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

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I, Alison Joan Ray, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Signed,

___________________
ABSTRACT

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

Chapters 1 to 10 examine separate genres of texts available on the pecia lists, theological and philosophical works as well as preaching aids. That Paris pecia manuscripts were used in action as preaching aids is one of the conclusions the user notes help to establish. Another is that Paris pecia manuscripts were important in English intellectual life (Chapter 11). The codicological and textual examinations of individual manuscripts and user notes present within reveal the function and intended audience of each genre as a whole, providing unique insight into the workings of the medieval cultural community at Paris in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.
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Lastly, I am grateful for the loving support of my parents and grandparents during my studies. I dedicate this thesis to the Ray and Katz families.
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Introduction

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

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

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

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

Boyle, ‘Peciae, apopoeiae, and a Toronto ms. of the Sententia Libri Ethicorum of
Aquinas’, The Role of the Book in Medieval Culture: Proceedings from the Oxford
International Symposium 26 September – 1 October 1982, ed. P. Ganz (Turnhout:
² H.-J. Schiewer, Die Schwarzwälder Predigten: Entstehungs- und Überlieferungsgeschichte
192 and 195 for Schiewer’s study of marginalia present in thirteenth-century German
language preaching aids of likely Franciscan authorship.
³ M.B. Parkes, ‘The Influence of the Concepts of Ordinatio and Compilatio on the
Development of the Book’, Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to
including chapters and paragraph marks. The concept behind these new apparatuses was to ‘indicate and emphasise the organisation of the subject matter inherent in the text’, allowing the reader greater access towards the structure and essential arguments of the text, what became known as the ordinatio of the work. By the thirteenth century a new form of writing called ‘compilatio’ by Parkes developed, which presented extracts from the Church Fathers and other authorities in a clear systematic format with accompanying alphabetical indexes and other reference tools for ease of reader access to the material. Recent medieval and early modern book historians have made further forays into the field of reader reception, but it has not yet been tried on pecia manuscripts.

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

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

Jean Destrez was the first modern researcher to examine pecia texts and published the first major work on the system in 1935. As part of his research he sought out pecia indications in manuscript collections across Europe and additional texts have been identified since his original work. Approximately 2800 pecia manuscripts survive today: too many to be studied here. In any case, these represent only a tiny proportion of those that must have been reproduced. This means that precise quantitative statistics on surviving manuscripts would be worthless. Nonetheless, a close quantitative analysis of a substantial and rationally selected subset can yield interesting results. I have focused on pecia texts with user written

8 Murano produced an invaluable bibliography guide to known pecia manuscripts: Opere diffuse per exemplar e pecia (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005).
marginalia in French and English libraries, and I have listed individual works examined in Appendix 1 (Source Base). A basic principle of the thesis has been to demonstrate the workings of the pecia system through the evidence of user notes, but two main themes have presented themselves in the course of my research.

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

Secondly, it has become apparent that the Paris pecia system was of striking importance for English intellectual culture. As discussed in Chapter 11, it was once thought that Oxford operated its own pecia system, yet this has since been disproved. Instead, the evidence of user notes, the provenance of individual manuscripts, and the use of Anglicana script in copying works and marginalia
demonstrate that the use of pecia texts by Englishmen was extremely common. Collectively, the user written marginalia studied here show the major influence of the Paris system on the English, both for preaching and for academic purposes. That too is thoroughly exemplified in the appendix.

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

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

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


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

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

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\(^{15}\) R.W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, pp. 198-204.


royal charter dated July 1200.\footnote{N. Gorochov, *Naissance de l’université: les écoles de Paris d’Innocent III à Thomas d’Aquino* (v. 1200- v. 1245) (Paris: Honoré Champion éditeur, 2012) p. 40.} Under this charter Paris scholars were also exempt from taxes, tolls and military service. The privileges for members of the university were strengthened further in the 1215 statutes issued by Robert of Courson as papal legate, which recognised the university as a legal corporation.\footnote{Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and his Circle*, pp. 75-6; I.P. Wei, ‘From Twelfth-Century Schools to Thirteenth-Century Universities: The Disappearance of Biographical and Autobiographical Representations of Scholars’, *Speculum* 86 (2011) pp. 42-78; p. 57.} The 1215 statutes regulated various aspects of academic life, and in particular the granting of licences to teach. Before this the granting of teaching licences was controlled solely by the Chancellor of Notre-Dame cathedral, John of Candeilles, and under the statutes Paris masters were given greater rights in the selection of new masters.\footnote{Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and his Circle*, pp. 75-6; Wei, ‘From Twelfth-Century Schools to Thirteenth-Century Universities: The Disappearance of Biographical and Autobiographical Representations of Scholars’, p. 67.} These rights were again re-confirmed by Pope Gregory IX in a series of papal bulls, including *Parens scientarum*, which were issued in April and May 1231 to resolve a two-year academic strike and also recognise the university as a legal corporation.\footnote{Wei, ‘From Twelfth-Century Schools to Thirteenth-Century Universities: The Disappearance of Biographical and Autobiographical Representations of Scholars’,}
thirteenth century the University of Paris enjoyed significant freedom from local authoritative control and held essential powers of self-regulation as a collective body.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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26 St Augustine, *Confessions*, X, 31.
research and/or teaching, such as masters, students, visiting scholars and invited guests. From the mid-thirteenth century onwards the University of Paris was formally organised into the separate faculties of theology, canon law, medicine, and arts. The arts faculty was by far the largest, as students were generally required to undertake his undergraduate degree in this subject before progressing onwards to theology, law or medicine. Friars did not go through the arts faculty unless they had done so before converting. The exact size of the faculties during this period is uncertain due to the irregularity of surviving records, but it is possible to estimate as Pederson notes that there were fifteen masters of theology in 1254, ten masters of medicine in 1274, at least fourteen in law in 1248, and approximately 120 masters of liberal arts in 1283-4. The university steadily increased in size, and this is reflected in the numbers of 1348; 32 masters of theology, 18 of law, 46 of medicine, and 514 of arts. If students wished, they proceeded to their second degree. The degree in theology was ten years in length, with the main focus of the course on the study of the Bible and its themes. This course was roughly equivalent to the modern continental habilitation, preliminary to a professorial chair. The final years were spent studying Lombard’s Sentences and students also prepared their own

28 Baldwin, Masters, Princes, and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and his Circle, pp. 77.
29 Pedersen, The First Universities, p. 196.
30 Pedersen, The First Universities, p. 197.
commentaries on the text. These students were also ambitious as they were likely to pursue prominent careers in academia or in the Church.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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37 Pollard ‘The *pecia* system in the medieval universities’, p. 151-2.
2. The Apograph: This manuscript is a copy or final draft of the original work which has a direct relationship with the author. There are four ways in which this could occur:
   a. A copy composed by the personal secretary or scribe of the author.
   b. A copy containing the author’s corrections.
   c. A copy dictated by the author to the scribe.
   d. Presentation copies of the text made for the author’s public or private circles.

3. The Stationer’s Pecie: The exemplar that consists of the quires of the work in question. These quires are the pieces the stationer rents out to the customer.

4. The Pecia Copy: The manuscript of the work copied by the customer, or a scribe on the customer’s behalf. This is the final copy of the work intended for the customer’s use.

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

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

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

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39 Both lists contained in *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, H. Denifle and E. Chatelain (eds.) (Paris: 1889-97). The list of 1275 is misdated to 1286 and appears as item 530 in volume 1, pp. 644-650. The list of 1304 appears as item 642 in volume 2, pp. 107-112.
Each of the texts produced through the stationers of Paris has a uniform layout that is easily identifiable by a scholar. The size of the manuscript itself is an initial clue to its origin, as Paris manuscripts are generally compact to allow ease of use and transport by its owner. Within the manuscript the written text appears in double columns to save space on the page and as a time-saving technique the text is also heavily abbreviated. Texts copied at the University of Paris are also written in a standard hand used by scribes known as Textualis Semi-Quadrata, an example of which can be seen below. This script is a Gothic book hand, clear to ensure ease of reading:

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

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

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

![Ancient manuscript page with pecia mark]

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

These marks often contain the letter ‘p’ or the complete word ‘pecia’, accompanied by a number in roman numerals (sometimes there is just the number). This number refers to the number of the pecia the text was copied from, in order for the scribe to keep track during the rental process. As pecia marks are placed on the edges of folios, they have usually been cropped during the binding process and today only a few remaining marks tend to be found in each manuscript. These are
the features found in a standard pecia copy. For additional expense and completion time, more elaborately decorated manuscripts could be produced.

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


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

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

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

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

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

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

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


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

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

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

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

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

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


II. Typology

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

As well as defining the user, it is important to have a precise understanding of the types of user notes found in pecia manuscripts. Carl James Grindley has created a useful typology to classify the printed and written marginalia in two manuscript copies of the Piers Plowman C-Text; Huntington Library, MS HM 143 and British Library, MS Add. 35157. I have adapted and modified this classification system to apply to user notes of pecia manuscripts, beginning with separating notes into two basic types as follows:

56 For the complete outline of Grindley’s classification system, see C.J. Grindley, ‘Reading Piers Plowman C-Text Annotations: Notes toward the Classification of Printed and Written Marginalia in Texts from the British Isles 1300-1641’, The Medieval Professional Reader at Work, K. Kerby-Fulton (ed.), pp. 73-142.
Type I: Comprises marginalia present in the manuscript that do not engage with the textual content.

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

Type I:

This type is divided into four categories as follows:

i. Ownership Marks (I-OM): The name of an individual or institution is commonly found on the flyleaves or main folios of a manuscript.

ii. Doodles (I-DO): Simple drawings which are clearly the work of the user with no relation to the text. This category excludes all professionally created illuminations, including decorated initials and border designs. Illustrations with direct textual relevance are considered as Type 2 marginalia.

3. Cambridge, Peterhouse MS 131 f.5r
iii. Pen Trials (I-PT): Pen tests commonly occur in manuscripts.

iv. Sample Texts (I-ST): Short works added in an unplanned or haphazard manner to a non-related text.

Type II:

This type also contains fourteen categories:

i. Error Corrections (II-EC): Users often correct text errors such as copying out omitted passages in the margins.

ii. Marks of Attribution (II-MA): An identifying note to attribute work to a specific author, often accompanied by title. Note that these may be correct or false identifications of the work.

iii. Tables of Contents (II-TC): User-added tables of contents generally feature in the front or back flyleaves of a manuscript containing a single work. In a manuscript containing multiple works the contents table may also be found in the folios at the beginning of separate works.

iv. Additional Texts (II-AT): Separate from Sample Texts (I-ST), these are separate works added by the user that are thematically related to texts contained in the manuscript.

v. Reference Mark (II-RM): Users often highlight passages of interest in the text by placing a reference mark such as ‘N’ or ‘Nota’ in the margin of the text. Pictorial reference marks are classified as Graphical Responses below.
vi. Cross-Reference Mark (II-CRM): Users may place in the margins of passages a cross-reference note to locate another passage within the text that deals with the same topic of interest.

vii. Topic (II-T): An annotation to indicate the general theme or subject of a particular passage of text, such as ‘justicia’.

viii. Passage Division (II-PD): The user may add additional reading aids to clearly divide the text, such as separating passages into separate arguments, or dividing an argument into sections like ‘ordinatio’, ‘respondeo’, and so on.

ix. Source (II-S): Texts often contain quotations from separate works such as the Church Fathers and the Bible, and users will place the source reference in the margins.

x. Citation (II-C): The reverse of a Source (II-S) annotation, users will often copy out the direct quotation of an authority when the text only provides the source reference.

xi. Summation:

a. Text Summation (II-TS): A user annotation that quotes the text directly, selecting a passage of interest to copy that summarises a particular topic.

b. Paraphrased Summation (II-PS): The user paraphrases the text to summarise the passage of interest. These notes can also serve the
function of clarifying a particularly complicated portion of text for the user.

xii. Further Enquiry (II-FE): Questions that occur to the user from reading a particular passage of interest.

xiii. User Viewpoint (II-UV): The user may express his own views on a particular topic, either supporting or disagreeing with the argument of the author.

xiv. Graphical Responses:
   a. Pictorial Reference Marks (II-PRM): Like Reference Marks (II-RM), these images are used to mark or highlight passages of interest to the user. These are generally images of hands or faces pointing towards the particular passage.

4. Oxford, Lincoln College MS Lat. 113 f.28r
b. Graphical Aids (II-GA): Diagrams that directly engage or demonstrate the written text, particularly found in works of natural science.

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

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

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

This is divided into five categories:

i. Construction Marks (III-CM): Marks that are used to number quires in order to arrange them correctly. These marks are often still visible on the bottom margin of folios such as ‘a1’, ‘a2’, a3’, etc.

ii. Catchwords (III-CW): Also used to order quires correctly, the last folio of one quire most likely features in the lower margin the opening words of the following quire.

iii. Pecia Marks (III-PM): A major identifying feature of pecia manuscripts, a mark to correctly order pieces for copying and binding such as ‘pecia xvii’.

iv. Piece Corrections (III-PC): Scribes correct errors in the text such as omission of passages or grammatical errors.

v. Colophon (III-CO): Scribes may identify themselves in a colophon upon completion of the manuscript. This is generally located below the explicit of the text.

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

I provide transcriptions of user notes discussed in this thesis, and follow the spelling of the manuscripts where possible. I normalise ‘c’ and ‘t’ (since, for example, grā can be transcribed as either gracia or gratia), as well as ‘u’ and ‘v’. I do not use ’j’. I transcribe users’ abbreviations for books of the Bible, and extend these when necessary. I include symbols used such as paragraph marks, brackets and lines. When a unique mark is drawn in the manuscript, this is denoted in the transcription by [Special sign].
Chapter 1:

Commentaries on the *Sentences*

I. The *Sentences* of Peter Lombard

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

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

the final version was produced after he taught this course a second time in the academic year 1158-9. Lombard’s work on the Sentences was influenced by his knowledge of the writings of the Church Fathers, in particular Augustine, and early medieval theologians, such as John of Damascus. He also drew heavily from the works of contemporary scholars as sources, including the Decretum of Gratian, De sacramentis christianae fidei of Hugh de St Victor, the anonymous Victorine Summa sententiarum, and two works by Peter Abelard, the Theologia Scholarium and Sic et Non. Lombard prepared his work on the Sentences because he was dissatisfied with limitations placed on the field of theology, with works generally ordered in a chronological and lengthy order from the time of creation onwards. Instead, Lombard organised his work in a rational order within a coherent structure. This is reflected in his prologue to the text, as he wrote that he intended for his work to be used ‘so that someone who is looking will not have to search through numerous books. The brevity [of my compilation] offers him what he is looking for without


61 Rosemann, Peter Lombard, pp. 57- 65.
The Sentences was divided into four books: book 1 examined God and the Holy Trinity, book 2 looked at creation in Heaven and on Earth, book 3 concerned Christ and virtues of Man, and book 4 examined matters of Church doctrine, such as the sacraments and judgement.

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

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

64 Colish, Peter Lombard, pp. 35-42; Rosemann, Peter Lombard, pp. 57.
continued to be popular throughout the period, and acquired a significant role at the developing university at Paris in the thirteenth century. As previously mentioned, the final one to two years of the degree in theology were dedicated to the study of the Sentences. This was a requirement for completing the entire course, important to the small number of students that undertook this degree to qualify as masters or pursue careers in the Church.

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

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


\textsuperscript{69}Biller, \textit{The Measure of Multitude}, pp. 35-6.
II. Evidence of Manuscript Users

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

a. The commentaries of Aquinas

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

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See Appendix 1 for the identification of user notes by scripts.
written commentaries on the *Sentences* that were composed 1252-56. Each distinction of every book was divided into questions (*quaestiones*), which in turn contained articles, and even sub-questions (*quaestinulae*).\(^71\)

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

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\(^72\) Online resource consulted which features all four books of Aquinas’s commentaries: [http://www.corpusthomisticum.org/](http://www.corpusthomisticum.org/). This is a very useful initiative run by the Department of Philosophy at Universidad de Navarra, Spain.
from the work of the early Christian author Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagitus, *De divinis nominibus* IV, 33 (PL 122, cols 1145-6). This passage discusses providence as a divine energy and its role in salvation. The second half of the user passage is an extract from the commentary on Pseudo-Dionysius that features in the *Scholia* of Maximus the Confessor, translated by Eriugena (PG IV, Cols. 306D-7A). The focus of the user on this particular article of the second book of the *Sentences* demonstrates his interest in the subject of divine providence, and it is possible to surmise that the user was a student of theology preparing a tract on the topic of his interest, or even his own commentary of the *Sentences* as part of his studies.

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

In right hand margin: Dio[nisii]

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

In right hand margin: Commentator

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73 Many thanks to David Luscombe for identifying this commentary.

74 Knowles, *The Evolution of Medieval Thought*, p. 175.
Commentator ibidem increpat eos qui dicunt quare non fecit hominem ut non posset nec vellet peccare. Hoc non est aliud nisi quare non fecit nos insensata animalia, quia si ex necessitate nos ad virtutem adduceret, neque essemus ad imaginem dei, quia non haberemus liberum arbitrium, neque tunc essemus intellectuales neque rationales nec proprii iuris essemus, et ita corrupseretur natura et essemus bestiis similes, quod est contra divinam providentiam. Per se motorum. Hoc dicit non non [sic] de animalibus que se movent, sed de hiis qui utuntur potestate liberi arbitri, qui se per se continent.

Like 1A, Note 1B reflects the user’s engagement with the text. 1B occurs in the lower margin of d. 39, q. 2, a. 1 and may be classified as Type II-EC (Error Correction). This is an omission note by the user, to supply a missing argument from
the article, that of argument 5. The same omission note is repeated in the margin by another hand. As this manuscript is an exemplar copy, this second hand is possible evidence of a text corrector. Under the late thirteenth-century statutes of the University of Paris, the regulations of the city’s book trade covered the production and rental of pecia texts, including the corrected, or uncorrupted, texts. Omission notes such as these are evidence that texts were proofread and corrected to provide accurate pieces for renting.

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

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

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

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Similar to MS 126, Cambridge, Peterhouse MS 50 was also a working reference pecia text. This pecia copy contains the fourth book of Aquinas’s commentary on the *Sentences*. Notes 2A and B demonstrate that the user has engaged with the main text, likely while preparing a classroom exercise. Both notes are classified as Type II-TS (Text Summation), as he copied out two passages of particular interest, both relating to the Eucharist. The first quote is on the relationship of the sacrament to venial sin, the text of d. 12, q. 2, a.2, qc. 1, ad 1 in which Aquinas states that devotion with respect to the Eucharist can be so great that it wipes out all venial sins. Passage two occurs on the same folio underneath the text of d.12, q.3, a.1, qc.2, s.c.1, a quotation falsely attributed to Augustine that says in his work *De ecclesiasticus dogmatibus* he neither praises nor blames daily communion. In actual fact, *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus* (PL 58, cols. 979-1054) is a pseudo-Augustine treatise, now widely attributed to the fifth-century Christian writer Gennadius of Marseilles.\(^7^6\)

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

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

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

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

9. Cambridge, Peterhouse MS 50, f. 166v
As seen in MS 126, scribes and proofreaders corrected errors present in exemplar copies. Users also proofread for errors in pecia copies, to ensure that any mistakes overlooked by the scribe will be corrected. These types of notes show that users looked for textual accuracy in their pecia copies and were willing to correct manuscripts themselves to achieve this. A typical Type II-EC (Error Correction) user note occurs in Cambridge, St John’s College MS C.2. This manuscript contains both *In primo Sententiarum* (ff.1r-121r) and *In secundo Sententiarum* (ff. 123r-251v). In lib.2, d.1, q.1, a.2, arg. 3 the user has corrected an error commonly referred to as eye-skip, where the scribe has skipped a passage of text because of the similarity of words or phrases that occur on two lines. In the main text the scribe has copied the passage: ‘Si ergo aliqua res permanens fiat a deo, oportet quod omne quod fit, fiat ex aliquo in quo sit factio sicut in subjecto’. The scribe has eye-skipped the phrase ‘oportet quod’ which occurs twice in the passage, and the user has supplied the omitted line. This omission note is evidence that this user had another copy of the commentary to hand to consult, and that it was the case that users of pecia texts compared manuscripts against one another for textual accuracy.

