] Ibid., XV. ii. ii., p. 491: Ad tertium dicendum quod omnis tristitia, ut dicitur in VII Eth., inquantum in se est, fugienda est inquantum hujusmodi. Potest tamen eligi tristitia inquantum ad aliquod bonum ordinat, sicut tristitia poenitentis ad salute. Et ita etiam Christus elegit tristitiam, inquantum utilise rat ad redemptionem humani generis.

[104] Ibid., XV. ii. ii., p. 491.

When suffused by the authority of reason, this type of passion was called zealous anger (*ira per zelum*), and pertained to Christ. It needed to be set apart from vicious anger that is unruly and disordered, which could never have been in Christ because it was not subject to the control of reason. Thus Thomas was able to respond to problems presented by Aristotle's and John Damascene's common definition of anger as something completed by an act of vengeance.[105] The moral advantage of rational anger lay in the fact that this characteristic could be put to good use, involving the pursuit of justice, and only seeking to exact what was proportionate.

The article ends with fear, in which Thomas saw something different again. He briefly brought the reader's attention to its complexity and moral ambivalence. Certain kinds of fear were, as suggested by Aristotle, most accurately understood as a form of habituation or gift, or even as timidity, a form of vice and the opposite of courage.[106] However, Thomas talked about fear as a passion of the irascible power, which arises from the sensitive appetite in response to the apprehension of something harmful. He would later take this point further by explaining that the object of fear could be perceived as harmful by the mind and quite independently of any potential it may have had to cause harm.

Insofar as this type of fear was in Christ, it was – just like sadness and anger – subject to the command of reason and consistent with his divine nature, seeking to avoid those things that were contrary to it. In a reminder of the programmatic character of the thought in the *Scriptum*, he subsequently went back and clarified this point. Sometimes, he said, the will was split between two different objects: Christ's natural desire to avoid death did not dominate his soul, but this did not prevent the consideration of its opposite causing fear and distress.[107] The idea that fear, as the opposite of courage, could not have been in Christ was based on the specific sense in which it denoted a vice.

Similarly, Thomas rejected the claim that because fear was a sign of imperfection it could not have been in Christ. Ultimately, all fear was derivative of imperfection, since without some sort of weakness it would not be possible for one thing to inflict damage on another. So, in spite of the fact that Christ was perfect in his soul, his body was

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[105] Ibid., XV. ii. ii., pp. 491-92: Ad tertium dicendum quod ira inordinata sistit in vindicta; sed ira ordinata vindictam ad justitiam ordinat, ut scilicet vindictam non quaerat, sed justitiam, et tantum puniat quantum justitiae ordo permittit.

[106] Ibid., XV. ii. ii., p. 492.

[107] Ibid., XV. ii. ii., p. 492: Unde dicendum quod hoc modo timor fuit in Christo per eumdem modum sicut et de tristitia et ira dictum est, inquantum scilicet ex dictamine rationis et Divinitatis adjunctae, appetitus sensibilis refugiebat ea quae sibi erant contraria.

nevertheless vulnerable to damage. He rounded off his explanation with a final, psychologically rich summary of the sequence behind the fear experienced by Christ when he foresaw the wounds his body would sustain. The harmful forms took hold of his imagination, and his sensitive appetite, which was *immediately* aroused by the activity of the imagination or estimative part of the soul, was moved to fear.

Thomas's remarks on Christ's sadness, anger and fear were thus full of a new vocabulary and categorisation, and the difficulty of understanding quite what he meant when we skip to his text from Roland's is an indication of how much had changed: a reading of the *Sentences* was a vehicle which allowed a teacher to incorporate different categories to address the same theological science. We are dealing with men for whom thought was institutional. Thus concepts such as *passiones animae* and *passibilitas* informed the student's understanding of Christ's human and divine natures, and also turned his attention towards the books everyone was talking about at the time. The job of a skilled lecturer was to show the correspondence between the two in a way his students would have understood. This, at any rate, was the academic outlook which the cleverest friars in the Roman Province were trying to instil in their communities.

5

SPES (I): EARLY DEVELOPMENT

In the last chapter I observed how knowledge about the passions was communicated through the diffusion and reception of Parisian *Sentences* commentaries. More specifically, I suggested there was a perceptible increase in the level and scale of attempts to understand the nature of Christ's suffering and human weakness, which was closely linked to developments in philosophical psychology as practised at Europe's major universities, where there had been a decisive move towards the discussion of abstract questions derived from Aristotelian and Arabic texts. At the same time, we located genuine points of convergence between the intellectual world of the *studia generalia* and the theological training of the *fratres communes* at S. Caterina. The *Sentences* became a standard and defining authority in the schools of the Roman Province, leading to a marked change in the forms and availability of scholastic thought. The *Sentences* commentaries of academic friars, such as Hugh of St. Cher and Thomas Aquinas were kept and read in the library at S. Caterina, alongside other relevant Parisian works, such as the *Postils* of Hugh of St. Cher and biblical commentaries of Guerric of St. Quentin.[1] The basic proposition is that this literary genre, and the teaching practices it reflects, provides a good indication of the mass of information about the passions and other related concerns which rained down onto the heads of ordinary friars at S. Caterina in the second half of the thirteenth century. This offers a reminder of the need to locate a preacher's knowledge within the general framework of his way of life and commitment to study, points which form the basis of what follows.

In this chapter I shall continue to follow the diffusion and reception of *Sentences* commentaries with a view to understanding how university-level thought about the passions could have been put at the disposal of the brethren at S. Caterina. Above all, I am interested to trace the gradual introduction of new doctrinal content in discussions of

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[1] F. Pelster, 'Die Bibliothek von S. Caterina zu Pisa: eine Büchersammlung aus den Zeiten des heiligen Thomas von Aquin', in *Xenia Thomistica* 3 (Rome, 1925), pp. 18-19.

distinction 26 in book 3 of the *Sentences*, where Peter Lombard provided a definition of hope that raised questions for Dominican theologians.

The makings of this problem lay in a picture of hope which was squarely theological and which had relatively little to do with current psychological definitions. To redress the imbalance, the order's theologians began to differentiate between hope as a theological virtue and as a passion of the soul in a routine and consistent manner. This meant that by the time the *Sentences* became the standard textbook of conventual classrooms in the Roman Province, the friars at S. Caterina were able to turn to the authoritative *Sentences* commentaries of their Paris-trained confrères where they could find treatments of hope and the other passions. In this chapter, we shall see how these discussions became increasingly detailed and thoughtful. If Peter Lombard's definition of the theological virtues was the problem, the passions of the soul were, as far as the order's theologians were concerned, an important and necessary part of the solution.

5.1 Hope in early Parisian theology: some early definitions

The definition of hope in the *Sentences* reflected the interests of twelfth-century theologians. Hope, according to Peter Lombard, 'is the certain expectation of future beatitude, coming from grace and preceding due rewards'.[2] Servais Pinckaers has traced the parts of Peter's definition back to their roots in contemporary teaching at the Paris schools, demonstrating how the emphasis on certitude can, for example, be linked with works produced by the school of Laon, while Abelard had earlier developed Augustine's ideas by highlighting the link between hope and faith.[3] Peter's definition is found in his discussion of the virtues necessary for man's salvation, which could only be lived in imitation of Christ's perfection. The value of man's virtue was thus dependent on its consistency with God's charity, the ultimate cause and origin of all the virtues. Peter's treatment, which covered distinctions 23-36 of book 3, divided the virtues between four different categories: theological, cardinal, gifts of the Holy Spirit, and charity. Hope,

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[2] Peter Lombard, *Sententiae*, III. xvi. 1; Brady, ii. 159: Est autem spes virtus, qua spiritualia et aeterna bona sperantur, id est cum fiducia exspectantur. Est enim certa exspectatio futurae beatitudinis, veniens ex Dei gratia et ex meritis praecedentibus vel ipsam spem, quam natura praeit caritas, vel rem speratam, id est beatitudinem aeternam: sine meritis enim aliquid sperare, non spes, sed praesumptio dici potest.

[3] S. Pinckaers, 'Les origines de la définition de l'espérance dans les Sentences de Pierre Lombard', *RTAM* 22 (1955), pp. 306-11; J. Marenbon, 'Peter Abelard and Peter the Lombard', in *Pietro Lombardo: atti del XLIII Convegno Storico Internazionale, Todi, 8-10 ottobre 2006* (Spoleto, 2007), pp. 225-39.

indivisibly paired to the virtue of faith, was thus identified as one of two theological virtues, the discussion of which anticipated a much fuller evaluation of charity and its forms. Peter's treatment consisted of five chapters, in which he was only concerned with addressing hope as a virtue.

To get a sense of how far we have to travel, it will be useful to look briefly at a handful of the earliest discussions of Peter Lombard's treatment of hope. Like the *Sentences*, they are all of Parisian origin and date roughly to the first quarter of the thirteenth century. In many respects they were the precursors of the commentary tradition that later defined the study of theology at Paris. There are two things which stand out. The first concerns the differences in form between the three texts; they date to a period in which a 'reading' of the *Sentences* could still mean different things. In a sense, there was not yet a clear, unifying set of characteristics that authors who discussed the *Sentences* were *expected* to follow in their teaching. The second concerns the terms in which hope was addressed: theologians were still reluctant to muddy the waters by introducing anything too unfamiliar.

When following developments, historians can sometimes pay more attention to similarities than to differences. However, it is important that the differences are not overlooked. In recent work on Stephen Langton's *Sentences* 'commentary', the text is addressed as an early form of the literary genre which later became the cornerstone of teaching in the Parisian theology faculty.[4] The view can be justified on the grounds that, even though Stephen's commentary was produced under conditions markedly different from those faced by later theologians, there is enough uncertainty about whether the later form would have existed were it not for the precedent established by earlier theologians who chose to lecture on the *Sentences*. By providing a running commentary on their reading of Peter Lombard's text, they set an example which others followed.

With this we can turn our attention to Stephen's commentary and its method. Thanks to Artur Landgraf, the text is readily accessible in a modern critical edition.[5] After studying the text, which provides notes on only a selection of Peter's *Sententiae*, Landgraf called it

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[4] For recent discussions, see C. Agnotti, 'Étienne Langton, commentateur des *Sentences* de Pierre Lombard', in *Étienne Langton, prédicateur, bibliste, théologien*, ed. L.-J. Bataillon, N. Bériou, G. Dahan and R. Quinto (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 487-523; also, R. Quinto, 'Stephen Langton', in *Mediaeval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*, vol. 2, ed. P. W. Rosemann (Leiden, 2010), pp. 35-77.

[5] Stephen Langton, *Der Sentenzenkommentar des Kardinals Stephan Langton*, ed. A. M. Landgraf (Münster, 1952).

a 'key-word gloss' (*Stichwortglosse*).[6] Instead of proceeding by first quoting passages from the *Sentences* and then going on to introduce a series of doubts and an appropriate reply, Stephen's text is constructed around lemmas, under which he discussed relevant points of doctrine. It soon becomes apparent that rather than a complete, finished work, we are looking at something which must have started life as a series of marginal annotations, presumably made in preparation for teaching. Based on reasons which operate at too high a level of concentration to be summarised here, Riccardo Quinto has recently dated the work to between 1196 and 1207.[7] It is likely that, at some stage, Stephen's teaching notes were gathered together and shaped into a form more closely resembling a *Sentences* commentary.

The unpolished appearance and uncertain origins may explain the work's relative lack of success among Stephen's contemporaries. It survives only in a single manuscript now kept in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Naples. As well as Stephen's commentary on the *Sentences*, the manuscript, which dates from the early thirteenth century, contains four other theological works of Parisian origin. Peter Lombard is the thread linking all five texts together: three glosses on the *Sentences* were placed together with Stephen's teaching notes and his 'second commentary' on Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica*.

If we turn to look at Stephen writing about hope, we find only a single note, the meagreness of which is telling. The comment seems to have been intended as an expansion of Peter's definition, although Stephen's line of reasoning is not clear.[8] This might seem like an oversight. But it becomes more intelligible if we think that Stephen read the *Sentences* to his students before Alexander of Hales introduced distinctions as a means of grouping together separate discussions in Peter's work.[9] Without an obvious signpost, Stephen apparently thought there was little need to engage with Peter's definition of hope in a detailed way. This is not to say that Stephen did not address the question in his other theological works, such as the *Quaestiones theologiae* or *Summa Magistri Stephani*.

The tools of scholasticism were designed to increase knowledge rather than diminish it. William of Auxerre's *Summa aurea*, discussed in the last chapter, was one of a number of theological treatises produced at Paris in the early decades of the thirteenth century which

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[6] R. Quinto, 'Stephen Langton', p. 50.
[7] Ibid., pp. 39-49.
[8] Stephen Langton, *Der Sentenzenkommentar*, p. 133.
[9] See I. Brady, 'The Distinctions of Lombard's Book of Sentences and Alexander of Hales', *Franciscan Studies* 25 (1965), pp. 90-116.

attest to emergence and increasing importance of scholastic procedures of thought. Though William's collection of theological questions took a loosely similar shape to the *Sentences*, it cannot properly be considered a commentary. In William's hands, traditional questions addressed in the *Sentences* were carried further, while others were opened up for discussion. In particular, the *Summa aurea* shows how William made use of the new sources at his disposal to clarify and add to the material a student could find in the *Sentences*.

We can see this process at work in his treatment of hope. In 1215 the arts faculty at Paris included the *Ethics* in a list of Aristotelian works that could be read on *dies festivi*.[10] In his discussion of hope, William followed the general outline of Peter's earlier discussion, but also introduced information gleaned from his reading of the *Ethica vetus* and *Ethica nova*, which together covered the first three books of Aristotle's *Ethics*, a work that was only available in full after Grosseteste's translation in the middle of the 1240s.

A modern reader of the *Summa aurea* gains the impression that Peter Lombard's treatment of hope was one of a number of different authorities which William worked through in pursuit of a solution. He quoted Peter's definition, breaking it down into its component parts to explain the meaning of each.[11] However, in his discussion of the difference between hope and fear, William addressed a question for which Peter Lombard was of little practical use. He began by quoting Aristotle's definition of virtue as a mean, asking whether, if hope and fear have the same extremes, they are the same virtue.[12] He proceeds in a similar manner, working through questions which might present themselves to the mind of a theology student who encountered Aristotelian thought about the virtues.

Alexander of Hales was an English master of theology at Paris and a contemporary of William of Auxerre; he was exposed to the same conditions and influences. Like William,

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[10] *CUP* I, 20, pp. 78-79: 'Non legant in festivis diebus nisi philosophos et rhetoricas, et quadruvialia, et *barbarismum*, et *ethicam*, si placet, et quartum *topichorum*. Non legantur libri Aristotelis de *methafisica* et de *naturali philosophia* nec *summe* de eisdem.' See G. Wieland, 'The Reception and Interpretation of Aristotle's Ethics', in *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy*, ed. N. Kretzmann, A. Kenny, and J. Pinborg (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 657-72; for a recent summary with an up-to-date bibliography, see D. Luscombe, 'Ethics in the Early Thirteenth Century', in *Albertus Magnus und die Anfänge der Aristoteles-Rezeption im lateinischen Mittelalter: von Richardus Rufus bis zu Franciscus de Mayronis*, ed. L. Honnefelder (Münster, 2005), pp. 657-83.

[11] William of Auxerre, *Summa aurea*, III. xiii. 1, pp. 241-43.

[12] Ibid., III. xiii. 3, p. 246: 'Quoniam "virtus in medietate consistit", et eadem sunt extrema spei et timoris, scilicet presumptio et desperatio; et eorumdem extremorum idem est medium; ergo spes et timor sunt eadem virtus.'

he incorporated Aristotelian thought into his theological teaching on hope. His *Glossa* on the *Sentences* was rediscovered by François-Marie Henquinet in 1945. As an early example of the *Sentences* commentary genre, it suggests how theologians at Paris were beginning to use Peter Lombard's text as a starting point for the investigation of theological questions in their lectures and discussions. Overlooking the teaching of Stephen Langton and others, later theologians remembered Alexander as the first master to lecture on the *Sentences*.[13] In these lectures, Alexander engaged with Aristotle's *Ethics* to deepen his students' understanding of a wide variety of issues, including the possession of cardinal and theological virtues. He was not interested in expounding Aristotle's 'ethical' philosophy in and of itself, but, *ex professo*, as it informed the pursuit of theological science. The *glossa* is thought to date to between 1220 and 1225.[14] It was probably written after William of Auxerre's *Summa aurea*, and it is likely that Alexander knew his contemporary's work. So, when he quoted Aristotle's definition of virtue as a mean, he may have been aware that William of Auxerre and others were doing similar things in their own theological lectures.[15]

These developments may reveal a wider pattern. If we follow the influential account of Marie-Dominique Chenu, they are indicative of the early stages of a new form of theological science, which started to emerge around the end of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth.[16] According to Chenu, a defining feature of this process was the assimilation into theological knowledge of categories gleaned from the rational analysis of secular phenomena. These changes were facilitated by innovative teaching practices and techniques of knowledge. The 'reading' of the four books of the *Sentences*

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[13] See H. W. Weber, 'The *Glossa in IV libros Sententiarum* by Alexander of Hales', in *Mediaval Commentaries on the* Sentences *of Peter Lombard*, vol. 2, ed. P. W. Rosemann, pp. 79-109.

[14] Ibid., pp. 88-90.

[15] On Alexander's use of the *Ethics*, see D. Luscombe, 'Ethics in the Early Thirteenth Century', in *Albertus Magnus und die Anfänge der Aristoteles-Rezeption im lateinischen Mittelalter: von Richardus Rufus bis zu Franciscus de Mayronis*, ed. L. Honnefelder, R. Wood, M. Dreyer and M.-A. Aris (Münster, 2005), pp. 663-64.

[16] See M.-D. Chenu, *La théologie comme science au XIIIᵉ siècle*, Bibliothèque thomiste 33 (Paris, 1969); in English as 'The Masters of Theological "Science"', in *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century: Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West*, ed. J. Taylor and L. K. Little (Chicago, 1968), pp. 270-309; and *Toward Understanding Saint Thomas*, trans. A.-M. Landry and D. Hughes (Chicago, 1964). On the 'Copernican turn' in thirteenth-century theology, see also P. W. Rosemann, *Peter Lombard* (Oxford, 2004); and idem, *The Story of a Great Medieval Book: Peter Lombard's Sentences* (Toronto, 2007).

of Peter Lombard was one such procedure. For the purposes of this discussion, the reading of the *Sentences*, and the habits of mind it instilled, can be understood naively as a form of conversation, that is to say, an essentially constructive form of thought in which progress was made by developing arguments made in past discussions. The early masters at St-Jacques, such as Roland of Cremona and Hugh of St. Cher, would have known of this inheritance and been aware of their role as participants in a general doctrinal conversation.[17] We have to make this process clear to ourselves before we start to engage with the friars' formulation of new questions on the subject of hope and its definitions.

5.2.1 The date of Roland of Cremona's Liber quaestionum

Early attempts by Alexander of Hales and William of Auxerre to bring Peter Lombard's definition of hope and the available books of Aristotle's *Ethics* into closer relation were pioneering, but they can still seem thin when compared to later discussions. What follows is an attempt to describe the treatment of hope in the theological work of the order's first master of theology, Roland of Cremona, who incepted at the Parisian theology faculty in the spring of 1229.[18] The order acquired its second master of theology when John of St. Giles entered the convent of St-Jacques a year later in 1230. Roland of Cremona and Hugh of St.Cher must already have been important members of the community. Roland had arrived from Bologna in 1228, accompanied by Jordan of Saxony. Hugh had entered the order two years earlier, bringing with him his best student, the young Humbert of Romans. Before becoming a master of theology, John of St. Giles may have trained as a medic.[19] Hugh of St. Cher, meanwhile, before he joined the order, taught at Paris as a master of canon law. Roland of Cremona's career, however, had taken a different route. When he entered the convent of S. Niccolò at Bologna, he had already served as a master of arts. The subsequent account of his conversion in Gérard of Frachet's *Vitae fratrum*

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[17] On the relationship between Hugh of St. Cher, William of Auxerre and Alexander of Hales, see K. F. Lynch, 'Some *Fontes* of the Commentary of Hugh de Saint Cher: William of Auxerre, Guy d'Orchelles, Alexander of Hales', *Franciscan Studies* 13 (1953), pp. 119-46. The relationship is described in the prolegomena to the critical edition of Alexander's *Glossa*. Unfortunately, it has not been possible for me to consult Alexander of Hales, *Glossa in IV libros sententiarum Petri Lombardi*, Bibliotheca Franciscana scholastic medii aevi 12-15 (Quaracchi, 1951-1957).

[18] Glorieux, *Répertoire des maîtres en théologie*, p. 42.

[19] On the uncertainty surrounding John of St. Giles's biography, see D. Jacquart, 'St Giles, John of (d. 1259/60)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004); *SOPMA*, II, pp. 536-37.

notes that he was much vaunted for his philosophical expertise.[20] John of St. Giles, Hugh of St. Cher and Roland of Cremona all served as masters of theology at Paris. Of the three, Roland of Cremona was, on paper at least, the one who was most qualified to apply Aristotelian ideas to Peter Lombard's definition of hope.

The case of Roland of Cremona and the *Liber quaestionum* – or *Summa fratris Rolandi* – was discussed earlier in relation to the question of Christ's passibility. However, before we examine Roland's treatment of hope, it is necessary to clarify certain features of the work and its production. The first difficulty concerns the date of Roland's *Summa* or *Liber quaestionum in libros Sententiarum*. This is an issue which has been the subject of serious critical scholarship for almost a century. Before we proceed, it will be useful to provide an outline of some of the main points.

i.   As master of theology at Paris in the academic year 1229/30, it is thought Roland followed Alexander of Hales by lecturing on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard. The next academic year, before he had finished his cycle of lectures, Roland was appointed by Gregory IX as the inaugural master of theology at the new theology faculty at Toulouse, where he lectured on the *Sentences* until 1233/34, when he was succeeded by John of St. Giles.[21] For Mulchahey and others, the *Liber quaestionum* was thus the product of Roland's early Parisian – or Paris-style – teaching.[22]

ii.   Odon Lottin was the first to observe the similarities between Roland of Cremona's *Summa* and Hugh of St. Cher's commentary on the *Sentences*.[23] After examining the similarities between the treatment of original sin by William of Auxerre, Hugh of St. Cher and Roland of Cremona, Lottin concluded, somewhat counter-intuitively, that Roland had

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[20] Gérard of Frachet, *Vitae fratrum*, pp. 26-27: 'Vix sermonem compleverat, et ecce magister Rolandus Cremonensis, qui tunc regebat Bononie, cuius fama celebris et excellens in philosophicis habebatur, qui eciam postea primus inter fratres in theologia legit Parisius, succensus spiritu Dei de mundo fugiens, solus venit ad fratres et quasi ebrius spiritu, nulla prolocucione premissa, se recipi postulavit.' On the use of 'physicis' for 'philosophicis' in some manuscripts, see E. Filthaut, *Roland von Cremona O. P. und die Anfänge der Scholastik im Predigerorden* (Vechta, 1936), p. 15.

[21] M.-H. Vicaire, Roland de Crémone ou la position de la théologie à l'Université de Toulouse, in *Les Universités du Languedoc au XIIIe siècle*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 5 (Toulouse, 1970), pp. 145-78.

[22] See, for example, Mulchahey, *Dominican Education before 1350*, p. 60; also, D. N. Hasse, *Avicenna in the Latin West*, p. 61. Hasse is much clearer on this point, suggesting that Roland 'probably wrote the *Summa* not long after his return to Italy from Toulouse in 1233'.

[23] O. Lottin, 'Roland de Crémone et Hugues de Saint-Cher', *RTAM* 12 (1940), pp. 136-42.

been influenced by Hugh, not vice versa. This would help to explain why Roland's *Summa* had relatively little influence in Paris. Recently, in his analysis of the reception of John Damascene's division of fear, Riccardo Quinto has argued that the similarities can be explained by a common dependence on William of Auxerre's *Summa aurea*, and do not necessarily indicate Hugh's direct influence on Roland.[24] Magdalena Bieniak, after observing the closeness of Roland's and Hugh's accounts of the difference between the human soul and the angelic, makes the same argument.[25]

iii.   Addressing the problem shortly after Giuseppe Cremascoli produced a critical edition of the prologue to Roland's *Liber quaestionum*, René Gauthier suggested that a reference to 'otium' as a justification for the text ('…et prodesse modicum simplicibus et otium repellere cogitabam') may indicate that Roland only started to write the *Liber quaestionum* after he had returned to Cremona in the early 1240s.[26] The suggestion is that Roland may have been more worried at a later stage in his career, when he was doing less. The reference to *otium* is a topos common to classical and medieval prologues, and does not necessarily indicate a later date after the end of Roland's teaching career. In any case, the *Summa* were surely based on Roland's earlier lectures at Paris and Toulouse.

iv.   In an analysis of the development of theological prologues before Thomas Aquinas read the *Sentences*, Adriano Oliva identifies a number of significant formal characteristics in the prologue of Roland of Cremona's *Liber quaestionum*.[27] Among other things, he observes a number of similarities between the form of Roland's prologue and that of Peter of Spain's *Sentencia De anima cum questionibus*, which, according to Gauthier, was based on a series of lectures delivered at Toulouse around 1240. For Oliva, this 'could be the neighbour of Roland's *Summa*, both in the time and place of its composition.' He does not suggest that Roland was influenced directly by Peter of Spain's lectures, or that Peter knew the *Liber quaestionum*. Instead, the proposition

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[24] R. Quinto, 'Hugh of St.-Cher's Use of Stephen Langton', *Medieval Analyses in Language and Cognition: Acts of the Symposium of the Copenhagen School of Medieval Philosophy, January 10 - 13, 1996* (Copenhagen, 1999), pp. 295-97; idem, 'Le commentaire des *Sentences* d'Hugues de Saint-Cher et la littérature théologique de son temps', in *Hugues de Saint-Cher († 1263)*, pp. 299-324

[25] M. Bieniak, *The Soul-Body Problem at Paris, ca. 1200 - 1250: Hugh of St-Cher and his Contemporaries* (Leuven, 2010), pp. 28-31

[26] R.-A. Gauthier, 'Notes sur les débuts (1225-1240) du premier "Averroïsme"', *RSPT* 66 (1982), pp. 330-31; cf. D. N. Hasse, *Avicenna in the Latin West*, pp. 36-37, n. 135. For the edition of the prologue, see G. Cremascoli, 'La "Summa" di Rolando da Cremona. Il testo del prologo', *Studi medievali*, ser. 3, 16 (1975), pp. 825-76.

[27] A. Oliva, *Les débuts de l'enseignement de Thomas d'Aquin*, pp. 260-61.

relates to the circumstances and conditions that Roland and Peter of Spain responded to in their teaching. He overlooks the fact that, when Peter was delivering his lectures in Toulouse, Roland had been back in Italy for more than five years; but this does not rule out the possibility that Roland and Peter were exposed to similar influences.

v.   The *Liber quaestionum* is extant in four manuscripts.[28] Of these, none contains a complete set of Roland's four books of questions on the *Sentences*. Three of the manuscripts are kept in Italian libraries; while the fourth, now in the Bibliothèque Mazarine in Paris is, according to Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, written in a thirteenth-century Italian hand.[29] Thus, besides the fact it does not appear to have been especially popular, two characteristics of the diffusion of Roland's *Liber quaestionum* (as indicated by the manuscripts that survive) are: (i) the books are fragmented, indicating they are redactions of other works which are now lost; and (ii) they appear to have circulated within an Italian milieu. The seemingly 'fragmented' and 'Italian' nature of the diffusion of Roland's text might help us to think about its influence. However, it could also offer an insight, albeit faintly seen, into the circumstances of its production.

vi.   Roland cited Avicenna's *Canon*, a medical text translated by Gerald of Cremona before 1187. The reception of the *Canon* presents a problem, since the first signs of use date to the second quarter of the thirteenth century.[30] This evidence for its relatively slow diffusion in Latin may suggest that Roland's *Liber quaestionum* was written later, influenced by apparent trends in the medical schools. However, it seems likely (i) that the *Canon* was read before the earliest surviving allusions, and (ii) that most of Roland's reading of medical texts predated his career as a theology teacher in the Order of Preachers. On the question of date, students of the *Liber quaestionum* may have more to tell students of the reception of the *Canon* than vice versa.

In these points, then, we can discern the outlines of three hypotheses. First, there is the view put forward by Mulchahey that Roland's theological works date to the period

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[28] Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 795, ff. 1ʳ-135ʳ (I, II, IV); Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. Barb. 729, ff. 1ʳ-264ᵛ (I-III); Bergamo, MS Bibl. Civ. 6 129 (Δ 9. 13) (III); Florence, MS Bibl. Naz., Conventi soppressi da ordinare, n. 282, ff. 1-234 (II-III). See *SOPMA*, III, pp. 330-31.

[29] M.-T. d'Alverny, 'Avicennisme en Italie', in *Oriente e Occidente nel Medioevo: Filosofia e Scienze*, Actes du Congrès international, 9-15avril 1969 (Rome, 1971), pp. 123-25; reprinted in M.-T. d'Alverny, *Avicenne en Occident: recueil d'articles de Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny réunis en hommage à l'auteur* (Paris, 1993).

[30] D. Jacquart, 'La réception du *Canon* d'Avicenne: comparison entre Montpellier et Paris au XIIIᵉ et XIVᵉ siècles', in Histoire de l'école médicale de Montpellier, Actes du 110ᵉ Congrès national des sociétés savants (Paris, 1985), pp. 69-77; and Chapter 4, n. 74.

between 1229 and 1230, that is, 'to the period of his Parisian regency and before he left for the fledgling university of Toulouse'.[31] Second, there is the view first proposed by Odon Lottin that the *Liber quaestionum* was written up in Toulouse or shortly after Roland's return to Italy.[32] Lastly, there is the position taken by Gauthier and Oliva, which questions the need to see Roland's teaching career and the composition of his *Liber quaestionum* as (near-) contemporaneous, suggesting the early 1240s as an alternative date. Of the three, the first is clearly the least plausible. Based on the available evidence, it is difficult to see how the other two can be proved or disproved. For the purposes of this discussion, then, there are several points which we have to make clear to ourselves at the outset. For one thing, we must be open to the *possibility* that, when Roland was writing up his questions concerning Peter Lombard's definition of hope, he could have been influenced by developments which postdate his teaching at Paris and Toulouse. For another, we need to recognise that, from a historical point of view, Roland's treatment of hope may have been less influential than those found in the works of his contemporaries at Paris, such as Hugh of St. Cher and Alexander of Hales. Instead, our priority should be to see what an exceptionally gifted Bologna- and Paris-trained friar could think about hope in the first half of the thirteenth century.

5.2.2 Roland of Cremona on the definition of hope

We can now turn to Roland's discussion of hope in the *Liber quaestionum*. This consists of nine different questions, which are arranged under seven smaller sections, or articles; in Luigi Cortesi's edition, the length of these articles varies from five pages to half a page. Each article follows a scholastic method of analysis. A list of counter-arguments to a proposed thesis is followed by Roland's magisterial solution, which leads on to a series of individual responses that specifically address the points raised in the first part. It is easy to forget given the degree of concentration that this discussion is only one part of Roland's treatment of the theological virtues, which, in the Cortesi edition, includes twenty-seven separate headings and runs to over eighty pages.[33] More to the point, this edition, which is almost fourteen-hundred pages long, represents only a quarter of the

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[31] Mulchahey, *Domincan Education before 1350*, p. 60.

[32] Lottin, 'Roland de Crémone et Hugues de Saint-Cher', p. 143.

[33] Roland of Cremona, *Summae magistri Rolandi Cremonensis O.P.. Liber tercius*, QQ. XCIV-CXX, ed. A Cortesi (Bergamo, 1962), pp. 287-368.

Liber quaestionum, the rest of which remains unedited and is only accessible in manuscript. Thus it is important to understand that Roland's discussion of hope represents only a tiny fragment of something much larger and more comprehensive, the greater part of which is waiting to be read by historians.[34]

Roland's first step towards an account of hope was to explain the definition in the *Sentences*, which he quoted in full. This definition was followed by a question raised by hope's etymology as it was generally discussed in text such as the *Derivationes* of Uguccione da Pisa, a reference work whose diffusion was vast.[35] It was as though hope (*spes*) was a contraction of 'a single stride' (*sola pes*).[36] But if hope was the only stride, what about charity, which Augustine called the 'stride of the soul' (*pes anime*)? A word's etymology could reveal where other concepts had been drawn on for the purpose of signification; it differed from a definition, which referred to the object to which a word was applied. When there was a coincidence between the two – i.e. when an etymology matched up with a definition – theologians and preachers could use etymology to help others grasp what a word meant, especially if it were abstract and difficult.