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

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

Si ergo aliqua res permanens fiat a deo, oportet [quod fieri sit ante suum esse. Sed factio, cum sit accidens, non potest esse sine subjecto.
Ergo oportet] quod omne quod fit, fiat ex aliquo in quo sit factio sicut in subjecto.

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

b. The commentaries of Pierre de Tarentaise

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

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

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

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

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

11. Oxford, Magdalen College MS 116, f. 11r
A second example of the working methods of text users can be found in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Laud misc 605. This is a pecia copy of the work *Super quartrum librum Sententiarum* by Pierre de Tarentaise. Like the users of Aquinas’s commentaries, the user of this work has corrected scribal errors in the main text and copied Type II-EC (Error Correction) notes in the margins. In Note 5A the user has inserted an omission note into the text passage d.4, q.2, a.2, ad. 5, which debates the issue that penance is received by all through baptism. This correction note demonstrates the user’s engagement with pecia texts, and further shows that separate copies of the same commentary were consulted during use to ensure accuracy of the text.

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

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

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

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

et sic responderi potest ad illud quod in prefatione dicitur. Qui mortem nostram moriendo destruxit et vitam resurgendo reparavit.
Note 6B occurs in the first book, d.3, q.5, a.2, relating to the subject of the soul’s likeness to the Holy Trinity. This theme was likely of particular interest to the user, and in the margin of the main text he has copied a quotation from Augustine’s *De Trinitate*, book 15, chapter 7, a. 11 (PL 42, col 1055) which discusses the Trinity in terms of the mind, body and soul of man.

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

Augustinus xv. li de trinitate, c. xiii secundam solam mentem, ymago dei dicitur ibidem. Non anima sed exellit *[sic for excellet]* in anima sed quod exellit *[sic]* in anima mens vocatur
A similarly themed quotation occurs in the margin of d.3, q. 6, a 1, which examines the mind, knowledge, and love in relation to the soul. In Note 6C the user of MS G.I.O. (105) has quoted from the Sentences commentary of Bonaventure, a Franciscan contemporary of Thomas Aquinas at Paris. Bonaventure’s commentaries on the Sentences were immensely popular works as seen in the large number of pecia copies surviving. To complete his degree in theology, Bonaventure lectured on the Sentences most likely in 1250-52 and revised his written commentaries into their present form during his term as regent master at Paris from 1253-57.79 The four commentary books are item numbers 83-86 on the 1275 pecia list. This Type II-AT note contains an extract from d.3, p.2, a.1, q.2, of Bonaventure’s first book of

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

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

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

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c. The commentaries of Giles of Rome

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

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

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

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

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

16. Oxford, Magdalen College MS 186, f. 172r
Nota quomodo quaedam res immediate fundatur in anima et quae in rebus extra aliquanto mediate, in intellectu aliquando immediate

These pecia copies of the thirteenth-century commentaries on Peter Lombard’s Book of Sentences discussed above have preserved a wide range of user notes that can be described as extracts of the authorities; extracts of separate commentaries; omission and correction notes; and summary notes. Extracts of the authorities are common throughout pecia texts used at the University of Paris in the thirteenth century, and in particular in copies of commentaries on the Sentences. Lombard’s original text followed a strict format of proposing a question, then proposing arguments for and against the proposition with evidence from a range of sources such as the Scriptures and Church Fathers. The majority of the quotations found in Lombard’s Sentences are from Augustine, approximately nine-tenths of the
total citations found. Following approximately 1,000 quotes of Augustine, the next most numerous citations are from Hilary and Ambrose, with a comparatively little thirty to forty quotations between them. Several Greek Fathers are referenced in the Sentences, the most frequent being Chrysostom, Origen and the Cappadocian Fathers.\textsuperscript{84} The authority now known as Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite also appears in Lombard’s work. Pseudo-Dionysius was most likely a Syrian monk and composed his works sometime during the late fifth- to early sixth centuries, which were translated into Latin in the ninth century.\textsuperscript{85} His works were popular during the thirteenth century, and the text On Divine Names was the subject of multiple commentaries by scholars, with William of Lucca, Thomas Gallus, Grosseteste, Albert the Great, and Thomas Aquinas all producing individual commentaries. Works of the authorities, such as Augustine and Pseudo-Dionysius, were consulted by users of pecia copies of the Sentences commentaries during their readings of the text, as evidenced in Cambridge, Pembroke College MS 126, Peterhouse MS 50, Oxford, Magdalen College MS 116, and Merton College MS G.I.O.

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

\textsuperscript{84}Knowles, The Evolution of Medieval Thought, p. 180.

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


Type II-EC (Error Correction) notes are by far the most frequent form of annotation found in pecia manuscripts, and are a welcome insight into the various stages of preparing a pecia text for use by a reader. The first of these stages occurs with the preparation of the pecia exemplar. The exemplar was most likely copied from a version of the text presented by the original author or compiler to the stationer, for the purpose of public distribution. Rouse and Rouse support this theory of the stationer also acting as publisher, as they discuss how the De perfectione of Thomas Aquinas must have been brought directly to the stationer upon completion in 1270. As mentioned above, the university regulations required exemplars to be accurate, and Note 1B of Pembroke College MS 126 supports the hypothesis that a text corrector did in fact examine exemplars intended for use in the rental process. The next stage in the editing process took place during the copying of the text by a scribe on behalf of the user, and scribal correction notes are commonly found throughout most pecia texts. The final stage of editing the text took place when the reader received his manuscript. Reading through the text, the user could still find inaccuracies in the text. Rather than textual errors present the exemplar, common copying mistakes were the result of human error of the scribe’s doing. Note 3A in St John’s College MS C.2 was copied as the result of the scribe’s eye-skip, and the scribe of Bodl. Lib. MS Laud misc 605 made a grammatical error, which the user corrected in Note 5A. In addition, these users must have consulted separate copies of

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

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

Saints’ Lives

I. Jacopo da Varazze and the Golden Legend

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

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

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

The structure and content of the \textit{Legenda aurea} reveals that this work was most likely intended to function as a preaching aid. D’Avray agrees that the \textit{Legenda} ‘has a


\textsuperscript{94} Le Goff, \textit{À la recherche du temps sacré}, p. 8.

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

96 d’Avray, Preaching of the Friars, p. 71.
97 d’Avray, Preaching of the Friars, pp. 70-1.
98 See overview examination of dedication sermons in R. Horie, Perceptions of Ecclesia: Church and Soul in Medieval Dedication Sermons (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006).
est’ etc.\textsuperscript{100} Jacopo later uses exactly the same quotation in his first sermon on St Benedict as he had done in his \textit{Legenda}:

\begin{center}

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

\end{center}

\section{Evidence of Manuscript Users}

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

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\textsuperscript{100} Reames, \textit{The Legenda aurea: A reexamination of its Paradoxical History}, pp. 102, 256 note 2.


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

\end{footnotes}

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Factus est aut clamor populi per tres horas unus est deus quem predicet

Johannes unus est dominus Jesus Christus

20. Cambridge, Peterhouse MS 131 f. 20r
The user of MS 131 also highlighted passages of interest by placing Type II-T (Topic) notes in the margins of the main text. These annotations indicate the general theme of a particular passage of text. In Note 1D the user has noted humility as the theme of a passage in the life of St Macarius: a scene between the saint and the devil, and the devil admits he cannot prevail against Macarius because of the saint’s humility. This note demonstrates that the user was interested in the theme of humility, and could have noted the quotation for future use in a sermon. The user displays his interest in two further subjects in Notes 1E and F, additional Type II-PS (Paraphrased Summation) marginalia. Focusing on the theme of marriage in the entry for the annunciation of the Lord, in Note 1E the user has summarised the reason Christ wanted his mother to be married, in that her espousal to Joseph protected the honour of married, virgin and widowed women as she herself was married, virginal, and widowed. The user has paraphrased this, possibly to prepare a sermon on marriage. Note 1F is also a user paraphrase of the main text, the entry for the purification of the Virgin. The user has summarised a passage describing the practice of carrying a candle on the feast of Candlemas and that this procession symbolised the birth and divinity of Christ. Candlemas was a feast day that took place annually in February, and the user may have composed a sermon to celebrate this day. These notes in Peterhouse MS 131 examine a range of themes and topics, and demonstrate that the user of the manuscript was most likely an active preacher.
1D. Classification: Type II-T, f. 33v

Nota de humilitate

21. Cambridge, Peterhouse MS 131 f. 33v

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

Nam coniugibus virgo cum coniugatis fecunda et cum viduis casta.

22. Cambridge, Peterhouse MS 131 f. 75v
1F. Classification: Type II-PS, f. 55v

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

23. Cambridge, Peterhouse MS 131 f. 55v

The user of Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.15.15 was also an active
preacher and this is seen in the manuscript’s marginalia. Like the user of Peterhouse
MS 131, the user of MS B.15.15 demonstrated his interest in several themes and
subjects present in the main text. In Note 1A the user has shown his interest in the
topic of blasphemy in the entry for the life of St Stephen. Note 1A can be classified as
Type II-PD (Passage Division) and the user has divided a passage in the entry that
describes how Stephen defended himself against several charges of blasphemy.
These defences have been divided into ‘excusatio prima’ (blasphemy against God),
‘excusatio 2a’ (blasphemy against Moses), ‘excusatio 3’ (blasphemy against the Law),
and ‘excusatio 4’ (blasphemy against the Temple) by the user to clearly separate each
blasphemy case. The user may have divided the main text to compose a sermon on
blasphemy containing the four separate examples.

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

.excusatio prima

.excusatio 2a.

.excusatio 3.

.excusatio 4.
Note 2B in MS B.15.15 is evidence of the user’s interest in the subject of angels. In the chapter on the life of St Michael the Archangel, the user summarises the three hierarchies of the angels in a Type II-TS (Text Summation) note. However, it must be pointed out that user has incorrectly listed the hierarchies, as the order is stated in the text as: ‘Nam superior continet seraphin, cherubin et thronos; media autem continet secundum assignationem Dionysii dominationes, virtutes et potestes; ultima continet secundum assignationem eiusdem principatus, archangelos et angelos’. This hierarchy of the angels is an extract from *De Coelesti Hierarchia*, a work composed by Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite in the late fourth or early fifth
century. In chapter six of this text Pseudo-Dionysius organises angels into the three orders, or angelic choirs.¹⁰⁵

2B. Classification: Type II-TS

Tres sunt ierarchie [sic for hierarchie].

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{seraphin} \\
\{ \text{cherubin} \\
\{ \text{troni} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\{ \text{dominationes} \\
\{ \text{principatus} \\
\{ \text{potestates} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\{ \text{virtutes} \\
\{ \text{archangelis} \\
\{ \text{angeli} \\
\end{align*}
\]

In addition to summarising the main text, the user of MS B.15.15 also highlights passages of interest with Type II-T (Topic) marginalia. Notes 2C and D appear in the margin of the chapter on the Commemoration of All Souls, possibly in preparation of a sermon for the feast day. He has noted the themes of two passages in the main text by placing the keywords in the accompanying margins. In 2C he has noted the keyword ‘Indulgence’ beside the section of text on how the use of Church
indulgences aids the dead: Valent etiam eis indulgentie ecclesie. The main text describes how a knight fights in the service of the Church for forty days as an indulgence for his deceased father. As reward for his service, the knight’s father appeared to him and thanked him for obtaining his release from purgatory. The user has also noted ‘concerning the very good’ beside the section of text discussing Augustine’s view that those who die can be categorised as very good, very bad or mediocre people. The very bad suffered the fire of hell, the mediocre endured a period in the fire of purgatory before ascending to heaven, and the very good are those who fly heavenward immediately. The user has also used a special sign to highlight the passage on the blessed faith after death of the very good people, a group comprised of the newly baptised, the martyrs, and the perfect: Valde autem boni dicuntur qui statim evolant et ab utroque igne tam purgatorii quam inferni liberi sunt. Notes 2C and D are evidence of the user’s interest in the separate themes of indulgences and the good, and both may have been copied by the user as he prepared a sermon for All Souls Day.

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

De Indulgentia[cropped, likely Indulgenciis]
De valde bonis

Type II-S (Source) marginalia are also commonly found in working reference copies of the *Legenda aurea*. The main text features quotations throughout from separate works such as the Church Fathers and Scripture, and users will often place the source reference of a quotation beside the main text in the margin. In the life of St
Andrew, the user of Trinity College MS B.15.15 has copied Note 2E beside the main text: ‘Matthew 20’ and ‘Matthew 16’. These are Scriptural references to the following quotations: ‘We are going up to Jerusalem, and the Son of Man will be delivered over to the chief priests and the teachers of the law. They will condemn him to death’ (Matt. 20:13), ‘Jesus turned and said to Peter, “Get behind me, Satan! You are a stumbling block to me; you do not have in mind the concerns of God, but merely human concerns”’ (Matt. 16:23). Both quotations are used to support an argument by Andrew that Christ’s passion was voluntary: Ecce, inquiens, ascendimus Iherosolima etc [Matt. 20:18], et ex eo quod Petro eum ab hoc auertere cupidienti dure indignatus fuit dicens, vade post me Sathana etc [Matt. 16:23]. The user of MS B.15.15 may have been interested in the theme of Christ’s passion as a sermon topic for Easter or another related feast day.

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


.Matt. 16.
In Note 2F the user of MS B.15.15 copied a second Type II-S note in the margin of the life of St Thomas the Apostle, beside a passage which discusses how the saint was called Thomas because he was granted insight into the depths of God’s being by Christ. The user has noted ‘John 14’ beside the quotation of Christ: Ego sum via, veritas et vita [John 14:6]. John 14:6 reads ‘Jesus saith unto him, I am the way, the truth, and the life: no man cometh unto the Father, but by me’. Like MS B.15.15, the user of Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Canon Misc 142 copied Type II-S marginalia and other short interest notes. In Note 3A this user has written ‘1.48’ beside a reference to Ecclus. 48:1 in the life of St John the Baptist: ‘Then the prophet Elijah arose like a fire, his word flaring like a torch’ (Ecclus. 48:1). The main text compares John the Baptist to Elijah by quoting Scripture, saying John came in the spirit and power of the prophet: Et de Johanne dicitur in Ecclus: Surrexit Helias quasi ignis etc [Ecclus. 48:1], Ipse enim venit in spiritu et virtute Helie.

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

Johannes. 14.

29. Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.15.15, f. 9v
The examination of short margin notes such as the Type II-S (Source) reference marks, II-T (Topic) keyword marginalia seen in Notes 1D, 2C and 2D, and II-PD (Passage Division) of Note 2B reveal much about the workings of the active preachers that consulted working reference copies of the *Legenda aurea*. The *Legenda* supplied valuable source material on a wide assortment of themes to preachers that could be quoted in related sermons, as well as numerous stories from the lives of saints that were used as material in feast day sermons. The user notes above are evidence of the topics of interest to individual users, and material they likely incorporated into their own works. The users of both Peterhouse MS 131 and Trinity College MS B.15.15 demonstrated their interest in a great number of topics, from blasphemy, marriage, angels to the feast days of St Stephen, All Souls, and Candlemas. The high number of consulted entries suggests that both users were
active preachers who regularly delivered sermons as part of university life at Paris. Preaching was one of three main activities considered integral to the Paris university experience, two others being *lectio* and *disputatio*. University teaching and disputation were practised in the arts faculty as well as theology, particularly in the study of philosophy and natural science. Texts such as Aristotelian works were important reference aids and central to the study of philosophy at Paris, as discussed in the following chapter.
Chapter Three:

Works of Philosophy and Natural Science

I. The Aristotelian impact on medieval philosophy

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

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

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


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


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


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

116 Lohr, ‘The Medieval Reception of Aristotle: the Arts and Sciences in the 12th and

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

II. Evidence of manuscript users

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

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Aristotle’s texts were not only studied, but also commented on by Thomas Aquinas and other contemporary authors. The commentaries of Thomas Aquinas are listed as item numbers 52 – 56 on the 1275 list: Quaestiones disputatae de veritate (52); Quaestiones disputatae De potentia Dei (53); Quaestiones de spiritualibus creaturis (54); Quaestiones disputatae De anima, De virtutibus, De unione verbi incarnati modo continuo numerantur (55); Quaestiones de malo (56); and the same texts appear as item numbers 29 – 33 on the list of 1304. Aquinas’s works are commentary texts, a subset of the genre of scholastic works that proceed by posing problems and settling them through logic. The text generally follows a clear structure that presents a question, Quaeritur utrum...; one or more arguments for and against the debated issue, rationes contra/pro; a decided solution to the issue, determinatio; and a refutation of the original arguments that contradicted the final solution, ad rationes.  

121 Pecia copies of philosophical works of this kind were intended to be used by advanced scholars at the university, and this is evidenced by the marginalia found in the manuscripts. User notes present in these manuscripts demonstrate the difficult and complex nature of studying philosophy at Paris. The manuscripts chosen for examination here are clear examples of the work carried out by the academic community in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

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


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


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

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

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

126 The English nation is discussed in more detail later in Chapter 11.
alterius mobilis, quia quelibet pars mobilis habet partem istius motus et totum et pars nec sunt eiusdem primo nec est iste totus motus alicuius alterius totius mobilis, quia tunc partes istius motus essent in partibus 35 alterius motus, quod est impossibile Igitur necesse est quod motus congregatus ex partium motibus sit motus totius mobilis

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

To gain a further understanding of the text, the user has placed Type II-PS (Paraphrased Summation) notes in the lower margins of several main texts throughout the manuscript. The user has lined the folios to give the notes the format of a table, in which short summary notes on the main text are made. Notes 1B and C
occur in the lower margin of book six, part 6 of De Physica on whether everything that changes changes in time, ‘quoniam autem omne quod mutatur in tempore mutatur’. These are typical short summary notes made by the user, and demonstrate how he engaged with the main text on time and motion.

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

d c e motus

Est autem demonstratio probans quod motus dividatur secundum divisionem moueri

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

c b spatium

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

32. Cambridge, University Library MS Ii 2 10, f. 34v
User notes also appear in thirteenth-century philosophical and natural science works, showing that these manuscripts were consulted as working reference texts in the same manner as the Latin translations of Aristotle’s original texts. Manuscripts such as Oxford, Balliol College MS 48 were consulted by users to prepare materials for university classroom exercises. MS 48 contains four philosophical commentaries of Aquinas: *Quaestiones disputatae De potentia Dei* (ff. 1r-108r), *De virtutibus* (ff. 108v-161r), *De unione verbi incarnati* (ff. 161v-167r), and *De veritate* (ff. 170r-356r). This manuscript contains several types of user notes, the most common being Type II-EC (Error Correction) marginalia. One standard error correction features in the summary of *De potentia Dei*, q.1, a.5, ad.6 on whether God’s power and wisdom are equal. To complete his work the user required an accurate working reference text, and Note 2A reflects this need as he carefully corrected the works contained in MS 48.

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

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

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

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127 Edition used of the commentaries of Thomas Aquinas: *Quaestiones disputatae S. Thomae Aquinatis* (Lugduni: Apud Sebastianum de Honoratis, 1557).
As well as checking the manuscript for textual accuracy, the user of MS 48 also inscribed a Type II-UV (User Viewpoint) note in *De potentia Dei* in the margin of q.9, a.5, ad. 2, which debates whether there are several persons in God. After a general search I was unable to identify the text source for this note, therefore it is likely this is an original note composed by the user himself expressing his own views on whether there are three or less persons in God. The complexity of the user’s work reflects the high intellectual level that Paris scholars such as this anonymous user operated at. MS 48’s user was most likely English, as evidenced by the early fourteenth-century Anglicana cursive script in which the note was written.

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

Nota quod considerando personas divinas secundum quod sunt subsistentes sic maxime distinguuntur sed considerando eas secundum quod sunt relative sic minime distinguuntur pro isto notandum similiter super primum differentiarum articulo secundo in primo ubi
dicit quod secundum rationem distinctionis que attenditur secundum diversum esse maior esse divino ut inter proprietates abstractas creaturarum quam inter personas divinas quia calor et sapor distinguntur sed aliud et aliud esse debet in divinis personis est unum et idem esse sed secundum perfectiones distinctorum; maior est distinctio inter personas divinas quam inter creaturas et relationes in divinis sunt persone subsistentes que sunt proprietates distinguentes in creatis an proprietates non sunt subsistentes sed inherentes?
34. Oxford, Balliol College MS 48 f. 93r
Like Balliol College MS 48, Balliol College MS 49 is a pecia compilation of Thomas Aquinas’s commentaries studied as a reference text. This manuscript contains seven works: Quaestiones disputatae De veritate (ff. 5r-134v); De potentia Dei (ff. 135r-194v); De malo (ff. 195r-256v); De anima (ff. 257r-278r); De virtutibus (ff. 278r-307r); De unione Verbi incarnati (ff. 307r-310v); and De spiritualibus creaturis (ff. 311r-322v). The majority of user notes found in this text compilation can be classified as Type II-PS (Paraphrased Summation) notes. In De veritate the user has marked and summarised a passage from q.22, a.13 that argues that an act of will may not reflect reason. He may have paid special attention to this passage as part of a classroom exercise on this topic.

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

Quilibet actus voluntatis presupponat actum rationis etsi non appareat ratio

35. Oxford, Balliol College MS 49, f. 102v
A second type of user marginalia occurs in Note 3B below the response of *De potentia Dei*, q.2, a.4 which debates whether there could be several Sons in God. This Type II-CRM (Cross-Reference Mark) user note is a reference to q.9, a.9 of the same text. This article examines the number of persons in God, and the user then notes argument 1, that discusses the divine persons in terms of essence, subsistence, and hypostasis. Like Balliol College MS 48, the user of MS 49 also researched the topic of the number of persons in God.

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

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

Although users of pecia copies were concerned with textual accuracy, the compilation of Balliol College MS 49 also has textual problems: correct text and text lost. The first work of the compilation, *De veritate* (ff.5r-134v), has two missing
quires. This is clear as on both f. 100v and f. 110v the catchwords do not match the opening words of the following pages. Therefore the collation of the text can be stated as: 112-812 (ff. 1- 100v). Quire missing between 8 and 9. 910 (ff. 101- 110v). Quire missing between 9 and 10. 1010 (ff. 111- 120v) 1114 (ff. 121- 134v). There is no indication of when these quires were lost. The text has been affected due to the missing quires, with two separate missing portions of text from q.20, a.3 to q.22, a.11, and from q.24, a.3 to q.26, a.1. As well as these missing two quires, the manuscript also contains a corrupt piece. The fifth text of the compilation De virtutibus (ff. 278r-307r) features a note from the scribe at the end of one piece that it is corrupt. Note 3C is classified as a Type III-PC (Piece Correction) scribal margin note. This is piece number 12 out of a total of 23, the same length as the exemplar featured on the 1304 Paris list. Further error corrections appear in the scribe’s hand throughout this piece, including text omission notes such as Note 3D. These scribe notes reflect the high standards of textual accuracy that was needed by the user, and the attempt by the scribe to ensure this accuracy.

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

Ista pecia est falsa et corrupta.

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

128The binding of Balliol MS 49 is currently in need of repair and cannot be opened fully. This obscures ‘Ista’ from camera view.
Praeterea virtus est dispositio perfecti ad optimum. sed fides et spes imperfectionem quamdam important. quia fides est de non visis [spes de non habitis propter quod cum venerit] quod perfectum est evacuabitur [et cetera] ut dicitur i. Cor. xliii. ergo fides et spes non debent poni virtutes.

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

129 A complete list of texts within Cambridge, Peterhouse MS 143 may be found in M. R. James, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Pembroke College, Cambridge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1905).
together as they share quires and were most likely copied out by one scribe. There are also user notes in two separate hands in MS 143, suggesting the text was shared or resold between members of the Paris academic community. In the first text of the compilation, the commentary by Thomas Aquinas on Aristotle’s *De anima*, one user has commented in the margin of a passage of lib. 2, l. 1 which argues that the primary act of the physical body is to distinguish the soul from the elements. The user has clarified this passage in a Type II-PS note and summarised the passage, stating the soul is called ‘primary act’ and is distinguished from the elements which are always in operation unless they are impeded.

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

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

39. Cambridge, Peterhouse MS 143, f. 12v
Further in this passage, the second user paraphrases the concluding argument that states the soul cannot be separated from the corporeal body in Type II-PS Note 4B. This note is written in a particularly illegible early-fourteenth century Anglicana cursive hand, showing that many margin notes are composed for the private use of the manuscript user, rather than for the use of others. Additionally, the difficult subject matter shows the high academic level at which these two users worked.

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

quod partes anime __ __

actus sunt sed ita que

sunt natura ?intellectiva et per

hoc ?videtur quod anima ?superius

tan?tum potest intelligere quan-tum multum [for multum read wlt?]. Videtur hoc

non accipi a philosophia

rationes certe huius tamen

potest quelibet forma-re si bene

avertat pro

P__ s__

__
As well as noting passages of a theological nature in *De anima*, the same user also highlights text relating to natural sciences. In lib. 2, l.14 the user is interested in the relationship between colour and light, that is, that colour is not visible to man without light. The user has left a ‘nota’ symbol beside the passage, and the accompanying note is in the lower margin beneath the main text. Note 4C is listed as a Type II-PS (Paraphrased Summation) note as the user summarises the main passage.
4C. Classification: Type II-PS, f. 21r

Color non est visibilis sine lumine

Quid diafonum et quod diafonum non habet colorom proprium

Quod corpora celestia sunt diaphona

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

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

In lib. 3, l.1 of the same text the user also marks and notes a passage relating to the human senses and their elemental composition. The user has composed a list of three topics in Note 4D in the margin below the main text: firstly, that the organs of the senses are composed of air and water; second, how the eye receives sight through the water humour with the pupil; third, discusses the sense of fire or heat. Note 4D is classified as Type II-FE (Further Enquiry) marginalia because the user highlights passages that he may have researched further in his coursework.
A great number of themes and topics are present in texts of philosophy and natural science, as seen in the manuscripts discussed above. The Latin translations of Aristotle’s works influenced medieval theologians and arts masters at Paris in their studies and inspired them to create new commentaries and works based on Aristotle’s ideas. The user marginalia examined in this chapter appeared in several forms, most notably Type II-PS (Paraphrased Summation). The paraphrased summation note demonstrates a text user’s ability to clarify a passage of particular difficulty. The frequency of passage clarification notes in philosophical works show that these users were advanced scholars at the University of Paris and capable of
engaging with complex arguments on such topics as the number of persons in God to the elements of the human senses, as well as delivering clear and concise research on these themes. Users’ research was further accomplished by comparing the main text to related separate works as seen in Cambridge University Library, MS Li 2 10, Note 1A; locating related themes within the main text by cross-referencing, demonstrated in Balliol College MS 49, Note 3B; as well as ensuring the textual accuracy of the main text in Balliol College MS 48, Note 2A and MS 49, Note 3D. The marginalia present in these manuscripts present an overall picture of an elite community of academics studying at Paris in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Small numbers of the university’s elite scholars continued their studies after their arts degree to undertake a degree in theology, which included the close examination of the Scriptures and related biblical reference tools as looked at next in Chapter 4.
Chapter 4:

Biblical reference aids

I. The study of the Bible in the thirteenth century

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


manuscript, the folio parchment was generally thinner and the text was written in a small, heavily abbreviated script. Most importantly, the order of the Scriptures was now standardised into a format essentially that of the modern Bible. This text order may reflect the sequence in which the Paris schoolmen composed biblical commentaries. Smalley suggests that the first of the schoolmen to compose a commentary in the new order was Stephen Langton, who lectured on the Bible at Paris from the 1180s to 1206.\textsuperscript{132} The new changes to the format of the Bible not only reflected the needs of the classroom, but also the growing preaching movement that developed during the thirteenth century. The single volume text in systematic order acted as a portable and practical reference tool for biblical scholars and preachers composing sermons.

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

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

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

II. Evidence of manuscript users

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

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

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

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

1. [special sign] beata semperque virgo Maria, donum quod a deo recepit recognovit et ei attribuit, dicens, quia fecit mihi magna qui potens est, et scilicet verba eius, Luce primo capitulo.

2. Item debitas gratias datori egit, cum dixit ‘magnificat anima mea

   [after correction] Dominum’, etc.

3|| Item se et sua deo dedit

4. Item de donis receptis a deo debitum servitium, et usum deo

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

Similarly, Note 1B from MS 481/477 was most likely composed in the preparation of a sermon. However, this note is categorised as II-PS (Paraphrased Summation), paraphrasing a passage of Hugh’s commentary. Note 1B is located in the side margin of Hugh’s commentary on Rom. 1:25-26, ‘They changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed forever. For this cause God gave them up unto vile affections: for even their women changed the natural use into that which is against nature.’ The user has focused on Hugh’s study of the phrase ‘tradidit illos [Deus] in passiones ignominie’,
where he argues that God was justified in His actions for giving the people vile affections, because they practised idolatry and had placed themselves above all other creatures. The user summarises this passage in Note 1B, and may have been included in a sermon or lecture notes on the theme of idolatry.

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

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

44. Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 481/477 f. 12r
A third type of user marginalia is also found in MS 481/477, shown in Note 1C. This is a Type II-AT (Additional Text) note, and the user has placed additional text in the lower margin below Hugh’s commentary on 1 Tim 5:22, ‘Lay hands hastily on no man, neither be partaker of other men’s sins. Keep thyself pure.’ The user has marked the following passage with a special sign, ‘unde et dominus multum probavit Petrum, antequam navem Ecclesie ei committeret’. The special sign is again placed in the margin and accompanied by the user’s note. The user references Rev 1:20-2:2, and writes that the angels of the Church represent bishops, who are praised for the good deeds of their subjects. But at the same time they are reproached for the bad deeds for their subjects, as these deeds were committed because of the bishops’ neglect. He then references Mic 2, which criticises the corrupted rich and powerful. In this example the user has consulted two separate biblical passages on the topic of the pastoral care, and likely composed this note while preparing a sermon or classroom exercise on the same subject.

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

[special sign] In Apocalipsi enim sancti Iohannis, angeli ecclesiarum id est episcopi, laudantur pro bonis actibus suorum subditorum et ibidem etiam vituperantur episcopi, pro malis subditorum qui [deletion follows] negligentia vel permissione episcoporum [inserted as correction] mala
fecerunt Hec sanctus Ieronimus in commentario suo super Micheam Prophetarum libro ii°

Notes 1A-1C demonstrate that MS 481/477 was most likely used as a university lecture and preaching aid. This can also be seen in the notes of Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 297/691, which contains five of Hugh’s postilla commentary texts: Proverbiorum, Ecclesiastem, Ecclesiasticum, Sapientiae, and Cantica canticorum. An English scribe copied this work as seen in the English Gothic book script used, and the manuscript’s marginal notes are also completed by the same scribe. The most commonly found notes in this manuscript are Type II-AT (Additional Text) notes, composed by the scribe. These notes are distinctiones, that is, keywords accompanied by biblical quotations that act as definitions of the
The presence of distinctiones in the manuscript is a clear indication that it was used as a preaching aid, as distinctiones were common reference tools used in the composition of a sermon. One standard distinction entry is Note 2A. This note occurs in the margin of Hugh’s commentary on Ecclus 17:19-24, that God allows those who truly repent of their sins to return. Note 2A examines the verb ‘revertere’, which relates to this passage. There are four biblical quotations listed as relating to this word, beginning with Gen 16:9, ‘Return to thy mistress and submit thyself under her hands.’; Luke 15:18, ‘I will arise and go to my father, and will say unto him, “Father, I have sinned against heaven, and before thee”’; Jer. 3:1, ‘thou hast played the harlot with many lovers; yet return again to me, saith the Lord’. These three entries feature characters that have repented for their actions, Hagar the handmaiden, the wasteful son, and the adulteress; in which all received forgiveness from God by allowing them to return to their rightful homes. The final entry listed is from Hosea 6:1-2, ‘Come, and let us return unto the Lord’ etc. It is interesting that the scribe wrote in an English hand, showing two possibilities: that the user hired an English scribe to complete the text, or that an English user copied out the text himself.

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2A. Classification: II-AT (scribal note), f. N/A

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

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

138 There are no librarian pagination numbers present in manuscript, therefore the note must be found by textual examination.
contain notes from the same user in a late thirteenth-century Anglicana hand. Notes 3A and 3B are both Type II-AT (Additional Text) notes, additional biblical quotations added by the user. Note 3A links to Nicolas’s commentary on Matt. 11:5 ‘claudi ambulant’, when Christ cures the lame and they walk again. The user has added the additional reference to Matt. 15:30, ‘Great multitudes came to Jesus, having with them those that were lame and dumb and others, and he healed them.’

The keyword of interest in this passage for the user is ‘claudus’, a topic on which he could have been compiling a sermon or lecture commentary. The user has also mistakenly referenced the passage as being from Matt. 16. Note 3B examines the keyword of ‘evangelizare’, and may also have been the topic of a preaching or classroom exercise. Note 3B features in the margin of Nicolas’s commentary on Matt, 11:5, ‘evangelizantur’, that is, when the poor have the gospel preached to them. The user has added an additional quotation from Luke 4:18, ‘[God] hath appointed me to preach to the poor’. In both notes the user has identified keywords of interest, ‘claudus’ and ‘evangelizare’, and located additional Scriptural references on these topics. In order to do this, the user may have used a Bible concordance in conjunction with the Scriptural commentary.

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

[special sign] Mt. 16 [ms X6]. accesserunt [ad] Jesum turbe multe h[abentes] secum mutos et claudos et __ et curavit eos
3B. Classification: II-AT, f. 37r

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

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

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

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

49. Paris, BNF MS lat. 515, f. 152v
4B. Classification: II-AT, f. 152v

expoliare, nolumus expoliari. 2. ad Cor. 5.

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

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

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

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

Further evidence that the user of MS 515 likely engaged in preaching activities or composed lecture notes on preaching can be seen in Note 4D. This differs from the standard marginalia present in the text and can be classified as Type II-FE
(Further Enquiry). This note is evidence that the user was most likely composing a sermon on the topic of ‘semen’, or seed. Written in list form, the note is divided into three sections under separate headings. In the first section the user explains he wishes to interpret the meaning of ‘semen’ in three ways: historically, allegorically, and morally. To do this, he has selected quotations from the main passage on the entry ‘semen’ to examine and listed them a-d. Quotation A refers to Gen. 1 in which the term seed occurs at 1:11, 1:12, and 1:29, ‘I have given you every herb bearing seed...which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed’. The user has written ‘allegorice’ in quote B and ‘cecus’ in a reference to Gal. 3:1 in which the Galations are chastised for not seeing a portrayal of Christ crucified. Quote C contains a reference to Isa. 61:9, with preachers described as the seed that is blessed by the Lord. The user has written ‘apostolicus’ beside this reference, thus he may have applied this quote to a description of the apostles. The next reference in quote D is also from Isaiah, with the user referencing Isa. 65139 (65:9, 23), ‘for they are the seed of the blessed of the Lord’ (65:23) to possibly describe the faithful people, as the user has written ‘fidelis populus’ beside the reference. Quotations E-H are listed under the second heading of moral, with two interpretations, good and bad. This heading is classified as E, with the next Scriptural quotation contained in item F. The user has intended to discuss carnality, ‘carnalitatis’, with the reference Dan. 13:56 carrying the message

139 The user has written Isa. 64 in Arabic numerals, yet this chapter does not contain any variants on ‘semen’, so it is most likely this was an error and Isa. 65 was the intended reference.
that lust will lead Man’s heart astray. Item G is similarly themed, with the user discussing passion, ‘cupiditatis’, in relation to Job 4:8, ‘they that plough iniquity, and sow wickedness, will reap the same’. For the final quotation H the user has paired the term emptiness, ‘vanitatis’, with the reference Hos. 8:7, ‘for they have sown the wind, and they shall reap the whirlwind: it hath no stalk; the bud shall yield no meal’. The third and last section of the user’s note lists quotes N-P under the heading of the good seed, ‘de bono semine’. Quotation N refers to 2 Cor. 9:10, ‘he which soweth bountifully shall reap also bountifully... Now he that ministereth seed to the sower both minister bread for your food, and multiply your seed sown, and increase the fruits of your righteousness’. Item O contains two quotations, the first is Matt. 13 (13:19, 20, 22, 23) that features the parable of the sower: ‘But he that received seed into the good ground is he that heareth the word, and understandeth it’ (13:23). The second reference of item O is possibly to Isa. 24:15, ‘Therefore in the east give glory to the Lord, the God of Israel, in the islands of the sea’. The final quotation of the note is P, containing the reference Gal. 6:8, ‘For he that soweth to his flesh shall of the flesh reap corruption; but he that soweth to the Spirit shall of the Spirit reap life everlasting.’ Note 4D is clearly structured and carefully planned, suggesting that it may be the user’s plan for a sermon or classroom exercise. Thus the user’s work would open with historical and allegorical interpretations of the keyword of seed; followed by the moral discussion of the good and bad seeds; and ending with an argument emphasising the good seed.
4D. Classification II-FE, f. 438v

¶ semen accipitur tripliciter in scriptura. scilicet.

historice. allegorice. et moraliter.

.a. de primo. Gen. I.

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

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

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


.g. cupiditatis. Job. 4.

.h. vanitatis. Osee 8.

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

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


.p. vite eterne. Gala. 6
Biblical reference aids served an important function for members of the academic community involved in classroom and preaching activities at Paris. The marginalia found in Hugh of St Cher’s commentary in Gonville and Caius College MS 481/477 demonstrates that this work was used most likely by a member of the university. His notes are evidence of the nature of his work, structuring logical theological arguments supported by interpretations of the Scriptures. The users of Gonville and Caius College MS 297/691 and Merton College MS 170 also composed similar coursework exercises and sermons. These works, including the Bible concordance of BNF MS lat. 515, show that manuscript users selected subjects of
interest to be used as themes of their work, with composed notes also featuring related biblical quotations. These texts functioned as university textbooks and preaching aids, demonstrating the equal importance played by the activities of lectio and predicatio in the Paris faculty of theology. Chapter 5 explores the role of preaching at the university in further detail and the use of sermon collections by the academic and cultural communities of the city.
Chapter 5:
Sermon Collections

I. Preaching and the University of Paris

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

\(^{140}\) Wei, Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris, p. 107.


\(^{142}\) d’Avray, Preaching of the Friars, p. 133.
university for a short period of three to four years. Only a minority of top students were chosen to follow the theology course for longer.\textsuperscript{143}

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

\textsuperscript{143} d’Avray, \textit{Preaching of the Friars}, p. 135.