After several other arguments against understanding hope as 'single stride', in which he invoked the authority of Avicenna and Bernard of Clairvaux, Roland offered his solution. To think of hope as a stride is not to contradict Augustine; but to suggest that hope is the soul's lead – i.e. right – leg. Faith, on the other hand, is more like the heart, from which the powers flow to the feet and to the other members of the body. Faith, then, is like a natural heat which *influences* the other parts of the soul and sets them in order. Thus this influence flows first from faith to hope, and then from hope to love. In this way, said Roland, the soul of the faithful is like the Arabian camel discussed by Aristotle in the *De animalibus*: when a camel starts to walk, it first moves its right foot.[37] The faithful person must, like the camel, willingly and humbly assume the burden of Christ. [38]

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[34] For recent discussion of Roland's views on male and female fertility, P. Biller, *Measure of Multitude*, pp. 100-2.

[35] On the work's 'diffusione vastissima', Uguccione da Pisa, *Derivationes*, vol. 1., ed. E. Cecchini, G. Arbizzoni, et al. (Florence, 2004), p. xxvii.

[36] Ibid., vol. 2, p. 1154.

[37] *Historia animalium*, 498b; Aristotle, *History of Animals Books I-III*, ed. and trans. A.L. Peck (Cambridge, MA, 1965), pp. 80-83. Roland will have read Michael Scot's Arabo-Latin translation; this section in the the modern Aristoteles Semitico-Latinus edition by Aafke M. I. van Oppenraaij has not yet been published. On the copy of Michael Scot's translation at S. Caterina, see Chapter 2, n. 94.

[38] *Summae magistri Rolandi*, Q. CXIV, p. 357: Solutio. Dicimus quod spes dicitur *sola pes*, quoniam per excellentiam dicitur *pes*. Non quod caritas non sit pes; sed quia spes est

Here we have the first master of theology in the Order of Preachers, a religious institution which famously proscribed the reading of pagan philosophy by its members, putting forward a theological argument about hope, for which Roland of Cremona clearly drew on a wider than average range of material. The first thing we notice is that Roland is using his medical knowledge to describe and to explain an abstract message about the interrelationship of the theological virtues of faith, hope, and charity. His introduction of a medical explanation about the powers (*virtutes*) of the body to convey a sense of how faith influenced the other virtues anticipates the thought style that Joseph Ziegler found in the work of Arnau de Vilanova and the sermons of Giovanni da San Gimignano, a lecturer and later prior at the Dominican convents of Siena and San Gimignano in the early fourteenth century.[39] Roland's knowledge of medical sources, including Avicenna's *Canon*, appears to be consistent with what we know about his early teaching career at Bologna. In the case of Taddeo Alderotti, Nancy Siraisi has shown how the traditions of philosophy and medicine at Bologna were intimately connected; when Roland of Cremona served as a master of arts in the same city, he would have been exposed to same fluid differentiation between the categories of knowledge.[40] It is possible that, engrained with these habits of mind, Roland continued to consult medical texts and to stay abreast of developments in medical learning even after he entered the Order of Preachers and started his career as a doctor of theology.

A second interesting feature is the skill with which Roland managed to interweave a fresh and powerful image from Aristotle's *De animalibus* into the fabric of his solution. He switched deftly from a discussion of the forces that move between the different parts of the body to the subject of physical movement as found in Aristotle's *History of Animals*, an enormous compilation of zoological research, where a theologian could find

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sicut pes dexter anime. Fides enim est sicut cor, a quo fluunt virtutes ad pedes et ad alia membra anime; et virtutes dixi influentias. Sed prius fluit influentia a fide ad spem quam ad caritatem, quoniam *fides generat spem*, *et spes caritatem*. Unde anima fidelis est sicut camelus arabicus, de quo dicit Aristoteles in libro de animalibus quod, cum incipit ire, primo movet pedem dextrum; et quilibet fidelis debet esse sicut camelus arabicus, quia debet sponte suscipere honus Christi et humiliter; *arabicus* enim interpretatur *humilis*.

[39] J. Ziegler, *Medicine and Religion* c. *1300: The Case of Arnau de Vilanova* (Oxford, 1998), especially Chapter 2, where Ziegler explores religious language in medical texts and vice versa. On Giovanni da San Gimignano's use of medical similes, including the notion of the powers of the body, see ibid., pp. 65-66 and Appendix I. On Giovanni's biography, see A. Dondaine, 'La vie et les oeuvres de Jean de San Gimignano', *AFP* 9 (1939), pp. 128-83; and *SOPMA*, II, pp. 539-43.

[40] N. G. Siraisi, *Taddeo Alderotti and His Pupils: Two Generations of Italian Medical Learning* (Princeton, 1981); also, D. N. Hasse, *Avicenna in the Latin West*, pp. 40-42.

a mass of data on different species. The Latin translation of Aristotle's text was still recent. We know that the *De animalibus* was first translated by Michael Scot by 1220.[41] Although our knowledge of Michael's biography is not particularly deep, there is one detail which stands out. Skimming through the standard account, we notice an interesting coincidence. Surviving in three manuscripts of his translation of Aristotle's *De animalibus*, is a signed and dated memorandum inserted by Michael Scot, which shows he was in Bologna in the autumn of 1220.[42] As we have seen, Roland of Cremona chose to enter the new community of preachers on the outskirts of the city in the same year. Two points grab our attention. First, as a master of arts in Bologna and a theologian in the Order of Preachers, Roland was part of an intellectual milieu at the cutting-edge of ongoing efforts to recover Greek and Arabic learning. Second, in a circumstantial sense, Roland can be linked by time and place to the translator of Aristotle's *De animalibus*, a text which, among other things, he used to make the theological definition of hope more readily intelligible. Such arguments, which one might not automatically associate with teaching in the theology faculty, may suggest the extent to which the terms of the conversation had shifted in the decade or so since William of Auxerre's *Summa aurea*, or, at least how far this type of idea penetrated Roland's thoughts.

The discussion of hope's etymology was followed by an analysis of definitions that seemed to contradict Peter Lombard's in book 3 of the *Sentences*. All may have been readily available to Roland's students at Paris and Toulouse. To start with, Roland picked through the definition word by word, thinking through every possible counter-argument. Peter Lombard said that hope is an 'expectation', which can describe either the act of expectation or, in a passive sense, the experience of being expected, or the manner of expecting, but since hope is not an act, passion or quality, it is wrong to say that 'hope is

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[41] M.-T. d'Alverny, 'Translations and translators', in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. R. L. Benson, G. Constable and C. Lanham (Oxford, 1982), p. 456; idem, 'L'explicit du "De animalibus" d'Avicenne traduit par Michel Scot', *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartres*, CXV (1957), pp. 32-42, reprinted in *Avicenne en Occident*.

[42] L. Minio-Paluello, 'Michael Scot', *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, ix. 361-5; the memorandum is edited and translated in Aristotle, *De animalibus: Michael Scot's Arabic-Latin Translation. Part Three, Books XV-XIX: Generation of Animals*, ed. Aafke M.I. an Oppenraaiji, Aristotles Semitico-Latinus 5 (Leyden, New York, Cologne, 1992), pp. 244-6. See also C. Burnett, 'Michael Scot and the Transmission of Scientific Culture from Toledo to Bologna via the Court of Frederick II', in *Le Scienze alla corte di Federico II*, *Micrologus* 2 (Paris-Turnhout, 1994), pp. 101-26.

an expectation'.[43] Similarly: It is said that hope is 'certain', since certitude is an affirmation of the heart or reason. However, affirmation is of the intellect, whereas hope belongs entirely to the irascible power. Thus certitude is not a type of hope.[44] The list of arguments against Peter's definition – i.e. 'hope is the certain expectation of future beatitude coming from grace and preceding merits' – proceeds in the same way until every part had been subjected to close scrutiny. Roland was, in effect, playing the role of the *opponens*, probing for points of weakness in Peter's definition. Then, in his role as a master of theology, he refuted each of the arguments against one by one.

Roland's solution was conciliatory. He incorporated techniques of rational analysis to shore up theological knowledge. The gist was that the criticisms misunderstood the text. To say that hope was the certain expectation of future beatitude coming from grace and preceding merits was not a self-explanatory statement of what hope meant. Peter was describing hope's effects, rather than trying to offer a definition. Any arguments that tried to treat Peter's words as a definition by the standards of the arts faculty missed the point. He drew on book one of Aristotle's *Ethics*. Peter's critics ought to see his use of the word 'expectation' in light of Aristotle's argument that the virtues are understood through the acts in which they reside. Thus, in this definition, expectation can be understood as an act or function of hope.[45]

Roland continued to develop responses to each objection, always basing his arguments on a combination of alert reading and wide-ranging awareness of relevant external information. The next two points addressed the question of hope's relation to the irascible power of the soul. It was objected that certitude and hope were incompatible because they pertained to different faculties of the soul, namely the intellect and irascible power. In response, Roland argued that certitude indicated the effect of hope rather than its

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[43] *Summa magistri Rolandi*, Q. CXV, p. 358: Primo de hoc quod dicit quod *spes est expectatio*, quoniam expectatio aut est actio expectantis, aut passio, aut ipsum expectatum, aut est modus expectandi. Et nullum illorum est spes, quoniam non est vel actio, vel passio, cum sit qualitas; nec est illud quod expectatur, quoniam illud est fruitio. Ergo falsum est hoc quod dicitur: *spes est expectatio.*

[44] Ibid., p. 358: Item opponitur de hoc quod dicitur *certa*, quoniam omnis certitudo est cordis assertio, sive rationis; nullius autem est assertio nisi intellectus; sed spes est tantum in vi irascibili; ergo certitudo nullo modo est spei.

[45] Ibid., p. 360: Ad ea que queruntur respondebimus per ordinem dicentes quod ibi describitur spes per suum effectum. Unde non est illa diffinitio, sed est descriptio. Multociens enim circumloquimur aliquid per suum effectum, maxime quando res occulta est. Virtutes enim cognoscuntur per suos actus, ut dicit Aristoteles. Huiusmodi enim expectatio que ponitur in illa diffinitione est actus spei. Tamen secundum quod movet, est certitudo intellectus.

essence.[46] Consequently, it could still affect and move the irascible power, whilst properly belonging to the intellect. To suggest that the irascible power, because it involved 'insurgence' or arising, did not also encompass expectation, was to fail to distinguish the highest good and its contrary – i.e. vice – since the irascible power concerned both the expectation of good things and insurgence against bad ones.[47]

Roland's enthusiasm for fine-grained analysis is reminiscent of a passage from his *Postilla in Job*, where he argued for the importance of logic to the theologian:

> …the teacher of theology ought not to teach publicly unless he is adequately instructed in philosophy, especially in logic, lest he be deceived by the fallacy of arguments (as the Apostle says, 'Beware lest any man deceive you through philosophy and empty fallacy!'), and in medicine, because of the allegories and moralities taken from the properties of things.[48]

Here is a thinker with a clear sense of what he was doing and a keen awareness of the benefits and limitations of other disciplines. Commenting on the need to make theological arguments both watertight and vivid was one thing; the treatment of hope found in the *Liber quaestionum* demonstrates that medicine and logic were also very much part of the texture of Roland's thought.

Meanwhile, Roland's engagement with Arabic learning is demonstrated by his use of Avicenna. On the question of whether it is possible for faith to generate hope and, at the same time, for all virtues to be equal, Roland paraphrased Avicenna's *Metaphysics*: if faith generates hope, hope will be the effect of faith, and every cause is greater than its effect.[49] Avicenna's *Metaphysics* – or *Divine Things* – was translated into Latin by Dominicus

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[46] Ibid., p. 360.

[47] Ibid., pp. 360-61: Ad tercio obiectum dicimus quod ad vim irascibilem pertinet expectare summum bonum, cum ipsa est informata spe; tamen ad eam pertinet insurgere contra sua contraria, scilicet contra vitia; preterea contraria sunt in eadem vi.

[48] Quoted in Mulchahey, *Dominican Education before 1350*, p. 62 (n.210).

[49] *Summa magistri Rolandi*, Q. CXV, p. 358-59: Item per illud quod dicit Ieronimus probatur contrarium. Dicit enim quod virtutes sunt equales inter se. Et Augustinus, et universaliter magistri. Sed si fides generaret spem, spes esset effectus fidei; et omnis causa maior est suo effectu, et fortior, ut dicit Augustinus in libro de Tri[nitate], et Avicenna in Metaphisica. Ergo spes non procedit ex gratia. Et ita tota falsa est illa diffinitio.

Gundissalinus between 1150 and 1180.[50] While the influence of Avicenna's *De anima* is thought to have waned from the middle of the 1250s onwards, the same cannot be said for the *Metaphysics*, which later theologians, such as Albert the Great, Thomas Aquinas and John Duns Scotus, continued to read and draw from in their teaching.[51] In doing so, they were continuing a process started by an earlier generation of theologians, which evidently included Roland of Cremona.

In general, reading Roland of Cremona on hope gives the impression of proximity to a headspring of interest in philosophical psychology. He was, for example, interested in addressing the relationship between hope and soul's irascible power. The current trend, said Roland, was to locate hope in the irascible power. The argument worked by equating hope and anticipation. Since insurgence (or arising) and anticipating are contraries – and because contraries belong to the same power – anticipation properly belongs in the irascible power.[52] Roland had already proposed a solution to a similar problem in an earlier article on the virtues and the powers of the soul, and in this instance, Roland argued that hope as discussed by Peter Lombard should be understood as a form of rational action, which did not properly belong to either the concupiscible or irascible power.

It seems Roland was uncertain whether this argument would be enough to overturn the consensus. As a parting shot, perhaps intended as a reminder to his students of the need to question what they heard or read about hope, he suggested it was not at all clear that waiting for something to happen was logically contrary to something actually occurring; that is to say, that expectation is the opposite of arising or insurgence. Is it not true to say that reason also arises, albeit in its own controlled way?[53] It was important to differentiate

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[50] M.-T. d'Alverny, 'Translations and Translators', pp. 444-52; on its diffusion in Italy, idem, 'La tradition manuscrite d'Avicenne latin', in *Mélanges Taha Hussein* (Cairo, 1962), pp. 67-78; reprinted in *Avicenne en Occident*. For friars as booksellers, *Acta provinciae Romanae* (Florence, 1272), p. 39: Iniungimus priori Viterbiensi ut pecuniam quam de Avicenna vendito recepit, in libris utilibus conv. Viterbiensi expendat.

[51] See A. Bertolacci, 'On the Latin Reception of Avicenna's Metaphysics before Albertus Magnus: An Attempt at Periodization', in *The Arabic, Hebrew and Latin Reception of Avicenna's Metaphysics*, ed. D. N. Hasse and A. Bertolacci (Berlin, 2012), pp. 197-224.

[52] *Summa magistri Rolandi*, Q. CXX, p. 367.

[53] Ibid., p. 368: Sed videtur quod sit in rationali, quoniam cuius est cognoscere summum bonum, eiusdem est expectare; sed solius rationis est cognoscere summum bonum; ergo solius rationis est illud expectare. Quid enim est expectare nisi attendere cum patientia? et attendere solius est rationis. Ergo spes est in rationali. Quod concedimus, si quis subtiliter inspiciat. Sed communis opinio dicit quod est in irascibili. Ad illud quod dicit – quod insurgere et expectare sunt contraria – dicimus quod non. Vel aliter et melius dicimus quod et ratio suo modo insurgit; et iterum imperat esse insurgendum.

between the philosophical analysis of the powers of the sensitive appetite and Peter Lombard's definition of hope as a theological virtue.

Before we move on to look at two other parts of the *Liber quaestionum* where Roland addressed similar topics, it will be useful to think about those who might have said that hope belonged to irascible power. Is it possible to find a spokesman for the consensus which Roland criticised? To begin with we need to draw up a mental list of works, either by theologians or masters of arts, which could include a discussion of the powers of the sensitive appetite and their acts. The list then needs to be put into chronological order. Determining the date of medieval texts can often be an imprecise process; this must be reflected in any preliminary classification to limit the possibility of placing later works before earlier ones. A provisional solution might be to use the median value between the *terminus post quem* and *terminus ante quem*. Also, as we are interested in seeing how the division of the concupiscible and irascible powers was used in different contexts and combinations, it is important to differentiate texts derivative of teaching in arts faculties from those derivative of teaching in theology faculties. From this list, we must try to select a feasible sample of texts; albeit with the caveat that, by trying to say what can and cannot be found in them, we are engaging in an uncertain task, owing to their size, accidents of survival and loss, and so on. In places we may have to rely on educated guesswork; that is to say, we can assess the probability of a text including the relevant piece of information based on reference to context and circumstances. We can test this ad hoc method with a very limited selection of texts, chiefly consisting of printed early modern and modern editions.

By discussing the acts of the concupiscible and irascible powers of the soul, Roland of Cremona was continuing a tradition that was already richly established in the twelfth century. These antecedents were, principally, the products of a monastic setting. A sense of how a Cistercian writer addressed the question of hope and its location in the soul will help us to frame Roland's criticism. Isaac of Stella (d.1168), for example, discussed the problem in his *Epistola de anima*.[54] Isaac's *Epistola*, deeply influenced by Hugh of St. Victor and the early Paris schools, was a densely and carefully arranged collation of recent anthropological thought and medical learning. As such, he was influenced by a contemporary effort to classify the powers of the soul in a systematic way. Isaac provided his reader with a fourfold division of desire (*affectus*) adapted from Stoic theory, wherein

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[54] On Isaac's life and work, see *Three Treatises on Man: A Cistercian Anthropology*, ed. B. McGinn, The Cistercian Fathers Series 24 (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1977), pp. 47-63.

we rejoice in the presence of something loved and hope for it in the future; while in the case of undesired or hated objects, we either feel sorrow in the present or fear it in the future. Thus: 'Joy and hope arise from the concupiscible appetite, sorrow and fear from the irascible.'[55]

This position, it seems, was generally accepted in certain circles in the second half of the twelfth century. In the *De spiritu et anima*, an anonymous Cistercian treatise on the soul from the same period, we find a similar position; if less elegantly expressed. It is through the concupiscible and irascible appetite that it is possible to love good and hate evil. Love is born from the concupiscible appetite, and desire and joy in turn come from love; whereas hate is born from the irascible appetite and gives rise to sorrow and fear.[56] In the thirteenth century, the position that hope was located in the concupiscible power was routinely contradicted by Parisian theologians, including, among others, Thomas Aquinas.

Later in the twelfth century, the consensus came under pressure following the translation and reception of the psychological thought of Aristotle and Avicenna. The philosophy of the soul put forward in the commentaries on the *De anima* of Aristotle and Avicenna challenged many of the doctrines developed by earlier Christian authors such as Isaac of Stella, Hugh of St. Victor and William of St. Thierry. Avicenna's comprehensive treatment of the soul, loosely based on a reading Aristotle's earlier work, was first translated in Latin in Toledo by Avendauth 'Israelita'.[57] The translation was made in collaboration with Dominicus Gundissalinus, and, based on its dedication to a named archbishop of Toledo, is thought to date to between 1152 and 1166. The translation of Aristotle's *De anima* may already have been complete. The first Latin translation of the

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[55] *PL* 194, 1878D: 'Affectus vero quadripertitus esse dignoscitur, dum de eo quod diligimus, aut inpraesentiarum gaudemus, aut futurum speramus, aut de eo quod odimus, jam dolemus, aut dolendum timemus, ac per hoc de concupiscibilitate gaudium et spes, de irascibilitate vero dolor et metus oriuntur.' It has not been possible to consult C. Tarlazzi, 'L'Epistola de anima di Isacco di Stella: studio della tradizione ed edizione del testo', in *Medioevo* 36 (2011), pp. 167-278.

[56] *PL* 40, 813: 'Est etiam concupiscibilis atque irascibilis, ut possit amare bonum et odire malum. De concupiscibilitate nascitur amor, et de amore desiderium et gaudium. Amor est delectatio cordis alicujus ad aliquid propter aliquid, per desiderium currens, atque per gaudium requiescens; per desiderium in appetendo, et per gaudium in perfruendo. Nec aliunde bonum est, si bonum est, cor humanum, nisi quod bene amat quod bonum est. Nec aliunde malum est, si malum est, nisi quod male amat quod bonum est. Omne enim quod est, bonum est: sed in eo quod male amatur tantum vitium est. De irascibilitate nascitur odium. Ira enim generat odium: et de odio dolor et timor.'

[57] D. N. Hasse, *Avicenna in the Latin West*, pp. 4-7.

work was made by James of Venice; it could have been completed in Italy or even, perhaps, in the Pisan quarter in Constantinople.[58] During his time in Constantinople, as Lorenzo Minio-Paluello suggests, James may have met Burgundio of Pisa, the Pisan jurist and translator of John Damascene's *De fide orthodoxa*.

To gain an impression of the nature of the challenge to earlier theological approaches, it will be useful to look briefly at how Avicenna addressed the question of hope's location in the soul. Like Isaac of Stella and the anonymous author of the *Liber de spiritu et anima*, Avicenna located fear in the irascible power.[59] Applying the principle of contrariety, he noted that hope and fear are opposites. However, he then argued that, since there are no contrary acts in the irascible power, hope is not necessarily an irascible act. Elsewhere he used hope and fear as examples of the difference between human and animal psychology: insofar as they can apply to things in the remote future, both acts assume a level of estimation and an awareness of time which only humans can possess. Instead of differentiating between the 'positive' concupiscible power and 'negative' irascible power, Avicenna argued that acts of both were properly distinguished by their objects. Thus the acts of the concupiscible power involve desiring things which are perceived to be useful or pleasurable, whilst irascible acts involve desiring the defeat or avoidance of objects which are harmful or obstructive. This difference was significant; it made it more difficult to locate hope in either the concupiscible or irascible power.

Roland of Cremona knew both texts well and quoted them in the *Liber quaestionum*. He probably read them in Bologna before he entered the order. In Paris he would have encountered others who shared the same interests. Masters from the arts and theology faculties routinely included the material in their own treatises on the soul. For example, Gauthier edited a treatise *De anima et de potenciis eius*, which was written around 1225 by an anonymous master of arts. The text coincides with Roland's arrival St-Jacques, and provided an account of Aristotle's psychological theory, frequently quoting from Avicenna and Averroes.[60] There was a short summary of the sensitive motive powers, in which the definition of the concupiscible and irascible powers followed Avicenna. The master also discussed the question of whether contrary acts can exist in the same power; an idea which originated in Aristotle's topics. Both ideas were familiar to theologians and

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[58] L. Minio-Paluello, 'Iacobus Veneticus Grecus: Canonist and Translator of Aristotle', *Traditio* 8 (1952), p. 269.

[59] S. Knuuttila, *Emotions in Ancient and Medieval Philosophy*, p. 223.

[60] R. A. Gauthier, 'Le traité *De anima et de potenciis eius* d'un maîtres ès arts (vers 1225)', *RSPT* 66 (1982), pp. 3-55.

arts teachers in the early thirteenth century. They were, for example, part of John Blund's *Tractatus de anima*, which Callus dates to 1200.[61] It is not surprising to find that Roland of Cremona integrated them into his *Liber quaestionum*.[62] The material would have been familiar to many of his students.

What about Roland's criticism of those who thought hope belonged to the irascible power? There is at least one Parisian theologian who argued for something like this; although it is unlikely he was the source of Roland's frustration. John of La Rochelle is perhaps best known for his career as a Franciscan and master of theology at Paris. He was a close colleague of Alexander of Hales, and Victorin Doucet has shown he was heavily involved in the production of the *Summa fratris Alexandri*, in part based on the number of references to an earlier work, which predated John's decision to join the Franciscan house and his subsequent theological career. The work in question is the *Summa de anima*, which dates to between 1235 and 1236.[63] It was preceded by a similar work, the *Tractatus de divisione multiplici potentiarum animae*. Both texts reflect John's earlier career as a Parisian master of arts, and in this respect they built on an earlier tradition of psychological thought.

The level of John's treatment is impressive, and reflects the fact that his teaching career in the arts faculty coincided with the arrival of a lot of new material.[64] Both works may have been part of the same project. The *Tractatus* is arguably more of a compilation of current psychological thought than a fully-fashioned treatise. Pierre Michaud-Quantin's proposal is that it could have been intended as a useful teaching aid for masters of arts and their students. The *Summa de anima*, however, was a much more polished work, refining

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[61] John Blund, *Tractatus de anima*, ed. D. A. Callus and R. W. Hunt, Auctores Britannici Medii Aevi, 2 (London, 1970); see also D. A. Callus, 'Introduction of Aristotelian Learning', pp. 21-22.

[62] Roland of Cremona, *Summa magistri Rolandi*, Q. LXXXVIII, pp. 268-69: In vi autem irascibili sunt iste virtutes: spes, timor, patientia, longanimitas, pietas, mansuetudo, humilitas, pax, luctus, secundum quosdam qui putant quod luctus sit virtus. Quod spes sit in irascibili patet, quoniam ibi est contrarium suum, scilicet desperatio; et contraria sunt in eadem vi, ut dicit Aristoteles.

[63] John of La Rochelle, *Summa de anima*, ed. J. G. Bougerol, Textes philosophiques du moyen âge 19 (Paris, 1995).

[64] For a recent summary of the reception and commentary tradition, see O. Weijers, 'The Literary Forms of the Reception of Aristotle', in *Albertus Magnus und die Anfänge der Aristoteles-Rezeption im lateinischen Mittelalter: von Richardus Rufus bis zu Franciscus de Mayronis*, ed. L. Honnefelder (Münster, 2005), pp. 555-84.

the earlier authorities into a detailed synthesis.[65] If the *Tractatus* surveyed the field, the *Summa de anima* was intended as John's substantial original contribution to knowledge and understanding. He was evidently immersed in the material. His treatment of the sensitive acts of the soul, for example, went well beyond anything found in earlier treatises. William of Auvergne's ambitious classification of the concupiscible and irascible powers in his *De anima* and *De virtutibus* is perhaps the only thing that came close to matching it.[66]

However, whereas William, the master of theology, employed the distinction between the concupiscible and irascible powers to provide a comprehensive account of the virtues and vices, John's outlook was, at this stage, more technical.[67] He devised a systematic account of the concupiscible and irascible powers, where the former involved acts of desiring things considered pleasant and their corresponding contraries, and the latter covered acts directed towards difficult and onerous things, both good and bad. There are clear echoes of Avicenna; but there were also some important differences.

The concupiscible power involves motive acts of the soul towards objects that play a positive role in the individual's life. In total, John identified twelve separate states, which he arranged according to the order in which they occurred. Thus concupiscence and its contrary disgust were the initial indication of the value with which an individual invested things in their environment. Acts such as delight and sadness occur subsequently during the enjoyment or fruition of the thing in question.[68]

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[65] P. Michaud-Quantin, 'Introduction', in *Tractatus de divisione multiplici potentiarum animae*, ed. P. Michaud-Quantin, Textes philosophiques du moyen âge 11 (Paris, 1964), pp. 34-39.

[66] William of Auvergne, *Opera omnia*, 2 vols (Orléans and Paris, 1674), vol. 1, pp. 102-91, vol 2, part 2, pp. 65-228. P. Glorieux, *Répertoire des maîtres en théologie de Paris au XIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1936), n. 141. See E. A. Moody, 'William of Auvergne and His Treatise *De Anima*', reprinted in *Studies in Medieval Philosophy, Science, and Logic. Collected Papers 1933-1969* (Los Angeles, 1975), pp.1-111; D. N. Hasse, *Avicenna's De anima in the Latin West*, pp. 42-47.

[67] See S. Vecchio, '*Passio*, *Affectus*, *Virtus*: Il sistema delle passioni nei trattati morali di Guglielmo d'Alvernia', in *Autour de Guillaume d'Auvergne († 1249)*, ed. Franco Morenzoni and Jean-Yves Tilliette, Bibliothèque d'histoire culturelle du moyen âge 2 (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 173-87; also in the same volume, C. Casagrande, 'Guglielmo d'Auvergne e il buon uso delle passioni nella penitenza', pp. 189-202.

[68] John of La Rochelle, *Summa de anima*, pp. 256-59; Knuuttila, *Emotions in Ancient and Medieval Philosophy*, pp. 234-36; also, Hasse, *Avicenna's De anima in the Latin West*, p. 139.

The irascible power comprises eight different acts, each directed towards the achievement of the good. Every act, inasmuch as it belonged to the irascible power, involved some form of strength or the strengthening of an individual's position in relation to good or bad objects. In contrast to Avicenna, John argued for the presence of contrary acts in the irascible power. Thus, for eight acts involving strength, there were five corresponding acts involving weakness. Desperation (*desperatio*) was one of the acts which involved weakness; its contrary, which John located in the irascible power, was hope (*spes*).

The relevance of John's classification of hope as an act of the irascible power for our reading of Roland of Cremona's *Liber quaestionum* is indirect. There is currently no evidence that Roland used or knew John of La Rochelle's *Summa de anima*. Given that Roland was already in Italy, it seems unlikely. Nevertheless, it appears to prove that the idea that hope was in the irascible power was not just thinkable in the early 1230s, it was actually *thought* by one of the most influential Parisian masters. Is this just another case of a theologian from the Order of Preachers complaining about the 'artists'? Or is it an indication that Roland was out of touch with fast-paced developments at Paris? It would, for various reasons, be wise not to make too much of this point. After all, it is difficult to find an earlier *Sentences* 'commentary' which addressed the same question.

So, irrespective of concerns about its date, Roland of Cremona's discussion of hope in the *Liber quaestionum* raises a number of important points. Like his predecessors William of Auxerre and Alexander of Hales, he was not interested in talking about hope as an act of the sensitive appetite, but as a theological virtue. In this respect, if not in others, he stayed close to Peter Lombard's original sense. But, at the same time, Roland made the most of his philosophical and medical knowledge. As well as using medical language to explain certain doctrinal points about the nature of hope, Roland engaged with some of the latest developments in philosophical psychology. This was not a one-off excursion into unfamiliar territory. He did the same thing throughout the *Liber quaestionum*, a work which is thick with language and concepts more commonly associated with other, non-theological disciplines. Moreover, it is important not to give the impression that the heavily theological emphasis in Roland's treatment of hope was somehow symptomatic of a lack of interest in psychological questions about 'emotion'. Roland engaged with this material in detail; he simply chose to do so at different stages in his commentary.

So, if trying to identify general characteristics of Roland's thought about emotion, we could, at this stage, make the following observation. From the lack of any serious attempt

to address psychological definitions of hope, one might suppose that Roland was not particularly interested in such questions. The opposite is the case, but the evidence which proves it is scattered. For example, at an earlier point in his commentary, we find an article where Roland addressed the difference between the virtues and the four principal affections of the soul – i.e. *spes*, *timor*, *gaudium*, *dolor*.[69] Hope, when used in this context, took on a different meaning. The scattered quality of Roland's thought about emotion means that, if attempting to make a comprehensive survey of Roland's contribution to a theological doctrine of the passions, we would need to consult a much wider sample of articles from the *Liber quaestionum*. This would involve reading parts of books 2 and 4, as well as just book 3. These could then be assembled into a shape that matched our organising theme.

This raises an interesting problem. Roland's theological teaching, as recorded in the pages of the *Liber quaestionum*, was structured by specific generic expectations, which were, in turn, linked to contemporary academic practices. By reading his commentary for thought about emotion, as opposed to his solutions to specific doctrinal questions raised by Peter Lombard's text, we are going against the grain. The process is long and painstaking, and the result, like Arthur Evans' imaginative reconstruction of Knossos, might leave us with an uneasy impression of exaggeration and misrepresentation. How did Evans know that the fragments of head, crown and torso found scattered across the area of the ancient palace once belonged to same painting? Ultimately, the suggestion could be that Roland's discussion of hope, even though it was intellectually vibrant and influenced by current psychological thought, is not particularly useful for our purposes. There are arguably more straightforward places to look. In the next section, we will see how, by referring to the passions of the soul in his discussion of hope, Albert the Great made our task easier. The comparison with Roland's earlier *Liber quaestionum* is instructive.

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[69] For example, Roland of Cremona, *Summa magistri Rolandi*, Q. LXXXIX, p. 272: Quod concedimus. Ad obiecta respondentes dicimus quod non valet istud argumentum: bona spes est virtus, et bonus timor, ergo bonum gaudium. Istud argumentum videtur fieri a simili: quia simul numerantur gaudium et spes, ideo videtur quod idem sit iuditium de illis. In hoc est fallacia consequentis. Item spes bona non respondet ad gaudium bonum secundum quod spes est virtus; neque spes virtus est oppositum illius spei que numeratur inter quattuor affectus.