\textsuperscript{145} Sermon collections are generally in Latin, thus they could be read directly for a Latin service. However, preachers also routinely translated the text or paraphrased from it to deliver sermons in the vernacular. Commonly, sermons for lay audiences were delivered in French in Paris but written down in Latin, so that the preacher could translate them into any vernacular language in Europe. See Wei, \textit{Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris}, p. 236; N. Bériou, \textit{L’avènement des maîtres de la parole}. La
used as frameworks for preachers to build on and used in conjunction with other preaching aids such as distinction collections, biblical reference texts, saints‘ lives, and florilegia.

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


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

II. Evidence of manuscript users

The examination of sermon collections produced through the pecia system reflects the interrelated nature of preaching and academic study at Paris. This can be seen in the first manuscript examined below, BNF MS lat. 15953. MS 15953 is a compilation of sermon collections likely produced through the pecia system as it contains a Type III-PM (Pecia Mark). This manuscript is of particular importance because the user of this text is identifiable as Pierre de Limoges, a thirteenth-century theologian and preacher at the University of Paris. As well as having composed the scientific treatise and preaching manual De oculi morali, Limoges is also known to have preached in the city in 1273 and 1280. BNF lat 15953 is a collection of several sermon collections and postilla composed by anonymous authors and known preachers: Gérard de Mailly, Nicolas de Mans, Walter de Château-Thierry, Eudes de Châteauroux, Guiard de Laon, Guillaume d’Auvergne, Nicolas de Biard, Nicolas de

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


Gorran, Stephen Bourbon, Guibert de Tournai. MS 15953 was owned by Limoges, who donated it as part of a wider collection to the university at the time of his death in 1306. Bériou writes that Limoges copied a series of synodal sermons into this manuscript, and Note 1A is representative of the copied sermon notes. This note is a structure plan for a synodal sermon and can be classified as Type II-AT (Additional Text). It first discusses the biblical quotation ‘Behold, I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me: and the Lord, whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to his temple’ (Mal 3:1). It then provides cross-references to related sermons such as ‘We have received, O God, your mercy’ (Ps 47:10). These references are excellent demonstrations of the creative process of composing sermons, showing how preachers such as Limoges consulted multiple preaching aid sources while writing.

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

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


‘et statim veniet’, etc. Et ibi 4, ut hic dicitur. Primo ergo dic hanc charitatis divisionem, postea dic qualiter hec sollemnisitas fuit revelata et de 2 angelis missis ad preparandam viam, scilicet Gabriele et angelo qui aparuit pastoribus, et tunc statim, hodie scilicet, venit ad templum. Hic tertius angelus. Require sermones ‘Custos l in 1., fol 283. 3a col. 7, 8, 9. Tunc dic quod iste dicitur dominator et angelus, ut dicitur hic in prima pagina folii [corrected from folio?] sequentis 1. 2. Tunc dic qualiter adventum eius desiderabant antiqui, ut dicitur hic in fol. sequenti secunda pagina. 4 sed obmitte quod ibi dicitur de tribus personis que Christum susceperunt, quia illud magis spectat ad illum sermonem ‘Suscepimus Deus misericordiam tuam’. Tunc dic quod iste hodie venit ad templum, quasi fructus cum folii. Require in predicto sermone custos et eodem fol. 4 Tunc dic de quadruplici [remaining words cropped]
Note 1A is also categorised as Type II-CRM (Cross-Reference Mark) as it contains the folio number, ‘fol 283. 3a col. 7, 8, 9’, and page locations ‘in prima pagina folio sequentis’, to find the additional sermon references in the manuscript. MS lat 15953 contains Limoges’s own folio numbers, placed in the top margin of the recto side of folios. Another cross-reference occurs in Note 1B, which may also be the structural plan of a synodal sermon by Limoges. He has noted a passage in the main text that explores the theme of God choosing his servants with Scriptural quotations such as John 15:26, ‘Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you, and ordained you’. In note 1B Limoges lists two cross-references to related passages, f. 223 and f. 298. The first reference leads to a discussion on priests, deacons and mendicants in relation to the synod (f. 256r); the second references a passage on God choosing wise men as priests (f. 330r). Limoges notes that he is interested in these passages as they relate to the keyword ‘visitare’.

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

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

et 298 f. pa. 2.

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

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


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

in opprobrium, ipsi regi. quia accepto potum laxatio turpiter laxatus est coram populo. unde. Abac 2. ve qui potum dat amico mittens fel.
BNF MS lat. 15953 is an interesting manuscript to study as it contains a wide selection of works travelling together. It is clear that Limoges chose these texts as his work focused on the topic of synodal sermons and these works are linked thematically. However, most sermon collections produced through the pecia system generally travel alone as single texts or travel with other works by the same author. This may be due to the popularity of an individual work or author at a given time; or because these works were recommended by masters to students and visiting scholars during their instruction on preaching at the university. The notes to be examined next are from standard pecia manuscripts containing sermon collections and are most likely the work of students or preachers present at the university.

BNF MS Lat. 12428 is a pecia copy of *Summa sermonum* by the Dominican preacher Guy d’Évreux. This is a standard pecia text with a French user, as evidenced by the French cursive script of the notes. MS 12428 contains 105 pieces instead of the 102 pieces as listed on the 1304 pecia list, and is therefore copied from an unknown alternative exemplar. This manuscript is worthy of further examination, to see if it contains any textual differences from pecia copies from the known exemplar. User notes in this manuscript are few, leaving the user’s intentions with the text uncertain. Note 2A can be classified as Type II-UV (User Viewpoint), as the user engages with the main text. In the main text, Guy provides commentary on the French quotation ‘voient joier de joieuse vie’ (we see [how] to take pleasure from a joyous life). In the margin of the main text the user has composed a note and writes
that life at present is indeed a body of corruption and ruin. This can be a note the user has written in a lecture or for the composition of a sermon. This view is most likely an allusion to a biblical reference as the keywords ‘corruptionis’ and ‘perditionis’ frequently feature together in the Scriptures.

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

Nota vita presens est quidem corpus corruptionis et perditionis

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

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

155 Opening incipit: ‘Suscepimus deus misericordiam tuam’ as found in Nicolas de Biard’s Sermo, the work survives in manuscript form only. See Murano, Opere diffuse per exemplar e pecia (2005) items 674-6 for a complete list of pecia copies.
manuscript contains few user notes, but the script used identifies the user as English and therefore possibly a scholar or preacher visiting the University of Paris. One example of the user’s work is Note 3A which can be categorised as Type II-AT (Additional Text). Here he copies out a biblical quotation that complements the main text, Guy’s commentary on pure blood. The user writes a quotation on Christ from 1 Peter 2:22, ‘He committed no sin, and no deceit was found in his mouth’. This note is most likely a preaching or lecture note.

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

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


MS Laud Misc. 348 also contains highly useful reference tables that feature in a large number of pecia copies of Guy’s sermon collection. These tables can be classified as Type II-TC (Tables of Contents), yet they are copied by the scribe as they are included in the main text. These tables are arranged by theme. The first table begins f. 205r and lists saints’ and feast days, which are accompanied by text
references to locate the topic in the manuscript. The second table begins on f. 225v and lists keywords of importance that could be used as topics of sermons. The final table begins on f. 227r and contains dates of the liturgical calendar, with each entry accompanied by related text quotations. It is evident that these reference tables were practical to the user as he labelled each entry with an Arabic numeral. The user systematically labelled each individual sermon with an Arabic numeral according to the order in which they appear in the manuscript, and then proceeded to label the related entries in the reference tables. These Arabic numerals also correspond to sermon numbers ascribed to them by Schneyer in *Repertorium*. This would have made the manuscript an efficient reference tool, and suggests that the user was a practising preacher who regularly consulted this manuscript as a preaching aid or study guide.

User notes such as 3A cannot be definitively labelled as either a preaching or classroom exercise, as preaching was an integral part of university life and practised by a large number of the academic community. This means that the exact nature of notes is indistinguishable without further evidence, such as identifying the user of BNF MS 15953 as Pierre de Limoges, a prominent Paris theologian and preacher. Notes 1A-1D reflect Limoges’s research practices and demonstrate how he consulted multiple texts to prepare sermons and connected material thematically on the topic of synods. Limoges collected source material from Scriptures, contemporary sermon collections, as well as texts from other genres as seen in his likely quotation in Note 1C of an unidentified medical text. Preachers such as
Limoges needed access to a wide range of reference material to complete their work, and during this period reference texts were developed that could meet this need by containing quotations from a broad scope of works arranged thematically by keyword to allow ease of use for the reader. One main example of this type of work is the distinction collection, and this genre is studied in further detail in Chapter 6.
Chapter 6:

Distinction Collections

I. Essential reference aids

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

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156 d’Avray, Preaching of the Friars, pp. 72-75.
the following categories: sermons for Sundays and feast days, the names of saints and martyrs, and a table listing distinction entries. The table of saints also includes related themes to each entry, such as Mary Magdalene (*de amore*, love), St Gregory (*de temptatione*, temptation), and St Maurice (*de fide*, faith). The *Summa sermonum* of Guy d’Évreux is also a distinction-model sermon hybrid text as it is divided into distinct parts: a section containing full length Sunday sermons, a separate section discussing sermon themes, and individual sections featuring distinction entries. The *Summa sermonum* was discussed above in chapter 5 as a model sermon text, and this work is in fact an excellent example of the close interchange between genres of pecia texts.

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

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

\textsuperscript{158} ‘2 Tim. 4. Preach the word, dwelling on it continually, at opportune times and at inopportune times.’ Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Rawlinson C 711, f.138v. Trans. d’Avray, \textit{Preaching of the Friars}, p. 73.
We may also draw conclusions from information that is absent from the list. Although the listed length of the *Distinctiones* of Gorran is 68 pieces, four manuscripts are known to have lengths of 58 pieces: Brugge, Groot Seminarie MS 28/20, ff. 1r-264r; Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 1595, ff. 147r-309v; Troyes, BM MS lat. 1503; and Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Bodley 799, ff. 85r-268r. These manuscripts are evidence that Gorran’s collection was copied from at least one alternative exemplar during the same period, which in turn is indicative of demand; and a detailed comparison between the two versions of the pecia copies could potentially show variations in the text.

II. Evidence of manuscript users

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

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

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

Zaca. iii auferte sordida vestimenta et induite etc. Apo. iii. vestimentis albis vestietur Colo. iii. induentes novum hominem qui renovatur. [i]i Cor. iii id quod vetus est renovatur. Qui sic non renovatur a deo innoratur [i.e., ignoratur] Mat. xxv. non novi vos. De hiis duobus. Thren. iii candidiores nazarei etc, et post: denigrate est super carbo[nes]
religiosi debent Christum induere sicut aer induit lucem quia
Christus est lux illuminans vim rationabilem Jo i erat lux uera
Item sicut ferrum induit ignem [ingnem ms] quia Christus est
ignis [ingnia ms] consummans et purgans vim concupiscibilem
Mal iii sedebit purgans etc. Item sicut lana colorem quia proprio
sanguine tingit vim irascibilem i Maca vi ostenderunt elephantis
sanguine etc. et nota quod quando aer induit lucem totus lux
efficitur. ferrum totus igneus [sic] et pannus totus tinctus Sic
religiosus debet esse totus lucidus in intellectu, totus rubeus in
affectu, totus coloratus in honorum morum ornatu [sic for
ornatu]

virtutes autem aliquando appellantur vestes quia nos vestiunt
Ecce. ix omni tempore vestimenta Colo. iii induite vos sicut
electi Item dicuntur arma quia contra hostem nos muniunt. Eph
vi induite vos arma, contra hostem, scilicet. Item luminaria quia
hominem dirigunt. Apo. animalia plena erant oculis id est
virtutibus illuminantibus sicut oculis illuminat et dirigit. Exo
xxxvii supra candelabrum erant vii [crossed out lucerme]
luminaria, id est vii dona Talibus vestibus id est virtutibus
debemus indui quia diuicias eternales [added intro]ducunt Matt
xxii quomodo hunc intrasti non habens vestem Item quia [in margin, with omission mark] contra inimicos muniunt Ro. xiii abiciamus opera tenebrarum et induamus arma etc Item quia gloriosos nos faciunt Ysa lii induere vestimentis gloriae tue etc Item quia a confusione nos custodiunt. Apo. xvi beatus qui custodit vestimenta. Propter hoc Adam apparere coram domino erubuit quia nudus fuit Ge iii
MS Rawlinson C 711 contains further evidence that its user consulted the pecia copy of Maurice’s work as a preaching reference text. On f. 103r the user has written in the margin of the distinction entry Insania a list of Scriptural references related to the keyword. Note 1B contains a range of meanings for insania, as references include biblical quotes on madness (Ps 39:5, Ws 5:4, 14:23, John 10:20, 1 Cor 14:23, Acts 12:15, 26:24,25), as well as rage (Isa 37:28, II Kings 19:28), idolatry (Osee 9:8); tumult (Amos 3:9); lust (Eze 23: 5,6,9,11,16,20); and obsession (Acts 26:11). In Note 1A the user employs the A-G reference system, a system devised by the Dominicans of the St Jacques convent at Paris, to reference each appearance of a word in the Bible. Each appearance of a word was noted according to book of the Bible, chapter of the book, and location within the chapter as indicated by one of the first seven letters of the alphabet A-G.160 This system first featured in a biblical concordance compiled under the direction of Hugh of St Cher by 1239 and later concordances which became the basis for compiling distinction collections.161 The user may have used Note 1B to compose a sermon on the topic of insania.

160 Rouse and Rouse, Authentic Witnesses, p. 225.
161 Rouse and Rouse, Authentic Witnesses, p. 224.
1B. II-S, f.103r

Insania

Ps. xxxix. b.

Sap. v. a. xiii.f.

Ysa. xxxvii. f.

Ose. ix. d.

Amos. iii. d.

iii. Reg. xix. f.

Ysa. xxiii. b.

Eze. xxiii. a. b.

Secundo. Maca. iii. a.

Jo. x. c. prima Cor.

xiii. d. Act'.

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

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

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

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

Item de libro in distinctione de scriptura. lxi.

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

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

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

63. Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS 46, f. 283v
MS Bodley 46 contains further evidence that it was consulted by its user as a preaching aid. The pecia text ends on f. 297v, which is followed by user-added theological notes as well as two sermons. The first sermon is by Bertrand de Turre, and composed to celebrate the feast day of St Clement. The second sermon is by an anonymous author and begins with the incipit ‘Attendite vobis et universo gregi’. This is the opening to a sermon on Acts 20:28, ‘Keep watch over yourselves and all the flock of which the Holy Spirit has made you overseers. Be shepherds of the church of God which he bought with his own blood.’ This incipit is featured in Note 2D and can be classified as a Type II-AT (Additional Text) note. The user most likely copied these sermons to consult in his role as a preacher.

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

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

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

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


\(^{164}\) It must be stressed that the pecia system has a high casualty rate, most likely due to a combination of factors such as wear and tear from active use as well as the lower quality of materials used to produce standard pecia mss. Cf. D.L. d’Avray, *Medieval
In contrast to the *Manipulus florum*, Guillaume’s *Liber Pharetra* is a collection of patristic extracts arranged systematically into four books: ‘liber primus de personarum varietate, secundus de principalium vitiorum et virtutum multiplicitate, tertius de periculosis, quartus de gratiosis’. It is also present on the 1304 pecia list as item number 91. This text contains a wide variety of sermon material, and Guillaume writes that this anthology could be used for the purposes of meditation, disputation, and preaching. The *Pharetra* and *Manipulus florum* are complementary texts that address similar themes and topics that could be of use to university students as well as preachers, as attested by the fifteenth-century catalogue of the Carthusian library at Erfurt: ‘The *Manipulus florum* agrees with, and conforms very much to, the book called *Pharetra* [“Quiver”], both in its contents and in its manner of proceeding...One finds listed...

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

166 ’...placuit michi ut ad ipsum fontem originalium recurrerem et ob maiorem certitudinem ipsemet aliqua exciperem que postmodum (corrected from postmodii?) ut scivi ordinavi, ut que ad meditationem predicationem disputationem ibidem essent utilia levius reperirentur...’ (BL MS Royal 8 C XVI, f.169r) Transcription from D.L. d’Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, pp. 77- 8 n. 7.
here in alphabetical order, like a concordance, the more important and commonest topics that arise in both lectures and sermons, and indeed, those topics which might be helpful to a man in all things. Thus, it should be apparent that the present book and the Pharetra complement each other very well, in both form and content.¹⁶⁷

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


¹⁶⁸ See previous note 124 on survival rates.

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

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

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may read God...’ Bartholomew’s text was clearly a popular resource as it appears on both the 1275 and 1304 pecia lists, as item numbers 12 and 72 respectively. It also had at least two separate pecia exemplars, with the 1275 exemplar listed as 102 pieces in length and the 1304 exemplar listed as 100. The preacher Pierre de Limoges bought a pecia copy of Bartholomew’s work from a University of Paris stationer, and this manuscript survives today as BNF MS lat. 16099.  

II. Evidence of manuscript users

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

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

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

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

L[ecto] 17

c[apitulo] 85

The preacher Pierre de Limoges also consulted De propretatibus rerum in his own pecia copy, BNF MS lat. 16099. Note 2A appears in the margin of book 8, chapter 2, which discusses the properties of the seven spheres of the heavens. This user note is classified as Type II-PS (Paraphrased Summation) as it gives a précis of the main text. Limoges has summarised the description of the fifth part of the heavens known as the firmament. He notes three characteristics of the firmament: its prominence through its ability to project celestial bodies, its containment of celestial bodies, and its fluid nature with a constant flow. This may have been a preparation sermon note by Limoges.
2A. Classification: II-PS, f. 74v

¶ In firmamento consideratur respectu inferiorum universalis

eminencia quia cunctis eminet.

continencia quia omnia continet.

Influencia quia ad fluendum semper viget.

As well being an active preacher, Limoges may have been the dean of the faculty of medicine at the university at Paris in 1267-68 and 1270.\textsuperscript{174} His career in medicine can possibly be evidenced by Note 2B. In Book 17, chapter 106 of BNF MS lat. 16099 Limoges leaves a comment on the plant solsequium underneath the entry on seeds. He writes that the plant is also known by two other names, elitropium and verrucaria\textsuperscript{175}, and that the term elitropium occurs in the plants


\textsuperscript{175} In De proprietatibus rerum the terms solsequium, elitropium and verrucaria are interchangeable and refer to the same plant. According to the Middle English Dictionary, these three terms refer to the marigold plant. See the Middle English Dictionary online: \url{http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/} (Accessed 23 September 2014).
beginning with the letter ‘e’. The entry on elitropium is located in chapter 54 of book 8. Note 2B is classified as Type II-CRM (Cross-Reference Mark) as Limoges has written the location of this plant’s entry. According to the entry on elitropium, the plant is used medicinally to treat warts, venom poisoning and animal bites, as well as prevent illness in the liver. This aspect of the plant’s use suggests that Limoges may have been preparing classroom notes for a medical lecture.

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

¶ solsequium alio nomine dicitur elitropium et verrucaria.
Require supra. in verbo elitropium in vocabulis herbarum incipientibus per litteram. e.fol. 19. col. 2. ante istud.

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

Like De proprietatibus rerum, the Summa de virtutibus of Guillaume Peyraut was also used as a preaching and classroom aid. Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Laud misc. 530 is a standard pecia copy of the Summa. There are few notes in this
manuscript, suggesting that it was used for casual reference only. However, the user notes in this text are mainly omission notes implying that the user had to have studied the work at an in-depth level to edit the main text. Therefore, the user may have been a student or preacher, who consulted another copy of the work to complete the corrections. Omissions are classified as Type II-EC (Error Correction) marginalia. Note 3A is standard of the user notes found in the manuscript, and is the result of the common mistake of eye-skipping on the part of the scribe. This error occurs in book 1, chapter 6 on faith.

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

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

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

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

The *Pharetra* of Guillaume de la Furmenterie was written with preachers in mind as a target audience for the work, and this can be seen in practice with the user notes of BNF MS lat 16530. Firstly, this manuscript is a compilation of texts in which the *Pharetra* travels with sermon collections, as well as the *Meditationes* of Bernard of Clairvaux and a work by Hugh de St Victor. The works are all annotated by the user throughout, suggesting that he was active in preaching and using the works to compose sermons. A typical example of these annotations is Note 4A, which is classified as Type III-AT (Additional Text). In the lower margin of book 1, chapter 9 on good prelates, the user has written additional Scriptural references and quotations from Gregory the Great. The note is divided into three separate parts, with the first containing quotations from I Cor 9:19, ‘Though I am free and belong to no one, I have made myself a slave to everyone’, and II Cor 11:29, ‘Who is weak and I do not feel weak?’ The second section features a quotation from Ecclus 32:1, ‘If they make you master of the feast, do not exalt yourself; be among them as one of their number’, and a quotation from part 2, chapter 6 of Gregory the Great’s *Pastoral Care* which calls for Church
leaders to be humble with those who live good lives. Section 3 contains quotations from Titus 1:11, ‘They must be silenced, because they are disrupting whole households by teaching things they ought not to teach’, and Titus 1:13, ‘rebuke them sharply, so that they will be sound in the faith’. These quotations are similarly themed on the nature of good Church leaders and how to deal with the bad, and this note may be an outline of a sermon on these topics.

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

[Signe de renvoi] De Primo. I Cor. ix. cum essem liber ex omnibus omnium me servum feci etc. ii Cor. xi. quis infirmatur etc. De. II. Ecc. 32. rectorem te posuerunt etc. Petrus in. ca. non dominantes in clero sed forma facti gregis ex animo. Gregorius: natura omnes homines [deleted fecit pares] equales genuit sed aliis alios culpa postponit; summus itaque locus bene regitur, cum is qui preest, vitiis potius quam fratribus dominatur. De tertio. T[itus]. i. sunt multi inobedientes quos oportet redargui quam ob causam argue illos dure.
These five user notes demonstrate the many ways in which anthologies were used during this period in Paris. Bartholomew the Englishman’s *De proprietatibus rerum* was a unique work that was used as a preaching aid, as seen in Note 1A, as well as a classroom text for medicine, demonstrated in Note 2B. Treatises on virtues and vices were generally considered preaching or classroom aids, as seen in Note 3A, as were florilegia texts like that of Note 4A. Guillaume de la Furmenterie wrote that his work, the *Liber Pharetra*, could also be used for disputations. Several genres of texts available through the pecia system were used for forming disputations, such as quodlibetal works which are examined in the following chapter.
Chapter 8:
Quodlibets

I. The nature of quodlibetal disputations

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

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

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

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Only one quodlibetal text features on the 1275 pecia list, the work of Thomas Aquinas as item number 57. The same work again appears on the 1304 list as item number 38, yet with major differences in the text. The 1275 exemplar had 14 pieces as it only contained Aquinas’s quodlibetal disputations from his second term of teaching in Paris between 1269 and 1271, excluding disputations that he composed during his first teaching term from 1256 to 1259. This was put right in the 1304 exemplar which contains 24 pieces with the reconciliation of both groups of disputations\textsuperscript{178}. Five further quodlibetal works feature on the 1304 pecia list by Giles of Rome (item number 58), James of Viterbo (59), Peter of Auvergne (64), Henry of Ghent (65), and Godfrey of Fontaines (66). These texts were most probably included in the pecia list in preference to others because of the high status of these men in the academic community at Paris in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, when quodlibetal disputations were at the height of their popularity.

II. The evidence of user notes

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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


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

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

Et primo ostendit omne peccatum esse voluntarium, secundo ad
notitiam voluntarii distinguitur de involuntario et subdistinguit
de involuntario ostendens quod aliquis alter agit propter
ignorantiam que causat involuntarium et ignorantiam [ms
ignorant’] que non causat involuntarium. Item subdistinguit de
ignorantia agente qui novit rationem ?sugillationis [ms sugi][
Tertio ostendit per 3 rationes quod ebrius occidens peccat.
Quarto distinguit de ebrio ostendens quomodo non peccat,
quinto obicit contra illud membrum, et solvit, ostendens
quomodo peccat et quomodo non. Sexto arguit contra suam
determinationem per 5 rationes et eas solvit.
null
The user of MS lat 15358 makes similar type II-PS notes throughout the
manuscript, suggesting he was an academic at the University of Paris and prepared
responses as a classroom activity or to participate in either quodlibetal or ordinary
disputations. Note 2B is a second example of this user’s work, placed in the margin
of quodlibet 5, question 8: ‘utrum solum suppositum relativum sit in deo et nullum
absolutum’, a discussion of “supposites”, roughly “substances”, in God and in
creatures\textsuperscript{183}. He has summarised an argument with six points on the individuation
of forms, engaging with the main text.

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

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

\textsuperscript{183} Teske’s glossary of Henrican terms defines the term supposite as ‘an individual
substance. A thing that is subject to a nature, as a man is subject to humanity’. R. J.
Teske (ed.), Henry of Ghent’s Summa: The Questions on God’s Unity and Simplicity
hoc ostendit in divisis nullum esse suppositum absolutum.

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

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

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

[special sign] Ideo sic agunt et ex [*between lines*] practico
sillogismo concludunt esse sic agendum sic
videntur ratiocinando procedere unus quisque debet fugere et male esse et querere bene esse, et facere illud per quod hoc sibi contingere potest, sed esse in tormentis est male esse quiescere vero ab illis est bene esse. Hoc autem contingit per mortem ergo existens in tormentis ut quietem assequatur se ipsum perimere debet
These three manuscripts reflect the variety of ways in which quodlibetal collections were used during this period at the university in Paris. First, Magdalen College MS 217 was owned by an English academic or preacher who visited Paris and researched the controversial doctrine condemned by Tempier. BNF MS lat 15358 was used by a student or master at Paris to prepare disputation responses. He may have been a student participating in quodlibetal or ordinary debates as part of his degree, or a master taking part to disseminate his ideas at the university. Thirdly, MS lat 15844 was owned by Reygnerus de Colonia, a master in theology who likely used his text in classroom instruction. These examples of use reflect the wide
audience that pecia manuscripts of quodlibetal works reached in the academic and cultural communities at Paris.

Another genre that was also transmitted widely through the pecia system was the legal text known as the decretal. Decretals were used in academic activities such as classroom lectures and disputations, the details of which are examined in the following chapter.
Chapter 9:
Decretals

I. The pecia system of Bologna

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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196 Young, *Scholarly Community at the Early University of Paris*, p. 25.
Botone. MS 600 was produced through the pecia system of Bologna in c.1310, and then illuminated in Paris in possibly the 1330s. This manuscript was produced with only the written text complete and sent to Paris with miniatures left blank. Both the manuscript and illuminations are of higher quality, and the manuscript features decorated initials and a miniature portrait of Gregory IX in papal garb seated on a throne.

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

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

II. Comparing the manuscripts of Paris and Bologna

With two main pecia systems producing works in Paris and Bologna, it is essential for any researcher in this field to be able to recognise the codicological and palaeographical differences between texts of the two systems. The first noticeable difference between manuscripts is their size. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the pecia manuscripts of Paris were commonly relatively compact in size, so as to be portable for academics and other members of the cultural community. In contrast, Bolognese manuscripts were much larger in their dimensions. The
difference in manuscript size is reflected in the standard layout of folios. Folios of standard Paris pecia texts have on average 30 lines per page. The recommended number of lines per folio in a Bolognese pecia text was 60, as outlined in the university statutes.\textsuperscript{200} Thus, Bolognese texts were generally double in height of their Paris counterparts. The folios of Bolognese manuscripts also featured a distinctive format. Paris manuscripts were generally double-columned with the main text in the university script, Textualis Semi-Quadrata. Folios in Bolognese works were divided into two writing spaces, with a central area containing passages of law and the surrounding, outer written area containing commentary on the passage. The text of main passages was generally written in a university bookhand known as Littera Gothica Textualis Rotunda Bononiensis, and commentaries were composed in a smaller glossing script known as Littera AS-Textualis Italiana.\textsuperscript{201} It is interesting to note that some higher quality Paris pecia texts reproduced the Bolognese page format with central writing space and surrounding commentary, as seen with Paris, BNF MS lat 3893. This has not been studied, but I speculate it was copied from a Bolognese pecia work rather than a Paris exemplar.

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

\textsuperscript{200} Rouse and Rouse, \textit{Authentic Witnesses}, p. 72.

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

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

Hic finis xxix.pecie.

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

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

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

III. Evidence of manuscript users

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

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203 Rouse and Rouse, *Authentic Witnesses*, p. 70.
aggression; and spiders as symbols of immoral behaviour. These images were used as memory aids by students who were encouraged by their masters to be able to recall laws and legal processes on demand, an essential skill for careers in teaching or practising law. The introduction of the pecia system in the thirteenth century enabled the mass production of textbooks at the University of Bologna, and works became widely available to students first in the city before spreading to Paris.

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

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

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


Quis 15. 18. 24. 25. 31.

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

Qui 4. 27

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

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

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

¶ Aves .43.

Accio .7. 51.

Animalia c.43 53. 54.
Advocatus .48.

Arbor .54.

¶ Baptismalis .22. 23

Bestia .54.

¶ Clericus .3.

Census .48.

Colonus .26.

Capella .23.

[col. 2]

Compositio 45

Consuetudo .34.

¶ Diaconus .16.

Dives .40.

Donatio .29. 47. 48

Doctor .48.

¶ Ecclesia .3. 22. 49

Exempti .31. 32

Episcopus .5. 22. 25.

Expensa .42.

Excommunicatio .9.
ffeudum .28. 37.
ffirma .41.
ffenum .53.
Genus .19.
heres .48
Interpretatio 55. 56
Illicita .8.
Iudeus .30.
lac .53.
Lana .53.
Laicus .17.28. 37. 52.

Legatarius 48.
Leprosi .46.
Locatio .41.
Locus .36.
Lucrum .48.
mercenarius .48.
minute .21.
Negotiatio .42. 48.
Novalia 4. 5. 15. 18

¶ Oblatio .9. 38. 47

[col. 4]

¶ Pascua .4. 53.

Pauper 24. 39.

Pactum 20. 45

Presbiter .16.

Pensionarius .26.

Prescriptio .50. 56.

Permutatio .11.

Personales .6.

Prediales 6.

Pisces .53. 54.

Primitie 2. 40.

[col. 5]

Privilegium .55. Exempti’

Pignus .13.

¶ Redimere .1.

Rge .44.

Revocatio . 52.

¶ Saracenus .30
Separatio .33.

Spiritualia .14.

Symonia 1. 17.

Solutio 9. 36.

¶ tempus .10. 35.

Tributa . 27. 48

¶ venatio .54.

ubi .36.
75. Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 32/21, f. 39v
The marginal notes of Gonville and Caius College MS 32/21 demonstrate its use as a reference textbook and classroom aid. The keywords in both 2A and 2B may also have been used as memory aids during study. The manuscript is particularly important as it was produced in Paris and brought to England by an English user. Most likely the user was a visiting scholar who travelled to the university in Paris for a period of study before returning to his home institution. MS 32/21 and other similar manuscripts are evidence of the Paris academic community’s influence on English intellectual life during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, as explored in the following chapters.
Chapter 10:

Thomas Aquinas and the *Summa theologiae*

I. The significance of the *summa*

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

During the early thirteenth century demand rose in the Church for educated preachers and the faculty of theology at Paris received special attention from Pope Gregory IX in his bull *Parens scientiarum*. With the university closely affiliated with the Church, it was natural that the Paris academic community involved members with a strong sense of social reform and moral obligation to their fellow Christians. William of Auxerre was one such master and composed his work *Summa aurea*, loosely formatted in the same manner as Peter Lombard’s *Sentences*. In his prologue

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

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

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


²¹³ Quia catholicae veritatis doctor non solum provectos debet instruere sed ad eum pertinet etiam incipientes erudire,...propositum nostrae intentionis in hoc opere est ea quae ad christianam religionem pertinet eomodo tradere secundum quod congruit ad eruditionem incipientium’. Translation in L.E. Boyle, ‘The setting of the Summa theologia of Saint Thomas’ p. 34, n. 28. Edition of Prologue can be found online at http://www.corpusthomisticum.org/
49, the Prima secundae item number 50, and the Secunda secundae item number 51. The Tertia pars does not feature on the 1275 list, yet it does appear on the 1304 list as item number 27. However, there is an error on the 1304 list with the Prima pars featured as item number 25 and the Secunda secundae as item 26. Bataillon suggests that item number 25 was intended to be the Prima secunda instead of the Prima pars, due to an incorrect piece number included with the item entry. It states the text is 70 pieces long, yet the Prima pars is in fact 56. The Prima secundae is the probable entry as it is 60 pieces in length (read ‘lxx’ as ‘lx’).

II. Evidence of manuscript users

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

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214 L.-J. Bataillon communicated his theory to G. Murano 18 September 1999, see Murano (2005) p. 121, n. 248.
university debates at Oxford, particularly the debate during 1277-86 in which the early Thomist school promoted Aquinas’s theories on human nature and bodily identity.\(^{215}\) This school mainly comprised Dominican theologians, including Thomas of Sutton, Robert of Orford, and Richard Knapwell.\(^{216}\) This places the following three manuscripts in an interesting context, because their users were likely aware of these debates at their home institutions and possibly influenced by them in their own work.

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

1A. Classification: II-PS, f. unnumbered\(^{217}\)

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


\(^{217}\) MS does not contain complete librarian pagination.
derivaretur ab aliquo intrinseco vel ex-trinseco. Sed primum est
impossible, quia nihil producit se ipsum in esse. ?Sed similiter
secundum est impossible, quia dato quod sic, id extrinsecum tunc
esses prius [MS prius\textsuperscript{a}], et sic aliquid esset prius primo, scilicet, esse
divino, quod non illud dare Unde cum deus sit causa primiti effectus
cuius est esse, secundum illud etiam de causis prima omnium cum est
esse esse [word repeated] ante causam secundarii effectus non arguit
ipsam eandem causam esse omnino simplicem ut patet de igne et
calido ignis est causa eius et prima causa ignis

76. Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 75/42, f. unnumbered. Main text: I, q.3, ar.4.
Like MS 75/42, Oxford, Balliol College MS 44 is a standard pecia copy. MS 44 is a copy of Aquinas’s Tertia pars. This manuscript contains few user notes, yet the marginalia present demonstrate that the work was consulted by its user as a reference tool. Note 2A in particular is evidence of this. Classified as Type II-AT (Additional Text), Note 2A appears in the lower margin of q.35, ar.5 on whether there are two filiations in Christ. The user has highlighted a passage from the main text with a special sign: ‘Sed recte consideranti apparet eadem relatione referri unumquemque ad suum patrem et matrem, propter unitatem causae’, (if the question is considered in a proper light, one shall see that every man bears one relation to both his father and mother, on account of the unity of the cause thereof). Underneath the main passage in the margin the user has referenced an additional text: ‘See Anselmus Monologion c.55’. This is a clear reference to chapter 55 of the Monologion of Anselm, a work also produced through the Paris pecia system as item number 10 on the 1275 list. Chapter 55 of the Monologion discusses whether a father, mother and child share equal traits, a related topic to the highlighted passage above.\(^{218}\) The user of MS 44 therefore consulted at least one other text in his research, possibly in preparation of a disputation.

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

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>Greek</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abstinentia 146</td>
<td>bellum 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acceptio personarum 63</td>
<td>beneficientia 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>accidia 35</td>
<td>blasfemia 13. 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>accusatio 68</td>
<td>bona temporalia 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>activa vita 181</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ade peccatum 163</td>
<td>cantus 91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adoratio 84</td>
<td>caritas 23. 24. 25. 26. 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>advocatus 71</td>
<td>caritatis precepta 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adulatio 115</td>
<td>castitas 151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adulterium 154</td>
<td>cecitas mentis 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adiurare 90</td>
<td>clementia 157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>affabilitas 114</td>
<td>confessio 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ambitio 131</td>
<td>consilii donum 52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apellare 69</td>
<td>constantia 137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apostasia 12</td>
<td>contentio 38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>articulus 1</td>
<td>contemplatio 82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>astutia 55</td>
<td>contemplativa vita 179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attentio 83</td>
<td>continentia 155</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
avaritía 118
audacia 127
contumelia 72
correptio fraterna 33
cruelitas 159
cultus dei 93
curiositas 167

78. Oxford, Lincoln College MS Lat 2, f. 224v
The user note evidence from these three manuscripts, Gonville and Caius College MS 75/42, Balliol College MS 44, and Lincoln College MS Lat 2, is representative of marginalia found in pecia copies of the *Summa theologiae*. Notes 1A to 3A demonstrate that the summa was consulted by a general audience of university scholars as Aquinas intended. These are standard user notes that reflect the way in which the works were consulted as reference tools, with concise passage summaries as seen in Note 1A, cross-reference notes to other related texts such as 2A, and accompanying keyword table to act as an efficient index as featured in 3A. Similar notes are found across separate genres of works available through the pecia system used by students and preachers in Paris in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the preparation of their work, from Bible concordances to decretals, showing the versatile and accessible nature of Aquinas’s multi-volume instruction manual. All three manuscripts examined above were used by English scholars at Paris, and the following chapter explores in further detail the influence of Paris on English intellectual life.
Chapter 11:

The influence of Paris on English intellectual life

I. The Oxford pecia system

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

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

219 Destrez, La Pecia dans les manuscrits universitaires du XIIIe et du XIVe siècle, p. 60.
1280, Worcester Cathedral MS F.103. Destrez and Pollard identified a total of thirteen pecia copies with links to Oxford.

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

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

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complete versions of the books or face penalties such as confiscation\textsuperscript{223}, but this need not in itself imply a pecia system by which the exemplars were divided into quires that could be rented out independently and if necessary simultaneously. No other regulations, such as guides on pricing or formatting of manuscripts, feature in the statutes that would indicate an operating pecia system. Parkes argues that as so many scholars acquired their works from outside of Oxford that the quality of texts circulating in the town was difficult to control, and the regulation was most likely ‘intended to restrict the exploitation of its members by local tradesmen’.\textsuperscript{224} A chest used by university officers to store documents known as the \textit{cista exemplariorum} is mentioned in the 1347 statutes\textsuperscript{225}; however the term ‘exemplariorum’ was most likely

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

\textsuperscript{224} Parkes, ‘The provision of books’, p. 466.

\textsuperscript{225} \textit{Statuta Antiqua}, 149 (1347): ‘Quia per Procuratorum inhibitiones ad instantias appellantis, de facili absque aliqua causae cognitione factas pro sola dilatione, frequenter oritur materia et occasio frivolae appellationis, cautiones que per tales appellantes expositae non cedunt in commodum Universitatis, per Universitatem Regentium extitit ordinatum quod, priusquam fuerit inhibitum, iuret appelans coram altero Procuratore quod non causa frivolae dilationis habendae, sed ex iusta causa, quam credit se posse probare, suam appellationem interposuit; et tunc alter Procurator, antequam inhibeat, cautioem recipiat sufficientem: cautio vero recepta in cista exemplariorum infra biduum reponatur, et nomen exponentis cum cautione exposita, et summa pro qua iacet in registro, scribatur’. This statute states that if one
a general term relating to pledges, charters, and other documents, not to pecia exemplars as Pollard previously suggested.