5.3 Albert the Great

By thinking about what hope meant to a handful of Parisian theologians at the start of the thirteenth century, we are beginning to see the outline of a distinction. On the one hand, hope related to the four *affectiones* of the soul; a longstanding categorisation which featured prominently in monastic literature and in the Augustinian Platonism of the twelfth-century schools.[70] On the other, there was the sort of hope which Peter Lombard talked about in the *Sentences*. We have seen how Roland of Cremona made a careful attempt to differentiate between the two uses. It is likely that many of his contemporaries did the same; whether explicitly in the course of their lectures, or implicitly through the arrangement of questions and articles in their *Sentences* commentaries. In Albert the Great's *Sentences* commentary and early theological works, we find a similar point. However, as we will see, in Albert's hands the difference was described with greater precision and with the help of new sources. This, in part, is indicative of wider intellectual developments at Paris and elsewhere. It is also attributable to the exceptional sophistication and clarity of Albert the Great's thought.

Albert the Great was a Swabian who entered the Order of Preachers in 1223 while studying the liberal arts at Padua. Following a period as a lecturer in his native province of Germany (Teutonia), he was sent to Paris to lecture on the *Sentences*. Opinion differs on when he arrived in Paris, but it was probably between 1240 and 1243.[71] It is thought that, in anticipation of his election as master of theology, Albert lectured on the *Sentences* as a bachelor. This was consistent with contemporary academic practice at Paris. The comparison with Roland of Cremona is important. If Roland lectured on the *Sentences* at Paris and Toulouse, he may have done so as a master of theology, not as a bachelor. This difference suggests something of the institutional changes which were ongoing at Paris during the 1230s and 1240s.

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[70] For an overview, C. Marmo, 'Le Passioni e la tradizione monastica', *Doctor Seraphicus* 45 (1998), pp. 5-39; C. Casagrande and S. Vecchio, 'Les theories des passions dans la culture médiévale', in *Le sujet des émotions au Moyen Âge*, ed. D. Boquet and P. Nagy (Paris, 2009), pp. 107-22.

[71] J. A. Weisheipl, 'The Life and Works of St. Albert the Great', in *Albertus Magnus and the Sciences: Commemorative Essays 1980*, ed. J. A. Weisheipl (Toronto, 1980), pp. 21-23; cf. S. Tugwell, *Albert and Thomas: Selected Writings* (New York, 1988), pp. 7-8. For a recent summary, I. Resnick, 'Albert the Great: Biographical Introduction', in *A Companion to Albert the Great: Theology, Philosophy, and the Sciences*, ed. I. M. Resnick (Leiden, 2013), pp. 1-11.

Albert's commentary on the *Sentences* survives in the form of an *ordinatio*, a revised version of his lectures written up for the Paris stationers.[72] From our point of view, two things stand out. First of all, he used a different word to talk about hope, preferring the word 'passion' to 'affection'. But just as interesting was Albert's decision to include this definition of hope as a passion in his treatment of the theological virtues. The older spacing used by Roland of Cremona in the *Liber quaestionum*, where the *affectiones* were not addressed directly in the analysis of hope, had been subtly reconfigured.

As we have seen, a bachelor who was reading the *Sentences* at Paris, even one who may have already had a strong grasp of the text, was required to convey information simply and to demonstrate its bearing to the problems raised by the *littera* of the 'Master's' text. The method of close reading in the classroom provided the model for the revised *ordinatio*, in which there was an expectation that a commentary could be read alongside the work being discussed.

Accordingly, Albert started with a concise summary of the account of hope found in the *Sentences*. From the division of the text, he introduced three organising questions, some of which overlap with the *Liber quaestionum*, which seem possessed of didactic clarity and precision; they suggest someone fully conversant in the habits and conventions of a particular way of thinking. It is noticeable, for example, that Albert was less concerned to pick through every word of Peter Lombard's definition. The route and its main points of interest may, to some degree, have already been mapped out. Albert asked whether hope was a virtue and, if so, how it was distinct from others. Like Roland, Albert ended his discussion by locating hope within the powers of the soul.

The questions may have been well-rehearsed, but Albert was nevertheless able to find room for new authorities when they became available. On the question of whether hope was a theological virtue, Albert responded unequivocally. Horace, Cicero and certain other philosophers placed hope among the four natural passions and, since the passions are not virtues, some might have thought that this meant hope was not a virtue.[73] This position confused the philosophical and theological uses of *spes*. In the *Sentences*, hope described a theological virtue. Such virtues, said Albert, should be distinguished from the cardinal virtues: there was a fundamental equivalency between the act and its end, since both were directed towards God. In contrast, the philosophers considered hope in the genus of

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[72] Weisheipl, 'Life and Works of St. Albert', p. 22.
[73] Albert the Great, *Super III Sententiarum*, xxvi.1, ed. A. Borgnet (Paris, 1893-1894), vol. 28, p. 490.

passion (*in genere passionis*), that is, as something belonging to the sensitive soul. This type of hope was the opposite of natural fear.[74] Albert demonstrated this difference by sorting through a series of scriptural references to hope – all of which would have been grouped together in the verbal concordances produced at St-Jacques in the first half of the thirteenth century. The attempt to differentiate between the various uses of hope could have been facilitated by biblical study aids as well as a variety of other reference tools. The two activities were mutually informing.

The talk of passions and the commentary's sophisticated architecture are both significant, but Albert's treatment of hope is also eye-catching for what it might reveal about his reading habits and way of working. One of the arguments against the classification of hope as a theological virtue was distinctly Aristotelian. How could hope be a theological virtue if it was halfway between excess and defect? In Albert's response, we find a reference to Aristotle which could not have been more up-to-date. If accurate, it proves that Albert incorporated the latest Aristotelian translations into his teaching on the *Sentences*.

Drawing on the Aristotelian notion of the mean and its relation to virtue, it was proposed that since hope was the mean between presumption and desperation it inhered in the operation of the soul mediated by reason; it was not, as some argued, an act of reason directed towards God. For Albert, the view that hope was a mean between two extremes in the same way that, say, strength related to recklessness and cowardice, or generosity to extravagance and parsimony, was erroneous. In this context, there was little to be gained from comparing strength and hope.[75] Not all virtues are a mean between two extremes, and nor should hope, in its theological sense, be understood as simply a habit by which a man does the right thing. Significantly, Albert located this definition of justice, along with

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[74] Ibid., xxvi. 1, p. 491: Ut igitur intelligantur solutiones objectorum, sciendum quod *spes* aequivoce dicitur multipliciter, et ex hoc a diversis in diversis ponitur generibus, et diversa ponuntur ei opposita. Quandoque enim est in genere passionis, et hoc modo consideratur a Philosophis: et quia passio est illata animae sensibili: quia sicut dicit Philosophus, "Omnis delectatio est generatio in sensibilem animam:" ideo tunc ponitur ei oppositum in genere passionis, eo quod oppositorum sit idem genus: hoc autem oppositum, aut accipitur penes objectum solum, et tunc erit timor secundum quod ipse passio est futuri mali: aut penes differentiam temporis quam consignat, et sic opponitur delectatio, quae est ex rememoratione, ut dicit Philosophus.

[75] Ibid., xxvi. 1, p. 492: Iterum alia ratione patet illud: quia si spes esset medium, jam comparata extremis acciperet aliquid de ratione extremorum, sicut fortis secundum Philosophum ad audacem est timidus, et audax ad timidum: sed non spes dicetur sic desperatio ad praesumptionem, et praesumptio ad desperationem.

some of the other arguments under consideration, in book 5 of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*.[76]

This reference to book 5 of the *Ethics* is odd. It could not possibly have featured in Albert's original lectures on the *Sentences*, which he must have delivered after his arrival in Paris (1240 or 1243-44) and before he incepted as master of theology in the order's chair for foreigners (1245). Daniel Callus and Jean Dunbabin, among others, have demonstrated that Robert Grosseteste's complete translation was only available around 1246.[77] Before then, commentators and theologians had to make do with the so-called *Ethica vetus* and *Ethica nova*, which only covered the first three books. As a result, important aspects of the Philosopher's moral thought were only partly understood. Indeed, at times they could be misinterpreted completely, as early thirteenth-century treatments of prudence indicate.[78] By making all ten books of the *Ethics* available, the *translatio Lincolniensis* presented masters and students at Paris and elsewhere with the opportunity to assimilate Aristotle's views on friendship (books 8 and 9), justice and value (book 5), and, most importantly of all, to address the Aristotelian position on the possibility of happiness in this life (book 10) in light of the Christian convictions.[79]

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[76] Ibid., xxvi. 1, p. 493: Et hoc sit dictum contra quosdam, qui dicunt spem esse medium inter desperationem et praesumptionem, eo quod ipsi putant in omni virtute esse medium per unam rationem, quod absurdum est, quia nec etiam in consuetudinali (ut dicit Philosophus in V *Ethicorum*) est per unam rationem.

[77] See, D. A. Callus, 'The Date of Grosseteste's Translations and Commentaries on the Pseudo-Dionysius and the Nicomachean Ethics', *RTAM* 14 (1947), pp. 186-210; J. Dunbabin, 'Robert Grosseteste as Translator, Transmitter and Commentator: The Nicomachean Ethics', *Traditio* 28 (1972), pp. 460-72; J. McEvoy, *The Philosophy of Robert Grosseteste* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 471-77; D. Luscombe, 'Ethics in the Early Thirteenth Century', in *Albertus Magnus und die Anfänge der Aristoteles-Rezeption im lateinischen Mittelalter: von Richardus Rufus bis zu Franciscus de Mayronis*, ed. L. Honnefelder, (Münster, 2005), pp. 657-84. Also, R.-A. Gauthier, *Ethica Nicomachea. Praefatio. Aristoteles Latinus XXVI, 1–3, fasc. primus* (Leiden, 1974), p. cci.

[78] R.-A. Gauthier, 'Arnoul de Provence et la doctrine de la "fronesis": vertu mystique suprême, *Revue du moyen âge latin* 19 (1963), pp. 129-70; G. Wieland, 'The Reception and Interpretation of Aristotle's *Ethics*', in *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy*, ed. N. Kretzmann, A. Kenny and J. Pinborg (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 655-72; M. B. Ingham, '*Phronesis and Prudentia*: Investigating the Stoic Legacy of Moral Wisdom and the Reception of Aristotle's *Ethics*', in *Albertus Magnus und die Anfänge der Aristoteles-Rezeption im lateinischen Mittelalter*, ed. L. Honnefelder, (Münster, 2005), pp. 631-56.

[79] For an interesting consequence in relation to economic life, see S. Piron, 'Albert le Grand et le concept de valeur', in *I beni di questo mondo. Teorie etico-economiche nel laboratorio dell'Europa medievale*, ed. R. Lambertini and L. Sileo, Textes et Études du Moyen Âge 55 (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 131-56. On happiness, see G. Wieland, 'The

The assimilation of these ideas was not confined to the arts faculty. Albert the Great, as master of theology at the *studium generale* at Cologne, was one of the first in the Latin West to embark on a complete commentary of Aristotle's ethical theory.[80] The place of the *Ethics* in the syllabus that Albert devised for the Dominican *studium* at Cologne is well-known. However, the circumstances surrounding the incorporation of this new work into his *Sentences* commentary are much harder to piece together.

A summary of some of the information which historians have gleaned from reading Albert's *Sentences* will help to clarify our particular case. Thus, we know that Albert's commentary emerged from the course of lectures he gave as a bachelor at Paris during the early 1240s. However, it is generally thought that he only started to clean up his accumulated notes for publication after he had incepted as master. James Weisheipl points to a reference in the sixth distinction of book 2 which shows Albert was working on this part of his commentary in 1246.[81] Using the same method, it is also possible to show that Albert was still adding material to his commentary in the spring of 1249, i.e. after his arrival in Cologne.[82] Meanwhile, Odon Lottin and Daniel Callus were able to show that, when he prepared his commentary on book 4 of the *Sentences*, Albert had a copy of the Grosseteste translation of Aristotle's *Ethics* to hand.[83] Jean Dunbabin suggests that, accounting for the time it would have taken to copy the new translation, Albert could not have received a complete translation before 1248.[84] With this in mind, it seems likely that after 1248, as he was reading parts of the *Ethics* for the first time, Albert was still working new material into his commentary on book 3 of the *Sentences*.

Perfection of Man: On the Cause, Mentality and Permanence of Human Happiness in the Thirteenth Century Commentaries on the *Ethica Nicomachea*, in *Il commento filosofico nell'Occidente latino (secoli XIII-XV)*, ed. G. Fioravanti, C. Leonardi and S. Perfetti (Turnhout, 2002), pp. 359-78; cf. V. A. Buffon, 'Philosophers and Theologians on Happiness: An Analysis of Early Latin Commentaries on the *Nicomachean Ethics*', *Laval théologique et philosophique* 60 (2004), pp. 449-75.

[80] J. Dunbabin, 'The Two Commentaries of Albertus Magnus on the Nicomachean Ethics', *RTAM* 30 (1963), pp. 232-50.

[81] J. A. Weisheipl, 'The Life and Works of St. Albert the Great', p. 22.

[82] *Super IV Sententiarum*, xxxv. 7, ed. A. Borgnet (Paris, 1894), vol. 30, p. 354: 'inscriptio facienda est sic: "Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Jesu Christi MCCXLIX, presidente Domino N." etc.'; quoted in Weisheipl, 'The Life and Works of St. Albert the Great', p. 22, n. 36.

[83] O. Lottin, 'Saint Albert le Grand e l'Éthique à Nicomaque', in *Aus der Geisteswelt des Mittelalters. Studien und Texte* I, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters, Supplementband III (Münster, 1935), pp. 611-26; D. A. Callus, 'The Date of Grosseteste's Translations', pp. 186-210.

[84] J. Dunbabin, 'The Two Commentaries', pp. 233-34.

The inclusion of this reference, then, may indicate the progress Albert had made on his commentary by 1248. Indeed, it would not be surprising to learn that Albert wrote the *ordinatio* of his lectures on book 3 of the *Sentences* after book 4. In the Parisian theology faculty in the middle of the thirteenth century, books 2 and 3 were sometimes read after books 1 and 4.[85] In his 'sermones prologales' (or 'introductory sermons'), the Florentine preacher Remigio de' Girolami provided two reasons for this. The fourth book, he suggested, was easier to understand than the third. Moreover, the information it contained on the sacraments was of more immediate relevance to students who were preparing for the priesthood.[86] The question will be easier to address after the publication of the Cologne edition of Albert's *Sentences* commentary.[87] For now, we should recognise that Albert may have continued to add new questions and material to his *Sentences* commentary as and when they exercised him. Roland of Cremona could well have had the same habit.

The interval between Albert's reading of the *Sentences* at Paris and the revision of his commentary at Cologne has implications for our reading of his references to hope as a passion. A couple of things are noticeable about his literary output during this period. First there is the sense that he was moving from text to text at an impressive rate and that this in turn created a level of interdependence between different works. In addition to revising his lectures on the *Sentences*, he was engaged in the production of a large-scale theological *Summa*. The project was comprehensive. It matched the ambition of texts such as the *Summa fratris Alexandri*, which had been published in Paris in 1245 following the deaths of Alexander of Hales and John of La Rochelle, and William of Auvergne's mammoth *Magisterium divinale ac sapientiale*.[88]

The work, in its complete form, was divided into six different parts. The first three addressed questions relating to the sacraments, the incarnation and resurrection, while the next two, on angels and the first days of creation and on human beings, were for a long

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[85] See A. Oliva, *Les débuts de l'enseignement de Thomas d'Aquin*, pp. 241-42; cf. P. Glorieux, 'L'enseignement au moyen âge: Techniques et methods en usage à la Faculté de Théologie de Paris au XIIIᵉ siècle', *AHDLMA* 43 (1968), pp. 115-17.

[86] E. Panella, *Il "De subiecto theologie" [1297-1299] di Remigio de' Girolami O.P.* (Milan, 1982), p. 10, n. 7; also, M. Mulchahey, 'Education in Dante's Florence Revisited: Remigio de' Girolami and the Schools of Santa Maria Novella', in *Medieval Education*, ed. R. Begley (New York, 2005), p. 158.

[87] According to the website of the Albertus-Magnus-Institut, book 1 of a five-volume edition of the commentary is already in preparation.

[88] D. N. Hasse, *Avicenna's De anima in the Latin West*, pp. 51-52; cf. R. Dales, *The Problem of the Rational Soul*, p. 27.

time read and circulated independently as the *Summa de creaturis*. In the sixth, the *De bono*, Albert treated questions relating to the good. Parts of the work – sometimes called the *Summa Parisiensis* – have been dated to the early 1240s, that is, before Albert's inception as master. Weisheipl suggests it is likely Albert had completed the lion's share by the time he started work on his *Sentences* commentary.[89] However, this is by no means certain. He also claims it was probably complete in 1246 and that it originated in the public disputations in which Albert participated as *master* of the University of Paris.

The first suggestion could be true for some parts of the *Summa Parisiensis*, and appears to be supported by references to the *Summa* in parts of Albert's *Sentences* commentary.[90] Nevertheless, the possibility can be ruled out for the *De bono*. Albert's most important authority by far was Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*. The second suggestion is more problematic. It is feasible that the *Summa* was somehow based on disputed questions held at Paris and Cologne. If it were already near completion in 1246, it seems unlikely that it *originated* in disputations where Albert presided as a master of theology if he had only incepted a year earlier. It is thought that between 1250 and 1252 Albert delivered primary lectures on all ten books of the *Ethics*, as well as holding disputed questions on Aristotle's text.[91] Were the contents of the *De bono* related in any way to the academic exercises held at the new *studium* in Cologne? If so, this would raise interesting questions about the flow of ideas between Albert's theological treatise on questions about the good and his subsequent commentary on the *Ethics*.[92]

This brings us to another point about Albert's sources. Towards the end of the *De bono*, located between the virtues of temperance and prudence, there are seven articles devoted to questions about the passions. Pierre Michaud-Quantin, the first person to study these articles closely, suggests they effectively amount to a treatise on the passions, which was intended to provide a systematic account of emotional activity.[93] As such, they need to be

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[89] J. A. Weisheipl, 'The Life and Works of St. Albert the Great', p. 22.

[90] Albert the Great, *De bono*, Prolegomena, § 2, ed. Colon. 28 (1951), pp. xi-xii.

[91] On Albert's syllabus at Cologne, M. M. Mulchahey, *"The use of philosophy, especially by the Preachers…": Albert the Great, the Studium at Cologne, and the Dominican Curriculum*, The Etienne Gilson Series 32 (Toronto, 2009).

[92] On Albert's treatment of the passions in his commentaries on the Ethics, see S. Vecchio, 'Il discorso sulle passioni nei commenti all'*Etica Nicomachea*: da Alberto Magno a Tommaso d'Aquino', *Documenti e studi sulle tradizione filosofica medievale* 17 (2006), pp. 93-119.

[93] P. Michaud-Quantin, 'Le traité des passions chez saint Albert le Grand', *RTAM* 17 (1950), pp. 90-120; and idem, *La psychologie de l'activité chez Albert le Grand* (Paris, 1966), pp. 103-13.

seen against the backcloth of earlier attempts at the classification of the acts of the concupiscible and irascible powers by theologians such as John of La Rochelle and William of Auvergne. And, as a small part of a much larger work, they were related to his earlier account of the soul in the *De homine*. The connection between the two is based on the relevance of Aristotle and Avicenna, the main philosophical authorities of Albert's early psychology.[94]

However, perhaps the most immediate influence on Albert's thought about emotion was the ongoing effort on the part of the friars-preacher at St-Jacques to engage with the theory of the passions described in John Damascene's *De fide orthodoxa*. Confirmation is provided by the bundle of definitions that Albert used to introduce his treatment:

> First, then, there is the question of what is meant by passion. John Damascene says that 'passion is a movement of the appetitive power in the expectation of good or evil'. And again: 'A passion is an irrational movement of the soul due to the apprehension of good or evil'. And again: 'A passion is a movement from one thing to another'. The Philosopher meanwhile says the following: 'Passion is the effect and result of an action'.[95]

Immediately we have a sense of the principal conceptual resources. The contents of the proceeding articles, which included a question on the moral value of the passions, have been summarised elsewhere.[96] For our purposes, the treatment of the passions in the *De bono* raises some important questions for how we might piece together the historical dimension of Albert's discussion of hope in his *Sentences* commentary. For example, in the *De bono* a reader could recover the train of thought prompted by the *Sentences*

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[94] D. N. Hasse, *Avicenna's De anima in the Latin West*, pp. 60-69; and the same author's, 'The Early Albertus Magnus and his Arabic Sources on the Theory of the Soul', *Vivarium* 46 (2008), pp. 232-52.

[95] Albert the Great, *De bono*, III. v. 1, p. 195: Primo ergo quaeritur, quid sit passio. Et dicit Iohannes Damascenus, quod "passio est motus appetitivae virtutis sensibilis in imaginatione boni vel mali". Et aliter: "Passio est motus irrationalis animae per suspicionem boni vel mali". Et aliter: "Passio est motus ex alio in aliud". Philosophus autem sic: "Passio est effectus illatioque actionis".

[96] P. Michaud-Quantin, 'Le traité des passions'; idem, *La psychologie de l'activité*; S. Knuuttila, *Emotions in Ancient and Medieval Philosophy* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 236-39; idem, 'Locating Emotions in the Categories, in *La tradition médiévale de* Catégories *(XIIᵉ-XVᵉ)*, ed. J. Biard and I. Rosier-Catach (Louvain, 2003), pp. 261-69. See also M. D. Jordan, 'Aquinas's Construction of a Moral Account of the Passions', *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie* 33 (1986), pp. 71-97.

commentary (or vice versa) on the two possible meanings of hope. In the *De bono*, the proposition was that hope could not be one of the natural passions because it was a theological virtue.[97] The solution rehearsed the same arguments found in Albert's *Sentences* commentary. Hope, Albert argued, has two meanings. On the one hand, it is a virtue. But on the other it describes a passion, or a feeling of sweetness directed towards future goods with some anticipation of fulfilment.[98] In Albert's hands, the difference seems simple and clear.

There was another less obvious correspondence between the two texts, which a bright reader may have been able to extract. In his commentary on Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, Albert had mentioned the philosophers' four-fold classification of the natural passions, but without really dwelling on questions such as why hope should be one of four essential human emotions at the expense of other causes of affective activity, such as anger or hatred.

If this fact struck any of Albert's students as odd, they could have found an explanation in the *De bono*. Here Albert summarised the definition of Boethius and the Stoics to explain how it could include joy (*gaudium*) when this was one of the fruits of the Holy Spirit (Gal. 5:22). All four natural passions were movements of the appetite and involved either good or evil objects. Individual passions could thus be differentiated by whether they involved a positive or negative evaluation of an object. However, passions also differed depending on the proximity of an object in time.[99] A present good caused joy, while a remote good was the object of hope, and so on:

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[97] Albert the Great, *De bono*, III. v. 2, p. 201: 'Spes enim est virtus theologica et ideo non videtur debere poni in numero passionum naturalium.'

[98] Ibid., p. 205: Ad id quod obicitur de spe, dicendum, quod spes etiam aequivoca est ad virtutem et passionem. Et secundum quod est virtus, agetur de ea infra, secundum autem quod est passio, sic est affectio dulcedinis rei bonae exspectatae cum aliqua praesumptione habendi.

[99] Ibid., p. 204: Ad id quod obicitur de divisione Boethii, dicendum, quod illa divisio data est penes prima moventia appetitum, cuius proprie est passio, in qua est virtus vel vitium. Prima autem moventia sunt duo, scilicet bonum et malum. Sed quia non movent nisi sint coniuncta vel vicina in tempore, ideo capiunt divisionem ex condicione temporis. Bonum enim praesens facit gaudium et malum praesens facit tristitiam, similiter bonum futurum facit affectionem spei, malum autem futurum affectionem timoris.

	Present	Future
Good	*Gaudium*	*Spes*
Evil	*Tristitia*	*Timor*

So, some of Albert's students at Paris and Cologne may have asked him why, if John Damascene and Gregory the Great had both included anger in their taxonomies of the passions, was there no room for it in Boethius's classification? The answer was that anger was not a simple passion, like those described by Boethius, but the effect of a passion arising in the appetite as a result of vengeance.[100]

Since this can seem a somewhat abstract topic, it is worth fixing our minds on the effect of this teaching on the friars-preacher who studied under Albert at the *studia* at Paris and Cologne around the time he was writing up his *Sentences* commentary, the *De bono*, and delivering lectures on Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*. There was evidently a degree of cross-fertilisation between the different projects; they could all have added something to a student's thought about emotional life, both in terms of its meaning and moral value. Theories about the passions, sourced from various places, became part of the mass of ideas which the student would have been used to handling regularly, and apparently relatively often, in the course of their academic exercises. If a student was exceptionally perceptive, he might have noticed connections which Albert had missed, as well as other areas which still seemed underdeveloped or which stood in need of further elaboration. Ongoing intellectual activity of this kind could bring real and discernible increases in knowledge.

The way information about the passions was organised and made available at the specialist *studia generalia* and at convents such as S. Caterina is, in a manner of speaking, a question of social epistemology. The order-wide dissemination of such thought and its utilisation in the *cura animarum* is deeply relevant. We can think about this process using Elizabeth Eisenstein's ideas about the impact of the 'richer, more varied literary diet' which the printer gave the clerk. 'More abundantly stocked bookshelves increased opportunities to consult and compare different texts and, thus, also made more probable

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[100] Ibid., p. 206: Ad ultimum dicendum, quod ira non dicit passionem simplicem, sed potius ex passione insurrectionem appetitus in vindictam, et ideo a Boethio inter passiones simplices naturales non ponitur.

the formation of new intellectual combinations and permutations.'[101] Can we see a similar process taking place in the libraries and *scholae* of Dominican communities in the Roman Province? Was the number of possible thoughts about the passions increasing? If so, the interpretive authority of the order's trained lecturers, could have acted as a stabilizing influence by controlling the degree of assimilation. It has been said that any explanation has its foundation in training. If this is true, a picture in which teaching about human emotion changes quickly is potentially very significant.

From our perspective, this picture is useful for thinking about how, following their germination at the *studia generalia*, ideas about the 'passions' began to grow locally in more peripheral environments. As observed in Chapter 2, the lecturers of the Roman Province, assisted by the diffusion of books and regular movement between convents, could have steeped themselves in theological arguments. Theology was the core academic discipline of order's form of life. The production and circulation of *Sentences* commentaries by its most important teachers was one way of emphasising this centrality and disseminating new arguments. This suggests how the friars-preacher differed from Eisenstein's clerk. The formation of new intellectual combinations was 'outsourced' to a deliberately small group of highly trained friars. Their teaching, when it arrived in provincial communities, was authoritative and influential, and could well have included recent thought about hope and other passions.

We have seen how, as part of a wider interest in philosophical psychology, theologians such as Roland of Cremona and Albert the Great addressed an increasing variety of questions concerning virtue and the philosophy of the soul. The process, which can be detected in their reading of Peter Lombard on hope, was ongoing. In 1245, John of Wildeshausen arrived at St-Jacques accompanied by Thomas Aquinas, a recent recruit from the Terra di Lavoro in the Roman Province. After completing his novitiate, Thomas followed Albert to Cologne in the summer of 1248.[102] He spent the next four years at the

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[101] E. L. Eisenstein, 'Some Conjectures about the Impact of Printing on Western Society and Thought: A Preliminary Report', *The Journal of Modern History* 40, 1 (1968), p. 7; and idem, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1980), i., pp. 76-77. On the effect of this process in relation to demographic thought, see P. Biller, *The Measure of Multitude*, pp. 394-96.

[102] On Thomas's early life, see J.-P. Torrell, *Saint Thomas Aquinas*, vol. 1: *The Person and His Work* , trans. Robert Royal (Washington, DC, 1996); J. A. Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas d'Aquino: His Life, Thought, and Work* (Washington, DC, 1983); idem, 'Thomas d'Aquino and Albert His Teacher', reprinted in *The Gilson Lectures on Thomas Aquinas*, ed. James P. Reilly, Étienne Gilson Series 30 (Toronto, 2008), pp. 1-18; S. Tugwell,

studium generale listening to Albert's lectures and participating in the community's academic exercises. This period brought about Thomas's formation, spiritual and academic. In 1252, when the process was almost complete, he was sent to Paris to read the *Sentences*. In the following chapter, we will see how Thomas addressed the question of hope in his commentary on the *Sentences*. The contrast between Thomas's treatment of the *Sentences* and what preceded it is striking. There was another rendering; but still one text.

Albert and Thomas: Selected Writings (Mahwah, NJ, 1998); M. M. Mulchahey, *"The use of philosophy, especially by the Preachers…": Albert the Great, the Studium at Cologne, and the Dominican Curriculum*, The Etienne Gilson Series 32 (Toronto, 2009).

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SPES (II): THE *SCRIPTUM*

Roland of Cremona and Albert the Great, clever, well-read and highly trained, with a variety of new sources at their disposal, were comfortable talking about hope in different ways; and did so with few signs of hesitation or confusion. Their confidence was shared by thirteenth-century preachers, who were busily involved in the *cura animarum.* Federico Visconti referred to hope as one of four principal affections in a sermon for the deceased.[1] The point was a commonplace. It is found throughout sermons and academic texts from the thirteenth century. In another sermon, written for All Saints' Day, we find Federico talking about a different kind of hope to the one described by Boethius. He used a maritime allegory. Hope, he said, originates in faith. Like an anchor that secures a ship against the dangers of the sea, it protects men during storms and tribulations.[2] Federico was following a trail left by theologians; but he was careful to adapt the material for his needs. Thus, where Roland of Cremona talked to his students about the qualities of Arabian camels as described in Aristotle's *De animalibus*, Federico talked to Pisans of storms and the sea.

   For twenty-first-century broadcasters, the slow and painstaking business of research is outsourced to their counterparts in academic departments, allowing them to concentrate their efforts on making it communicable and engaging. This arrangement has benefits for both sides since it frees up more time for other things, such as carving out opportunities for professional advancement. There are signs in Federico's sermons that this, more or less, is how he understood the relationship between Pisa's mendicant theologians and

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[1] Federico Visconti, *Les sermons,* 74, § 4, pp. 900-901.

[2] Ibid., LXI, §, pp. 813-14: Anime enim est spes ancora quia, sicut navicula procellis et undis concutitur in mari, ita et anima in mundo presenti temptationibus opprimitur, et tota penitus mergeretur, nisi ancora spei super undas retineretur. Sicut ancora in medio mari proiecta vel in rupe tenet naviculam tuam ne periclitetur, sic spes animam ne tribulationibus deficiat, et sicut cessantibus tribulationibus et procellis navicula ad terram promissionis vehit‹ur›, sic post temporales tribulationes anima salvata per spem perducitur ad portum salutis.

local clergy. For members of the Order of Preachers, however, both activities were vital and necessary features of their form of life. If we assume that Proino di Orlandini da Fabro owned a copy of Thomas's *Scriptum*, what could he add to Federico's deliberately accessible description of hope, if not in his sermons, at least in the community's academic exercises?

The short answer is a lot. What follows is an attempt to summarise half of Thomas's teaching on hope in book 3 of the *Scriptum*. The special attention given to Thomas can, in this context, be defended on two grounds. Firstly, as well as Proino's possible ownership, it later became an increasingly important teaching aid for lecturers in the Roman Province who had to deliver their own lectures on the *Sentences*. Secondly, it is, put simply, much more detailed than the accounts provided by Roland of Cremona and Albert the Great. The most important difference was structural. Whereas Albert and Roland introduced philosophical definitions into an essentially theological discussion, Thomas started by placing them both under separate headings. He told the reader that he would first treat the philosophical definition of hope, that is, its significance as a passion of the soul. Then, once this had been established, he would move on to address the meaning of hope as a theological virtue. The change in key must have been familiar to someone used to hearing Albert the Great deliver separate daily lectures Aristotle's *Ethics* and the pseudo-Dionysian *De divinis nominibus*. By making this distinction in his reading of the *Sentences*, Thomas was not putting forward a radically new definition of hope, since there is similar material elsewhere, but he was moving the argument along. Proino and other lecturers in the Roman Province, who read Thomas's *Scriptum* alongside earlier Parisian *Sentences* commentaries, may have taken note of the changes. Before going further, it is worth providing some background to the state of affairs that Thomas may have encountered after his return to Paris.