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

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

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

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

227 Southern, Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe, p. 200.
228 Baldwin, Masters, Princes, and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and his Circle, pp. 75-6; Wei, ‘From Twelfth-Century Schools to Thirteenth-Century Universities: The Disappearance of Biographical and Autobiographical Representations of Scholars’, p. 57.
schools to a unified academic body. With the university stabilised, the academic community could flourish and expand unimpeded for the following decades. An intellectual programme was firmly established by Paris-based theologians like Peter the Chanter, which led thirteenth-century academics to focus their attention on lecturing, holding disputations, and preaching. In his treatise entitled *Verbum abbreviatum* Peter wrote that the practice of bible study resembles a house with ‘Reading is, as it were, the foundation and basement for what follows...Disputation is the wall in the building of study...Preaching, which is supported by the former, is the roof, sheltering the faithful from the heat and wind of temptation’. The emphasis on these three activities continued through Peter’s followers such as Thomas Chobham who also declared that ‘the duty of the theologian consists of three things: in lecturing, in disputing, and in preaching’. The result of this unique programme of education was the training of elite theologians much needed by the

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Church, as seen in the noted shortage of suitable men to undertake preaching activities in the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215. Paris became the intellectual centre of Europe and from the early thirteenth century onwards scholars and preachers travelled from their home institutions to study with the Paris masters. This practice was popular with English centres of learning, especially Oxford and Cambridge. Young’s study of Paris masters of theology reveals that in the first half of the thirteenth century English scholars frequently undertook periods of study at Paris.

By the introduction of the pecia system in c1250 it was an established custom for academics to complete research and teach at the University of Paris for short periods before returning to England. William of Milton was one such English scholar who actively participated in the academic community of Paris. A Franciscan theologian, William was a regent master at Paris in 1248 and possibly remained in this role until 1253. He then returned to England and lectured in Cambridge for some time but was recalled to Paris by Pope Alexander IV in 1255. Alexander

234 ‘X. De praedicatoribus instituendis’ (Mansi, Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio..., t xxii (Venice, 1778), cols. 998-9).
requested that he head a commission to complete the summa works of Alexander of Hales, however he may have died in 1257 before the project finished. William was most likely a respected and well-known master in Paris, as evidenced by his appearance on the 1275 pecia list. Under the name Guillelmus de Melitona, William had eleven works produced through the pecia system with six works featured on the 1275 list. He composed commentaries and postilla on the books of the Bible with *Quaestiones de sacramentis* listed as item number 13, followed by his postilla on the Psalms, twelve prophets, the gospel of Mark, Ecclesiasticus, and Job as item numbers 70-74. As well as engaging with Paris academic life, masters like William of Milton were expected to return to England with the knowledge they had gained abroad, thus establishing the influence of Parisian thought on English centres of learning. The Franciscan and Dominican friars both had systematic and effective networks of higher education across Europe and in both orders the apex was a centre in Paris. Even an important centre like the Franciscan house at Oxford might send scholars on to Paris.

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

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


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

The Franciscan school at Oxford continued to send select members to the University of Paris into the fourteenth century. John Duns Scotus was ordained as a priest while a member of the Franciscan school in 1291, and remained there until at least 1293.\textsuperscript{240} He was then sent to Paris for the following three or four years, before returning to England. Duns Scotus was present at Cambridge from 1297 to 1300 where he lectured on Peter Lombard’s *Sentences*. He was in Oxford again until 1301 and during this time he qualified as a master of theology. He then finally returned to Paris at this time to complete his doctorate in theology and lectured in the theology faculty until 1307. Duns Scotus was finally transferred to the Franciscan school in Cologne to teach theology until his death in 1308. His works are not listed on the pecia lists, yet two manuscript copies were possibly produced through the Paris system. Troyes, Bibl. Municipale MS 277 contains the commentaries of Duns Scotus on the first two books of Lombard’s *Sentences*, and Troyes MS 994 features his *Quaestiones quodlibetales*. Peckham and Duns Scotus were two of many Oxford

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

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

III. The use of Paris pecia texts in England

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

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245 d’Avray, Preaching of the Friars, p. 135.

246 d’Avray, Preaching of the Friars, p. 135, n. 2; L. Beaumont-Maillet, Le Grand Couvent
des Cordeliers de Paris. Étude historique et archéologique du XIIIe siècle à nos jours
lack of English scholars in Paris was directly connected to the demise of the pecia system. From the second half of the twelfth century, the University contained four distinct ruling corporations, or nation bodies.\textsuperscript{247} These were separate corporations that made up the arts faculty at Paris, each with their own procurators and constitutions. They were known as nations as they were divided by regional difference, and the four houses represented the French, Normans, Picards, and the English. The English nation was made up of students from the British Isles as well as those from Germanic- and Slavic-speaking parts of continental Europe. As one of only four nations, the English therefore made up a large proportion of the student body present at the university. As the Hundred Year’s War progressed, the number of English students and masters dwindled at the university and the number of German-speakers present rose in their place during the 1330s-40s. The name of the English nation changed to the German, or Alemannian, nation. Although this is speculative, I would go as far as to suggest that the pecia system was wholly or in part regulated by the English nation on behalf of the university, and as its members left after the war began the Paris system suddenly collapsed.

Although manuscripts were no longer produced at Paris, they did not fall out of use. In England individual manuscript users continued to work from the existing pecia texts at their home institution, and then most likely either sold their manuscripts on or donated the manuscripts to their schools through their wills after their deaths. The codicological evidence shows that subsequent users consulted these manuscripts into the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as seen in pecia copies such as Oxford, Balliol College MS 49. As discussed in chapter 3, Balliol College MS 49 contains several philosophical works of Thomas Aquinas and its thirteenth-century user may have been an academic theologian. By the fifteenth century this manuscript was the property of the Ely cathedral priory, with a Type I-OM (Ownership Mark) user note dating from this period on f. 4v: ‘Iste liber pertinet ecclesie Eliensi’.

The end leaf of the text on f. 323r also features a fifteenth-century Type II-AT (Additional Text) passage from an unidentified work on the theme of evil. This passage may relate to the third text that appears in MS 49, Aquinas’s work De malo (ff. 195r-256v). This engagement with the work suggests that the later user of the text was likely also an academic theologian. From another ownership mark on f. 4v we learn that the book was donated to Balliol College by William Grey (d. 1478), Bishop of Ely: ‘Liber domus de Balliolo in Oxon’/ ex dono Willelmi Gray Eliensis episcopi’. Educated at Balliol, William Grey was a Doctor of Divinity at the

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University of Oxford, as well as a chancellor of the university on/off from 1440 to 1442. The later user notes may have been the work of William Grey himself or of an academic in Balliol from the period after the manuscript’s donation to the college.

1A. Classification: II-AT (Additional Text), f. 323r

Unidentified passage opens:

miseria inquid generis humani a cuius condicione nullum hominum ab ortu usque ad obitum uidemus alienum non pertineret ad iustum omnipotentis iudicium si non esset originale peccatum. Hec ille. Quia igitur circuncicio [after certificatio deleted] aliquale remedium erat, quanvis non plenum, contra originale peccatum, cupiens propheta novum et perfectum adesse remedium, quo deleri posset homo malum, ait viam iniquitatis amove a ---

79. Oxford, Balliol College MS 49, f. 323r. This user note was copied in an English cursive hand during the mid- to late fifteenth century.
Bodleian Lib. MS Rawlinson C 711 is similar to Balliol College MS 49 in its provenance. Mentioned previously in chapter six, MS Rawlinson C 711 is a standard pecia copy of the distinction collection compiled by Maurice de Provins. The thirteenth-century user of the text most likely consulted the Distinctiones as a preaching tool, and composed his own distinction entries in the margins of the text. We may speculate that the manuscript travelled to England, because the next discernible user of MS Rawlinson C 711 was a Thomas Graunt who identifies himself in the Type I-OM (Ownership Mark) Note 2A on f. 3v. He writes that he bought the text while in the household of Anne, Countess of Stafford (d. 1478):

2A. Classification: Type I-OM, f. 3v

liber M. Thome Graunt, emptus per eundem in domicilio domine Anne comitesse Staffordie

80. Oxford, Bodleian Lib. MS Rawlinson C 711, f. 3v
Urquhart has identified Master Graunt as Thomas Graunt who became Senior Proctor of Oxford in 1430 and later Precentor of St Paul’s Cathedral in London. His position in Anne’s household is unknown and no other notes of Graunt’s appear in the manuscript, so we may only guess that he consulted the distinction collection as a general textbook. More evidence survives for the latest user of MS Rawlinson C 711, whose marginalia are copied in a late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century humanist italic script. The user may have been English, as by this period Italic began to replace Secretary script as the main English hand. He was most likely an academic or preacher as he carefully studied and noted distinction entries, as seen in Note 2B. 2B is a Type II-AT (Additional Text) note as the margin note appears to be the original work of the user, where he has commented on the distinction entry for ‘Ambulare Spiritu’. He has divided his analysis of the passage into three topics: _digne, caute_ and _honeste_. First he lists three manners worthy of God: uprightness of the heart, honesty of speech, and in the display of works. Then he writes three


manners in which caution can be achieved: through wisdom, through solitude, and through mortification. Finally he lists three outcomes of honesty: no-one would be saddened, the desolate would be comforted, and those indulgent to evils would be informed.

2B. Type II-AT, f. 14v

\[
\text{Ambulare Spiritu} \quad \begin{aligned}
\text{digne} \\
\text{caute} \\
\text{honeste}
\end{aligned}
\]

digne quo ad deum
cauta quo ad seipsum
honeste quo ad proximum
digne deo tripliciter
rectitudine cordis
veritate oris
exhibitione operis

Caute
per pridentiam
per solitudinem
per carnis mortificatitionem

Honeste
Neminem contristando
Desolatos consolando
Male morigeratos
informando
Note 2B is standard of the marginalia from the early modern user of MS Rawlinson C 711, and its format suggests that the user was preparing a classroom exercise or sermon to preach. The two manuscripts examined here, MS C 711 and Balliol College MS 49, are representative of surviving pecia texts found in England. The continued use of pecia texts into the early modern period demonstrates that these manuscripts remained living documents at universities in active use by scholars and preachers. By remaining in active use, these manuscripts sustained the influence of Paris thought on English intellectual life beyond the short years the pecia system was in operation. The spread of pecia texts from Paris to other centres of learning across Europe illustrates the mobile nature of medieval intellectual and cultural communities and the pecia system played a vital role in a European system of mass-communication during its brief period of operation.
Conclusion:

This study has aimed to make much more concrete things hitherto familiar only in a rather abstract way. A typology of marginalia has been instantiated by a plethora of examples. The pecia system’s relation to preaching has been made visible and specific across a range of different genres. The large-scale use of Paris pecia manuscripts by Englishmen has been illustrated by marginal annotations in unmistakeably Anglicana script.

This was accomplished with the aid of the typology which classifies user marginalia into three main categories: Type I comprises notes present in the manuscript that does not engage with the textual content such as the Ownership Mark (I-OM) in Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.4.19 (133) on f. 11r that names Simon Mepham, Archbishop of Canterbury as the manuscript’s owner (Appendix, item 48 (1275)). Type II comprises marginalia that directly engage the textual content contained within the manuscript, including Error Corrections (II-EC) and Additional Texts (II-AT). A standard Type II-EC note occurs in Cambridge, Pembroke College MS 126 (Chapter 1, Note 1B) where the user has copied in the margin a passage omitted from the main text. Omission notes are frequently found in pecia copies, showing that users proofread and corrected manuscripts to ensure textual accuracy. Additional texts are separate works added by the user that are thematically related to texts contained in the manuscript, and one such Type II-AT note occurs in Cambridge, University Library MS Il 2 10, a pecia copy of Aristotle’s works (Chapter
3, Note 1A). Note 1A is copied in the margin of *De Physica* and features a passage from Walter de Burley’s commentary on the same text, reflecting that users consulted multiple works to complete classroom exercises. Type II marginalia further encompass Cross-Reference Marks (II-CRM), Summary notes such as Paraphrased Summation (II-PS), and User Viewpoint notes (II-UV). A representative II-CRM note appears in Oxford, Balliol College MS 49, a copy of Aquinas’s *De potentia Dei* (Chapter 3, Note 3B). Note 3B appears in the margin of an article discussing the number of persons in God and the user makes reference to another related passage in the same text. Cross-reference marks highlight topics of interest for the user and material they likely consulted during their academic research. A typical II-PS appears in Oxford, Magdalen College MS 217, a compilation manuscript that contains a pecia copy of Henry of Ghent’s *Quodlibeta* (Chapter 8, Note 1A). In Note 1A the user has paraphrased the main text, a passage that examines the world’s temporality. Summaries such as 1A show that users of pecia texts were elite scholars, capable of clarifying complex arguments and understanding advanced works. The marginalia of pecia manuscripts illustrate the use of these works by the academic community at Paris as active working reference tools, and show how pecia texts played an essential role in the activities of the university.

One central university activity at Paris in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was the art of *predicatio*, and a range of texts was produced through the pecia system that were employed as practical preaching aids by the wider cultural community. The *Legenda aurea* of Jacopo da Varazze was one such reference aid.
Cambridge, Peterhouse MS 131 was likely used by an active preacher, as seen in the surviving summation notes in this pecia copy of the *Legenda*. MS 131 contains several Type II-PS notes, including Note 1F (Chapter 2) which appears in the margin of a passage describing a procession involved in the feast day of Candlemas. The user may have likely composed this note while preparing a sermon to celebrate this particular holy day. Bible reference aids were also popular research tools for preachers at this time. Concordances were one type of Bible reference texts, and contained entries for non-trivial words from the Scriptures and related quotations.

Paris, BNF MS Lat. 515 is a pecia copy of one Bible concordance and the marginalia present suggest its user was likely a preacher. In Note 4D (Chapter 4) he was most probably composing a sermon on the topic of *semen* (seed). This Type II-FE note is clearly divided into three headings of historical, allegorical, and moral. Each heading features Scriptural quotations featuring the theme of seed. Note 4D’s careful structure demonstrates that it may have been the user’s plan for a sermon or related classroom exercise. Sermon collections obviously were another genre of text that acted as preaching aids. Paris, BNF MS Lat. 15953 is a compilation of sermon collections and this manuscript is of particular interest because its user was the notable Paris theologian and preacher Pierre de Limoges. He copied a series of synodal sermons in the margins of the main text, and Note 1A (Chapter 5) is one typical example of this. 1A is a Type II-AT note and a structural plan for a synodal sermon. It contains references to the Biblical quotation Mal 3:1 (‘Behold, I will send my messenger’) and to sermons containing similar themes. This note reflects the
creative process of composing sermons and shows that preachers including Limoges consulted multiple sources when undertaking their work. Distinction collections, alphabetised collections of key words and themes that occur in the Scriptures, were also used by preachers as reference tools. Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Bodley 46 is a pecia copy of Maurice de Provins’s distinction collection and this manuscript features evidence that its user consulted the text as a preaching aid. First, it contains several Type II-CRM (Cross-Reference Marks) demonstrating that the user was researching possible sermon topics on keywords including *baptisma* (baptism) and the Nativity (Chapter 6, Note 2A), *liber* (book) and the Scriptures (Note 2B), and *videre* (to see) and faith (2C). Also, in the endleaves of MS Bodley 46 the user has copied the text of two sermons, one on the feast day of St Clement and the second on Acts 20:28 (‘Keep watch over yourselves and all the flock’) (Note 2D). He may have copied these texts to preach on related themes, and these examples illustrate in a concrete way the use of preaching aids as working reference texts.

As a major intellectual centre in the mid-thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the University of Paris attracted leading scholars and preachers from international institutions. Both the Dominican and Franciscan orders sent academically gifted friars to Paris to study for periods of time, and these scholars would return to their home institutions with the knowledge they had gained. This practice was prevalent in England and the University of Oxford in particular. There are many surviving pecia texts at Oxford, and early twentieth-century scholars like Destrez and Pollard promoted the existence of an independent Oxford pecia system
(Chapter 11). In actuality, these manuscripts contain codicological signs of Paris production and the evidence of English hands in the marginalia of these pecia works shows that the texts were brought in droves from Paris when scholars returned from their studies abroad. This movement of pecia manuscripts in this manner reflects the mobile nature of academic communities during this period, and the influence of Paris on English intellectual life. The masters present at Paris inspired English theologians, as seen in the philosophical debates on Aquinas’s theories on bodily identity in the thirteenth century (Chapter 10). Although the operation of the pecia system was short-lived, pecia manuscripts present at Oxford continued to be used by scholars and preachers into the early modern period and continued to play a central role in university life as working reference texts.
Appendix I:
The source base organised by genre

My starting point was Murano’s handlist of manuscripts examined by Jean Destrez, which was in turn based on his well-preserved Nachlass.\textsuperscript{251} I for the most part confined myself to manuscripts likely to illustrate the extent and nature of the Paris pecia system in France but also to demonstrate how the Paris system supplied users in England. In practice this meant focussing on surviving manuscripts present in France and England. In the table below I list all the manuscripts I examined, grouped roughly by genre, with comments to indicate how heavily they were annotated. Each manuscript is identified by its shelfmark and accompanied by a cross-reference to Appendix 2 on the pecia lists, as described below. Appendix 2 is arranged by the pecia lists of 1275 and 1304, and contains summary descriptions of each of the examined pecia manuscripts. I also describe the number of annotations that appear in each manuscript by three main levels of use: rare, moderately frequent, and frequent throughout.

In the ‘Notes’ column I add comments when appropriate on the script of the user annotations present, particularly when it is Anglicana. This is given as the influence of the pecia system on England is one of the focal points of the thesis.

\textsuperscript{251} G. Murano, \textit{Opere diffuse per exemplar e pecia}; The collection of Jean Destrez’s work is now kept at Le Saulchoir/ Couvent Saint-Jacques, Paris.
Anglicana is a distinctive script employed by English manuscript users, and Derolez outlines several key features that distinguish this hand from continental cursive.⁵²

Cursive developed from the thirteenth century onwards from more formal Gothic scripts such as Textualis to meet the fast-growing needs of business and administration to produce books rapidly and more cheaply.⁵³ The features of cursive result from the scribe’s rapid execution and can be summarised as follows.⁵⁴ First, the script featured extended ascenders and descenders, particularly evidenced by the letters ‘f’ and straight ‘s’ below the baseline. Second, the rapid writing style generally made the script slope either left or right. Third, cursive introduced loops in letter forms, as seen in tops of the ascenders turn to the right in letters including ‘b’, ‘h’, ‘k’, ‘l’, and the letter ‘g’ may display looping below the line. Fourth, the reduced number of strokes in cursive resulted in simplified letter forms seen in ‘m’ (1), ‘n’ and ‘u’, and ligatures may feature with letters linked to the preceding letter, common with ‘de’ and ‘cr’ (3-4). In simplified letter forms the minims are generally distinguished in initial and final position with extended strokes below the base line, particularly in words beginning with ‘i’, ‘m’, ‘n’, ‘r’, tironian ‘et’ (8-9), and the latter in words ending in ‘m’ and ‘n’ (10-11). Fifth, cursive featured simplified forms of the letter ‘a’ with a single or double compartment. Finally, some letter forms feature

bold, heavy strokes which appear diagonally from top left to bottom right in letters ‘d’ and ‘v’ (5-6) and horizontally from left to right in the abbreviation stroke.