Around 1250 the masters and students at Paris were, it is generally thought, split along vocational lines. A few years earlier, Albert compared anyone who opposed the integration of philosophy and theology to brutish animals.[3] Thomas of Cantimpré, who studied under Albert at Cologne, suggested that the cause of hostility towards mendicant theologians at Paris and elsewhere was intellectual jealousy.[4] For Humbert of Romans it

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[3] Cited in Mulchahey, *Dominican Education before 1350*, p. 256.
[4] For Thomas of Cantimpré's defence of the mendicants in *Bonum universale de apibus* (Douai, 1605), II. 10, pp. 160-63; cited in Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas d'Aquino*, p. 80;

was symptomatic of a wider conspiracy against the new religious orders and their teaching.[5] The division was real enough that when the secular masters went on strike in 1253, the Dominican masters of theology Bonhomme of Brittany and Elias Brunet blacklegged. This may have been to do with personality; or, more interestingly, it could reflect the significance of study in the order's form of life. How could a friar-preacher refuse to teach or study if it was a necessary part of his vocation? Either way, the decision resulted in the suspension of the order's masters of theology. As a result, Dominican bachelors were forbidden from reading the *principium*, the principal lecture for each book of the *Sentences* delivered in front of the theology faculty.[6] This ban applied to Thomas Aquinas, but it is not clear whether it was heeded. The mendicants faced a charge of diminishing the secular masters' authority and failing to uphold their oaths and *protestationes*. In 1254 Innocent IV issued the bull *Etsi animarum*, which removed the mendicants' privileges in respect of the care of souls. Within six months the bull had been rescinded and the order's privileges reconfirmed, nevertheless the secular clergy at Paris continued to agitate against the Order of Preachers. In March 1256, William of St. Amour published the *De periculis novissimorum temporum*, a polemical work that attacked the legitimacy of the mendicants' religion. A month later Thomas Aquinas incepted as master of theology.[7] His lectures on the *Sentences* had taken place against a turbulent backdrop; a dramatic chain of events usually referred to as the anti-mendicant controversy.

   Manifestos naturally present a one-sided view, so it might be safe to expect a degree of misrepresentation, whether wilful or generic, in the arguments on both sides of this controversy. Indeed, at times historians are probably too quick to contrast the high-achieving mendicants with their parochial and rebarbative opponents. For our purposes, it is not necessary to examine this debate in detail. However, there was another contentious issue, which is sometimes conflated with anti-mendicancy. It relates to the changing

English translation in S. Tugwell, *Early Dominicans: Selected Writings* (London, 1982), pp. 133-36.

[5] *CUP* I, 310, n. 273; Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas d'Aquino*, p. 81.

[6] Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas d'Aquino*, pp. 83-84.

[7] William of St. Amour, *William of Saint Amour's* De periculis novissimorum temporum*: A Critical Edition, Translation, and Introduction*, ed. and trans. G. Geltner (Leuven, 2008); see also G. Geltner, 'William of St. Amour's *De periculis novissimorum temporum*: A False Start to Medieval Antifraternalism?', in *Defenders and Critics of Franciscan Life: Essays in Honour of John V. Fleming*, ed. M. F. Cusato and G. Geltner (Leiden, 2009), pp. 103-18. Thomas's reply may have been owned by Proino; *Cronica*, ed. Panella, § 10 (no. 10).

structure and role of the *Sentences* commentary. Importantly, this process involved both seculars and mendicants. There was disagreement about what *Sentences* commentaries were being made to do. Roger Bacon's complaints in the *Opus minus* regarding the exalted status of the *Sentences* are well-known. They probably date to after 1267.[8] The *littera* of the Lombard, according to Roger, had become so important that bachelors of the *Sentences* eclipsed even bachelors of the bible in importance. The charges went deeper: it was not merely that bachelors of the *Sentences* were over-privileged; they also misused Peter's *Sententiae*. As in the other Parisian faculties, a reading of a text ought to involve exposition and the introduction of appropriate questions which aided understanding. However, in the case of *Sentences* commentaries, the text and the exposition had become disjointed.[9] Theologians needed to go back to basics. After all, Grosseteste had only ever lectured on the bible, and even though Alexander of Hales lectured on the *Sentences*, it was as an exception, not as a rule.

We should not think that Thomas Aquinas was an immediate target. Thomas's reading predated Bacon's remarks by a decade. The structure of the *Scriptum* resembled the earlier commentaries of theologians, such as Albert and Bonaventure. If we take Thomas's treatment of hope as an example, we see that Thomas observed the same pedagogical constraints that Bacon was trying to defend. The contrast between the commentaries of Bonaventure and Thomas and those written by theologians later in the thirteenth century has been summarised by Russell Friedman.[10] He contrasts the more traditional 'argument-centred' commentaries of the famous mendicant theologians with 'position-centred' questions, which had become the norm at Paris and elsewhere by the end of the thirteenth century. The difference was that, whereas 'argument-centred' commentaries proceeded by

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[8] J. Hackett, 'Roger Bacon: His Life, Career and Works', in *Roger Bacon and the Sciences: Commemorative Essays*, ed. J. Hackett (Leiden, 1997), pp. 9-24.

[9] R. Bacon, *Opus minus*, ed. J. S. Brewer, in *Opera quaedam hactenus inedita* (London, 1859), pp. 328-29. Quoted in Chenu, *Toward Understanding Saint Thomas*, p. 269, n. 13: 'Likewise, it is impossible for the text of God to be known because of the abusive use that is made of the *Books of the Sentences*. For, the questions that should have been raised on the text in exposition of it, as is done in every faculty are now separated from the text….As a result, those who "read" the text do not give an exposition of it, because they are not raising questions that are appropriate and necessary for the understanding of it.'

[10] R. L. Friedman, 'The *Sentences* Commentary, 1250-1320: General Trends, The Impact of the Religious Orders, and the Test Case of Predestination', in *Mediaeval Commentaries on the* Sentences *of Peter Lombard*, vol. 1: *Current Research* (Leiden, 2002), p. 87.

offering 'right' and 'wrong' arguments for opposing positions, position-centred questions approached the text by first describing different points of view.[11]

For Roger Bacon, this method entailed the neglect of the letter of the *Sentences*. Increasingly, theologians were more preoccupied with expounding each other's arguments than Peter Lombard's. This is not what Thomas was doing in the *Scriptum*. Ultimately, he talked about the passions of the soul in order to clarify the difference between Peter Lombard's use of hope and its use in contemporary debates in the philosophy of the soul. However, the benefits of later, 'position-centred' commentaries for certain forms of intellectual history are reasonably clear. Every article was piled high with the latest sources, positions and vocabulary, making it possible to follow threads in doctrinal thought as it passed from one commentator to another. Earlier commentaries, by contrast, call for a little more leg work.

6.1 Hope and the passions of the soul in the Scriptum

So what does Thomas's question on hope as a passion of the soul look like? The first step was the explanation of the definition of hope in the light of different, often contradictory authorities. Like Roland of Cremona's earlier *Liber quaestionum*, Thomas explored whether hope should be located in the concupiscible or irascible power, before examining the connections and basic differences between hope and the other passions of the soul. This included a discussion of the four principal passions, where Thomas quoted the same Boethian commonplace used by Federico Visconti. The last article addressed the question of whether hope could be located in the soul's intellective part; another instance where earlier authorities influenced the direction of Thomas's views. The discussion thus covered a large range of topics, based around articles, the basic unit of the *Scriptum*, where different positions were raised, challenged and solutions proposed. The arguments of each interlocked with the others to produce, in effect, a theory of the passions in outline. It is worth trying to familiarise ourselves with its contents. As we will see, our lives are made easier by the way Thomas put his exposition together. The scholastic method may seem inelegant, but, as its exponents intended, it helps a reader to navigate difficult terrain.

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[11] For the *Sentences* commentary genre as a Weberian 'ideal type', see Biller, *Measure of Multitude*, pp. 34-35.

The search for a definition of hope took Thomas to Aristotle and John Damascene, the two most influential authorities for thought about the passions. Following Aristotle, Thomas located the passions in the sensitive part of the soul. In the case of hope, this suggested a problem. An act of sensation always occurs in the present; it is impossible to feel something last week. The confused, *opponens*-style argument was to suggest that hope cannot be located in the sensitive part because it is directed towards future goods. [12] There were other similar doubts about hope's status as a passion. The plausibility of Thomas's taxonomy of the passions rested on hope meeting certain conditions expected of other comparable states. The problem was inherent; it must also have been faced by John of La Rochelle. In the *sed contra* it was stated that hope belonged to the soul's appetitive faculty, since as Aristotle said in book 2 of the *Ethics*, a movement of the appetitive part is called a passion of the soul, because it results in either enjoyment (*delectatio*) or sadness (*tristitia*).[13]

Thomas's solution was divided into two. To begin with, he quoted John Damascene's definition of a passion from the *De fide orthodoxa*: 'Passion is a movement of the sensitive appetitive faculty, <proceeding from the mind's> imagination of good or bad'.'[14] In this respect, they were similar to other forms of psychological activity, such as the operation of the intellect or the senses. Then he said that, at this basic level of explanation, it is not necessary to differentiate between hope in humans and animals. It is simply the appetite leaning towards something desirable. At this stage, it is not necessary to distinguish between different desires; an object only matters inasmuch as it is found desirable. He provided examples where animals can be shown to work towards future goods. Thus when a bird makes a nest for rearing its offspring, it is hoping to lay and incubate eggs. A key element of this definition is that the natural appetite only tends towards things that are possible. An animal only attacks another if there is some hope of

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[12] Thomas Aquinas, *Scriptum super libros Sententiarum III*, XXVI. i. i., p. 813: Passio animae in parte sensitiva est, ut dicit Philosophus in VII *Phys.*. Sed spes, cum sit de futuro bono, non potest esse in parte sensitiva, quia sensus praesentium tantum est. Ergo spes non est passio.

[13] Ibid., XXVI. i. i., pp. 813-14.

[14] Ibid., XXVI. i. i., p. 814: Dicendum quod, sicut prius, d. 15 dictum est, quamvis omnis operatio potentiarum animae quae per sua objecta in actum reducuntur, sicut intellectus possibilis, sensus et appetitus, possint dici passiones, tamen proprie loquendo passio est in operationibus appetitus partis sensitivae, secundum quod Damascenus dicit in II libro, quod "passio est motus appetitivae virtutis sensibilis, ex imaginatione boni vel mali"; cf. John Damascene, *De fide orthodoxa*, 36, ed. Buytaert, p. 132.

success.[15] Such acts are common to men and animals; it is why hope, properly speaking, is a passion of the soul.

The *opponens*-style argument against locating hope in the sensitive part was based on a misinterpretation of Aristotle's *Physica*. Albert the Great had famously written a paraphrase of the text at the *studium* in Cologne. Both Albert and Thomas knew the translations of James of Venice (*c.* 1170) and the *Physica cum commentario magno Averrois* translated by Michael Scot (*c.* 1230).[16] He clarified the position for the benefit of his reader. The passions were a form of appraisal or estimation through which a subject can respond to something by natural instinct. This form of appraisal enables men and animals to differentiate between the beneficial and the harmful without any need for rational deliberation. In this way, animals, even if they lack conceptual understanding and a capacity for rational planning, can have a sense of the future.[17] This, said Thomas, is why men can sometimes know something of the future by observing animal behaviour. Sailors, for example, anticipate storms by noticing changes in the way dolphins surface. Similarly, ants always store grain in a dry place before it rains.[18] He could have provided other examples in his lectures.

Modern philosophers who couch their ideas in scientific language and metaphors resemble their medieval counterparts. For example, in modern accounts, emotions have been understood as springs of action, hydraulic drives or with language borrowed from computer science. Thomas also used contemporary scientific language for the description and explanation of difficult philosophical concepts. As we have seen, Roland of Cremona

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[15] Ibid., XXVI. i. i., p. 814.

[16] Albert the Great, *Physica*, IV. I, ed. P. Hossfeld (Aschendorff, 1987), v-vi; see also J. A. Weisheipl, 'Albert's Works on Natural Science (*libri naturales*) in Probable Chronological Order', Appendix 1 in *Albertus Magnus and the Sciences*, (Toronto, 1980), p. 565. Weisheipl suggests a date not long before 1250. Hossfeld gives a *terminus ante quem* of 1257. The paraphrase is known for Albert's famous declaration of intent to make the new learning intelligible to the Latins ('nostra intentio est omnes dictas partes facere Latinis intelligibiles').

[17] Thomas Aquinas, *Scriptum super libros Sententiarum III*, XXVI. i. i., p. 815: Ad quartum dicendum quod sicut animalia cognoscunt rationem convenientis et nocivi non per inquisitionem rationis, ut homo, sed per instinctum naturae qui dicitur aestimatio; ita etiam cognoscunt aliquid quod futurum est, sine hoc quod cognoscant rationem future, non conferendo praesens ad futurum, sed ex instinctu naturali, secundum quod aguntur ad aliquid agendum vel ex impulsu naturae interioris vel exterioris; sicut quando agunt aliquid ad praecavendum de futuris quae dependent ex motu caeli, quasi ex eo impulsa.

[18] Ibid., XXVI, i. i., p. 815: Unde ex eorum homines possunt aliquid scire de hujusmodi futuris, sicut nautae praesciunt tempestatem futuram ex motu delphinorum ad superficiem aquae ascendentium; et formicae veniente pluvia reponunt granum in cavernis.

knew Michael Scot's translation of *De animalibus* and made use of it in his theological lectures. In 1255, while Thomas was serving as a bachelor of the *Sentences*, the text was among a list of Aristotelian works added to the syllabus of the Paris arts faculty.[19] Thomas's natural scientific examples demonstrate his willingness to integrate such data to illustrate theological problems. The fact that the *De animalibus* was now, in effect, a university textbook suggests that, even if his students were not aware of the specific passages in the *De animalibus*, he could assume a level of familiarity with this way of thinking.

The second article attempted to locate hope in the powers of the soul's sensitive appetite. This was a longstanding problem, for which we have already encountered contradictory solutions. Intuitively, if the concupiscible power involves acts of desiring, regardless of whether an object is difficult or arduous, it seems reasonable to regard hope as a concupiscible act. This was the general position adopted by earlier monastic authors, such as Isaac of Stella and the anonymous Cistercian behind the *Liber de spiritu et anima*. Thomas provided more recent authorities, including Aristotle's *Physica*, which appeared to support the argument. He suggested that joy (*gaudium*) and delight (*delectatio*), both firmly in the concupiscible power, involved hope, since enjoyment always follows hope and the expectation of the good.[20] There was evidently something about the structure of hope, about its pattern of concern and the way it interacted with future objects, which made it difficult to place.

But there were problems with the attempt to locate hope in the concupiscible power; particularly if it were based on how hope interacts with other passions. Thomas cited Avicenna's *De anima*. Even anger, he suggested, requires a certain degree of hope. After all, when an individual suffers an offence, there has to some chance of retribution or revenge. Otherwise, if anger is futile, a victim of a harmful action will only feel fear or hatred.[21] The argument was familiar. It is also found in Albert's *Sentences* commentary and in earlier psychological treatises written by masters from the arts faculty.[22]

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[19] On the diffusion and reception of *On Animals* at Paris and elsewhere, see P. Biller, *Measure of Multitude*, pp. 270-76.

[20] Thomas Aquinas, *Scriptum super libros Sententiarum III*, XXVI. i. ii., pp. 815-16: Gaudium et delectatio in concupiscibili sunt. Sed spes facit gaudium, *Rom.*, XII, 12: "*spe gaudentes*"; et delectationem, ut dicit Philosophus in VII *Phys.*. Ergo spes est in concupiscibili.

[21] Ibid., XXVI. i. ii., p. 816: Ira sine spe esse non potest, ut Avicenna dicit in VI *De naturalibus*. Unde ex offensa illa de cujus vindicta non est spes, sicut cum quis a rege

Thomas's response was theological, and drew on another text which he had studied under Albert at Cologne. There was, he said, an essential connection between superior and inferior things in nature. The idea came from the Neoplatonic thought of Pseudo-Dionysius's *De divinis nominibus*.[23] It helps to understand how reason can influence everyday acts of apprehension and sensation, since there are some things, such as friendship and hatred, which occur as a result of rationally conditioned patterns of thought. In men, Thomas said, superior reason is able to influence many of the things which only occur instinctively in animals.[24] Because they are estimative acts, any deficiency or waywardness in the passions, whether general or specific, is ultimately traceable to a failure to apply reason.

The next step took the discussion in a different direction. Thomas argued that the irascible power, since it involves difficult objects, was a more important element in virtuous action than its concupiscible equivalent; people do not tend towards arduous objects without an estimation of future benefits. In this context, the argument was quite new. It says a lot not only for Thomas's commentary but also for conditions of teaching in the theology faculty that it did not feature in John of La Rochelle's treatment of the passions in the *Summa de anima*. Indeed, since it came from book 7 of Aristotle's *Ethics*, it is extremely unlikely that John of La Rochelle (d. 1245) ever came across it.[25] Anger, as

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offenditur, non est ira, sed magis odium et timor. Ergo cum ira non sit in concupiscibili, nec spes.

[22] D. N. Hasse, *Avicenna's De anima in the Latin West*, p. 287.

[23] Thomas Aquinas, *Scriptum super libros Sententiarum III*, XXVI. i. ii, pp. 816-17: Quia autem, ut dicit Dionysius, 7 cap. *De divin. nomin.*, "divina sapientia conjungit fines primorum principiis secundorum", quia omnis natura inferior in sui supremo attingit ad infinitum naturae superioris, secundum quod participat aliquid de natura superioris, quamvis deficienter; ideo tam in apprehensione quam in appetitu sensitivo invenitur aliquid in quo sensitivam rationem attingit.

[24] Ibid., XXVI. i. ii., p. 817: Quod enim animal imaginetur formas apprehensas per sensum, hoc est de natura sensitivae apprehensionis secundum se; sed quod apprehendat illas intentiones quae non cadunt sub sensu sicut amicitiam, odium et huijusmodi, hoc est sensitivae partis secundum quod attingit rationem. Unde pars illa in hominibus, in quibus est perfectior propter conjunctionem ad animam rationalem, dicitur ratio particularis, quia confert de intentionibus particularibus; in aliis autem animalibus, quia non confert, sed ex instinctu naturali habet hujusmodi intentiones apprehendere, non dicitur ratio, sed aestimatio.

[25] Ibid., XXVI. i. ii., pp. 817-18: Et propter hoc patet etiam quod irascibilis est altior quam concupiscibilis et propinquior rationi. Et ideo incontinens propter concupiscentiam, qui nulla lege utitur, magis est turpis quam iracundus qui utitur legibus, sed perversis, ut dicitur VII *Eth.*. Unde etiam vitia quae sunt in concupiscibili, sunt majoris infamiae quam ea quae sunt in irascibili.

Aristotle said, could be rational; but concupiscence was simply unbridled desire. This meant concupiscible vices were even more reproachful than their irascible counterparts. We are aware that we are dealing with a theologian who, through the utilisation of new sources, was capable of introducing new insights and explanations, thereby contributing to the accumulation and correction of knowledge over time.

What Thomas provided in his discussion of Peter Lombard's treatment of hope, then, was in effect a general statement about the characteristics of the irascible and concupiscible passions. For John of La Rochelle acts of the concupiscible power involved the pursuit of beneficial or desirable things. Thomas adopted this definition. And, as a result, he also located hope in the irascible power.[26] The reasoning is familiar. Irascible acts engage with difficult or arduous objects. These can be either good or bad. Thus hope applies to a difficult good. A man does not necessarily become angry as soon as he suffers an injury; there has to be some chance of redress.[27] Similarly, we are not afraid of everything that is harmful; but only injurious objects that are either impossible or difficult to oppose.

Hope follows the same pattern as these other irascible acts. First of all, it involves a movement of the appetite towards a good which is well-suited to an individual's desires. However, if something is so small or easily achieved that it brings little benefit, it is not properly the object of hope. By the same token, people do not hope for things if there is no possibility of their desire being realised. Thus hope is an act of the sensitive part of the soul which tends towards a possible good, albeit one that is difficult to attain.[28] By locating hope in the irascible power, it was possible to give a more nuanced account. As well as a simple tendency towards the good, arduous and difficult circumstances were hope-defining.

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[26] Ibid., XXVI. i. ii., p. 818: Ex his ergo jam planum est videre quae passio sit in irascibili, et quae in concupiscibili. Omnis enim passio de cujus intellectu est appetitus in bonum vel conveniens simpliciter, est in concupiscibili, sicut amor, delectatio et hujusmodi et opposita horum.

[27] For a modern philosophical discussion of the features of anger, see, e.g., G. Taylor, 'Justifying the Emotions', *Mind*, New Ser. 84, 335 (1975), pp. 390-402.

[28] Thomas Aquinas, *Scriptum super libros Sententiarum III*, XXVI. i. ii., p. 818: Spes autem importat motum appetitus in aliquod bonum commensuratum appetenti; non enim est de bono tanto ad quod nullo modo possit perveniri, nec iterum de tam parvo quod pro nihilo habeatur, sed de eo quod est possibile haberi et tame nest difficile ad habendum, propter quod dicitur arduum. Unde patet quod spes, secundum quod est passio, est in irascibilis.

Thomas developed this line of thought in later works. [29] To give a sense of its development, we can introduce a relevant section from the *Summa theologiae*, where Thomas again distinguished between the different moral significance of the concupiscible and irascible powers, arguing for the simplicity of concupiscible passions. The six concupiscible passions – love, hatred, desire, aversion, pleasure and sorrow – are all directed towards the pursuit of good or the avoidance of evil. They were, collectively, subject to the same moral virtue. Since, with temperance, they can all be aligned to reason. In contrast, the acts of the irascible power, since they tend towards different things, do not follow a single pattern:

> Courage and fear are about some great danger; hope and despair about some difficult good, while anger seeks to overcome something contrary which has inflicted harm.[30]

Thomas's solution to the relationship between the moral virtues and irascible passions was based around contrary pairs. Thus: fear and courage (*audacia*) are subject to fortitude; hope and despair by greatness of soul (*magnanimitas*); and anger, without a contrary, is rectified by meekness or docility (*mansuetudo*).[31] The ambivalence between the virtues and the passions involved more than just common vocabulary. The two overlapped into each other. As well as the *Scriptum* and the *Summa theologiae*, Thomas discussed their interrelationship in other works, such as the *De virtutibus*. He was not alone in this. There

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[29] See M. D. Jordan, 'Aquinas's Construction of a Moral Account of the Passions', *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie*, 33 (1986), pp. 71-97; see also M.-D. Chenu, 'Les passions vertueuses. L'anthropologie de saint Thomas', *Revue philosophique de Louvain* 72 (1974), pp. 11-18. Chenu analyses the significance of Thomas's treatment of distinction 33 of book 3 of Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, seeing it as an early form of the argument that the concupiscible and irascible powers are subject to the virtues. Cf. R. Miner, *Thomas Aquinas on the Passions*, pp. 288-89.

[30] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, 1a2ae, qu. 60, art. 4, ed. Blackfriars, pp. 106-108: Sed passiones irascibilis non sunt unius ordinis, sed ad diversa ordinantur. Nam audacia et timor ordinantur ad aliquod magnum periculum; spes et desperatio, ad aliquod bonum ardum; ira autem, ad superandum aliquod contrarium, quod nocumentum intulit.

[31] Ibid., 1a2ae, 60, 4, p. 108: Et ideo circa has passiones diversae virtutes ordinantur, utpote temperantia circa passiones concupiscibilis, fortitudo circa timores et audacias, magnanimitas circa spem et desperationem, mansuetudo circa iras.

were other theologians who addressed the same problem, and their findings did not always match.[32]

6.2 Hope and other passions

Perhaps the most interesting part of Thomas's inquiry into the passions is the section on the differences between hope and the other acts of sensitive appetite. In this article, which is the longest of the five, Thomas established the relationships between hope and other passions through the logical demonstration of *differentiae*. By establishing the meaning of hope through a pattern of similar and contrary relationships, Thomas was, in effect, creating a systematic classification of passions.

We can make a couple of useful observations about this. The first relates to Thomas's most important materials, which in most cases it is possible to identify, allowing us to follow the flow of more or less recently acquired material into Thomas's *Sentences* commentary. This meant, in practice, combining and unifying diverse material into a coherent and intelligible whole. Thomas's account thus updated the work of earlier theologians who had attempted to do something similar.[33] The possibility that, at least within a decade, lecturers in the Roman Province could have incorporated some of this material into their reading of Peter Lombard's *Sentences* is significant. It tells us not only about how thought about emotion was generated in the order's *studia generalia*, but also something of how it may have been applied at a provincial level.

This raises a further point relating not only to the production of thought, but also to its diffusion. For Thomas's students and confrères, the complex of interrelationships between the different words may have carried consequences for their everyday use. The system that Thomas outlined in the *Scriptum* was complex and assumed a certain level of expertise. The understanding that by choosing one word to describe a passion, we avoid another, or the tacit awareness that the opposite of the one passion is another similar act with its own particular structure and characteristics, is hard to acquire, and even harder to

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[32] See B. Kent, *Virtues of the Will: The Transformation of Ethics in the Late Thirteenth Century* (Washington, D.C., 1995). In an important introductory chapter on 'Heroes and Histories', Kent challenges the standard story of Thomistic influence. See also R. L. Friedman, 'The *Sentences* Commentary, 1250-1320', in *Medieval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*, vol 1: *Current Research*, ed. G. Evans (Leiden, 2002), pp. 44-45.

[33] Friedman, 'The *Sentences* Commentary, 1250-1320', 44-47.

express confidently. In the Order of Preachers in the thirteenth century, it was a system of thought sustained by an order-wide network of *studia* and *scholae*, as well as the rigorous intellectual commitment required of its members.

So a young friar in the Roman Province who learned to apply words such as *spes* to the passions of the soul may have been learning to categorize experience in a way that was consistent with Thomas's classification of the difference between hope and the other passions. By integrating new sources Thomas was able to produce a more fine-grained classification than some of his predecessors. The *Scriptum* and *Summa theologiae* later became a ubiquitous feature of study in the Roman Province, suggesting the importance of Thomas's work as part of a collective attempt to condense and order certain forms of experience. Insofar as aspects of this process were particular to the Order of Preachers, we are dealing with a specifically Dominican point of view. This process could also be described, in a positive or a negative sense, as a form of indoctrination.

With the construction and reception of Thomas's classification in mind, it is now necessary to look at this process more closely. Before we proceed, it is worth taking some time to familiarise ourselves with its structure, since Thomas's response incorporates five different points which are difficult to grasp without a sense of their development and the level of cross-reference. The arrangement is evidently part of the argument. Much of the first point concerns (i) the concupisicible passions and their differences; he then addresses (ii) the ways of differentiating between the concupiscible and irascible; there are then two distinct points, both heavily based on John Damascene's *De fide orthodoxa*, relating to (iii) and (iv) the accidental differences between the passions; after these he describes (v) the differences between hope and other related states, such as agony, trepidation and doubt. By the end of the solution, Thomas had provided an explanation not only of how hope differed from the other passions, but also how the other passions differed from each other. It will be simplest to provide an outline of Thomas's arguments in the order in which they appear in the *Scriptum*.

The counterarguments put forward a number of authorities which appeared to suggest that hope did not in fact differ from the other passions of the soul. It was too general simply to say that hope involves expectation and reaching for the good. This is equally true of all movements of the appetite. Since both hope and earthly desire involve the anticipation of the good, this definition might suggest that the two are interchangeable.[34]

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[34] Thomas Aquinas, *Scriptum super libros Sententiarum III*, XXVI. i. iii., p. 820.

Even if hope were said to involve the reaching of the appetite towards something arduous, it is still indistinguishable from other passions. Courage (*audacia*), confidence and trust (*fiducia*) and anger all follow the same pattern.[35] Thomas needed to provide a classification which reflected the differences between hope and the other passions. There was a need for a way of talking about the passions which allowed for a greater degree of differentiation. Hope, since it could exist on its own, was evidently distinguishable from other passions.

The first stage of the response was to differentiate between the concupiscible passions, following a very similar procedure to John of La Rochelle in the *Summa de anima*. The classification, illustrated as Fig. 1, starts by dividing the concupiscible passions by whether they act in relation to good or bad objects. There are, he observed, two types. On the one hand, there are some concupiscible passions which indicate the disposition of the concupiscible power towards an object. On the other, there are those which show the impression made on the concupiscible power by a given object.[36]

There was also a third form of relation, which described the movement of the appetite towards the good or away from evil. Thus, love (*amor*) indicates the favourable disposition of the appetite towards the good, while desire (*desiderium*) describes the movement of the appetite towards the good. The impression made on the concupiscible power by the presence of a good object is either enjoyment (*delectatio*) or joy (*gaudium*). The positive concupiscible passions all have negative contraries which follow the same pattern. Hatred (*odium*) and sadness or pain (*tristitia* or *dolor*) describe the disposition and impression of bad objects on the concupiscible power, respectively. Thomas encountered a slight complication in the case of movement away from evil, which does not have a specific name, but which could simply be thought of as avoidance or flight (*fuga*).[37]

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[35] Ibid., XXVI. i. iii., p. 820: Spes, ut dictum est, dicit protensionem appetitus in aliquod arduum. Sed hoc idem invenitur in audacia, confidentia sive fiducia et ira. Ergo omnia ista sunt idem quod spes.

[36] Ibid., XXVI. i. iii., p. 821: Passionum ergo in concupiscibili existentium quaedam important habitudinem concupisibilis ad suum objectum; quaedam vero motum ipsius respectu objecti; quaedam vero impressionem relictam in ipsa ex praesentia objecti.

[37] Ibid., XXVI. i. iii., p. 821: Amor enim importat habitudinem concupiscibilis ad bonum, odium vero ad malum; quia amor amatum ponit connaturale et quasi unum amanti, cujus contrarium odium facit. Et quia haec habitudo perficitur ex praesentia objecti, ideo amor secundum perfectam sui rationem est habiti, ut Augustinus dicit. Motus autem concupiscibilis in bonum, dicitur desiderium; in malum autem innominatus est, sed dicatur fuga.

A problem with this line of approach was the difficulty of distinguishing between the different impressions on the concupiscible power. Enjoyment and joy on the one hand and sadness and pain on the other were still ostensibly the same. To address the confusion, Thomas referred back to ground covered in an earlier lecture in his 'reading' of the *Sentences*. He reminded the reader that he had already explained the difference between sadness and pain in his discussion of Christ's human weakness. He said the same principles should be applied in this case. Thus, both enjoyment and joy and sadness and pain can be differentiated in three ways: in their contrary (*ad contrarietatem*); in their perception (*ad perceptionem*); and in their order (*ad ordinem*).[38]

From our point of view, the reference is further evidence of the programmatic quality of the *Sentences* commentary, and also of the way in which thematically similar material could be scattered across different distinctions. In practical terms, we can imagine a friar-preacher turning back to the earlier discussion to remind himself of its contents. This kind of reading was facilitated by the distinctions introduced by Alexander of Hales and other textual apparatus.

He added another point to distinguish between joy and its effects on the body. Thus, delight (*laetitia*) is the actualization of joy (*gaudium*) in the heart; delight overflows or 'dilates' from the soul into the heart ('unde dicitur laetitia quasi latitia'). Moreover, joyousness (*exultatio*) is visible in the body insofar as the joy of the soul breaks out into outward behaviour, almost as if it were jumping.[39] Similar arguments are found in John of La Rochelle's *Summa de anima*, and may ultimately be traced back to John Damascene's *De fide orthodoxa* and other common authorities. This suggests that such categories may have been formally learned in Parisian classrooms for the best part of twenty years by the time Thomas wrote up his lectures on the *Sentences*. The effect of such categories on the friars' perception is worth contemplating. From lectures on *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, they came away with separate words for the passions and their visible effects. A highly trained preacher may have routinely distinguished between *laetitia* and *exultatio*. It is not clear whether the difference would have been recognised by others.

The next stage was to compare and to describe the interaction between the concupiscible and the irascible passions. The two powers corresponded to each other: it

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[38] Ibid., XV. ii. iii., pp. 496-97.

[39] Ibid., XXVI. i. iii., p. 821: Laetitia autem dicit effectum gaudii in dilatione cordis; unde dicitur laetitia quasi latitia; exultatio autem effectum ipsius in signis exterioribus, inquantum gaudium interius ad exteriora prorumpens, quodammodo exilit.

was because of the concupiscible that animals were given the irascible. The two cooperated in response to good and bad objects. Responding to the good, irascible acts help us to realise whether a desired object is convenient or possible to achieve. To the bad, they help us to resist harmful objects which are difficult to avoid. By starting his response with the concupiscible passions, Thomas sought to reflect the order in which concupiscible and irascible acts occur. It is through concupiscible acts that we know not only whether an object is desirable, but also whether it is in the present or future. [40]

By now it was possible for Thomas to establish the variations and links between the different irascible passions. Again Thomas started by dividing the passions according to whether they involved a positive or negative object. In relation to the good, the acts of the irascible power varied according to whether or not an object can be achieved. In this way, it is possible to understand hope (*spes*) as a response to a necessary and achievable good. However, despair (*desperatio*) arises when, for whatever reason, a desired object is impossible to achieve.[41] The irascible passions arising from bad objects differ according to whether or not an evil is avoidable. Courage (*audacia*) describes a situation where a bad or harmful object is successfully overcome. It is thus the contrary of fear (*timor*) which occurs when a harmful object causes us to give flight because it cannot be resisted. These four irascible passions all describe an object which is still to be realised. This is an inherent characteristic of the irascible power; an object cannot present any difficulty if it has already been realised. Anger (*ira*), as a fifth irascible passion, describes a situation where a bad or harmful object is avoidable but nevertheless continues to present some difficulty.[42] This, Thomas argued, is why anger does not have a contrary.

At this point, Thomas observed how the contrariety in the concupiscible power behaves differently to the irascible. The difference, apparent in Fig. 1 and Fig. 2, is about how one passion can be the opposite of another.[43] On the one hand, in the concupisible power, contrariety depends on the appraisal of an object as good or bad. This is what makes joy contrary to sadness, love contrary to hate, and desiring contrary to avoidance. The contrariety of the irascible power, on the other hand, is more complex and may have more to do with circumstances that are beyond our control. Ultimately, it depends on whether or not an object, good or bad, is *possible*. Thus hope is contrary to despair, while courage is

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[40] Ibid., XXVI. i. iii., p. 821: Passio ergo irascibilis vel oritur ex passione concupiscibilis quam facit apprehensio appetibilis, vel quam facit praesentia ipsius.
[41] Ibid., XXVI. i. iii., p. 821.
[42] Ibid., XXVI. i. iii., p. 822.
[43] See pp.**Fig. 1.**191.

contrary to fear. Anger is more pervasive and less constrained by possibility. This much is observable from everyday life; it is still possible for trivial things to make us angry, even if they are easily overcome.

Aquinas then introduced another problem which may have already occurred to some of his students. It is intuitively obvious that anger is not provoked only by the presence of an object, as happens when we experience an injury. We can grow angry when we think about an injury that happened in the past; or even when we think about an injury which we may sustain in the future. Thomas used John Damascene's *De fide orthodoxa* to help clarify this difference. In the case of a present injury, anger is caused by pain; but when we grow angry because of future or past injuries, it is because of sadness.[44]

The distinction was neat and had the advantage that it could be illustrated simply with the help of the *De fide orthodoxa*. In the *De veritate*, based on disputed questions held during his first Parisian regency, Thomas referred to a more complicated idea found in Avicenna's *De anima*. The argument related to instances where the operation of the soul is the cause of bodily change. Thus, when something frightening or enjoyable is imagined (*ex imaginatione terribilium vel delectabilium*) the body is made either hot or cold. In the *De veritate*, Thomas provided a solution to the problems this raised for the understanding of the joy and pain in Christ.[45] It is conceivable that he could have used this authority, and many others similar to it, to illustrate the differences between the passions. The fact he chose not to do so is indicative of his question-led approach, and may also suggest the different generic constraints associated with *Sentences* commentaries and disputed questions. We could suggest that Thomas was taking a deliberately safe line, interspersing his account with well-placed authorities to help his students over steep places.

It is not an exaggeration to say that much of the response in this article is a paraphrase of John Damascene's *De fide orthodoxa*. It is clear he was working with the text; and the level of dependence may indicate its authoritative status at the Paris *studium*. So, having already introduced a number of arguments relating to basic differences between the passions, Thomas explained how there was also non-essential variety between them; these

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[44] Ibid., XXVI. i. iii., p. 822: Sciendum tamen quod ira causatur non solum ex re corporali inconvenienti praesenti, sicut cum quis irascitur de vulneratione, sed etiam de inconvenienti animali praesenti, sicut cum quis irascitur ex injuriis illatis et etiam ex apprehensione inconvenientis habiti; et ideo causatur ex dolore quantum ad primum, et ex tristitia ut dicit Damascenus, quantum ad secundum. Sic ergo passiones animae per essentiales differentias dividuntur. The Parma edition has 'aliquando' for 'animali'.

[45] Thomas Aquinas, *De veritate*, XXVI. x. iv; cited in D. N. Hasse, *Avicenna's De anima in the Latin West*, p. 289.

were accidental differences of quality and intensity rather than substance. In this way he integrated all the categories found in three consecutive chapters on delight, sadness and fear in the *De fide orthodoxa* and, by extension, the two concordances or 'tabulae' to the work produced at St-Jacques in the middle of the thirteenth century by William of Lincoln and another friar whose identity is unknown.[46]
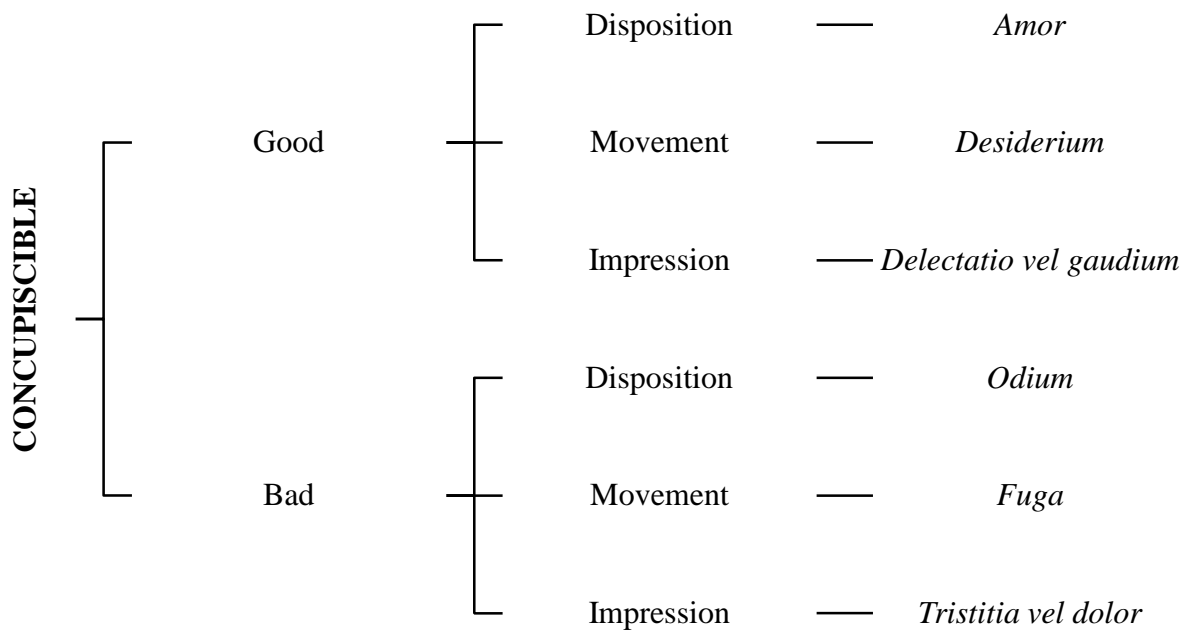
	Disposition	—	*Amor*
CONCUPISCIBLE — Good	Movement	—	*Desiderium*
	Impression	—	*Delectatio vel gaudium*
	Disposition	—	*Odium*
Bad	Movement	—	*Fuga*
	Impression	—	*Tristitia vel dolor*

Fig. 1.