Examples of Cursive letter forms:

English cursive, or Anglicana, developed into its own distinctive character from the mid-thirteenth century onwards as a book hand. In general, Anglicana does not slope and letters ‘f’ and straight ‘s’ are often vertical in appearance. The main features of individual letter forms are summarised as follows. The first peculiar feature of Anglicana is the treatment of the ascenders of letters ‘b’ (10 below), ‘h’ (11), ‘k’, and ‘l’ where the ascender has a marked bifurcation, or forking. The letters ‘f’ and straight ‘s’ also contain distinct ascenders, with a bold loop to the right traced a second time with a hairline stroke (12–13). Secondly, Anglicana differs from continental cursive in its endstrokes as final letters such as ‘m’ and ‘n’ are

commonly unchanged from the same letters in preceding positions. Also, straight ‘s’ was gradually replaced at the end of words with a round ‘s’ in the final position. Third, in continental cursive, particularly French, the double compartment ‘a’ was largely replaced with a single compartment ‘a’ by the fourteenth century. By contrast, the use of the double compartment ‘a’ remained popular in Anglicana until the fifteenth century. Fourth, the Anglicana letter ‘d’ almost always features a counter-clockwise loop and can be distinguished by its bold, curved, and shortened diagonal final section that results in an essentially unconnected letter (17). With such distinctive indicators, identifying the use of English cursive script by a manuscript user is straightforward and clearly distinguishable from a continental hand. Parkes further examines additional features of cursive as used by thirteenth-century English university scribes, such as compressed handwriting and extensive use of abbreviations.\(^{258}\)

Examples of Anglicana letter forms\(^{259}\):

\[\text{Images from Derolez, The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books, p. 136-7.}\]

\(^{258}\) Parkes, English Cursive Book Hands 1200-1500, plate 16.

The cross-reference contains the pecia list and item entry number to locate individual manuscript descriptions, for example London, British Library MS Sloane 471 appears on the 1275 pecia list as item number 12 so below the manuscript’s shelfmark is followed by (1275 - 12) for short.

**Genres**

i. Bibles

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<th>Notes</th>
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<td>1275-87</td>
<td>Rare</td>
<td>Unknown L 13(^{th}) - E 14(^{th}) cent.</td>
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ii. Bible concordances

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<tbody>
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<td>1275-23</td>
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<td>Continental L 13(^{th}) - E 14(^{th}) cent.</td>
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### iii. Bible Commentaries

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Non-pecia, item 3</td>
<td>Frequent throughout</td>
<td>English L 13&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; - E 14&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; cent.</td>
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<td>Oxford, Merton College MS 170</td>
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### iv. Works of Thomas Aquinas

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v. Works of other university theologians (especially sentence commentaries and Quodlibets)

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vii. Other preaching aids, e.g. Distinctiones, Saints Lives, De Proprietatibus Rerum
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### vii. Canon Law

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### ix. Works of Aristotle or Pseudo-Aristotle

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**Cambridge, University Library MS II.II.10 (105)**

Frequent throughout

English

L 13\(^{th}\) - E 14\(^{th}\) cent.

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**x. Miscellaneous**

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Appendix II:

The Paris Pecia Lists and Summary Manuscript Descriptions

The following registers are the 1275 and 1304 Paris pecia lists in full, and accompanying summary descriptions of manuscripts I have consulted during the course of my studies on the pecia system. These taxatio lists are the only surviving evidence for the operation of the Paris system and they are the creations of the Sens family, four successive owners of a single bookseller shop based on the rue St. Jacques located near the main Dominican convent in Paris. Operating between c.1270 and c.1347, all four members of the Sens family were most likely university-sworn stationers: William, Margaret, Andrew and Thomas of Sens, in respective order. William of Sens was responsible for the 1275 list and the rental of exemplar pieces, and his possible grandson Andrew followed the same practice when he produced the 1304 list. Along with titles of works, items are listed alongside their piece length and rental price. Works are also arranged into categories, such as works by a particular author or by subject, such as the works of Thomas Aquinas, or decretal texts. Three manuscript copies of these documents survive in: Vatican Library, MS Reg. lat. 406; British Library, MS Add. 17304; and Vienna, R.H. and M.A. Rouse have a detailed study of the Sens family in their work Manuscripts and their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris 1200-1500, 2 vols. (New York: Harvey Miller, 2000).
Österreichische Nationalbibliothek MS 7219. The lists were first edited and printed by H. Denifle and E. Chatelain among other documents relating to the medieval university at Paris.261

The lists appear straightforward, yet certain features present difficulties for modern researchers. First, Denifle did not number the entries on the lists, which made cataloguing items a cumbersome task. This issue was resolved when Murano recently edited the pecia lists, and provided item numbers alongside exemplar titles.262 However, two further difficulties remain: entries do not contain full titles of works or often incorrect titles, and names of authors are generally omitted. These have made text identification a painstaking process, as seen in the dilemma of item 25 on the 1304 list. Previously mentioned in chapter 10, Item number 25 reads as the Prima pars of Thomas Aquinas’s *Summa theologiae*, when in fact it is most likely the exemplar for the Prima secundae of Aquinas. I have endeavoured to edit and update the 1275 and 1304 lists in full. I have kept the original order of entry to preserve the medieval list categorisation, yet I have also included items’ numbers, titles of works, and names of authors alongside the number of pieces per exemplar and rental price.

Additionally, within the pecia lists I have provided summary descriptions of the pecia copies and exemplars I have consulted during the course of my studies on

261 *Chartularium universitatis Parisiensis* (1889-1897). The 1275 list appears in volume 1 as item 530, and the 1304 list appears in volume 2 as item number 642. Note that the 1275 list is mistakenly entered as dating from 1286.

the Paris system. Thus, when I come to a work of which I have studied pecia copies, I interrupt the pecia list to provide a summary description of the manuscripts I have used. These descriptions follow the below conventions, under the headings of shelfmark, date, origin, contents, pecia remarks, notes on user, and decoration. Several works appear on both pecia lists, and I have determined which list a description appears under by date and/or exemplar length. Cambridge, St John’s College MS C.2 (52) contains a copy of Aquinas’s *In primo Sententiarum* and *In secundum Sententiarum* which both appear on both lists, however it is dated to c1300-1331 and so the description features on the 1304 list as item 5. Jacopo da Varazze’s *Legenda aurea* appears on both pecia lists as items 109 (1275) and 73 (1304), yet the exemplars listed differ in piece length: 90 (1275) and 95 (1304). So where possible, descriptions are arranged to correspond to an exemplar of the same length because the pecia texts were most probably copied from the corresponding exemplar. Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Canon misc 142 has a known piece length of 95, and the description for this manuscript is placed in the corresponding 1304 entry. When it is not possible to identify a text more precisely by date or differing exemplar length, the manuscript description appears on the earlier 1275 list with a broad dating to remain flexible on a manuscript’s time of production. I have included these summary descriptions as they represent a reliable sample group of surviving pecia texts, providing an accurate view of the system’s operation as well as a reliable portrait of the manuscripts’ users.
In the case of multiple pecia texts travelling together, I provide a full manuscript description in the entry of the first work that appears in the manuscript. For example, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS MacClean 154 contains 20 pecia texts, copies of Moerbeke’s Latin translations of Aristotle. The first text that appears in MS MacClean 154 is the *Physica*, item number 7 on the 1304 pecia list, and so the full summary description features in this entry.

**Shelfmark**
The shelfmark displays the present-day location of the manuscript.

**Date**
Unless specified, manuscripts have been produced between approx. 1250 to 1330, the operating period of the Paris pecia system.

**Origin**
The Paris pecia system, although exceptions occur such as decretals composed in Bologna and sold in Paris.

**Contents**
Specifying texts found in the manuscript, and folio numbers in which they occur.

**Pecia Remarks**
Remarks on the production of the manuscript, such as whether it is a copy or exemplar, if pecia marks are present, and the scribe hand used to compose text.

**Notes on User**
Notes on user evidence, such as whether user notes are present, and the scribe hand used to compose notes. From this evidence it is generally possible to observe the likely nationality and occupation of an individual user.

**Decoration**
Decorations present in the manuscript, if any. Pecia manuscripts do not usually feature decoration above red and blue inks, although higher quality texts are not uncommon.
I. The pecia list of 1275

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<td>100</td>
<td>8 sol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Homilies, possibly <em>Homiliae in Hiezechihelem prophetam, or</em> Homiliae XL in Evangelia(^{263})</td>
<td>St Gregory the Great</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>18 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>De Emmanuele</em></td>
<td>Richard of St Victor</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td><em>De preparatione animi ad contemplationem</em></td>
<td>Richard of St Victor</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>12 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td><em>De sacramentis</em></td>
<td>Hugo of St Victor</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>3 sol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td><em>Liber super Leviticum</em></td>
<td>Ralph of Flaix</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>3 sol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Collection of works: <em>De consideratione ad Eugenium papam, De xii gradibus humilitatis et superbie, De laudibus Virginis matris omeliae, Libellus missus archiepiscopo Senonensi, De disciplina monachorum, Epistola missa fratibus de Monte Dei</em></td>
<td>Bernard of Clairvaux</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2 sol.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Collection of works: <em>De diligendo Deo</em>, <em>Meditationes</em>(^{264}), <em>De gratia et de libero arbitrio</em>, <em>De percepto et dispensatione</em></td>
<td>Bernard of Clairvaux</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td><em>Flores sancti Bernardi</em></td>
<td>William of Saint-Martin of Tournai</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>20 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Collection of works: <em>De veritate</em>, <em>De libertate arbitirii</em>, <em>De casu diaboli</em>, <em>Cur Deus homo</em>, <em>De conceptu virginali et de originali peccato</em>, <em>De processione Spiritus Sancti</em>, <em>De concordia praescientiae et praedestinationis et gratiae Dei cum libero arbitrio</em>, <em>Monologion</em></td>
<td>St Anselm</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>2 sol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Two works: <em>De Incarnatione Verbi</em>, <em>De similitudinibus</em>(^{265})</td>
<td>St Anselm</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td><em>De proprietatibus rerum</em></td>
<td>Bartholomew the Englishman</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>6 sol.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Shelfmark: London, British Library MS Sloane 471
Date: Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin: The Paris pecia system.
Contents: Text travelling alone (ff. 2r-388r), followed by contents tables

\(^{264}\) Pseudo-Bernard of Clairvaux.

Pecia Remarks Pecia copy, pecia marks present, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.

Notes on User MS likely working reference text, user marginalia present throughout.

Decoration No decoration above red and blue inks.

Shelfmark Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Ashmolean 1474

Date Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.

Origin The Paris pecia system.

Contents Text travelling alone (ff. 1-238), followed by contents tables (ff. 239-247).

Pecia Remarks Pecia copy, text composed in English book hand, most likely by user.

Notes on User MS working reference text, user marginalia present in text. Explicit at end of text contains Type I-OM (Ownership Mark), reads: ‘...Scripta per manum Godefridi correctoria reverendi doctoris et magistri sacre theologie, magistri Johannis Rath. Deo gratias’ (f. 247v).

Decoration No decoration above red and blue inks, opening initial cut out (f. 1r).

Shelfmark Paris, BNF MS Lat. 348

Date Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.

Origin The Paris pecia system.

Contents Text travelling alone (ff. 1r-289v)

Pecia Remarks Pecia copy, pecia marks present, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User
MS working reference text, user marginalia present.

Decoration
No decoration above red and blue inks.

Shelfmark
Paris, BNF MS Lat. 16098

Date
Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.

Origin
The Paris pecia system.

Contents
Text travelling alone (ff. 2r-266v)

Pecia Remarks
Pecia copy, pecia marks present, text composed in French
book hand likely by user.

Notes on User
MS working reference text, user marginalia present, text
composed in single-column format.

Decoration
No decoration above red and blue inks.

Shelfmark
Paris, BNF MS Lat. 16099

Date
Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.

Origin
The Paris pecia system.

Contents
Text travelling alone (ff. 1r-234v)

Pecia Remarks
Pecia copy, pecia marks present, text composed in Textualis
Semi-Quadrata.

Notes on User
MS working reference text, user marginalia present. Type I-
OM (Ownership Mark) states the manuscript was donated to
the Sorbonne as part of the bequest collection of Pierre de
Limoges: ‘ex legato magistri Petri de Lemovicis’ (f. 235v).

Decoration
No decoration above red and blue inks.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author and Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Possibly <em>De sacramentis</em>&lt;sup&gt;266&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>William of Middleton, Not listed, 2 sol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td><em>De naturis rerum</em></td>
<td>Alexander Nequam, 41, 18 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td><em>De ortu scientarum</em></td>
<td>Robert Kilwardby, 18, 9 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td><em>De principiis naturae</em></td>
<td>John Sackville, 14, 7 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td><em>Commentum super librum Predicamentorum</em></td>
<td>William of Moerbeke’s Latin translation of Simplicius, 34, 18 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td><em>Commentaria in librum Peri Hermeneias</em></td>
<td>William of Moerbeke’s Latin translation of Ammonius, 18, 9 den.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>266</sup> Author name not included in entry, see Murano (2005) item 447.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Commentium super librum de anima</th>
<th>William of Moerbeke’s Latin translation of Themistius</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>6 den.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Two works: Summa de casibus poenitentiae, Apparatus in Summam de casibus poenti</td>
<td>First work: Raymundus de Pennafort; Second: Guillaume de Rennes</td>
<td>Not listed</td>
<td>3 sol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item repeated as 123 below.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sententiae in IV libris distinctae</th>
<th>Peter Lombard</th>
<th>Not listed</th>
<th>3 sol.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Concordantiae bibliae&lt;sup&gt;267&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th></th>
<th>108</th>
<th>6 sol.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Shelfmark  
Paris, BNF MS Lat. 513

Date  
Late thirteenth century/ Early fourteenth century.

Origin  
The Paris pecia system.

Contents  
Text travelling alone (ff. 1r-314r), followed by collection of quotations from Prosper of Aquitaine’s Liber sententiarum in fourteenth-century hand (ff. 314v-315v).

Pecia Remarks  
Pecia copy, pecia marks present, composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.

Notes on User: MS working reference text, user marginalia present throughout. High quality MS, possibly produced for senior member of the university or prosperous prelate.

Decoration: Opening folio features inhabited initial with scene of the four apostles (f. 1r), ‘A’ chapter opens with inhabited initial of angels (f.1r).

Shelfmark: Paris, BNF MS Lat. 515

Date: Late thirteenth century/ Early fourteenth century.

Origin: The Paris pecia system.

Contents: Text travelling alone (ff. 1r-546r).


Notes on User: MS working reference text, user marginalia present throughout such as Type II-EC (Error Corrections) where user has copied out omitted entries in margin. Type I-OM (Ownership Marks) feature on f. 546r for three separate owners: Barthélemy, son of Girard d’Anagni travelling on crusade (late thirteenth century); Elias, Archbishop of Nicosia (1332-1342); and Hugo Barroti, precentor and canon of Narbonne (note dated 26th day of March 1367).

Decoration: No decorations above red and blue inks.

Shelfmark: Paris, BNF MS Lat. 516

Date: Late thirteenth century/ Early fourteenth century.

Origin: The Paris pecia system.

Contents: Text travelling alone (ff. 1r-428r), text is triple-columned in format.

Notes on User: MS working reference text, user marginalia present throughout such as Type II-EC (Error Corrections) where user has copied out omitted entries in margin.

Decoration: No decorations above red and blue inks.

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td><em>Historia scholastica</em></td>
<td>Peter Comestor</td>
<td>Not listed</td>
<td>3 sol.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Exemplars concerning theology**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Title/Description</th>
<th>Author/Additional Information</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td><em>Enchiridion</em></td>
<td>St Augustine</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td><em>De trinitate</em></td>
<td>St Augustine</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>3 sol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td><em>Confessiones</em></td>
<td>St Augustine</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>14 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Two works: <em>De doctrina christiana; De disciplina christiana</em></td>
<td>St Augustine</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td><em>De conflictu vitiorum et virtutum</em>&lt;sup&gt;269&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Ambrosius; Autpertus</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td><em>Retractationes</em></td>
<td>St Augustine</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Three works: <em>De Genesi ad litteram; Liber ecclesiasticorum dogmatum; De Fidei ad Petrum</em></td>
<td>First work: St Augustine; Second: Gennade de Marseille; Third: Fulgence de Ruspe</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>18 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Three works: <em>De libero arbitrio</em></td>
<td>St Augustine</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>18 den.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>268</sup> Latin category header reads: ‘Ista sunt exemplaria super theologiam’.

<sup>269</sup> Latin entry reads: ‘Liber de conflictu viciorum Augustini’.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>First/Last Work</th>
<th>Volume</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td><em>Contra faustum manichaeum; De divinatione demonum</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nine works: <em>De consensu evanetlistarum; Quaestiones veteris et novi Testamenti; Contra academicos; De beata vita; De ordine; Soliloquia; De immortalitate animae; De moribus ecclesiae catholicae et de moribus manichaeorum; De quantitate animae</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>First; Third-Seventh: St Augustine; Second: Ambrosiaster</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Five works: <em>De bono coniugali; De sancta virginitate; De professione sancte viduitatis; Adversus quinque hereses; Ad Orosium contra Priscillianistas et Origenistas</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>First-Third, Fifth work: St Augustine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Three works: <em>De utilitate credendi; De gratia novi testamenti contra Honoratum (Epistola CXL); De natura boni</em></td>
<td>St Augustine</td>
<td>St Augustine</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td><em>Contra duas epistolas pelagianorum</em></td>
<td>St Augustine</td>
<td>St Augustine</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Two works: <em>De nuptiis et concupiscentia; De adulterinis coniugiis</em></td>
<td>St Augustine</td>
<td>St Augustine</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Two works: <em>Tractatus in evangelium Iohannis; De utilitate</em></td>
<td>St Augustine</td>
<td>St Augustine</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>Cost</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td><em>Epistulae</em></td>
<td>St Augustine</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>2 sol.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td><em>Tabulae super originalia patrum</em></td>
<td>Possibly Robert</td>
<td>Not listed</td>
<td>2 sol.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kilwardby</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td><em>Corpus Dionysianum cum commentis</em></td>
<td>Johannes Scotus</td>
<td>Not listed</td>
<td>6 sol.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Eriugena’s Latin translation of Dionysius, with commentaries by Maximus the Confessor, John Sarrazin, Eriugena, Hugh of St Victor, and Thomas Gallus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---


The works of Thomas Aquinas concerning the *Sentences*\(^{272}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>42</th>
<th><em>In primo Sententiarum</em></th>
<th>Thomas Aquinas</th>
<th>38 (listed as 37)</th>
<th>2 sol.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pecia Remarks</td>
<td>Pecia copy, composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.</td>
<td>Notes on User</td>
<td>MS possibly working reference text. User notes in English hand, mainly Type II-CRM (Cross-Reference Marks).</td>
<td>Decoration</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>43</th>
<th><em>In secundo Sententiarum</em></th>
<th>Thomas Aquinas</th>
<th>47</th>
<th>2 sol.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shelfmark</td>
<td>Cambridge, Pembroke College MS 126</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Late thirteenth century/ Early fourteenth century</td>
<td>Origin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pecia Remarks</td>
<td>Pecia exemplar, pecia marks present, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata. The physical state of the MS demonstrates that it has been handled much more frequently than a standard pecia copy. Condition varies by quire,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{272}\) Latin category header reads: ‘Hec sunt scripta fratris Thome de Aquino super textum *Sententiarum*’. 
supporting theory this is an exemplar text. Number of pieces corresponds to both 1275 and 1304 lists.

Notes on User: Script of user hand suggests exemplar sold to English user. MS contains frequent notes; likely text was a working reference text or possibly notes added by pecia copyists.

Decoration: No decoration above red and blue inks.

| 44 | In tertio Sententiarum | Thomas Aquinas | 50 | 2 sol. |
| 45 | In quatro Sententiarum | Thomas Aquinas | 91 | 4 sol. |

Shelfmark: Cambridge, Peterhouse MS 50

Date: Late thirteenth century/ Early fourteenth century

Origin: The Paris pecia system.