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[46] See E. M Buytaert, 'Introduction', in *De fide orthodoxa*, ed. Buytaert, xvii-xix; cf. Quinto, 'Le commentaire des *Sentences* d'Hugues de Saint-Cher', pp. 316-17.
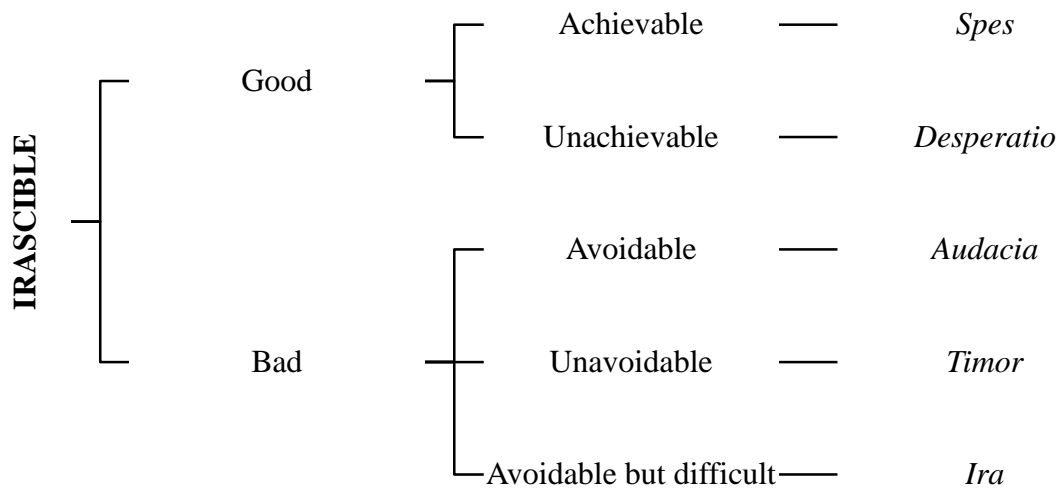
```
                          ┌─── Achievable ──── Spes
                  ┌─ Good ┤
                  │       └─── Unachievable ──── Desperatio
IRASCIBLE ──┤
                  │       ┌─── Avoidable ──── Audacia
                  └─ Bad ─┤─── Unavoidable ──── Timor
                          └── Avoidable but difficult ── Ira
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Fig. 2.

The first group of categories all differed from passions on account of their extent or visible effect. Concupiscence, for example, is said to be an indication of the extent of desire (*desiderium*), while jealousy (*zelus*), since it indicates a reluctance to share a particular good, is an index of love's impatience. There were, of course, equivalents for the other concupiscible passions. Loathing (*abominatio*) is a measure of the extremity of hate, while joyousness (*exultatio*) indicates an extended form of joy, inasmuch as it manifests itself in the body. The ostensibly interchangeable concepts of cheerfulness (*hilaritas*) and gladness (*iucunditas*) were seen to apply to two discrete phenomena: the former described the visible expression of joy in the face, while the latter referred to the signs of joy in a person's outward conduct or bearing.[47] Thomas did not cite book 4 of Aristotle's *Ethics*, where a student could have found Aristotle's discussion of *eutrapelia*, a moral virtue which disposed the individual rightly towards games and conversation. We

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[47] For a useful approach to questions of gesture and emotion, see J.-C. Schmitt, *La raison des gestes dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris, 1990); idem, 'Introduction and General Bibliography', *History and Anthropology* 1, 1 (1984), pp. 1-28; for similar discussions, see *Anima e corpo nella cultura medievale: Atti del V Convegno di studi della Società Italiana per lo Studio del Pensiero Medievale ; Venezia, 25-28 settembre 1995*, ed. C. Casagrande (Florence, 1999). For a more up-to-date survey of work on laughter, see A. Marculescu, 'Le rire médiéval', *Critique* 716-717: *Émotions médiévales*, pp. 70-79.

know the concept was familiar to Albert and Thomas, who both translated it as 'iucunditas'.[48]

By now Thomas had reached John Damascene's chapter on sadness. In the *De fide orthodoxa*, John Damascene identified four different types: anguish (*acedia*), grief (*achos*), envy (*invidia*), and pity (*misericordia*). Thomas divided this list in two, keeping the last two in reserve for a later argument. Anguish, which can weigh us down and prevent us from behaving as we would normally, is an extreme form of sadness. It is distinguishable from grief, which leaves us speechless.[49] Thomas added three further concepts, which are less obviously cribbed from John Damascene, to demonstrate that the same principle applies to acts of the irascible power. Thus presumption (*praesumptio*) is an extension of hope, recklessness (*audacia*) an excess of courage in the face of danger, and rage (*furor*) is the extreme of anger.[50] All of these states could be said to indicate a degree of imbalance in the soul.

By integrating John Damascene's *De fide orthodoxa* into his classification of the passions, Thomas overlooked other available definitions. The definition of 'acedia', for instance, as an extension of sadness was at the expense of its traditional use in monastic literature. If we follow the analysis of Siegfried Wenzel, it was through this kind of scholastic handling that 'acedia', once a defining negative of western monasticism, was uprooted, eventually losing its connection to the religious form of life.[51] However, given the nature of Thomas's interest and his deliberately narrow range of authorities, it is not clear that his use of 'acedia' to mean an extreme, debilitating form of sadness was at the expense of other available definitions, or whether the two uses were mutually exclusive. In

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[48] See T. Hoffmann, '*Eutrapelia*: The Right Attitude toward Amusement', in *Mots médiévaux offerts à Ruedi Imbach*, ed. I. Atucha, D. Calma, C. König-Pralong and I. Zavattero (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 267-77.

[49] Thomas Aquinas, *Scriptum super libros Sententiarum III*, XXVI. i. iii., p. 822: '…acedia autem intensionem tristitiae, intantum ut immobilitet hominem, actionem retardans, unde dicitur a Damasceno quod est tristitia aggravans, idest immobilitans, vel achos inquantum prohibet locutionem, quia, ut dicit Damascenus, est vocem auferens.'

[50] Ibid., XXVI. i. iii., p. 822: '…praesumptio autem intensionem spei, audacia autem excessum confidentiae in aggrediendo terribilia, furor autem intensionem irae.'

[51] S. Wenzel, *The Sin of Sloth: Acedia in Medieval Thought and Literature* (Chapel Hill, 1967); idem, '*Acedia*, 700-1200', *Traditio* 22 (1966), pp. 73-102; see also, M. W. Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins: An Introduction to the History of a Religious Concept, with Special Reference to Medieval English Literature* (East Lansing, 1952); R. E. Jehl, '*Acedia* and Burn-out Syndrome: From an Occupational Vice of the Early Monks to a Psychological Concept in the Secularized Professional Life', in *In the Garden of Evil: The Vices and Culture in the Middle Ages*, ed. R. Newhauser (Toronto, 2005), pp. 455-76.

the right context, 'acedia' could still have been used by an academically trained friar to describe a vice connected to the religious life.

Thomas then taught his students another way to discriminate among the different passions and their accidents. The differences between the basic passions of the concupiscible and irascible powers are not only evident in extension; they can also be detected in the way the passions are connected to certain objects. Introducing this difference allowed Thomas to integrate John Damascene's two remaining kinds of sadness into his account. Occasionally, sadness can be brought about by the good or evil of others. For example, if both individuals desire the same good, the achievement of that good by one can sometimes cause sadness or, more specifically, envy (*invidia*) in the other.[52] By contrast, sometimes sadness or pity (*misericordia*) can arise when another person experiences some injury or harm. This is evidence of a degree of common feeling between individuals; what is evil for one is evil for both. Here Thomas added a third kind of sadness, which could not be located in the *De fide orthodoxa*, but which was necessary to complete the classification. Paraphrasing book 2 of the *Ethics*, where Aristotle described the feeling of sadness caused by the undeserved success of others, Thomas introduced the Aristotelian concept of 'nemesis'. It was a notion that may have struck a chord with some of his confrères from the boom towns of the Roman Province.

The last part of Thomas's account of the differences between hope and the other passions addressed the familiar problem of fear and its divisions. In an earlier chapter, it was observed how the reception of the *De fide orthodoxa* meant commentators in the thirteenth century added to the four-fold definition of fear they found in the *Sentences*. Thomas covered the same ground in his commentary on the *Sentences*, albeit to demonstrate how to differentiate between the six types of fear found in the *De fide orthodoxa*. These differences may have served to further sharpen the attention of his students and confrères to different emotional categories. As an act of the irascible power, fear can be distinguished in two ways: first by the object of our fear, and secondly by the

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[52] Thomas Aquinas, *Scriptum super libros Sententiarum III*, XXVI. i. iii., pp. 822-23: Cum autem objectum proprium et per se istarum passionum sit bonum vel malum apparens, ea quae accidentaliter se habent ad haec faciunt accidentalem differentiam in passionibus ex parte objecti; sicut tristitia quae est de malo quod est apparens malum tristanti; hoc autem accidit esse bonum alteri vel malum. Si ergo tristitia sit de malo quod est malum alteri, et per hoc apprehenditur malum ipsi tristanti sic est misericordia. Si autem sit bonum alteri, et per hoc apprehenditur ut malum proprium, sic est invidia quae tristitia de prosperitate bonorum, vel nemesis quae est tristitia de prosperitate malorum, ut dicitur II *Eth*.

manner in which we are afraid. For an example of the first kind of difference, we can observe the characteristics of shame (*verecundia*) and embarrassment (*erubescentia*). On the one hand, shame describes the fear of a base act that has already taken place. It principally involves the shame (*turpitudo*) of sin. On the other, embarrassment describes the fear of censure, and relates to the shame of punishment.[53]

Having introduced these two different types of fear, Thomas could now move on to distinguish between the six types of fear mentioned by John Damascene. Insofar as they all differed in respect of their activity, these types of fear all fell under the second means of differentiation which Thomas had put forward a few sentences earlier. Thus weakness (*segnities*) and idleness (*ignavia*) refer to situations where fear exceeds our capacity to act.[54] The outcome, in both cases, is the fear of future action. Admiration (*admiratio*), since it occurs when we elevate an object in our minds, refers to the fear of something great. It ought to be distinguished from stupor (*stupor*), which describes the fear of something out of the ordinary. There were three other, near-equivalent words which we can imagine as part of the mental repertory of concepts available to a highly trained preacher. Agony (*agonia*), trepidation (*trepidatio*) and doubt (*dubitatio*) all involve the fear of misfortune. They are distinguishable by the level of uncertainty involved in each case.[55] Much of this material strikes us as laboured and repetitive; but the same could equally be said of many other forms of professional training.

It is appropriate that the last few lines of this densely packed article addressed the question of the differences between hope and other related states, allowing Thomas to use some of the procedures he had outlined in his response to address one of the original counterarguments. Earlier Thomas had raised a doubt concerning whether it was possible to apply the concept of hope to a number of different instances involving the extension of

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[53] Ibid., XXVI. i. iii., p. 823: Similiter et timor distinguitur; quia malo difficili superanti facultatem timentis accidit aliquid dupliciter: vel ex parte ipsius mali, vel ex parte timentis. Primo modo accidit sibi turpitudo; et hoc vel in se, et sic est verecundia quae est de turpi actu; vel in opinione, et sic est erubescentia quae est "timor de convicio", ut dicit Damascenus; vel verecundia de turpitudine culpae, erubescentia de turpitudine poenae.

[54] Ibid., XXVI. i. iii., p. 823.

[55] Ibid., XXVI. i. iii., p. 823: Ex parte autem timentis sumuntur accidentales differentiae timoris hoc modo; quia terribile vel excedit facultatem timentis in agendo, et sic est segnities vel ignavia quae est timor futurae operationis, ut dicit Damascenus; vel in cognoscendo et hoc tripliciter: vel propter cognoscibilis altitudinem, et sic est admiratio quae est timor ex magna imaginatione; vel propter eius inconsuetudinem, et sic est stupor qui est timor ex inassueta imaginatione; vel propter incertitudinem et sic est agonia quae est timor infortunii et hoc idem dicitur trepidatio vel dubitatio.

the appetite towards something difficult. Is it not the case that feelings such as confidence and trust or courage and anger all actually embody a form of hope? Thomas replied that all acts of the irascible power can be distinguished according to whether they involve a difficulty that it is possible to overcome. Further, they can also be differentiated based on whether they relate to a positive or negative appraisal of an object. Thus trust (*fiducia*) and confidence (*confidentia*) both describe the movement of the irascible power towards a possible object. If directed towards the good, they are evidence of hope; but if directed towards the bad, they are a sign of courage. By contrast, diffidence (*diffidentia*), which might apply to either good or bad objects, describes instances where the irascible power is directed towards the impossible. Despair should be used to describe cases involving an unachievable good, whilst fear should be used to talk about an evil which cannot be overcome. It is worth remembering this final definition. We will encounter it again in an entirely different context in the next chapter. Again, the exception in this system was anger, which stood alone: it was thought to comprise courage, sadness and hope together.[56] If we recall Albert's explanation in the *De bono* of why anger was not counted among the four principal passions, we shall recognise the continuity. There was nothing new in the position that anger was not a simple passion. The difference lay in the range, detail and circumstances of Thomas's treatment.

6.3 The four principal passions

We have seen how Boethius's enumeration of the four affections was part of Federico Visconti's repertory of preachable materials. By placing the passage in a sermon for the deceased, Federico's underlying intention was to develop a discourse which would act in some way upon the souls of a Pisan audience as they considered man's earthly life.[57] He

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[56] Ibid., XXVI. i. iii., p. 824: Ad quintum dicendum quod cum arduum sive difficile sit proprium objectum irascibilis, differentiae facientes oppositiones in passionibus irascibilis sunt difficile facultatem superans, vel non superans; et utrumque vel est bonum vel malum. Fiducia ergo seu confidentia, importat motum irascibilis in id quod aestimatur ut facultatem non excedens, quod quidem specialiter circa bona importat spes, circa mala autem audacia, nisi quod audacia excessum importat quandoque, unde in malum quandoque accipitur. Motus autem appetitus in id quod aestimatur ut superans facultatem sive in bonum sive in malum, est diffidentia. In bonum autem specialiter est desperatio, in malum autem timor. Ira autem est passio composita ex audacia et tristitia et spe, ut ex dictis patere potest.

[57] Federico Visconti, *Les sermons*, 74, § 4, pp. 900-901. The quotation in Federico's sermon differs slightly, i.e. 'Gaudia pelle,/ pelle timorem,/Ne‹c› dolor assit,/Speque fugato'.

did not approach the problem from an abstract, theoretical point of view. There was no elaboration or dilation of the different parts, which might distract a listener or make the idea unnecessarily opaque. It was enough that he might remember, along with the seven ages of man, the four distinguishing characteristics, namely rejoicing, suffering, hoping and fearing. Thus Philosophy's instruction to Boethius to drive away joy and fear, and not to let grief remain once hope has been put to flight (*gaudia pelle, pelle timorem,/spemque fugato, nec dolor adsit*) was not used out of a desire to address the problem from a theoretical point of view. The ultimate goal was to communicate a message which might form attitudes and alter perceptions.

Thomas's immediate interest in the four principal passions in the *Scriptum* was more prosaic. In the fourth article in his treatment of hope as a passion of the soul, he sought to demonstrate that hope could properly be numbered among the four principal passions. Some of the counterarguments were drawn from relevant authorities, while others appear to be more intuitive and based on descriptions of the passions as they appear in ordinary life. For example, it was not clear why hope is a principal passion when others such as love, desire and courage were not. Love, after all, appears to be more vehement force in the soul than hope. In the *De divinis nominibus*, it is said that love can drive a man beside himself; it was difficult to understand why hope should be a principal passion at the expense of love.[58] Somewhat less obvious is the objection that if the irascible power pertains to things that are difficult, courage appears a more obvious principal passion than hope.[59] There were other counterarguments all based on a particular wrong assumption relating to the concept of a principal passion. By identifying hope as one of four principal passions, then, Thomas could help his reader to avoid falling into the same traps. In the *sed contra*, after the well-worn passage from Boethius, we are reminded of the importance of contrariety to any understanding of the passions, as well the interaction between the concupiscible and irascible powers.[60] If hope is the contrary of fear, it follows that if fear is a principal passion so is hope.[61]

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[58] Thomas Aquinas, *Scriptum super libros Sententiarum III*, XXVI. i. iv., p. 825: Amor enim vehementis affectionem immutat quam spes; unde hominem extra se facit, ut dicit Dionysius, 4 cap. De div. nom. Sed amor non ponitur una de principalibus passionibus. Ergo nec spes.

[59] Ibid., XXVI. i. iv., p. 825.

[60] Ibid., XXVI. i. iv., p. 825: Sed contra est quod Boetius in lib. I De consolat., dicit: "Gaudia pelle,/Pelle timorem;/Spemque fugato,/Nec dolor adsit." Et ita spes connumeratur aliis passionibus principalibus.

[61] Ibid., XXVI. i. iv., p. 825.

In his response Thomas introduced two different tests to identify the principal passions. The first concerned the object of a passion. The second, since some movements are more complete examples of their type than others, addressed the passion itself.[62] In this way, the four principal passions can be divided equally between the concupiscible and irascible powers. Joy and sadness are the two principal passions of the concupiscible power. This is because they are its most complete acts: the realisation of the good necessarily causes joy, while the experience of a harmful object always leads to sadness of some kind. The equivalent passions of the irascible power are hope and fear, through which all other movements of the irascible power are either perfected or brought to completion. This perfection depends on the strength of an inclination towards the object. Thus fear depends on the relation to something harmful, which is difficult to avoid, and hope on the attainment of the good. Both can vary accordingly depending on their object. From this point of view, the four principal passions appear to have been a useful starting point. They accounted for the differences between good and bad objects and different ways of feeling without limiting the possibilities for further elaboration.

It has been suggested that Thomas's treatment of the passions was not especially original. This is an important point, which is occasionally in danger of being overlooked. Simo Knuuttila has argued that Thomas's innovations mostly pertained to principles of classification rather than to substantive items.[63] Indeed, the division of the principal passions between the concupiscible and irascible powers may not have been new, but this is not to say it was not important.

By incorporating it into his reading of Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, Thomas was demonstrating his command of a small corner of an increasingly large field of material pertaining to the philosophy of the soul. On the one hand, this fits with what we know about the expectations faced by the bachelor of *Sentences*; in a sense the *Scriptum* was the thirteenth-century Parisian equivalent of the modern doctoral thesis. On the other, it appears to be in keeping with the views expressed in Thomas's inaugural lecture.[64] He

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[62] Ibid., XXVI. i. iv., pp. 825-26: Dicendum quod principalitas passionis in duobus consistit: quorum unum est ex parte objecti, ut scilicet passio sequatur secundum rationem et aptitudinem objecti, ut scilicet bonum prosequatur et malum fugiat; secundum est ex parte ipsius passionis, ut scilicet motus ille sit perfectus quantum possibile est secundum genus illud.

[63] S. Knuuttila, 'Medieval Theories of the Passions of the Soul', in *Emotions and Choice from Boethius to Descartes*, ed. H. Lagerlund and M. Yrjönsuuri (Dordrecht, 2002), p. 72.

[64] For an edition, Thomas Aquinas, *Opuscula omnia*, ed. P. Mandonnet (Paris, 1927), IV, 481-90; English translation in S. Tugwell, *Albert and Thomas*, pp. 353-62.

was not trying to communicate everything he knew, but to adapt the doctrine of the passions to the condition and needs of his students and confrères.

The clinical and slightly parched character of Thomas's treatment of the four principal passions in the *Scriptum* raises further questions concerning his principles of selection. In an attempt to explain Thomas's exclusion of a number of readily available sources from his doctrine of the passions, Mark Jordan argues that Thomas deliberately selected sources which were removed from the urgencies of practice, favouring instead those suited to speculation and the 'clarification of constitutive relations'.[65] What Jordan is describing is the application of a law of parsimony to the discussion of the passions in lectures on the *Sentences*: a bachelor's response should invoke no more authorities than were necessary to explain the argument. So, if Thomas did seek out abstract authorities, it was because they helped him to cover the main points with more economy.

Bernard of Clairvaux, for example, mentioned the same basic division on a number of occasions in his works, except that he talked about love (*amor*) instead of hope to describe the longing for future goods.[66] An observant reader might have thought of this when he read Thomas's first objection and made a mental note. Similarly, in this context, they may have noted that, in contrast to John of La Rochelle, Thomas did not refer to the *De spiritu et anima* or other monastic texts that discussed the four principal passions.[67] A surfeit of second-hand knowledge would only serve to undermine the article's main purpose, which

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[65] M. D. Jordan, 'Aquinas's Construction of a Moral Account of the Passions', p. 83. Jordan points to the exclusion of entire genres, including physiological discussions, medical texts, rhetorical treatises, and preaching and confession manuals. He also notes Thomas's omission of the *De spiritu et anima*, used by the friars minor for the *Summa Halensis* and by John of La Rochelle for his *Summa de anima*, and by friars-preacher in Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum naturale*.

[66] See I. Sciuto, 'Le passioni e la tradizione monastica', *Doctor Seraphicus* 45 (1998), p. 26; see also, E. Gilson, *The Mystical Theology of Saint Bernard*, transl. A. H. C. Downes (London, 1940), p. 101, n. 131. For a recent treatment of Cistercian notions of affect, see D. Boquet, *L'ordre de l'affect du Moyen Âge. Autour de l'anthropologie affective d'Aelred de Rievaulx* (Caen, 2005). The first part on the 'genealogy' of Cistercian affect provides a useful introduction to ancient and medieval theories of emotion. A comparable survey can be found in R. Sorabji, *Emotion and Peace of Mind: From Stoic Agitation to Christian Temptation* (Oxford, 2000).

[67] *PL* 40, 781-82: Per concupiscibilitatem et irascibilitatem habilis est affici ad aliquid appetendum vel fugiendum, amandum vel odiendum: et ideo de rationalitate omnis sensus oritur animae, de aliis omnis affectus. Affectus vero quadripartitus esse dignoscitur: dum de eo quod amamus, jam gaudemus, vel gaudendum speramus; et de eo quod odimus, jam dolemus, sive dolendum metuimus; et ob hoc de concupiscibilitate gaudium et spes, de irascibilitate dolor et metus oriuntur.

was to communicate the idea of the four principal passions and to demonstrate why hope belonged to it.

If interpreting these ideas about the four principal passions, we can begin by addressing their purpose. Other than the straightforward exposition of an abstract and difficult idea, which could provide a useful contrast with others found in the *Sentences*, what was the significance of this kind of classification? The fourfold organisation of the passions originated in Stoic moral theory, where it served a particular function: by implying a degree of interdependence between the four main categories, it had a bearing on arguments about the possibility of *apatheia* or the extirpation of the passions through reason and attention to the self. The ease with which we move between emotions was a real concern for Stoic writers. If an object causes fear when it is approaching, it will necessarily cause sadness once present. One emotion can overflow into others: if we are prone to sadness, it follows that we are also vulnerable to related passions such as pity, envy and anger. For the Stoics the unity of the passions entailed the possibility of attaining self-mastery through habit and perseverance.

For Thomas and his contemporaries, following the rejection of the Stoic position by Augustine in the *De civitate Dei*, a scientific taxonomy of the passions, aligned to the powers of the soul and consistent with the principles of natural philosophy, was useful for engaging in contemporary debates concerning the philosophy of the soul.[68] But they may

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[68] Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, ed. B. Dombart and A. Kalb, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 47-48 (Turnhout, 1955), 9.4 and 14.19; in translation, *The City of God against the Pagans*, transl. R. W. Dyson, Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought (Cambridge, 1998). For the use of Augustine's account of the Stoic position in mendicant preaching at Oxford in the early fourteenth century, see B. Smalley, 'Oxford University Sermons, 1290-1293', in *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. J. Alexander and M. Gibson (Oxford, 1976), pp. 307-327; reprinted in B. Smalley, *Studies in Medieval Thought and Learning from Abelard to Wyclif* (London, 1981), pp. 199-200. The example is from the sermons of John Westerfeld, who, Smalley argues, followed contemporary fashion by including pseudo-classical *exempla* in his sermons. Aulus Gellius's story of the reaction of a Stoic philosopher during a storm, which Augustine discussed in the *City of God*, was thus applied to Christ, who is given as an example of the Aristotelian position that life is more desirable to the virtuous man than it is to others. Cf. Gérard of Frachet, *Vitae fratrum ordinis Praedicatorum necnon chronica ordinis ab anno MCCIII usque ad MCCLIV*, ed. B. M. Reichert, MOPH 1 (London, 1896), II. xxxv, pp. 87-88. The story concerns a friar-preacher called William of *Valencia* (perhaps the Iberian province, perhaps Valence) who was on board a ship caught in a storm between Trapani and Genoa. After recourse to Dominic, the sea grew calm and the sky brightened. Gérard described the emotional change this brought about in those on board, as delight followed despair and shouts of joy replaced fearful laments ('et post merorem leticia, exultacio post lamentum').

also have been picked up by mendicant theologians who recognised their relevance to the human capacity to do good and to act in conformity with reason.

Further, in the *Scriptum* Thomas analysed the fourfold classification of the passions according to thirteenth-century scholastic method. However, the difference between his use and that of, say, Federico Visconti or Isaac of Stella, could be seen as part of a larger pattern. The view, ultimately from Wittgenstein, that words only acquire meaning as part of a shared and public language has been extremely influential. It is perhaps the indirect source of various historical statements on the need to develop a method for systematic study of emotion-words.[69] Thus the different ways of seeing *gaudium*, *timor*, *spes* and *dolor* in academic lectures and sermons could have informed the roundabout connection which necessarily links the verbal expression of emotion to contingent factors, such as symptom, circumstance and action, which 'once established, becomes itself a new criterion for the feeling.'[70]

Such arguments are too large to address here, but we can note the durability of the fourfold classification of the passions. The effect of this organisation not only on the meaning of emotion-words but also on the sensitivity to different kinds of emotion is an interesting problem.

6.4 Hope and the soul's intellective part

This brings us to the last article where Thomas addressed the relationship between hope and the soul's intellective part, an issue that mattered for Thomas's reading of Peter Lombard's treatment of the theological virtues. We see Thomas dealing with issues raised in Aristotle's *Physics*, the work which Albert had turned his attention to in the early 1250s, apparently at the request of his students at the *studium* in Cologne.[71] In this way, Thomas found his starting point in Aristotelian *philosophia realis*. In book 7 of the

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[69] For example, B. Rosenwein, 'Emotion Words', *Le sujet des émotions au Moyen Âge*, ed. D. Boquet and P. Nagy (Paris, 2009), pp. 93-106; also, idem, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY, 2006); R. A. Kaster, *Emotion, Restraint, and Community in Ancient Rome* (Oxford, 2005). Kaster's analysis is built on the concept of 'emotional scripts' and regards emotions as narrative processes. It is similar to Rosenwein's 'emotional communities' inasmuch as it puts the case for a holistic approach and shares certain influences.

[70] A. Kenny, *Action, Emotion and Will* (London, 1963), p. 69.

[71] On the date Albert's paraphrase on the *Physics*, see Albert the Great, *Physica*, ed. W. Kübel (Aschendorff, 1987), v-vi.

Physics, as part of an account of alteration in the habits of the soul, Aristotle had located the passions in the sensitive part. It followed from this that, because hope was a principal passion, it ought to be located in the sensitive part of the soul, which one might not immediately associate with the pursuit of arduous goods.[72] Thomas did not discuss the question of exactly how the passions were altered by nature or by the exercise of virtue, but he would do so later in his own commentary on the *Physics*, probably written in the late 1260s, and in doing so he was again following Albert's example. [73]

If we look at the sources of Thomas's objections, an obvious pattern emerges. The heavy Aristotelian emphasis corresponds closely with the set-books of the Parisian arts faculty syllabus as it developed in the middle of the thirteenth century. In 1252, the *De anima* was added to the syllabus of the English-German Nation.[74] Then in 1255 the arts faculty itself introduced a new syllabus which included almost the entire Aristotelian corpus.[75] Such moves gave the go-ahead for the detailed and comprehensive assimilation of Aristotelian thought by masters of arts and their students at an institutional level.

In this article on hope, we see how these set-books were put to use in the theology faculty. Thus, Thomas's first objection is taken from *De anima*. Things found in the intellective part involve only the soul itself. However, hope operates in conjunction with the body, in the same way as joy and love, so it cannot be in the intellective part.[76] From the same source, hope belongs to the irascible power, but irascibility is in the sensitive part of the soul, not the intellective. The question of time was introduced with the help of Aristotle's *De memoria*, since according to Aristotle, memory is excluded from the intellective part of the soul on the basis that it concerns the past rather than the present. But just as memory concerns the past, so hope concerns the future, which suggests that it

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[72] Thomas Aquinas, *Scriptum super libros Sententiarum III*, XXVI. i. v., p. 827: Quia passiones sunt tantum in parte sensitiva, ut dicit Philosophus in VII Phys. Sed spes et passio. Ergo est in parte sensitiva.

[73] Albert the Great, *Physica*, VII. i. 8, ed. W. Kübel (Münster, 1993), p. 533: Tristitia enim et voluptas sunt passiones illatae a sensibus et sunt circa partem sensibilem animae, quae est concupiscibilis vel irascibilis, secundum quod Plato dixit, quia omnis voluptas est generatio in sensibilem animam.

[74] *CUP* I, 201, pp. 227-30

[75] Ibid. I, 246, pp. 277-79.

[76] Thomas Aquinas, *Scriptum super libros Sententiarum III*, XXVI. I. v., p. 827: Ea quae sunt in parte intellectiva, sunt ipsius animae secundum se sine hoc quod communicat corpori. Sed spes non est ipsius animae secundum se, sed cum conjunctione corporis, eadem ratione qua guadium et amor, ut dicit Philosophus in I De anima. Ergo spes non est in parte intellectiva.

is not in the intellective part.[77] Lastly, in the *Topica*, Aristotle said that contrary passions are not found in the intellective part, since nothing was contrary to intellectual delight.[78] All of the difficulties concerning the location of hope in the intellective part of the soul came from Aristotle. Instead of sampling piecemeal from the available corpus, Thomas covered a range of relevant Aristotelian authorities before making his response.

There were various reasons why the doubts expressed could not form the basis of a coherent theological point of view. Instead of offering stock solutions, Thomas responded in kind. For one thing, everything common to operation of the soul in God and in men concerns the intellective part. In contrast to the sensitive part, the intellective is immaterial and essentially similar to God. A passage from book 7 of the *Ethics* introduced the consideration of delight (*delectatio*) as something appropriate from a divine and human point of view. Delight was located in the intellective part. If hope was a form of a future delight it also had to be in the intellective part of the soul.[79]

Two further arguments were provided to support the same conclusion. The first concerned the separation of the soul from the body: the sensitive part is not separable from the body so, if hope can exist after death, it must be located in the intellective part. The second addressed the engagement of the intellect with the difficult good as something properly pertaining to the intellective part. In short, hope appeared to possess both sensitive and intellective characteristics.

The response which Thomas worked out was one that he later developed in the *Summa theologiae*. The actions of the sensitive part are easier to grasp than their equivalents in the intellectual part. This is because cognition starts with the senses but ends in the intellect. Sometimes well-known pieces of information are used to fill in missing details, or the words for concrete objects are used in attempts to render things which are just as real but

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[77] Ibid., XXVI. I. v., p. 828: Sicut dicit Philosophus in lib. De memor., "memoria non est in parte intellectiva", quia concernit determinatam temporis differentiam, scilicet praeteritum. Sed sicut memoria concernit praeteritum, ita spes concernit futurum. Ergo spes non potest esse in parte intellectiva.

[78] Ibid., XXVI. I. v., p. 828: In parte intellectiva non sunt contrariae passiones, quia delectationi quae est secundum intellectum nihil est contrarium, ut dicit Philosophus I Top. Cum ergo spes sit passio contrarietatem habens ad timorem et desperationem, videtur quod non possit esse in parte intellectiva.

[79] Ibid., XXVI. I. v., p. 828: Quidquid invenitur communiter in Deo et in nobis de operibus animae, ad partem intellectivam pertinet quae solum est immaterialis, et in hoc Deo similis. Sed delectatio convenit non solum nobis, sed etiam Deo, ut dicit Philosophus in VII Eth., "quia ipse simplici operatione gaudet". Ergo delectatio est in nobis etiam in parte intellectiva; et ita eadem ratione spes quae est de delectatione futura.

harder to grasp. This is what was happening when people used the names of passions to describe operations of the intellective part of the soul, i.e. something known well was used to describe something known loosely.[80]

Thomas recognized two uses for emotion-words. Sometimes the names of the operations of the sensitive appetite are transferred to the intellective part of the soul, thus placing material passions and simple immaterial acts under the same heading.[81] The significance of this distinction, which Thomas returned to in later texts, has been assessed by Peter King, who adds a prefix to the ambiguous term 'passion' and calls the immaterial acts 'pseudopassions', that is, the 'analogues to the passions pertaining to the purely intellective part of the soul'. [82] The 'pseudopassions' accounted for the experience of angels and disembodied souls, as well as the intellectual love of God or the rational determination to extirpate something evil. Instead of 'pseudopassion', Thomas sometimes rendered this difference by talking about *affectiones* or *affectus*.

It will be sufficient to make a general observation about the ordering of categories and their interrelation. Based on a reading of Thomas's commentary on the *Sentences*, it is possible to observe that *spes* had at least two basic expressive possibilities for Proino and the brethren at S. Caterina. If used to talk about the sensitive part, it described a material passion, but if used in relation to the intellective part it could mean something else entirely. According to the *Scriptum*, *spes* could also denote the forward-leaning action of

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[80] Ibid., XXVI. I. v., p. 828: Dicendum quod operationes sensitivae sunt nobis magis notae quam operationes partis intellectivae, quia cognitio nostra incipit a sensu et terminatur ad intellectum. Et quia ex notioribus minus nota cognoscuntur, nomina autem ad innotescendum rebus imponuntur, ideo nomina operationum sensitivae partis transferuntur in operationes intellectivae partis et ulterius ex humanis in divina.

[81] Ibid., XXVI. I. v., p. 829: Similiter nomina operationum appetitivae sensibilis partis transferuntur in operationes appetitivae intellectivae partis; tamen in sensitiva parte sunt per modum materialis passionis, in parte autem intellectiva per modum simplicis actus non materialiter; et ideo etiam aliqua nomina imponuntur appetitui intellectivo quae distinguunt ipsum ab aliis, sicut velle, eligere et hujusmodi.

[82] R. Miner, *Thomas Aquinas on the Passions: A Study of the* Summa theologiae *1a2ae 22-48* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 35-38; P. King, 'Dispassionate Passions', in *Emotion and Cognitive Life in Medieval and Early Modern Philosophy*, ed. M. Pickavé and L. Shapiro (Oxford, 2012), pp. 9-31; idem, 'Aquinas on the Passions', in *Aquinas's Moral Theory: Essays in Honour of Norman Kretzmann*, ed. S.MacDonald and E. Stump (Ithaca, NY, 1998), p. 105, n. 4. Available online, with pagination 1-32, http://individual.utoronto.ca/pking/articles/Aquinas_on_the_Passions.pdf.

the will which tended immaterially towards a difficult object.[83] This kind of knowledge and conceptual acuity was plainly serviceable for the instruction of others.

6.5.1 The importance of the Arts Faculty

Until now this chapter has offered a straightforward account of the analysis of hope and other passions in the *Scriptum*. In places, the argument made a connection between ideas and practice, whether academic or literary, in an attempt to bring attention to the possible consequences of these ideas about emotion in the lives of the brethren at S. Caterina. The approach has been exploratory because of the awareness of moving through a field in which little systematic work has been done, and also because the purpose of this inquiry is, in part, to establish between Parisian thought about emotion and the possible thoughts of the brethren at S. Caterina a connection that, owing to limitations of evidence, is necessarily tentative and provisional. In what remains of this chapter I will summarise aspects of this problem which, for a satisfactory account, would require separate and substantial work.

The connection between the arts faculty syllabus and theological lectures on the *Sentences* is not easily described in concrete terms. It is difficult to demonstrate that, by simply including a variety of Aristotelian authorities, Thomas was responding to the introduction of new university textbooks. For a way of linking the two together, we might think of a particular 'form of relation' proposed by Michael Baxandall. When discussing Picasso's *Portrait of Kahnweiler*, Baxandall proposed a view of intention as a 'rational condition of human action', which could be used to describe the relation between a picture and its circumstances.[84] There, he suggests, is a fluid model of relation that can be used to think about a painter's relation to his culture. Borrowing from the kind of economic language used to describe markets, he calls this *troc*, which is said to be 'no more than a *form* of relation in which two classes of people, both within the same culture, are free to make choices in the course of an exchange, any choice affecting the universe of exchange and so the other participants.' For Baxandall, *troc* – i.e. truck or the action of exchange – conveys i) that in any market there is choice on both sides, and ii) that 'a choice on any

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[83] Thomas Aquinas, *Scriptum super libros Sententiarum III*, XXVI. I. v., p. 829: Sic ergo spes in parte sensitiva nominat quamdam passionem materialem, in parte autem intellectiva simplicem operationem voluntatis immaterialiter tendentis in aliquod arduum.
[84] M. Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures* (New Haven, 1985), pp. 41-73.

one side has consequences for the range of choice on both sides'. Yet, this form of relation, says Baxandall, is typically encased in less flexible institutions, which embody assumptions about things such as genre, to which the painter may have unreflectively acquiesced. So the question of why paintings like the *Portrait of Kahnweiler* were being painted around 1910 concerned the loose and reciprocal structure of relation between the institutional framework and *troc*. The painter could formulate his own 'Brief' from available generic forms and in response to cues from the market.

Baxandall's method of explanation could apply to other 'causal fields'. For example, it might help to explain the choice made by Aquinas in the 1250s to structure an article in his *Sentences* commentary around readings of authorities gleaned from Aristotle's works. The official move to accommodate Aristotelian thought had introduced a new element into the market which Thomas addressed in his role as bachelor and master of theology. He had been given more room for manoeuvre by the ready availability of Aristotelian texts and the sharply increased levels of intellectual awareness among both masters and students at Paris. Also, by making such references in their discussions of Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, the masters and bachelors at the theology faculty may have helped to bring about a change in the generic expectations for *Sentences* commentaries as a medium for the communication of theological knowledge. This connection is difficult to describe elegantly, but does, however, have important implications for how the friars-preacher – and possibly their audience in places such as Pisa – thought about human emotion.

6.5.2 The importance of teaching

Thomas's treatment of hope fell within the pedagogic constraints associated with the requirement to 'read' Peter Lombard's *Sentences* as a textbook in the Paris classroom. However, he had other opportunities to discuss the passions. After his inception as master, he was required to deliver daily lectures on the bible, which were followed by disputations on a particular theme. His activity as preacher and master of theology was thus devoted to intensive theological discourse, which encompassed the longstanding pedagogical requirements of *lectio* and *disputatio*.

The procedure and form of the disputations which Thomas presided over as master can be pieced together. The knowledge in question was defined in advance and corresponded to a programme covering the entire academic year. An *opponens*, usually the bachelor, raised doubts about the proposition that was being expressed. A student, the *respondens*, then attempted to draw attention to the weaknesses of the bachelor's straw men. The

master concluded the question by presenting his *determinatio*, which it is thought occurred either immediately after the disputation or on the next teaching day.[85] The origins of this form of teaching are ancient. Writing about Platonic dialogue, Pierre Hadot, discussed its benefits. 'Dialogue', he observes, 'does not transmit ready-made knowledge or information; rather, the interlocutor conquers his knowledge by his own effort', discovering and thinking for himself.[86]

Evidence of these disputations is found in the *De veritate*. However, since Thomas was able to redact and revise, carefully fashioning the material into a written text, what we have cannot be considered a verbatim recording. On the one hand, this process could simply have entailed the removal of repetitions or obvious mistakes. On the other, it could have seen the introduction of new material and the elaboration of certain arguments. Jean-Pierre Torrell argues that the contents of the *De veritate* would have been too complicated to be understood by ordinary students, and that the actual living dialogue in the classroom could not have been so detailed and lengthy.[87] This would obviously have been truer for some communities than for others, making it hard to generalise. Either way, the *De veritate* was the product of a certain general relation between literary production and the conditions of teaching at the Parisian theology faculty in the middle of the thirteenth century.

In total, there are 29 questions, consisting of 229 separate articles. They took place over three academic years and, at the rate of roughly eighty articles a year, they correspond

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[85] On disputed questions in the theology faculty, see B. C. Bazán, 'Les questions disputées, principalement dans les facultés de theologie', in *Les questions disputées et les questions quodlibétiques dans les facultés de théologie, de droit et de médecine*, ed. B. C. Bazán, G. Fransen, D. Jacquart and J. F. Wippel, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental 44-45, pp. 21-49; idem, 'La quaestio disputata', in *Les genres littéraires dans les sources théologiques et philosophiques médiévales*, ed. R. Bultot (Louvain-la Neuve, 1982), pp. 31-49; P. Glorieux, 'L'enseignement au Moyen Âge: Techniques et méthodes', *AHDLMA* 35 (1968), pp. 65-186; A. G. Little and F. Pelster, *Oxford Theology and Theologians, c. 1282-1302* (Oxford, 1934). On disputed questions in the arts faculty, see O. Weijers, *La 'disputatio' à la Faculté des arts de Paris (1200-1350 environ). Esquisse d'une typologie* (Turnhout, 1995); and idem, *Queritur utrum. Recherches sur la 'disputatio' dans les universités médiévales* (Turnhout, 2009).

[86] P. Hadot, *What is Ancient Philosophy?*, transl. M. Chase (Cambridge, MA, 2004), pp. 71-72; also, idem, 'La préhistoire des genres littéraires philosophiques médiévaux dans l'Antiquité', in *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*, ed. R. Bultot (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1982), pp. 1-9.

[87] J.-P. Torrell, *Saint Thomas Aquinas*, vol. 1: *The Person and His Work*, p. 62. 'It suffices to read the text of the *De ueritate* or the *De potentia* to understand that these texts are very much above the level of what a discussion could be for average students.'

quite closely to the number of days in an academic year. However, James Weisheipl suggests the questions were distributed unevenly: questions 1-7 (67 articles) were disputed during the first year of Thomas's regency (1256-1257); questions 8-20 (99 articles) during the second (1257-1258); and questions 21-29 during the third (1258-1259).[88] If this picture is accepted, we see that, in the last academic year of his Parisian regency, Thomas revisited the question of the passions, which he had already discussed in his lectures on the *Sentences*. A very brief summary of the shape of his treatment in the *De veritate* will be valuable for our purposes.

The twenty-sixth question in the *De veritate* comprises ten different articles, each of which can be thought of as corresponding to a real academic exercise.[89] The first article introduced the problem of the separated soul, a longstanding question which dated back to at least the first half of the twelfth century.[90] The last three articles addressed Christ's passibility. Between these two important theological issues, Thomas placed six articles dedicated to specific issues arising from the doctrine of the passions of the soul, seemingly confirming their secure position in his theological outlook and, we might assume, the knowledge which a student might acquire by dint of regular academic lectures. In other words, the discussion of the passions was, as far as Thomas was concerned, a relatively stable feature of a theology student's curriculum of study.

We might still wonder why Thomas addressed the passions of the soul separately in his disputed questions. In the *De bono* of Albert the Great, we find evidence of one possibly causal factor. As we have seen, the *De bono* may have been based on disputed questions which Albert had presided over during his Parisian regency in the 1240s. Among other things, it contained a series of articles on the passions, which reflect Albert's knowledge of John Damascene and the sort of philosophical psychology then emerging from the arts faculty. If we place the two texts side by side, we might recognise the correspondence between them more easily:[91]

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[88] J. A. Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas d'Aquino*, pp. 362-63; on the background, see pp.124-28.

[89] Thomas Aquinas, *Quaestiones disputatae*, I: *De Veritate*, XXVI. i-viii, ed. R. Spiazzi (Turin , 1953).

[90] See M. Bieniak, *The Soul-Body Problem at Paris*, pp.58-90.

[91] M. D. Jordan, 'Aquinas's Construction of a Moral Account of the Passions', p. 85, n. 59.

Albert, *De bono*, q. 5, aa. 1-7	Thomas, *De veritate*, q. 26, aa. 2-7
Art. 1. *Quid sit passio.*	Art. 2. *Secundo quaeritur quomodo anima coniuncta corpori patiatur.*
	Art. 3. *Tertio quaeritur utrum passio sit tantum in appetitiva sensitiva.*
Art. 2. *Quot sint genera passionum.*	Art. 4. *Quarto quaeritur secundum quid attendatur contrarietas et diversitas inter animae passiones.*
	Art. 5. *Quinto quaeritur utrum spes, timor, gaudium et tristitia sint quatuor principales animae passiones.*
Art. 3. *Quid sit voluptas substantia vel diffinitione.*	
Art. 4. *Utrum simplicius delectatur sensibilis in desiderato suo vel rationalis in suo.*	
Art. 5. *De passionibus illatis, quibus causis inferantur.*	Art. 6. *Sexto quaeritur utrum passionibus mereamur.*
Art. 6. *Utrum passiones meruimus aliquot nostro merito bono vel malo.*	Art. 7. *Septimo quaeritur utrum passio adiuncta merito diminuat aliquid de merito.*
Art. 7. *Utrum passionibus illatis meremur.*	

This comparison may appear too oversimplified. Even though the correspondence is not exact, and despite some differences in doctrine and sources, similar principles were at work in the way Thomas and Albert treated the passions in their academic exercises: an outline of the meaning of the passions, consistent with the findings of Aristotelian *philosophia realis*; an attempt at differentiating between *genera*; and, finally, a discussion of the passions of the soul as a form of moral action. It would be misleading to try to claim that the earlier treatment in the *De bono* was somehow decisive. It was one of a number of heterogeneous circumstances which would have played a part in Thomas's view of the significance of the passions for theology and theologians. It can be grouped together with other similar facts about the intellectual history of the passions, which might include circumstances, such as the availability of a complete translation of Aristotle's *Ethics* and the assimilation of the *De fide orthodoxa* – in Burgundio's and Grosseteste's translation – by the friars-preacher at St-Jacques. In short, Thomas would have known that he was moving through charted territory. Seen in a wider perspective, it is apparent that the *De bono* and the *De veritate* responded to similar local conditions and faced many of the same generic and institutional demands.

If we concentrate on issues of genre, it is noticeable that the disputed question form affected the content of Thomas's treatment of the passions. Firstly, the doctrinal content was not constrained by the organisation of a textbook, as it had been, to a degree, in the *ordinatio* of his lectures on the *Sentences*. Even though it allowed for a relatively detailed discussion of the passions, Thomas's earlier brief primarily involved addressing questions about hope as a way of clarifying the meaning of Peter Lombard's earlier discussion, which was evidently the product of a different time and place. Secondly, Thomas had to travel a lot further in his discussion, responding to more arguments against the organising thesis and going into more detail in his magisterial determination.

The two issues are related. Without the constraints imposed by having to 'read' the *Sentences*, Thomas had more to talk about. For example, if we compare the treatment of the four principal passions in the *De veritate* with the one found in the *Scriptum*, we notice significant differences. Book 14 of Augustine's *De civitate Dei* was mentioned explicitly, as was the pseudo-Augustinian *Liber de spiritu et anima*, the *dicta* of which, Thomas observed, could be taken with a grain of salt since it was not actually by Augustine.[92] The

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[92] Thomas, *De veritate*, ed. R. Spiazzi (Turin , 1953), XXVI. v. 1, p. 492: Quia Augustinus, XIV de civitate Dei, enumerans quatuor principales passiones, ponit cupiditatem loco spei: quod ex verbis Virgilii accipi videtur, qui has principales passiones

introduction of sources that had been excluded from his earlier commentary on the *Sentences* is interesting. For a perceptive reader, the two works may have been complementary and mutually informing, since the *De veritate* included arguments which were not supplied in the *Scriptum*. In this context, it is important to remember that disputed questions were a less ready-made form of exercise and could respond to additional knowledge in a more flexible way through the arguments of the *opponens*.

The different ways of talking about the passions, namely the ready-made and reproducible form of the *Sentences* commentary or the challenging and discursive material found in disputed questions, lead us to an understanding of the mental habits and thought processes of the brethren at S. Caterina and elsewhere. If a lecturer or bachelor at S. Caterina was required to read Peter Lombard's distinction on hope to his confrères, the *Scriptum* would have been a much more useful text considering the terms of the problem he had to address. Indeed, works such as Giovanni Balbi's *Catholicon* suggest how the *Scriptum* could, with the help of highly trained intermediaries, link the recondite environment of St-Jacques with the day-to-day business of preaching and pastoral care in the cities and communes of northern and central Italy.[93] Just as the latest academic research is sometimes communicated to undergraduate students via textbooks and readers, so Thomas's *Scriptum* put the latest thinking about the passions of the soul at the disposal of Proino and his confrères at S. Caterina.

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designatas dixit, sicut homines cupiunt, metuunt, gaudentes dolentesque et cetera. On the authenticity of the *Liber de spiritu et anima*, see ibid., XXVI. v. 7: Ad septimum dicendum, quod liber ille, cum non sit Augustini, non imponit nobis necessitatem ut eius auctoritatem recipiamus; et praecipue hic ubi videtur expressam falsitatem continere. Spes enim non est in concupiscibili, sed in irascibili; tristitia vero non in irascibili, sed in concupiscibili.

[93] The entry for 'Spes' in the *Catholicon* follows the same pattern as 'Propassio', discussed in the previous chapter, with quotations from the *Scriptum* included alongside the definition in *Sentences*.

7

THE PASSIONS AND ORDINARY LIFE

In the middle of the fourteenth century, to portray the significance of private study and to impress this fact on the minds of the common brothers, the brethren of S. Niccolò in Treviso commissioned a fresco cycle for the walls of the convent's chapterhouse.[1] The fresco, which covers all four walls, was devised and executed by Tomaso da Modena. It consists of two main elements. The central image is a diagram illustrating the various provinces and communities of the Order of Preachers, which may have been intended to prevent undue parochialism. Above this Tomaso placed a series of forty portraits of illustrious preachers. Each portrait follows the same basic pattern: instead of the narration of exemplary stories from their lives, we see the order's popes, cardinals and masters of theology engaged in private study in their cells. The portraits are heavily idealised and were clearly designed to produce a particular effect. Vincent of Beauvais is shown making a copy of a volume which is propped up on his desk. Pelagius of Spain sits hunched over a book, seemingly deep in concentration. Pietro Isnardo da Chiampo di Vicenza looks as though he is checking a reference; a concave reading mirror sits prominently on his shelf alongside an inkwell. Then, in the portrait of Hugh of St. Cher, we view the famous cardinal and master of theology carefully composing a piece of writing, his eyes strengthened by an early form of pince-nez. In all of the portraits, the famous friars sit surrounded by books. We see the preachers reading and writing with concentration and industry. What did all this represent? A possible answer is that its interest rested on the depiction of the two practices which helped to structure the friars' thought and life. The private cells were important as laboratories and sites of intellectual production; but they were also places of self-work.[2]

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[1] See J. Cannon, *Religious Poverty, Visual Riches: Art in the Dominican Churches of Central Italy in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (New Haven and London, 2013), pp. 201-204; also, R. Gibbs, *Tomaso da Modena: Painting in Emilia and the March of Treviso, 1340-80* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 50-87; for illustrations, *Le Chapitre de San Nicolò de Trevise. Peintures de Tommaso da Modena*, ed. J. J. Berthier (Rome, 1912).
[2] On the significance of such cells in the order's way of life, see Mulchahey, *Dominican Education before 1350*, pp. 40-41. A single reference in Jordan of Saxony's *Libellus* to

The image of preachers working with books at their elbows, and the effect which – in a quite deliberate and careful way – Tomaso tried to produce in the viewer's mind, raises a familiar problem about the intellectual links between a Paris-trained master of theology and an average *frater communis*. The justification for including lengthy discussions of Christ's passibility and theological hope as they featured in the *Sentences* commentaries of the order's theologians is that there was an important practical connection between them and theological training at a more local level. Just as provincial acts offer an indication of the order's educational and institutional priorities, so the doctrinal contents of *Sentences* commentaries and similar texts cast a light on the views of the brethren at S. Caterina; it was likely that Thomas's *Scriptum* played an active part in their intellectual formation as preachers and confessors. This opens the way to consider the relation between contemporary academic thought about the passions of the soul, often dense and complex, and the friars' religious obligation to preach and hear confessions in a manner that was plain and accessible. The *Sentences* commentaries, philosophical paraphrases and theological *summae* which emerged from the *studia generalia* in the years and decades after the order's foundation were not isolated texts, far removed from the daily responsibilities and concerns of ordinary preachers, but – as Tomaso da Modena's fresco and Proino's donation suggest – they were a real and permanent presence in the friars' way of life. In all of the communities depicted on the walls of the chapterhouse of S. Niccolò, such texts would have been known and consulted as friars endeavoured to turn themselves into more effective preachers and confessors. More than simply tools of the trade, they functioned as the means by which a friar-preacher might fulfil the expectations of his choice of life.

What follows is a description of the preachers' role in helping others to think more widely about the passions and to commit to virtuous action. Again it is necessary to point

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the cells of Dominic and his followers in Toulouse suggests their original importance. Jordan of Saxony, *Libellus*, 44, pp. 46-47: 'Anno domini MoCCoXVIo, estatis tempore, data est fratribus prima ecclesia in civitate Tholosa, que in honore beati Romani fundata est. In reliquis autem duabus ecclesiis nullum unquam fratrum contingit habitare. At vero in predicta ecclesia sancti Romani protinus edificatum est claustrum, cellas habens ad studendum et dormiendum desuper satis aptis. Erant autem tunc fratres numero circiter XVI.' Trans. S. Tugwell in Jordan of Saxony, *On the Beginnings of the Order of Preachers* (Oak Park, Illinois and Dublin, 1982), p. 11: They were given their first church in the city of Toulouse in the summer of 1216, a church which had been founded in the honour of St Romanus. In the other two churches, as it turned out, no friar was ever to live, but at this church of St Romanus a cloister was soon built, with cells above it suitable for studying and sleeping in.

out the provisional and fragmentary nature of much of this information; it represents only a very small corner of a much larger and more variegated picture. Further research and analysis would help to clarify some details which are only faintly visible and to supply those which are missing altogether; but we may nevertheless feel confident that the outlines that are there represent the basis of something significant. We shall start by looking at confession. This will involve returning to the work of Bartolomeo da San Concordio, a friar we met earlier in the discussion of the *Cronica*. In his *Summa de casibus*, we see how the friars could have thought about the effect of certain passions on communal and individual well-being from a standpoint that was both juridical and moral. The point here is about how a Paris-trained friar like Bartolomeo may have integrated parts of Thomas's doctrine of the passions into the community's *collationes*; regular exercises designed to train the brethren to become more effective confessors. It is a problem that involves a certain level of indeterminacy concerning Bartolomeo's aims: it is not clear that the *Summa de casibus* was necessarily a solution to problems constituted by *collationes* or other academic (or spiritual) exercises. The chapter's second part will introduce more familiar material. The handling of the passions in a plainly academic text will provide a way of gauging the impact that the institutional endorsement of Thomas's doctrine at the 1279 General Chapter may have had on (i) how the brethren at S. Caterina thought about emotion and (ii) the texts they used to do so. In Bartolomeo's *Compendium philosophiae moralis*, we see a fourteenth-century doctor of theology who was more than capable of thinking and writing about the passions in way that handled earlier accounts in a rational and astute way. It is significant that the text, and others like it, can be tied to the community at S. Caterina in the fourteenth century; it was evidently an environment conducive to this kind of work.

7.1 Handling confession

As this chapter is largely based on the work of Bartolomeo da San Concordio, it will not be out of place to begin with a few details about his life. He was born in 1262 in San Concordio on the outskirts of Pisa and belonged to the noble Granchi family.[3] At fifteen,

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[3] See C. Segre, 'Bartolomeo da San Concordio', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 6 (1964); accessed online, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/bartolomeo-da-san-concordio_(Dizionario-Biografico)/ E. Cristiani, *Nobiltà e popolo nel comune di Pisa* (Naples, 1962), p. 459. M. Ronzani, 'Granchi, Ranieri', *Dizionario Biografico degli*

or at the age of discretion, he entered the community of S. Caterina, where he completed his novitiate and began his intellectual formation. He showed enough promise to progress from the Roman Province to study at the order's *studia generalia*, first to Bologna and later to Paris, where he heard lectures from the order's regent masters of theology and bachelors of the *Sentences*.[4] It is not clear when Bartolomeo attended the *studia* at Paris and Bologna. We know that he was lecturing on logic at Anagni in the academic year 1291/92 and again at Todi in 1292/93. It is sometimes assumed he had already returned from St-Jacques when he took up these posts; but this is not certain.[5] The gap between his spell in Todi and his assignment to read the *Sentences* at the *studium particularis theologiae* at S. Maria sopra Minerva opens up other possibilities.[6] We know he later taught as lecturer at S. Maria Novella in Florence between 1297 and 1304, in Arezzo (1305-1306), Pistoia (1310-1311), and at the newly founded convent of S. Gimignano (1331-1333), where he also served as *praedicator in conventu*. He never taught as a bachelor or master at Paris; his entry in the *Cronica* suggests he placed the interests of his young confrères above his own academic advancement ('voluit semper futuros de utilibus informare'). The entry confirms that Bartolomeo also taught at S. Caterina; an aspect of his career absent from – or overlooked by – the surviving provincial *acta*.

In *English Friars and Antiquity*, Beryl Smalley identified a group of a group of seven fourteenth-century writers, all mendicants, who shared a 'classicising' instinct, which found an outlet in their sermons, preaching manuals and bible commentaries.[7] They knew and used books by other members of the group, and they tended to use the same classical sources in comparable ways. Their like-mindedness was acknowledged by outsiders. Short works by some members are found together in miscellanies, suggesting that a connection existed in the minds of copyists and book-makers. Smalley's discovery was made possible by a combination of meticulous scholarship and a profound capacity to

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Italiani 58 (2002); accessed online, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ranieri-granchi_(Dizionario_Biografico)/.

[4] *Cronica*, ed. Panella, § 180, 24ᵛ: 'Infra provinciam studiis perlustratis, Bononiam et Parisius peragravit, nunquam aliis nisi auditui et lectioni animum mancipavit.' See also, Étienne de Salagnac and Bernard Gui, *De quatuor in quibus Deus Praedicatorum ordinem insignivit*, ed. T. Kaeppeli, MOFPH 22 (Rome, 1949), p. 37.

[5] For example, C. F. Briggs, 'Moral Philosophy and Dominican Education: Bartolomeo da San Concordio's *Compendium moralis philosophiae*', in *Medieval Education*, ed. R. Begley (New York, 2005), p. 184; cf. M. Mulchahey, *Dominican Education before 1350*, p. 454.

[6] *Acta provinciae Romanae* (Pistoia, 1299), pp. 131-32.

[7] B. Smalley, *English Friars and Antiquity* (Oxford, 1960).

bring the friars' thought back to life. The way the book formed in her mind through her reading of bible commentaries by English friars who wanted to write about 'ancient gods and heroes instead of the bible' meant she omitted Italian friar doctors who shared some of their interests.[8]

In Pisa, Bartolomeo da San Concordio was another who managed to fit an interest in 'classics' into his normal school routine. The *Liber de documentis antiquorum*, which Bartolomeo later translated into the vernacular *Ammaestramenti degli antichi*, is a storehouse of teachings on the moral life, all picked from classical and Christian sources. He proceeded by introducing an edifying statement which he could reinforce with a chain of sayings from ancient authors.[9] Bartolomeo's set of quotations on 'memoria' drew the attention of Frances Yates: 'One gains the impression that this learned friar is close to the well-head of an enthusiasm for artificial memory which is spreading throughout the Dominican Order.' [10] For Yates, the fact of the vernacular translation of the *Liber de documentis* is an indication that 'artifical memory was coming out into the world' and that preachers in Pisa and elsewhere advocated mnemonic exercises to lay audiences as a useful form of devotional practice. We know that a strong memory was a quality prized by the friars. In the *Cronica*, the brethren at S. Caterina likened Bartolomeo's memory to the book cases in their library, which were carefully ordered and full of preachable knowledge.[11] Bartolomeo may have acquired his taste for the classics at Bologna or Paris.[12] An alternative is that it originated more locally. In reconstructing the market of ideas in Pisa, it is interesting to note the sheer weight of classical material included in separate donations by two different clerics to the community at S. Caterina at the end of

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[8] D. d'Avray, 'Another Friar and Antiquity', in *Religion and Humanism*, ed. K. Robbins, Studies in Church History 17 (Oxford, 1981), pp. 49-58.

[9] For an example, see Mulchahey, *Dominican Education before 1350*, pp. 456-57.

[10] F. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (London, 1966), pp. 86-90; see also, S. Vecchio, '*Quasi armarium scripturarum.* Bartolomeo da San Concordio come biblioteca vivente'. Paper presented at *Biblioteche, bibliotecari, committenti e spazi tra Medioevo e Età Moderna*, Gubbio, December 18-20, 2008. Accessed online: http://riviste.unimi.it/index.php/DoctorVirtualis/article/download/2175/2397.

[11] Cronica, ed. Panella, § 180, 24ᵛ: '…et ut ita loquar, esset eius memoria et intellectus quasi quoddam armarium scripturarum.' On the relevant customs and regulations, see K. W. Humphreys, *Book Provisions of the Mediaeval Friars* (Amsterdam, 1964), pp. 31-33.

[12] Nevertheless, it is important to point out that there may be important differences between Bartolomeo and Smalley's classicising friars, since the comparison is based on two very different genres. Biblical commentaries and florilegia have fundamentally different aims.

the thirteenth century.[13] Writing before 1323, Bartolomeo provided a moral view on the books that other Pisans were reading at the time, suggesting a level of interpenetration between the two thought-worlds.[14]

The *Summa de casibus conscientiae* dates to a later stage in Bartolomeo's career. It was written in 1338 after Bartolomeo had returned from San Gimignano; he had taught in the convents of the Roman Provence for almost fifty years. In the prologue Bartolomeo said his confrères had petitioned him to write a more accessible confessor's manual. Most legal compendia were arranged morally or by rubrics from canon law. Bartolomeo's was more innovative. He utilised the technology of alphabetization, which John of Freiburg had earlier deployed in the index to his own confessors' manual, the *Summa confessorum*.[15] His method was to introduce a relevant headword and then include under each relevant cases or questions from legal or moral tradition. In the opinion of the brethren at S. Caterina, there was not a more useful book of its type, and it served as the model for many similar works which followed. As a one-stop shop for canon law, cases, and moral theology, the difference which the *Summa de casibus* made to the working habits of friar-confessors must have been appreciable. Bartolomeo was moving among canonists, commentators, theologians and compilers.[16] We can know this relatively easily because the abbreviations for the doctors of the church whom Bartolomeo cited most frequently were listed in an alphabetized index; the level of correspondence between this index and the works of canon law grouped together in the *pecia* list for 1304 is a forceful

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[13] For a list of the works included in the donations, see N. Caturegli, 'Due biblioteche private in Pisa alla fine del secolo XIII', *BSP* 24/25 (1955-1956), pp. 22-90. The possibility that Bartolomeo was consulting copies of classical texts donated to the convent by Archpriest Jacobus and the canon Alessandro da San Germano may be worth investigating further. However, the task is huge and made difficult by loss and dispersion, as well as the scale of the donations. Jacobus's donation alone consisted of 162 different items.

[14] Kaeppeli does not provide a date for either the *Liber de documentis* or *Ammaestramenti*. *SOPMA*, I, p. 166-67; IV, pp. 43-44. In *The Art of Memory*, p. 87, Yates suggests a date of before 1323 for the *Ammaestramenti* on the basis that textual references to Thomas predate his canonisation. Kaeppeli uses the same method for the *Compendium moralis philosophiae*; cf. C. F. Briggs, 'Moral Philosophy and Moral Education', p. 192.

[15] P. Michaud-Quantin, *Sommes de casuistique et manuels de confession au moyen âge (XII-XVI siècles)*, AMN 13 (Louvain, 1962), p. 44-48; L. Boyle, 'The *Summa confessorum* of John of Freiburg and the Popularization of the Moral Teaching of St. Thomas and Some of His Contemporaries', reprinted in *Pastoral Care*, III (pp. 245-68).

[16] Bartolomeo da San Concordio, *Summa de casibus conscientiae*, ed. M. Crantz, M. Friburger (Paris, 1476), 253[r].

indication of the level of Bartolomeo's compendium.[17] If a reader was in a hurry, he could bypass this list in favour of the *Summa de casibus*. Bartolomeo had, in effect, introduced another labour-saving device into the friars' mental kitchen.

He was evidently one of the leading figures in the province, but it was through the *Summa de casibus* that he won fame throughout the order. In the *Cronica* it is claimed that the *Summa* – along with the *Pisanella*, its vernacular translation – was an indispensable tool for members of religious orders and secular clerics. The hundreds of extant manuscripts in the *Scriptores* show how it continued to circulate extremely widely throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. There is also manuscript evidence that the *Summa Pisana* was made available to readers at Paris by way of the *pecia* system.[18] Any preacher or secular cleric in Paris could obtain an exemplar from the stationers, one *pecia* at a time until he had his own complete copy. The work's presence in the collection of exemplars kept by the Paris stationers proves it was in demand and offers a very good indication of its influence, and might also explain how it disseminated so widely.

We can now turn to look at Bartolomeo's work more closely. A number of questions may be selected as typical of Bartolomeo's handling of the doctrine of the passions of the soul as it pertained to the needs of friars-preachers who were called upon to act as confessors. If we concentrate on the entries involving ambivalent concepts such as anger (*ira*), fear (*timor*) and envy (*invidia*) we see a number of structural features: an organising question, often quite brief and straightforward, heads the entry. We then have a reference to relevant passages of moral theology from the *secunda pars* of the *Summa theologiae*, which may include a number of relevant cases, passed down from earlier manuals compiled by friars such as Raymond of Peñafort and John of Freiburg. The questions are characterized by the kind of juridicized moral interest described by Pierre Michaud-Quantin and largely concern the importance of the individual's capacity to be able to resist or harness the motivational force of the passions.[19] Occasionally we see Bartolomeo addressing the ambivalence of emotion-words such as anger and fear by distinguishing between the definitions of the passions of the soul and those of the virtues and vices.

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[17] *CUP* II, 1, 642, p. 110.

[18] L.-J. Bataillon, 'Les textes théologiques et philosophiques diffuses à Paris par exemplar et pecia', in *La production du livre universitaire au moyen âge. Exemplar et pecia. Actes du symposium tenu au Collegio S. Bonaventura de Grottaferrata en mai 1983*, ed. L.-J. Bataillon, B. G. Guyot and R. H. Rouse (Paris, 1991), p. 158. See Chapter 4, n. 61.

[19] P. Michaud-Quantin, *Sommes de casuistique,* p. 40.

It is potentially significant that rather than using the *Scriptum*, Bartolomeo turned to the *Summa theologiae*. In 1279, in the aftermath of the 1277 condemnation, the order's diffinitors commanded provincial and conventual priors to honour Thomas and his writings.[20] Later on friars started to observe doctrinal differences between the *Summa* and the *Scriptum*, and collected them into useful reference tools for students and teachers who used both works on a regular basis. In cases of inconsistency, the reader was instructed to follow the doctrine of the *Summa* over the *Scriptum*, since it represented Thomas's mature thought.[21] Evidence that both books were at the elbows of lecturers in the Roman Province at the start of the fourteenth century is found in the *Liber privilegiorum provincie Romane ordinis Predicatorum*, the contents of which have recently been studied by Emilio Panella and Simon Tugwell. The province kept a record of the books it owned and the lecturers who borrowed them.[22] To modern eyes, it looks like evidence of a provincial lending library designed to ensure that lecturers had copies of the books they would need for teaching. In this way the *Sentences*, the *Scriptum* and the *Summa theologiae* could be said to constitute the core – and perhaps the scope – of theological knowledge at a provincial level. By integrating large sections of the *secunda pars* into his *Summa de casibus*, Bartolomeo conformed to the canon; a command of which pointed to institutional competence and, ultimately, the continuation of a particular view of the order's vocation. There were other works of moral theology in the library of S. Caterina, but the *Summa theologiae* was the one best suited to the needs and interests of those who would consult Bartolomeo's alphabetized confessors' manual.

Arriving at Bartolomeo's summary of useful points for confessors on dealing with anger, we find a relatively brief entry of a little more than one hundred and fifty words in

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[20] *Acta I* (Paris, 1279), ed. Reichert, p. 204: 'Cum venerabilis vir memorie recolende fr. Thomas de Aquino, sua conversacione laudabili et scriptis suis multum honoraverit ordinem, nec sit aliquatenus tolerandum, quod de ipso vel scriptis eius aliqui irreverenter et indecenter loquantur, etiam aliter sencientes, iniungimus prioribus provincialibus et conventualibus et eorum vicariis ac visitatoribus universis quod si quos invenerint excedentes in predictis punire acriter non postponant.' On the condemnation of 1277, R. Hissette, *Enquête sur les 219 articles condamnés à Paris le 7 Mars 1277*, Philosophes Médiévaux 22 (Louvain and Paris, 1977); also, R. Dales, *The Problem of the Rational Soul in the Thirteenth Century* (Leiden, 1995), pp. 181-82.

[21] R. A. Gauthier, 'Les "Articuli in quibus frater Thomas melius in Summa quam in Scriptis"', *RTAM* 19 (1952), pp. 270-326; also, Mulchahey, *Dominican Education before 1350*, pp. 163-65.

[22] E. Panella, 'Libri della provincia Romana dei Predicatori ad uso dei frati (secoli XIII-XV)', in *Libri, lettori e biblioteche dell'Italia medievale (secolo IX-XV)*, ed. G. Lombardi (Rome, 2001), pp. 290-91.

length, in which he took as his starting point the question of whether or not anger was a mortal sin:

> According to Thomas's *secunda secundae*, question 158, the movement of anger can be disordered in two ways.[23] In one way, on the part of what is desired, as when someone desires unjust revenge; and thus anger is a mortal sin by its genus, because it is contrary to charity and justice. Yet it may happen that such an appetite is a venial sin through the imperfection of the act. This imperfection is related either to the subject who is desiring, as when the movement of anger forestalls the judgement of reason; or on the part of what is desired, as when one desires to be avenged for some small reason which is to be regarded as virtually nothing, so that even if the act were carried out, it would not be a mortal sin; suppose, for instance, that someone pulls some child a little bit by the hair, or something similar. In another way, the movement of anger may be disordered through the mode of being angry, for instance if someone burns inside himself with too much anger or if someone outwardly manifests excessive signs of anger. In this way anger is not a mortal sin by the fact of its genus. However, it can sometimes be a mortal sin, as when from the sheer vehemence of anger a man falls away from the love of God and his neighbour.[24]

What are we, as hardworking *fratres communes*, meant to do with this information? It has been arranged quite simply and it was short enough to be memorised easily: 'Those things

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[23] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, qu. 158, art. 1.

[24] Bartolomeo da San Concordio, *Summa de casibus conscientiae*, ed. M. Crantz, M. Friburger (Paris, 1476), 117ʳ, 'Ira. Utrum sit peccatum mortale. Respondeo secundum Thomam secunda secundae quaestio clviii, motus ire potest esse inordinatus dupliciter. Unomodo ex parte appetibilis, utpote cum aliquis appetit iniustam vindictam. Et sic ex genere suo ira est peccatum mortale, quia contrariatur caritati et iustitiae. Potest tamen contingere quod talis appetitus sit peccatum veniale propter imperfectionem actus. Quae quidem imperfectio attenditur vel ex parte appetentis, puta cum motus ire praevenit iudicium rationis, vel etiam ex parte appetibilis, puta cum aliquis appetit in aliquo modico se vindicare, quod quasi nihil est reputandum, ita quod etiam si actu inferatur, non esset peccatum mortale; puta si aliquis parum trahat aliquem puerum per capilos, vel aliquid huiusmodi. Alio modo potest esse motus irae inordinatus quantum ad modum irascendi, utpote si nimis ardenter irascatur interius, vel si nimis exterius manifestet signa irae. Et sic ira secundum se non habet ex suo genere rationem peccati mortalis. Potest tamen contingere quod sit peccatum mortale, puta si ex vehementia irae aliquis excidat a dilectione Dei et proximi.'

are more easily remembered which are well ordered, and those things which are badly ordered we do not easily remember.'[25] The contents can be rendered into the type of dialogue which may have taken place between a friar from S. Caterina and an intemperate penitent from the Mezzo. 'You were angry. Can you explain what made you angry? Can you describe how you acted? How did you behave?' In the space of a few targeted questions the friar could ascertain the object and mode of the penitent's anger. With this information he could determine whether he was dealing with a mortal or a venial sin and respond appropriately. As part of this, he would need to consider whether anger only occurred in the sensitive appetite, that is to say, he had to figure out whether it was simply a passion of the soul.

In cases of the passions and their sinfulness, then, Bartolomeo was concerned to put across a rationally selected sample of the mass of material which Thomas covered in the *Summa theologiae*. A sense of Bartolomeo's needs and the expectations he faced emerges from what he cut or shortened, and also in what he emphasised. In his discussion of the sinfulness of fear (*timor*), Bartolomeo followed the same method, continuing to select and copy from the *secunda pars*. In this particular case, there is no reason to suspect that he had any other book in front of him. The headings follow those used by Thomas in the *Summa theologiae*. Is fear a sin? Does fear excuse sin? Is it a sin to be fearless?[26] The following questions and cases are those which Bartolomeo judged to be most useful for handling fearful penitents:

> *Timor utrum sit peccatum?*[27] I answer according to Thomas's 2a2ae, question 125:
> Fear is a sin in the sense that it is disordered, in as much as it avoids that which,
> rationally speaking, ought not to be avoided. However, sometimes this disorderly
> fear is located only in the sensitive appetite, and does not involve the consent of
> the rational appetite. In this sense, it cannot be a mortal sin, but only venial. But
> sometimes this kind of disorderly fear pertains also to the rational appetite, called
> the will, which avoids by free will anything which is not in accordance with
> reason. This sort of disorderly fear is sometimes a mortal sin, sometimes venial. If,
> for example, a man, fleeing from the risk of death, or some other earthly evil, is

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[25] Bartolomeo da San Concordio, *Ammaestramenti degli antichi*, IX. viii; cited in F. Yates, *The Art of Memory*, p. 87.

[26] Bartolomeo da San Concordio, *Summa de casibus* (Paris, 1476), 232ʳ.

[27] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, 2a2ae, qu. 125, art. 1.

disposed to do something that is prohibited, or to abandon something which is prescribed by divine law, such fear is a mortal sin; otherwise it is venial.

Utrum aliquis timor excuset a peccato?[28] I answer according to Thomas, where above mentioned: As said earlier, fear has the character of sin to the extent that it is contrary to the order of reason. However, reason judges that some evils ought to be avoided more than others. For example, the death of the body matters more than the loss of possessions. So if someone, for fear of death, makes a promise or offers a gift to thieves, he is excused from the sin he would incur were he to give away money to sinners without a legitimate reason. If someone incurs evils of the soul (i.e. sins) while avoiding bodily evils, such as physical harm or death, or external evils, such as the loss of money, he is not totally free of sin. Nevertheless, to some extent his sin is diminished because what is done out of fear is done less voluntarily; for there is some necessity to act under fear. Thus Aristotle says that in this way such acts which are composed of fear are not simply voluntary, but a mixture between voluntary and involuntary.[29]

Sed utrum intimiditas sit peccatum?[30] I answer according to Thomas, 2a2ae, question 126: Fearlessness can take hold of someone in three ways. First, if someone fears death or other earthly evils less than he ought to, because he loves their contraries less than he should. But the lack of fear cannot be explained only by the absence of love. Second, fearlessness can arise when someone judges that the evils opposed to the goods that he loves cannot overcome him. This sometimes arises from pride of mind, which is presumptuous of itself and contemptuous of others; thus, according to Job (41, 24), *He feared no one. His gaze was on high.* Third, it can arise from a lack of reason, as Aristotle says of Celts[31] who fear nothing because they are simple.[32] So it is clear that to be completely fearless is morally vicious, whether caused by a defect of love, the elation of the mind, or

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[28] Ibid., 2a2ae, qu. 125, art. 4.
[29] *Ethics*, III. 1. 1110a11.
[30] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, 2a2ae, qu. 126, art. 1.
[31] The 1476 Paris edition has 'certe' for Aristotle's 'Celte', probably a scribal or printer's error.
[32] *Ethics*, III. 7. 1115b27.

from insensibility; but insensibility is excused from sin if it is entirely invincible ('…quae tamen stoliditas excusat a peccato si omnino sit inuincibilis').

The last sentence could have brought a sardonic smile to the face of a Pisan *frater communis*, who may have known lots of headstrong men whose fearlessness was based on an unswerving sense of their own invulnerability.

By now Bartolomeo's method for addressing negative emotions is clear. Rather than selecting from a variety of sources, he was quoting exclusively from Thomas's *Summa theologiae*; he was not making any effort to say something new or original about the morality of the passions. In *this context*, the usefulness of his compilation to his confrères lay in what he was attempting to do with material that was already widely available. 'A sermon collection by an obscure or anonymous author or compiler is important mainly because of its influence.'[33] D'Avray's proposition was part of a larger analysis of the methodological problems presented by the diffusion of sermons and sermon collections from Paris on a mass scale by means of the *pecia* system. It could, with a small qualification, be applied to Bartolomeo's *Summa de casibus* and other confessors' manuals produced by Dominican friars in the fourteenth century, which were heavily based on the doctrine of Thomas Aquinas.

There are, of course, many different ways of interpreting the influence of confessors' manuals.[34] In this particular case, we need to find a way of distinguishing between the practical influence of Bartolomeo's *Summa de casibus* and Thomas Aquinas's *Summa theologiae*. What did Bartolomeo think he could achieve by including long quotations from Thomas's *Summa* in his compilation for confessors? If the material was more or less identical, what could the *Summa de casibus* do that the *Summa theologiae* could not? The problem is difficult and it would be wise to avoid invoking modern theory just for the sake of trying to engage with recent philosophical debates (e.g. on use theory). In the case

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[33] D. d'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars*, p. 274.

[34] For example, T. Tentler, 'The *Summa* for Confessors as an Instrument of Social Control', in *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion*, ed. C. E. Trinkaus and H. A. Oberman (Leiden, 1974), pp. 103-37; in the same volume, L. E. Boyle, 'The *Summa* for Confessors as a Genre, and its Religious Intent', pp. 126-30; J. Bossy, 'Moral Arithmetic: Seven Deadly Sins into Ten Commandments', in *Conscience and Casuistry in Early Modern Europe*, ed. E. Leites (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 214-34; P. J. Payer, *Sex and the New Medieval Literature of Confession, 1150-1300* (Toronto, 2009). For a summary, see P. Biller, 'Confession in the Middle Ages: Introduction', in *Handling Sin: Confession in the Middle Ages*, ed. P. Biller and A. J. Minnis, (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 3-33.

of a friar-confessor tasked with determining the penance of a penitent who was guilty of sin, his advice, which may have been based on precepts found in Bartolomeo da San Concordio's selection from the *secunda pars* and similar manuals, had the potential to alter the world of the confessing subject. If a friar, for example, judged that a merchant was guilty of fearlessness *ex elatione animi* and needed to perform penance as a result, the merchant's life might be altered to fit the content of Bartolomeo's tool for confessors.[35] Whether it would have made any difference to how the penitent thought about emotion or how he acted in the future is a separate question.

We have seen that Frances Yates had the impression that Bartolomeo was close to a source of enthusiasm for artificial memory, which may have spread to a wider audience through texts such as the *Ammaestramenti*. What, if anything, can we find woven into the fabric of Bartolomeo's description of fear to interest us? Most obviously, perhaps, if thinking about the developments in philosophical psychology which took place in the thirteenth century, our eyes are drawn to the distinction between fear as a venial and a mortal sin: if fear is confined to the sensitive appetite and does not involve the consent of reason, it cannot be a mortal sin, only venial. 'You were afraid? What were you afraid of? Why were you afraid of marriage if it is not something that, rationally speaking, ought to be avoided?'

So what are we, as historians, able to make of this information? It may be possible to venture a tentative hypothesis. As a first step, we might propose that confessors' manuals allow us to think about the place of emotion in social life as perceived by the friars-preacher in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century. From this it might be possible to work out certain cultural meanings of emotion-words by reference to the routine categories of the friars' thought. Furthermore, with an understanding of the friars' theological texts and the conditions in which they were produced, we can locate their thought about aspects of human nature both in specific debates and in the 'wide sea of institutional reality' in which they moved. To see the extent to which the friars' everyday language derived from their immersion in academic life, we can look up one final example, which may have been especially relevant in a competitive urban society where fortunes could be won and lost through commerce and maritime trade. In Bartolomeo's questions on envy (*invidia*), we find a reference to the treatment of the passions in the *Rhetoric*, another Aristotelian text which Proino left at the disposal of his confrères:

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[35] See J. R. Searle, *Intentionality: An Essay in the Philosophy of Mind* (Cambridge, 1983).

Utrum inuidia sit tristitia de alieno bono? I answer according to Thomas, 2a2ae, question 26: Envy can be sadness about another's good in two ways. First, when a man is sad about the good of his enemy for fear that it should bring him some harm. This kind of sadness is not envy but more an effect of fear, as the Philosopher says.[36] In another way, a man may judge another's good as causing the lessening of his glory and excellence. It is in this way that envy is sadness over another's good. Thus men are particularly envious of those goods that appear to involve glory, and which bring honour and esteem, as the Philosopher says in the second book of the *Rhetoric*.[37]

Utrum invidia sit peccatum? I answer according to Thomas, where above mentioned: Envy is properly the sadness of another's good insofar as it exceeds our own. This is always sinful, as the Philosopher says in the second book of the *Rhetoric*, because he grieves about something which should make him rejoice. However, if we are saddened by a neighbour's good not because he has it, but because we will not, this is zeal, not envy.

Utrum invidia sit peccatum mortale? I answer according to Thomas, 2a2ae, question 26: According to its genus, envy is a mortal sin because it is contrary to charity, which rejoices in a neighbour's good. If however it is imperfect envy, that is, by the movement of sensuality alone, this is a venial sin.

This was the equipment which, when paired with discretion, enabled a friar-confessor to douse burning jealousies. The social landscape in which the friars operated would surely have been riven by such feelings, which testified to an individual's interests and those of the *consorteria* to which he belonged.[38] In any profession there is generally a minimum level of expertise which it is expected practitioners will possess, and without which their claims to membership are less than secure. Here, then, we have a series of moral-theological questions which a friar-preacher had to learn and know how to apply. It is

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[36] Aristotle, *Rhetoric* II, 10. 1386b22.
[37] Ibid.II., 10. 1387b35.
[38] On the interests of the Alighieri, for example, in Prato and Florence, J. Catto, 'Florence, Tuscany, and the World of Dante', in *The World of Dante: Essays on Dante and his Times*, ed. C. Grayson (Oxford, 1980), pp. 7-8.

possible Bartolomeo's sense of which passages were most useful to the needs of the friars would have derived from years of experience as a teacher and through his participation in regular *collationes*, where the community could have discussed such questions together, selecting the most useful passages from Raymond of Peñafort's *Summa de casibus* and Thomas's *secunda pars* as a guide. We can imagine how younger friars might have looked up to Bartolomeo and tried to follow his example by planting this material deep in their memory to be harvested later in the preparation of sermons and handling of confession.

7.2 Education and the passions

Before Bartolomeo produced the *Summa de casibus*, he and the other brethren at S. Caterina had commissioned Lippo Memmi to produce a panel to mark the canonisation of Thomas Aquinas in 1323.[39] The picture, which is still kept at S. Caterina, offers an insight into the preachers' occupational interests and values. Thomas is presented in a way that is recognisably Dominican. Rather than martyrdom or the narration of a miracle, the panel shows a spiritual and theological impresario. In her recent study, Joanna Cannon observes that its location within the choir, to the east of the screen that divided lay and religious parts of the church, suggests it was originally intended for the friars themselves. Lippo Memmi used a number of devices to make the picture more memorable and arouse appropriate feeling, thereby helping to convey a particular message and meet the expectations of the brethren at S. Caterina. One of these devices, since it involves the conspicuous placing of texts, was clearly attuned to the mental habits and interests of the friars. Thomas occupies the centre of the painting, flanked on either side by Plato and Aristotle, and directly above Averroes, who sits defeated, with a text face down by his side. There are a number of books arranged on Thomas's lap, and he holds open a copy of the *Summa contra gentiles*. The picture is an unambiguous statement of Thomas's theological achievement, which suggests the value of texts as a vehicle for theological inspiration.

A further element completes the scene. At Thomas's feet, either side of Averroes, we have an audience comprised of his confrères, members of other religious orders, the secular clergy and, notably, laymen, reinforcing the ultimate end of study and evoking

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[39] J. Canon, *Religious Poverty, Visual Riches*, pp. 148-50.

Thomas's own comments about the need to make the fruits of contemplation available to others (*contemplata aliis tradere*).[40] However, from our point of view, there is one other detail which is perhaps of even greater interest. Of the four books on Thomas's lap, one contains the first verse of Genesis, while two others are written in a non-Latin script, either Greek or Hebrew. The fourth shows an incipit from one of the order's principal theological textbooks. Instead of the *Summa theologiae* or the *Scriptum*, Lippo Memmi included the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard.

The panel was a clear and intelligible way of commemorating Thomas's achievement, but the same end could also be achieved by integrating his doctrine into the community's academic exercises. We know that Thomas's theological work was officially endorsed and widely circulated, and also that there is evidence of its influence at a local level in sermons, legislation and popular *instruments de travail*. There are, however, fewer traces of how it was integrated into the daily academic exercises. The fact that there is not much direct evidence which survives is a reflection of the routine and oral nature of the exercises themselves. Moreover, a conventual lecturer had little reason to commit his thoughts to writing when he and his confrères could draw on authoritative works by masters of theology with greater credentials.

Nevertheless there are some notable exceptions. At an earlier point in this thesis, I referred to Giovanni Balbi's *Catholicon* to suggest the possibility that the integration of Thomas's *Scriptum* may have been a routine feature of academic life at the convent of S. Domenico in Genoa by the 1280s. A close study of Balbi's earlier *Dialogus de quaestionibus animae ad spiritum* could help to shore up the hypothesis and bring the date forward. There are other texts which also seem to be products of a local setting. For example, Michèle Mulchahey is currently working on a critical edition of Remigio de' Girolami's *Sermones prologales*.[41] A collection of introductory lectures to different texts, including the Pauline epistles, Aristotle's *Ethics* and the *Sentences*, they have often been catalogued, but rarely studied in any detail. Mulchahey suggests they provide evidence of Remigio's regular teaching, both theological and philosophical, and may show the outline of the curriculum at one of the first convents in the Roman Province to be assigned a

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[40] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, 2a2ae, qu. 188, art. 7.
[41] M. Mulchahey, *Dante's Florence: Remigio de' Girolami and the Schools of Santa Maria Novella* (Leiden, forthcoming).

special study-house for theology (*studium theologie*).[42] Other possible examples of 'classroom texts' include Bernard of La Treille's commentary on the *Spera* of John of Sacrobosco.[43] A commentary on a popular astronomical textbook, the work may have been based on lectures that Bernard delivered at a convent in Provence early in his career. It is worth pointing out that the production of such texts was not a practice unique to the Order of Preachers. Bert Roest has done much to draw attention to the value of comparable texts produced in a Franciscan setting.[44] There are undoubtedly more to be identified, but the real difficulty is finding texts which can repay the difficult and time-consuming palaeographical and codicological work required.

This brings us to the second reason why such texts remain relatively obscure. There is a perception, which may or may not accurate, that they are generally unoriginal. It is apparent from looking at the *Summa de casibus* that the friars' compilations and classroom texts cannot always justify close reading. This, in a sense, may be the outcome of a deliberate strategy, since for the most part they were designed to facilitate quick and easy use; they were meant to make relevant information readily available. Their characteristics present different opportunities and other problems to solve. They may, with careful interpretation, enable us to observe regional differences, the introduction of new authorities and changing attitudes towards old ones. In short, they could help us understand the relations between forms of academic thought and local methods of teaching.

There are a number of texts connected to the community at S. Caterina which might fall into this category. Charles Briggs, for example, has recently drawn attention to the value of the little studied *Compendium moralis philosophiae*, an early work by Bartolomeo da San Concordio, suggesting that it 'may bring us closer to the way moral philosophy was taught in the Dominican *studia* of the early fourteenth century.'[45] He identifies three Italian manuscripts which all attribute the work to Bartolomeo, suggesting

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[42] M. Mulchahey, 'Education in Dante's Florence Revisited: Remigio de' Girolami and the School of Santa Maria Novella', in *Medieval Education*, ed. R. Begley (New York, 2005), pp. 143-80; *Acta provinciae Romanae* (Florence, 1281), p. 56: 'Adsignamus studium theologie Luce, Florentie, Senis et Neapoli.'

[43] For a Latin edition and English translation, see L. Thorndike, *The Sphere of Sacrobosco and Its Commentators* (Chicago, 1949); see also, P. Duhem, *Le système du monde: histoire des doctrines cosmologiques de Platon à Copernic*, vol. III (Paris, 1915), pp. 363-83. *SOPMA*, I, pp. 234-37.

[44] See B. Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education (c. 1210-1517)* (Leiden, 2000) ; also, idem, *Franciscan Religious Instruction before the Council of Trent* (Leiden, 2004).

[45] C. F. Briggs, 'Moral Philosophy and Dominican Education', p. 185.

the case for his authorship is strong. Taking the general chapter's decision to integrate moral philosophy into the curriculum of *studia theologie* as his starting point and using Kaeppeli's *terminus ante quem*, he proposes a date of between 1314 and 1323.[46] There may be strong grounds for suggesting the work was written before 1323, but the first point is less clear given that Remigio de' Girolami's *Prologus super librum Ethicorum* may predate the decision of the general chapter. The evidence for the text's diffusion compared to the later *Summa de casibus* is instructive. In the *Scriptores*, Kaeppeli lists eight surviving manuscripts, to which Briggs adds a further three. [47] Of these eleven extant manuscripts, there are no English copies, and their distribution suggests the work was most popular in France and Italy. In what follows I offer an incomplete picture based on the summary of the *Compendium* provided by Briggs. The few facts currently available are enough to suggest the need for further work.

First, we need to ask ourselves what Bartolomeo was doing in the *Compendium*, and how the method differed from the *Summa de casibus*. If our assumptions about the text's origins are correct, we are dealing with two different authorial tasks: in the *Summa de casibus* Bartolomeo acted as a builder or compiler; while in the *Compendium* he performed the role of a lecturer or teacher. As a compiler Bartolomeo gathered relevant material systematically and arranged it alphabetically. But as a lecturer, he 'read' and abridged a text to illustrate its meaning. In the *Summa de casibus* he collected from numerous authorities, but in the *Compendium* he selected only a single text to use as a vehicle for conveying important points. Insofar as he provided an accessible précis of another, more difficult work, his method was typical. In an explanatory passage in the prologue Bartolomeo identified the text as 'a certain book called the *De regimine principum*'. The title was a common one, which could have brought to mind works by Thomas Aquinas or Ptolemy of Lucca, but Bartolomeo was talking about the treatise on the rule of princes by the Augustinian Giles of Rome (or Egidio Colonna).

Giles was related, how is less than clear, to one of the most powerful of Rome's noble families.[48] He possibly studied under Thomas Aquinas at Paris between 1269 and 1271, and subsequently lectured on the *Sentences* as a bachelor. The contents of his commentary attracted official censure in 1277, slowing his academic progress. He only

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[46] Ibid., p. 192.
[47] Ibid., p. 185.
[48] C. F. Briggs, *Giles of Rome's "De regimine principum": Reading and Writing Politics at Court and University, c. 1275 – c. 1525* (Cambridge, 1999).

incepted as master of theology in 1285. His influence on the organisation of studies in his own order was sizeable.[49] In 1292, around the time that Bartolomeo was beginning his teaching career at the *studia naturarum* at Anagni and Todi, Giles of Rome was elected Prior General of the Order of the Hermits of St. Augustine. The *De regimine principum* was dedicated to Philip, heir to the Capetian throne, whom Giles addressed as his 'special lord'. Giles may have acted as Philip's tutor, and he later addressed works to other young noblemen. His distinction of mind and achievement marked him out from his contemporaries; even prompting one to observe that 'he is reputed to be the best in town on everything'.[50] By reading Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum* at S. Caterina, Bartolomeo introduced his students to the moral-philosophical thought of a leading Parisian theologian with real political and intellectual clout.

However, the feeling that Bartolomeo's choice of textbook was somehow out of the ordinary must be put into context. The first thing to note is that the work circulated widely and was popular in different contexts. It is estimated there are close to 300 Latin manuscripts that survive. Its inclusion in the Paris stationers' list, and manuscript evidence of its diffusion by *pecia*, provides an indication of its status as a university-level text, which must have helped its diffusion.[51] By 1282, at the request of Philip III, the canon Henri de Gauchy had produced a French translation. Half a decade later de Gauchy's translation received an Italian translation. The speed of the work's translation suggests its popularity and influence among an educated lay audience.[52] The existence of numerous Latin manuscripts written by Italian hands shows how the work was read and copied on the Italian peninsula in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, and suggests it achieved some popularity.[53] It was most probably read by priests and educated laymen.

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[49] G. Pini, 'Building the Augustinian Identity: Giles of Rome as Master of the Order', in *Philosophy and theology in the studia of the religious orders and at papal and royal courts: acts of the XVth annual colloquium of the Société Internationale pour l'Étude de la Philosophie Médiévale, University of Notre Dame, 8 - 10 October 2008*, ed. K. Emery Jr (Turnhout, 2012), pp. 409-426; cf., in the same volume, R. L. Friedman, 'How "Aegidian" Were Later Augustinian Hermits Regarding Intellectual Cognition? Gerard of Siena, Michael of Massa and the Object of the Intellect', pp. 427-78.

[50] Biller, *Measure of Multitude*, p. 344 (n. 47).

[51] *CUP* II, 111. The details are listed under the heading 'Opera fratris Egidii super philosophiam'. There is also a separate list of Giles's theological works (108-9).

[52] C. F. Briggs, *Giles of Rome's "De regimine principum": Reading and Writing Politics at Court and University, c. 1275 – c. 1525* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 13.

[53] For a catalogue of manuscripts in Italian libraries produced by the editors of the *Aegidii Romani Opera Omnia*, see F. Del Punta and C. Luna, *Aegidii Romani Opera Omnia: I.*

Was Bartolomeo responding to this popularity? There may have been clear practical and pastoral reasons to do so, since he would have helped his students to become familiar with a popular and relevant text.

We ought briefly to consider the challenges of the *De regimine principum* for a student friar at S. Caterina who was listening to lectures on moral philosophy. The *De regimine* provided evidence of Giles's exposure to Aristotelian thought. It is generally recognised as an extensive work, which incorporated insights from the *Politics*, *Ethics* and *Rhetoric*, as well as numerous other sources useful for a comprehensive moral philosophy.[54] In this way, it was an account that reflected the shape and preoccupations of moral science at Paris at the end of the thirteenth century. Its three books address questions relating to individual conduct (book 1), the rule of the family and household (book 2), and the political rule of the city and kingdom (book 3). Each book was divided into numerous chapters, covering an enormous range of material. The liveliness with which Giles conveyed this information suggests the work was meant to be more engaging than sparser collections of *sententiae*. The *De regimine* was also relatively long; Briggs compares the length of Giles's text to contemporary equivalents, which rarely came close to matching its 155,000 words.

However, in addition to its length and sophisticated content, the *De regimine* may have presented another challenge for a Dominican lecturer and his students. The work was designed to form opinion, but not of students in the Order of Preachers. Peter Biller observes that in its handling of its Aristotelian sources, it is marked by an 'unremitting concern to adapt this material to the exigences of ruling and royal houses'; by constantly seeking to apply Aristotle's ideas to kings and princes, Giles underlined the particular relevance of more general points.[55] Unlike some other works in the library at S. Caterina, the *De regimine principum* had not been tailored to the specific needs of a Dominican *frater communis*.

Faced with these challenges Bartolomeo's pedagogical strategy seems to have been to expand certain parts of Giles's text and to compress others. What did this amount to in practice? Briggs picks up on a number of solutions which Bartolomeo applied throughout the *Compendium*. For example, where Giles covered a lot of useful ground in a single

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Catalogo dei manoscritti (1001-1075), 1/3*: "De regimine principum": Città del Vaticano – Italia* (Florence, 1993).
[54] Briggs, *Giles of Rome's "De regimine principum"*, p. 11 (n. 7).
[55] P. Biller, *Measure of Multitude*, p. 344.

chapter, Bartolomeo sometimes broke it up into smaller points that were easier to follow. Thus Bartolomeo divided Giles's chapter on fortitude, placing the discussion of those who are too fearful or too bold, the dangers of war, and 'why it is harder to sustain an attack than to be an attacker' under separate headings.[56] He also sometimes chose to condense several long chapters into one short one.[57] Or, if he thought it necessary, he could adopt a third solution by dropping entire parts of the *De regimine* without engaging in any direct consideration of their contents. This, it is worth pointing out, is what Bartolomeo did with book 1, parts 2 and 3 of the *De regimine*, where Giles treated the virtues and vices and the passions of the soul.[58]

It is not clear why Bartolomeo omitted Giles's discussion of the passions. On a first reading it seems extraordinarily rich. Located in book 1, part 3, it runs to eleven chapters, addressing the passions in considerable depth, clearly coloured by Giles's familiarity with Aristotle's *Ethics* and *Rhetoric*, and influenced by the earlier theory put forward by Thomas Aquinas.[59] Although the discussion stemmed from a concern to adapt this material to the needs of a royal or noble reader, it is apparent that the arguments form a coherent doctrine. Giles identified twelve basic passions, subsequently dividing them into pairs of contraries and locating them in either the concupiscible or irascible power, before going on to discuss their implications for kings and princes.[60] 'However, because the passions vary our rule and life, it is for this reason necessary show how we ought to have them.'[61] Chapters 3 to 8 address Giles's six contrary pairs in turn, starting with how kings and princes ought to love and hate, and ending with a discussion of their delights and sorrows. At times, in its enumeration of the different passions, their location in the concupiscible and irascible powers and their respective contraries, the chapters feel like a less abstract, more concrete version of the thought in Thomas Aquinas's *Scriptum*.

But in other places, he modified Thomas's division. In the last chapter we saw how, in Thomas's division of the irascible power, anger did not have an opposite. In Giles's

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[56] Giles of Rome, *De regimine principum*, II.ii.xii, ed. H. Samaritanius (Rome, 1607), pp. 82-86.

[57] Ibid., I.iv.i, p. 189.

[58] Briggs, ''Moral Philosophy and Dominican Education', p. 190.

[59] C. Marmo, '"Hoc autem etsi potest tollerari...". Egidio Romano e Tommaso d'Aquino sulle passioni dell'anima', *Documenti e studi sulla tradizione filosofica medievale* 2 (1991), pp. 281-315.

[60] Giles of Rome, *De regimine principium*, I.iii.i-xi, pp. 153-87.

[61] Ibid., p. 159: 'Passiones autem quia diuersificant regnum et vitam nostram, ideo necessarium est ostendere quomodo nos habere debeamus ad illas.'

treatment in the *De regimine*, perhaps owing to structural considerations or the implications he sought to convey, he paired anger with mildness or gentleness (*mansuetudo*).[62] It could be argued that such adaptation suggests Giles's intellectual independence from Thomas; but this position risks misrepresenting the degree of like-mindedness between the two men.

Bartolomeo's comments in other parts of the *Compendium* show he knew and engaged with both Thomas's and Giles's work on the passions of the soul. In his discussion of anger, he informed his reader: 'Here Thomas disagrees with Giles on two points: first, because Giles says there are six irascible passions, whereas Thomas says there are only five, not counting among them mildness; second because Giles says in this chapter that anger and mildness are opposites but Thomas, that nothing of anger properly speaking is contrary.'[63] Briggs suggests that this is Bartolomeo siding with Thomas. This is possible, but it is not clear in the passage that he quotes. Informing students of the similarities and differences between authoritative positions could have been an important part of a lecturer's job in the early fourteenth century. It might be enough for the time being simply to suggest that his comments indicate a reasonably high level of familiarity. The difference between Thomas's and Giles's treatment of the irascible passions was something that Bartolomeo knew and which he passed on to his students.

7.3 Beatrice's vernacular Aristotelianism

Since the starting point for this study was a sense that local conditions have important consequences for general thought about emotion, it might be appropriate to end the last chapter with a few real-life examples from the preaching of a Pisan friar. The evidence of Giordano da Pisa's preaching consists of about 700 vernacular sermons, which he delivered to lay audiences at various locations across Florence. From our point of view, they are interesting for specific details they contain about the lives of ordinary people, and, more generally, for what they suggest about the mental climate in Florence and how ideas percolated via the intellectual activity of the friars-preacher.

Carlo Delcorno has highlighted the innovative way in which Giordano introduced illustrative *exempla* into his sermons, which, he suggests anticipated the emergence of the

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[62] Ibid., pp. 171-75.

[63] Briggs, 'Moral Philosophy and Dominican Education', p. 191.

novella.[64] One problem frequently raised in discussions of the illustrative examples used by preachers in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries concerns the difficulty of finding a precise definition.[65] For his repertory of Giordano's *exempla*, Delcorno employed the typology first introduced by Jean-Thiébaut Welter, which differentiates between pious stories, episodes from historic and classical tradition, accounts of miracles, personal anecdotes and scenes from everyday life.[66] In the most comprehensive study of this 'genre', Jacques Le Goff proposed a tentative definition, which identified the *exemplum* as 'a brief story presented as true and destined to be inserted into a discourse (generally a sermon) in order to convince a listener through a salutary lesson' ('un récit bref donné comme veridique et destiné à ètre inseré dans un discours (en general un sermon) pour convaincre un auditoire par une leçon salutaire'); although this definition has not met with universal approval.[67] By the middle of the thirteenth century, demand for such stories among preachers had led to the development of the genre of *exemplum* collections, which sought to put a selection of preachable materials in an intelligible order. For example, a part of one of the earliest of these collections, the Lyons Dominican Stephen of Bourbon's *Tractatus de diversis materiis predicabilibus*, was structured around the various divisions of the gift of fear, with each type accommodating different kinds of illustrative material.[68] This collection, containing numerous similitudes and stories, is enormously rich, and has sustained various interpretations, including Jean-Claude Schmitt's famous use of a single anecdote to demonstrate the interaction between learned and folkloric culture in the small village of Dombes to the north of Lyons.[69] However, in the brief discussion that follows, Giordano's illustrative *exempla* are addressed simply as attempts to express ideas in a vivid and memorable way.

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[64] C. Delcorno, *Giordano da Pisa e l'antica predicazione volgare* (Florence, 1975), pp. 222-237.

[65] *L''exemplum'*, ed. C. Bremond, J. Le Goff, J.-C. Schmitt, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental 40 (Turnhout, 1996); also, C. Delcorno, 'Pour une histoire de l'exemplum en Italie', in *Les exempla médiévaux. Nouvelles perspectives*, ed. J. Berlioz and M.-A. Polo de Beaulieu (Paris, 1998), pp. 147-76; idem, *L'exemplum nella predicazione volgare di Giordano da Pisa* (Venice, 1972.

[66] *L'exemplum dans la literature religieuse et didactique du Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1927).

[67] Cf. J. Dunbabin, review of *L''exemplum'*, in *The English Historical Review* 100 (1985), pp. 863-64.

[68] Stephen of Bourbon, *Tractatus de diversis materiis predicabilibus: Prologus; prima pars: De dono timoris*, ed. J. Berlioz and J.-L. Eichenlaub, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaeualis, 124 (Turnhout, 2002).

[69] J.-C. Schmitt, *The Holy Greyhound: Guinefort, Healer of Children since the Thirteenth Century*, trans. M. Thom (Cambridge, 1983).

At one point, for example, Giordano described an encounter in Pisa, which casts light on a famous feature of Tomaso da Modena's fresco cycle. The depiction of Hugh of St. Cher wearing a pair of glasses is thought to be the earliest representation of eye-glasses in western art. Even taken on its own this point merits attention, but when paired with several references from other Dominican sources, we can begin to see the outline of something extraordinarily interesting. In the same Lenten sermon, delivered on 23 February 1305, in which he publicised the continuous preaching of the friars to his audience in S. Maria Novella, Giordano also discussed the four kinds of things in this world, namely work, art, nature, and virtue. Discussing the arts, which must be discovered by man, he referred to a moment of invention which he knew about from his time in Pisa:

> It is not yet twenty years since the discovery of the art of making eye-glasses, which make for good vision, one of the best arts and most necessary that the world has. And it is so short a time that this new art, which had never existed before, was discovered. And the lecturer said: I saw the one who first discovered and practised it, and I talked to him.[70]

The reference is very well-known and has been used to support rival claims, with different cities promoting their own candidates at the expense of others.[71] The fact Giordano told his Florentine audience about the encounter implies it had taken place outside Florence; if the inventor had been local, there might have been many in his audience at S. Maria Novella who would have known about it already. The other crucial piece of evidence in this matter comes from a familiar source. In the conventual chronicle from S. Caterina, we have a striking account of how the Dominican concern to make knowledge available to others could conflict with the profit motive:

> Friar Alessandro dalla Spina, a modest and good man, whatever he saw that had been made, he knew how to make. Eye-glasses, having first been made by

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[70] Giordano da Pisa, *Quaresimale fiorentino, 1305-1306*, ed. C. Delcorno (Florence, 1974), xv, p. 75: Non è ancora venti anni che si trovò l'arte di fare gli occhiali, che fanno vedere bene, ch'è una de le migliori arti e de le più necessarie che 'l mondo abbia, e è cosi poco // che ·ssi trovó: arte novella, che ·mmai non fu. E disse il lettore: io vidi colui che prima la trovò e fece, e favellaigli.

[71] E. Rosen, 'The Invention of Eyeglasses', in *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 11 (1956), pp. 13-46,183-218.

someone else, who was unwilling to share them, he made them and shared them with everyone with a cheerful and willing heart. He knew how to sing, write, illuminate manuscripts and everything which mechanically skilful hands can do. Ingenious in bodily things, by his ingenuity he made himself a room in the house of the eternal king.[72]

The evidence for the introduction of eye-glasses into working life, and the image it evokes of Dominican activity in Italian cities, thus forms a telling collection, comprising a series of frescoes in the chapter house of S. Niccolò in the 1350s, a sermon delivered at S. Maria Novella in 1305, and the description – penned by Bartolomeo da San Concordio – of a skilled friar from S. Caterina who at least twenty years earlier had undermined the business plan of a local craftsman by sharing the secret of his invention with anyone who was interested. Thus, the forms of thought and practice were promoted in mendicant communities had a visible effect on contemporary society and, in a way that was real and immediate, offered a return on local investment.

Earlier it was suggested that, as a backcloth to the chapter of faults, the frescoes in the chapter house at Treviso served a specific purpose and were intended to produce a specific effect in the minds of the brethren. In another of Giordano's sermons we find him talking about the anxieties triggered by the regular requirement to perform acts of self-correction. He described a conversation with another friar who, even at forty years of age, became frightened every time he heard the bell ringing for the daily chapter of faults.[73] 'I don't feel at fault', he told Giordano, 'but to think that I should always be so afraid when I hear the bell ringing for chapter' ('Io non mi sento in colpa, e sì ho ogni volta così grande paura ch'io odo sonare a capitolo').[74] On account of their training, both Giordano and his interlocutor would have known the relevant passage in Aristotle's *Ethics*, as well as Thomas Aquinas's commentary on the text:

A brave man is praised because he has no fear. But there are some things that we ought to fear if we are to lead a good life. It is good to fear such things, because

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[72] *Cronica*, ed. Panella, § 113: Frater Alexander de Spina. Vir modestus et bonus. Que vidit oculis facta scivit et facere; ocularia ab alio primo facta comunicare nolente, ipse fecit et omnibus comunicavit corde ylari et volente. Cantare scribere miniare et omnia scivit que manus mechanice valent. Ingeniosus in corporalibus, in domo regis eterni fecit suo ingenio mansionem.

[73] *Constitutiones antiquae*, I. ii, pp. 314-15.

[74] Delcorno, *Giordano da Pisa*, pp. 281-82.

fear of this kind is not only necessary for the preservation of virtue, but is itself something virtuous.[75]

Sometimes, fear can help us to concentrate our minds on what really matters, thereby assisting pursuit of the goals we are moving towards.

At other times, Giordano included stories which we sense he had probably picked up from conversations in Pisa. In a sermon delivered on 24 January 1304, Giordano talked about the capture of falcons in Sardinia to help illustrate a simpler type of fear, far removed from the virtuous kind which can promote the good. In those precipitous parts of Corsica and Sardinia where there are large mountains, men find themselves in places so steep that they are only accessible to birds. Sometimes it happens that the rope from which the climber is suspended becomes torn, leaving his life dangling by a thread ('…e la vita sua rimanga appesa a un filo'). It is said that at this point, Giordano tells his audience, the brave hunters turn white with fear. [76]

The reason so many of Giordano's *exempla* survive is that they were recorded and written up by anonymous members of his audience. Delcorno suggests it is probable that the corpus of Giordano's sermons was collected by more than one member of his Florentine audience, proposing the existence of a group of listeners, who were capable of telling a compiler about the contents of a sermon that he had missed. In one sermon, for example, we find the anonymous compiler admitting, 'I was not at this sermon, but this is how it was described to me' ('a questa predica io non fui, ma fumi ridetta così').[77] Giordano's sermons were evidently engaging, and the manner of their diffusion throws light on the interaction between highly skilled, popularizing preachers and an educated élite in Florence. Comparing Giordano's sermons with those of Aldobrandino Cavalcanti, which were widely diffused, David d'Avray cites Giordano's sermons as an illustration of a paradox familiar to historians of medieval preaching in which 'dry and abstract' collections tended to spread more widely than livelier ones. 'In the case of Aldobrandino', he suggests, 'the explanation may be that it was precisely the detachment of the content from any immediate social context the enabled them to "travel".'[78] Florentines could hear the sermons of famous preachers at both S. Maria Novella and S.

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[75] *Ethics*, III. 6. 1115a8; Thomas Aquinas, *Sententia libri ethicorum* III.xiv, *Opera omnia* 47, § 533.
[76] Delcorno, *Giordano da Pisa*, p. 284.
[77] *Quaresimale fiorentino*, xviii-xix.
[78] D. d'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars*, p. 158.

Croce; the city was one of Europe's most importance centres of preaching. The sermons of Giordano da Pisa indicate that Pisan and Florentine audiences would have understood the same local references and shared similar interests.

The cultural exchange between Florence's mendicant communities and the social and intellectual world in which they operated has been examined from a different angle. Dante could not have heard the sermons of Giordano da Pisa; but historians have observed a remarkable affinity between many of Dante's ideas and those of Remigio de' Girolami, Giordano's senior colleague at S. Maria Novella. Following Dante's remark in the *Convivio* that he attended 'the schools of the religious' and heard 'the disputations of the philosophers', Charles Davis surveyed the conditions of study which prevailed at S. Croce and S. Maria Novella in the 1290s. He pointed to the correspondence between Dante's criticisms of the papacy and Peter John Olivi's description of the corruption of Christian Rome, as well as to Dante's direct quotation from Ubertino da Casale's *Arbor vitae crucifixae Jesu*.[79] The link between Dante and Remigio de' Girolami is found in their political theory. 'At the time of Dante's exile, Remigio had just written or was preparing a tract *De Bono Communi* condemning the moral decay of Florence',[80] in which he frequently quoted from the Aristotelian corpus. At one point he quoted the *Nicomachean Ethics* to argue that it is sometimes necessary for an individual to die for his country, having established a few lines earlier that it is better and more divine to act for the good of the city and other people than for one's own benefit. In his *Monarchia*, Dante quoted the same passage from the *Ethics* on the precedence of the public good, shortly after he had cited Aristotle in support of the position that it is sometimes necessary for a man to risk himself for the sake of his country ('homo pro patria debet exponere se ipsum').[81] It is possible that, like many of his contemporaries, Dante was using Remigio's thought as a starting point for his own.

To ask whether Dante ever heard Remigio's lectures at S. Maria Novella is to seek to establish a direct link from Dominican teaching to contemporary political thought, which is impossible to prove; but this is not to downplay the importance of asking the question. In his account of the chronology of Remigio's life, Emilio Panella emphatically rejects

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[79] C. T. Davis, 'Education in Dante's Florence', *Speculum* 40, 3 (1965), pp. 415-35 (p. 426); for an excellent recent study, S. Piron, 'Le poète et le théologien: une rencontre dans le *studium* de Santa Croce', in *Picenum Seraphicum. Rivista di studi storici e francescani* 19 (2000), pp. 87-134.

[80] L. Minio-Paluello, 'Dante's Reading of Aristotle', in *The World of Dante*, p. 71.

[81] Ibid., p. 71.

the possibility that Dante ever heard his lectures, but he accepts that the two men shared broadly similar interests, stating that the correspondence between their works rested on the 'independent re-elaboration of common sources' ('indipendente rielaborazione da fonti communi').[82] Does this position fundamentally alter our perception of the intellectual affinity between two Florentines who belonged to the same learned class and who read the same books? If he consulted the library at S. Croce in the 1290s we know that he would have had at his disposal a wealth of resources with which to think about different aspects of emotional life, including many of the same works we earlier observed Thomas Aquinas integrating into his Parisian lectures on Peter Lombard's *Sentences*.[83] In fact, the only one of Aristotle's works which Dante would not have been able to read at S. Croce was the *Poetics*.

When we turn to the *Comedy*, we do not have to travel far to find signs of a liaison between Dominican teaching on the passions of the soul and the Aristotelian forms of expression which Dante used in his vernacular poetry. In the opening canto the narrator famously describes how afraid he was upon entering the savage, dense, and harsh wood, even the thought of which renewed his fear. Patrick Boyde draws our attention to the manner in which the effects of fear on Dante's appetites and exterior movements are differentiated, with the successive encounters with a leopard, lion and she-wolf each representing distinct causes of fear and their effects.[84] In the second canto, in the conversation between Beatrice and Virgil in Limbo, Dante continues to develop the theme of fear, evoking a definition we encountered earlier in the *Scriptum* on the *Sentences*, where Thomas put forward the view that fear should be understood as a response to the presence of a *malum* that is difficult to overcome, and which constitutes a threat.[85] In the conversation between Virgil and Beatrice during her visit to Limbo, Virgil asks why she showed so few signs of hesitation, to which she offered the reply:

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[82] E. Panella, 'Nuova cronologia remigiana', *AFP* 60 (1990), pp. 145-311 (especially pp. 180-82)

[83] L. Minio-Paluello, 'Dante's Reading of Aristotle', pp. 66-67; also, C. T. Davis, 'The Early Collection of Books of S. Croce in Florence', in *Proceedings of the American Philological Society* 107 (1963), pp. 399-414.

[84] P. Boyde, *Perception and Passion in Dante's Comedy* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 219-20.

[85] Thomas, *Scriptum super libros Sententiarum III*, XXVI. i. iii., p. 824.

Temer si dee di sole quelle cose/c'hanno Potenza di fare altrui male;/de l'altre no, che non son paurose./I' son fatta da Dio, sua mercé, tale,/che la vostra miseria non mi tange,/né fiamma d'esto 'ncendio non m'assale.

We should fear those things alone that have the power to harm; nothing else is frightening. I have been made such by God's grace that your wretchedness does not touch me, nor does any flame from this fire assail me.[86]

Beatrice is paraphrasing a passage in book 3 of the *Ethics*, which was also summarized by Thomas in his commentary on Aristotle's text. She explained that because God had made her fearless, she did not shrink from making the descent; she had no expectation of harm. Earlier we read in Bartolomeo da San Concordio's entry on fearlessness in the *Summa de casibus* how insensibility (*stoliditas*) was excusable if there was no risk of it being overcome. If trying to think of a vivid example of a fearlessness that was free from sin, a reader of Bartolomeo's text could have thought of Beatrice.[87]

I would suggest, then, that Beatrice's definition of fear is indicative of a way of perceiving the world that hinged on identifiable conditions and developments. By the time Dante came to write the *Comedy*, the Aristotelian account of fear had been made fully accessible through a process of recovery and translation. In our earlier discussion of the friars' doctrine of the passions, we observed how men such as Roland of Cremona, Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas diligently sought to assimilate such knowledge into their theological and philosophical teaching, with the ultimate aim of supplying spiritually beneficial material to others, a process for which sermons, as an early form of 'mass communication', were the primary means of diffusion and influence. In Beatrice's remarks, we can see a generalising view of the nature of emotions which would have meant more to individuals who had been exposed to the sermons and teaching of the friars. Ultimately, the usefulness of any emotion theory in the eyes of those it is meant to persuade is based on a combination of available standards and expectations. During the thirteenth and early fourteenth century, members of the Order of Preachers played a significant and distinctive role in helping to bring about a change in statements about

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[86] *Inferno* II, 88-93; I have amended Boyde's translation in *Perception and Passion*, p. 225.

[87] In Florence in 1335, the Roman provincial chapter prohibited younger friars from reading Dante's poetic and vernacular works, perhaps suggesting their popularity. *Acta provinciae Romanae* (Florence, 1335), p. 286.

human emotion which were intelligible to an educated audience in the towns and cities of the Roman Province.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has addressed the question of 'thought about emotion among Dominicans in Pisa and the Roman Province in the thirteenth century', in the hope of doing justice to the friars' thought and avoiding, in a way that may seem thin or self-denying, overstatement and misrepresentation. At times it has been necessary to skim across the surface, with a view to plunging into deeper, less accessible places at a later date. It is worth summarizing the progress that has been possible so far; but, since we are dealing with such evanescent material, we must peg general observations to specific, concrete examples.

The community at S. Caterina, one of earliest in the Roman Province, is testimony to the force of the educative ideal and the thought which the preacher's form of life helped to bring about. In the books the friars in Pisa owned and read to elicit greater theological understanding and to encourage a spiritual watchfulness in their audience are many passages addressing the passions, which create the impression of a group of practising intellectuals for whom 'emotion' was one of numerous topics subsumed by a larger commitment to theological study, an activity they performed daily and meticulously, always conscious of the significance of their mode of life as a public and observable means of making real the Church's institutional claims. But in the way the friars' outlook and interests coincided with those of certain sections of urban society, and in the way their teaching was consistently influenced by the truck of academic thought, we are struck by the degree to which they were, as a religious community, open and intellectually engaged.

For the most part, this survey of the friars' thought about emotion has described the introduction of detailed discussions of the passions in the *Sentences* commentaries of an extremely select group of theologians, based on the view that the *Sentences* commentary genre reflects the theological method that came to be practised at S. Caterina. But what does the observation of this pattern allow us to say about how the early friars-preacher approached the question of the passions and, more importantly, why it matters? 'The interpretation of an ancient text', observed Beryl Smalley, 'is bound to be subjective to some extent', since 'it will derive from the interpreter's preconceptions and the techniques which he has at his disposal', meaning that 'in order to be a scholar at all he

must wish to use and to improve upon existing techniques with the aim of entering into the mind of his author.'[1] It is in such techniques and in such interpretive efforts that we can try to satisfy our own desire, however rigorous, to obtain a real sense of individual personality. The *Liber quaestionum* of Roland of Cremona represents an early version of a genre which, as it became increasingly important, acquired more sophisticated scholastic apparatus and clearer formal requirements; but it also represents the life's work of an able thinker who was, for a number of reasons, firmly interested in developing solutions to particular problems concerning human emotion. Hugh of St. Cher's cameos as postillator, cardinal and intellectual mentor to Federico Visconti underrepresent his possible significance in respect of thought about emotion, and, if we are to form a better understanding of the books which the early brethren at S. Caterina had in their hands, further study of his *Sentences* commentary is needed. Drawing from a deeper collection of resources, later Dominican theologians, such as Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas, developed the theory of the passions further, producing insights which continue to influence, more or less directly, theological and philosophical thought about emotion.

In terms of the general climate of thought, there are already a number of available views about the character and increasing sophistication of the friars' academic interest in the passions, which has been interpreted by historians as forming part of a broader scientific inquiry into human psychology, the cue for a positive moral appraisal of emotion, or as a consequence of anthropological and existential uncertainty on the part of thirteenth-century thinkers.[2] In their discussions of Christ's nature, which established the passions as a necessary and defining element in human life, and in their concern to differentiate passions and virtues, the preachers' ultimate concern was to make others more aware of the essential characteristics of the body and soul. This was the intellectual profit they sought, and their unstinting labour is testimony to their belief in its value. Or,

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[1] B. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible*, p. 356.

[2] C. Casagrande and S. Vecchio, 'Les théories des passions dans la culture médiévale', in *Le sujet des émotions au Moyen Âge*, ed. P. Nagy and D. Boquet (Paris, 2009), pp. 107-22; also, in the same volume, A. Boureau, 'Un sujet agité. L'émergence des passions de l'âme au XIIIe siècle', pp. 187-200. Also, M.-D. Chenu, 'Les passions vertueuses. L'anthropologie de saint Thomas', *Revue philosophique de Louvain* 72 (1974), pp. 11-18.

to borrow a more direct phrase used by one of the friars trained at S. Caterina, 'grande cosa è a pensare.'[3]

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[3] Giordano da Pisa, *Prediche inedite del B. Giordano da Rivalto dell'Ordine de' Predicatori recitate in Firenze dal 1302 al 1305*, ed. E. Narducci (Bologna, 1860), p. 102; cited in Murray, 'Piety and Impiety', p. 99.

Abbreviations

AFP	*Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* (Rome, 1931–)
AHDLMA	*Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge*
AMN	Analecta Mediaevalia Namurcensia (Louvain, etc., 1950–)
Annales ÉSC	*Annales. Économies. Sociétés. Civilisations*
BSP	*Bollettino storico pisano*
CUP	*Chartularium universitatis parisiensis*, ed. H. Denifle and E. Chatelain, 4 vols. (Paris, 1889-97)
MOPH	Monumenta Ordinis Praedicatorum Historica
PL	*Patrologia Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne, 217 + 4 index vols. (Paris, 1841-61)
RSPT	*Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*
RTAM	*Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*
SOPMA	T. Kaeppeli and E. Panella, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum medii aevi*, 4 vols. (Rome, 1970-93)

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