Contents: Text travelling alone (ff. 1-269r)


Notes on User: User notes in English cursive, notes are infrequent. Table appears at end of text (ff. 269r-274r) that lists question titles; user has numbered each question from the distinctions and added any missing questions to table. Numbering suggests likely text consulted as a reference work.

Decoration: No decoration above red and blue inks.

Shelfmark: Oxford, All Souls College MS 330

Date: Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.

Origin: The Paris pecia system.

Contents: Text possibly travelled alone, folios survive as fragments (35 –
Pecia Remarks: Possible exemplar, pecia marks present, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.

Notes on User: Unknown if working reference copy from fragments, however user notes are present.

Decoration: No decoration above red and blue inks.

Shelfmark: Oxford, New College MS 118
Date: Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin: The Paris pecia system.
Contents: Text travelling alone, followed by table of contents (ff. 281v-285v)

Notes on User: MS most likely a casual reference text only, user notes infrequent.
Decoration: No decoration above red and blue inks.

46  Catena super Mattheum  Thomas Aquinas  57  3 sol.

Shelfmark: Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.4.18 (132)
Date: Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin: The Paris pecia system.
Contents: 1. *Catena super Mattheum* (ff. 1r-224r)
2. *Catena super Marcum* (ff. 224v-303r)

Pecia Remarks: Works travelled together, pecia copies, pecia marks present, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata. Most likely companion volume to Cam., Trinity College MS B.4.19 (133) (see 1275 item 48)
Notes on User  MS casual reference text, most likely same owner as MS B.4.19.

Decoration  Decorated opening folio (f. 1r) featuring inhabited initial of Aquinas presenting his work to the pope, vine leaf frame and animal figures. Overleaf (f.1v) contains decorated initial with animal figures. Books of Matthew and Mark open with inhabited initials of individual Apostle (ff.3r, 224v). Edges of folios stained with red ink.

Shelfmark  Oxford, Balliol College MS 45
Date  Late thirteenth/Early fourteenth century.
Origin  The Paris pecia system.
Contents  
1. *Catena super Mattheum* (ff. 1r-229r)
2. *Catena super Marcum* (ff. 231-254) Work incomplete, possibly bound with text 1 by later librarian.

Pecia Remarks  Text 1 pecia copy, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.

Notes on User  MS likely working reference text, user marginalia present in English hand.

Decoration  Evidence that opening folio contained decorated initial, since cut out (f. 1r). No other decoration above red and blue inks.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Price</th>
<th>Currency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td><em>Catena super Marcum</em></td>
<td>Thomas Aquinas</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>16 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td><em>Catena super Lucam</em></td>
<td>Thomas Aquinas</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>2 sol.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Shelfmark  Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.4.19 (133)
Date  Late thirteenth/Early fourteenth century.
Origin  The Paris pecia system.
Contents

1. *Catena super Lucam* (ff.1r-183r)

2. *Catena super Iohannem* (ff. 184r-336r)

Pecia Remarks
Works travelled together, pecia copies, pecia marks present, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata. Most likely companion volume to Cam., Trinity College MS B.4.18 (132) (see 1275 item 46)

Notes on User
MS casual reference text, Type I-OM (Ownership Mark) appears on f. 11r, naming Simon Mepham, archbishop of Canterbury as MS owner. No evidence to suggest Mepham studied in Paris, work with B.4.18 (133) likely presented to him as gifts.

Decoration
Decorated opening folio (f. 1r) featuring inhabited initial of Aquinas presenting his work to the pope, vine leaf frame and animal figures, opening of text 2 same (f. 184r). Books of Luke and John both open with inhabited initials of individual Apostle (f. 1r, 184r). Edges of folios stained with red ink.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>49</th>
<th>Summa theologiae prima pars</th>
<th>Thomas Aquinas</th>
<th>56</th>
<th>3 sol.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Shelfmark
Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 75/42

Date
Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century

Origin
The Paris pecia system

Contents
Text travelling alone, contains alphabetical table of keywords and distinction locations (ff. 1r – 15v)

Pecia Remarks
Pecia copy, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.

Notes on User
MS a working reference copy, user notes present throughout in an English cursive script.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shelfmark</th>
<th>Oxford, All Souls College MS 27</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Origin</td>
<td>The Paris pecia system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contents</td>
<td>Text travelling alone, followed by contents table (ff. 175r – 178r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pecia Remarks</td>
<td>Pecia copy, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes on User</td>
<td>MS likely casual reference text only, user marginalia uncommon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decoration</td>
<td>Medium quality MS, opening folio features inhabited initial with Aquinas lecturing to students.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shelfmark</th>
<th>Oxford, Balliol College MS 42</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Origin</td>
<td>The Paris pecia system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contents</td>
<td>Text travelling alone, contents table appears before decorated opening page (f. 7r).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pecia Remarks</td>
<td>Pecia copy, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes on User</td>
<td>MS likely a working reference text, user marginalia present throughout.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decoration</td>
<td>Higher quality MS, decorated initial has been cut out.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Shelfmark | Oxford, New College MS 121
---|---
Date | Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century
Origin | The Paris pecia system
Contents | 1. *Prima secundae* (ff. 1r – 119v)
 | 2. *Secunda secundae* (ff. 123r – 372v)
Pecia Remarks | Pecia copy, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User | MS likely a working reference text, user marginalia present in English cursive hand.
Decoration | English cursive hand.
 | No decoration above red and blue inks.

| 51 | *Secunda secundae* | Thomas | 82 | 4 sol. Aquinas |

Shelfmark | Oxford, Balliol College MS 43
---|---
Date | Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century
Origin | The Paris pecia system
Contents | Text travelling alone, contents table appears before decorated opening page (f. 9r).
Pecia Remarks | Pecia copy, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User | MS likely a working reference text, user marginalia present.
 | Possible pair with Balliol College MS 42 above.
Decoration | Higher quality MS, decorated initial on opening folio.

Shelfmark | Oxford, Lincoln College MS Lat. 2
---|---
Date | Late thirteenth century/ Early fourteenth century
Origin | The Paris pecia system.
Contents | Text travelling alone, followed by contents table (ff. 219r – 224v).
Quaestiones disputatae de veritate

52

Thomas

Aquinas

65

3 sol.

Pecia Remarks
Works travelled together, pecia copies, pecia marks present, texts composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.

Notes on User
MS a working reference copy, user notes present throughout in English cursive script. Table of contents composed in opening folios (ff. 1v-3r) contains contents of all works present in MS. In English hand, may be work of user.

Decoration
No decoration above red and blue inks.
Shelfmark | Oxford, Merton College MS I.3.1 (96)
---|---
Date | Late thirteenth/Early fourteenth century.
Origin | The Paris pecia system.
Contents | 1. *Quaestiones disputatae de veritate* (ff. 1r-217r)
2. *Quaestiones de Quodlibet* (ff. 221r-264v)
3. *Quodlibeta quatuor* (John Peckham) (ff. 265r-270v), followed by tables of contents for three texts (ff. 271r-273r)
Pecia Remarks | Works travelling together, pecia copies, pecia marks present, texts composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User | MS working reference text, user marginalia present. High quality MS, from library of Roger of Martival, Bishop of Salisbury (d. 1330).
Decoration | Opening folio features inhabited initial of master lecturing students (f. 1r).

| 53 | *Quaestiones disputatae De potentia Dei* | Thomas Aquinas | 28 | 14 den. |

Shelfmark | Oxford, Balliol College MS 47
---|---
Date | Late thirteenth/Early fourteenth century.
Origin | The Paris pecia system.
Contents | 1. *Quaestiones disputatae De potentia dei* (ff. 5r-88v)
2. *De malo* (ff. 89r-182v)
3. *De spiritualibus creaturis* (ff. 183r-199r)
4. *De virtutibus* (ff. 199v-238v)
5. *De anima* (ff. 241r-267r)
Pecia Remarks | Works travelled together, pecia copies, pecia marks present,
texts composed in several hands, possibly Italian book hands.

Notes on User
MS a working reference copy, user notes present throughout.

Fourteenth-century contents table appears in opening folios (ff. 3-4).

Decoration
No decoration above red and blue inks.

Shelfmark
Oxford, Balliol College MS 48

Date
Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.

Origin
The Paris pecia system.

Contents
1. *Quaestiones disputatae De potentia dei* (ff. 1r-108r)

2. *De virtutibus* (ff. 108v-161r), followed by table of contents for first two works (ff. 167r-169r)

3. *De veritate* (ff. 170r-356r)

Pecia Remarks
Works travelled together, pecia copies, pecia marks present, texts composed in several hands in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.

Notes on User
MS a working reference copy, user notes present throughout in Anglicana cursive script.

Decoration
No decoration above red and blue inks.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>54</th>
<th><em>Quaestiones de spiritualibus creaturis</em></th>
<th>Thomas Aquinas</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>3 den.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

| 55 | Three works: *Quaestiones disputatae De anima; De virtutibus; De unione verbi incarnati modo continuo numerantur* | Thomas Aquinas | 24 | 12 den. |
Shelfmark       Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS 214
Date           Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin         The Paris pecia system.
Contents       1.  *De anima* (ff. 1r-41v)
               2.  *De virtutibus* (ff. 42r-105r)
               3.  *De spiritualibus creaturis* (ff. 106r-132)
               4.  *Quaestiones de Quodlibet* (ff. 133r-176)
Pecia Remarks  Works travelled together, pecia copies, pecia marks present,
               texts composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User  MS a working reference copy, user notes present in Anglicana
               cursive at end of text 3 (ff. 175-176r) and alphabetised
               distinctions composed by user also feature at end of text (ff.
               177r-178v). A Type I-OM (Ownership Mark) note identifies
               the MS user as Robert Winchelsey, archbishop of Canterbury
               (f. flyleaf v(r)). Robert studied at the faculty of arts at Paris,
               and by 1267 was head of the faculty.\textsuperscript{273} He most likely
               purchased the MS during this period.
Decoration      No decoration above red and blue inks.

\begin{tabular}{llll}
\hline
56 & *Quaestiones de malo* & Thomas Aquinas & 28 & 14 den. \\
57 & *Quaestiones de quodlibet* & Thomas Aquinas & 14 & 7 den. \\
58 & *Summa contra Gentiles* & Thomas Aquinas & 57 & 3 sol. \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

Shelfmark: Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Canon Pat. Lat. 136
Date: Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin: The Naples pecia system.
Contents: Work travelling alone.
Pecia Remarks: Pecia copy, text composed in Italian Rotunda.
Notes on User: MS likely casual reference text only, user marginalia uncommon.
Decoration: Medium quality MS, opening folio features inhabited initial of Thomas Aquinas (f. 1r)

Shelfmark: Oxford, Merton College MS I.1.7 (78)
Date: Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin: The Paris pecia system.
Contents: Work travelling alone, includes contents tables (ff. 1r, 25r-v, 60v-61v, 115r-v).
Pecia Remarks: Pecia copy, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata
Notes on User: MS working reference text, user marginalia present.
Decoration: No decorations above red and blue inks.

| 59 | *De perfectione spiritualis vitae* | Thomas Aquinas | 7 | 4 den. |
| 60 | *Catena super Iohannem* | Thomas Aquinas | 40 | 2 sol. |

Shelfmark: Cambridge, Pembroke College MS 38
Date: Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin: The Paris pecia system.
Contents: 1. *Catena super Iohannem* (ff. 1r-143v)
2. *Catena super Marcum* (ff.144r-209r)
The works of Pierre de Tarentaise concerning the Sentences

| 61 | Super primum librum | Pierre de | 33 | 18 den. |

\[274\] Latin category header reads: ‘Hec sunt scripta fratris Petri de Tarentasia super textum Sententiarum’. 

289
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sententiarum</th>
<th>Tarentaise</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Shelfmark</strong></td>
<td>Cambridge, Peterhouse MS 117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Date</strong></td>
<td>Late thirteenth century.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Origin</strong></td>
<td>The Paris pecia system.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Contents** | 1. *Super primum librum Sententiarum* (ff. 1-97)  
2. *Super secundum librum Sententiarum* (ff. 98-183)  
Works attributed to Thomas Aquinas in text. |
| **Pecia Remarks** | Pecia copy, pecia marks present, text composed in an English bookhand. |
| **Notes on User** | MS may have been composed by English user himself, with accompanying marginalia in an Anglicana cursive hand.  
Possibly a working reference text. |
| **Decoration** | No decorations above red and blue inks. |

| **Shelfmark** | Oxford, Merton College MS G.I.O. (105) |
| **Date** | Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century. |
| **Origin** | The Paris pecia system. |
| **Contents** | 1. *Super quatum librum Sententiarum* (ff. 1r-159v)  
2. *Super primum librum Sententiarum* (ff. 166r-300v) |
| **Pecia Remarks** | Pecia copies, text 1 composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata, text 2 composed in English hand, possibly user’s own. |
| **Notes on User** | Texts travelled together, as user composed table of contents for both texts together (ff. 160r-164r). User marginalia found in both texts. |
| **Decoration** | No decoration above red and blue inks in text 1, no rubric in text 2. |
| Page | Title | Author | Pecia Remarks | Denomination |\hline
| 62 | Super secundum librum Sententiarum | Pierre de Tarentaise | Possibly 35 (listed as 25) | 19 den. |\hline
| 63 | Super tertium librum Sententiarum | Pierre de Tarentaise | 36 | 20 den. |\hline
| 64 | Super quartum librum Sententiarum | Pierre de Tarentaise | 48 | 27 den. |\hline

Shelfmark: London, British Library MS Add. 15424  
Date: First half fourteenth century.  
Origin: The Paris pecia system.  
Contents: Text travelling alone (ff. 2-195r)  
Notes on User: MS working reference text, with user marginalia present. User likely English as notes composed in Anglicana Formata. End of text contains list of themes (ff. 195r-199), user pencilled distinction numbers beside keywords. User-added folio numbers also appear throughout MS.  
Decoration: Decorated initial appears on opening folio (f. 2r).

Shelfmark: Cambridge, Peterhouse MS 58  
Date: Late thirteenth century.  
Origin: The Paris pecia system.  
Contents: Text travelling alone (ff. 250). Work attributed to Thomas Aquinas.  
Notes on User: MS may have been composed by English user himself, with accompanying marginalia in an Anglicana cursive hand. Possibly a working reference text.

Decoration: No decorations above red and blue inks.

Shelfmark: Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Laud. misc. 605

Date: The year of Our Lord 1260, on the fifth day of March after the feast of St Dionysius as stated in explicit (f. 161v).

Origin: The Paris pecia system.

Contents: Text travelling alone (ff. 1-161v).


Notes on User: MS a working reference text, user may be French with marginalia written in cursive hand. Possible Type I-OM (Ownership Mark) appears on f. 107v: ‘hic sunt .ix. quaterni fratrii Lambertii de Virdinio’.

Decoration: No decorations above red and blue inks.

Shelfmark: Oxford, Magdalen College MS 116

Date: Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.

Origin: The Paris pecia system.

Contents: Text travelling alone (ff. 1-164).


Notes on User: MS a working reference text, user may be French with marginalia written in cursive hand.

Decoration: No decorations above red and blue inks.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>Postilla in epistolas Pauli</td>
<td>Pierre de Tarentaise</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>3 sol. et 6 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Postilla super Lucam</td>
<td>Pierre de Tarentaise</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>18 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>Postilla super Matthaeum</td>
<td>William of Alton</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>16 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Postilla super Isaiam</td>
<td>William of Alton</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>16 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Postille super Psalterium</td>
<td>William of Middleton</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>4 sol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>Postille super xii Prophethas</td>
<td>William of Middleton</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>4 sol. et 6 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>Postilla super Marchum</td>
<td>Jean de la Rochelle</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>3 sol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>Postilla super Ecclesiasticum</td>
<td>William of Middleton</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>3 sol. et 6 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>Postille super Iob</td>
<td>William of Middleton</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>3 sol. et 6 den.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The works of Bonaventure, O.F.M.275

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>Postilla super Lucam</td>
<td>Bonaventure</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>3 sol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>Postillae super Ecclesiasten</td>
<td>Bonaventure</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>Postilla super Canticum</td>
<td>Bonaventure</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Canticorum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>Postilla super librum</td>
<td>Bonaventure</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>20 den.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

275 Latin category header reads: ‘Hec sunt scripta fratris Bonaventure, de Ordine fratrum Minorum, scilicet’.

293
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shelfmark</th>
<th>Paris, BNF MS Lat. 17480</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Late thirteenth century/ Early fourteenth century.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Origin</td>
<td>The Paris pecia system.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contents</td>
<td>1. <em>In I librum Sententiarum</em> (ff. 1r-149v)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. <em>In II librum Sententiarum</em> (ff. 153r-385v)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pecia Remarks</td>
<td>Pecia copy, pecia marks present, texts composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes on User</td>
<td>Works likely travelled together, with accompanying marginalia in a French cursive hand. Notes infrequent, MS may have been used for casual reference only.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decoration</td>
<td>No decorations above red and blue inks.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

276 Work remains unidentified at this time, see Murano, *Opere diffuse per exemplar e pecia*, item 269. It is possible to speculate that this is a work by an author other than Bonaventure, such as William of Middleton who also appears on the 1275 list with related works.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Listings</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 86   | *In IV librum Sententiarum*               | Bonaventure  | Not listed| 2 sol.
| 87   | *Pro textu Biblie*                        |              | 120²⁷⁷   | 5 sol.|

**Shelfmark**  
Paris, BNF MS Lat. 28  
**Date**  
Late thirteenth century/ Early fourteenth century.  
**Origin**  
The Paris pecia system.  
**Contents**  
Text travelling alone (ff. 1r-431r), followed by alphabetical list of names and keywords (ff. 432r-473r) and contents tables (ff. 474r-end)  
**Pecia Remarks**  
Pecia copy, pecia marks present, composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.  
**Notes on User**  
MS possible working reference text, user marginalia present.  
**Decoration**  
No decorations above red and blue inks.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Listings</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td><em>Pro quinque libris Moysi glosatis</em></td>
<td>Not listed</td>
<td>5 sol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td><em>Pro libris historicibus omnibus</em></td>
<td>Not listed</td>
<td>5 sol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td><em>Pro Iob</em></td>
<td>Not listed</td>
<td>5 sol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td><em>Pro Psalterio glosato</em></td>
<td>Not listed</td>
<td>4 sol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td><em>Pro libris Salomonis</em></td>
<td>Not listed</td>
<td>2 sol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td><em>Pro xvi Prophetis</em></td>
<td>Not listed</td>
<td>5 sol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td><em>Pro evangeliiis cum antiqua glossa</em></td>
<td>Not listed</td>
<td>5 sol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td><em>Pro epistolis Pauli</em></td>
<td>Not listed</td>
<td>4 sol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td><em>Pro actibus apostolorum, epistolis</em></td>
<td>Not listed</td>
<td>2 sol.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*canonicis et Apocalipsi*

²⁷⁷ Item piece length listed as ‘cxx pieces, ii demptis’ for both the 1275 and 1304 lists, suggesting the exemplar may have been 118 pieces in length.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td><em>Sermones de dominicis</em></td>
<td>Guillaume Peyraut</td>
<td>65 sol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td><em>Sermones de sanctis</em></td>
<td>Guillaume Peyraut</td>
<td>69 sol. et 6 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td><em>Sermones de tempore</em></td>
<td>Thomas Brito</td>
<td>61 sol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td><em>Sermones ‘Precinxisti’ scilicet Commune sanctorum</em></td>
<td>Thomas Brito</td>
<td>47 sol. et 6 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td><em>Sermones de tempore</em></td>
<td>Guillaume de Maillé</td>
<td>49 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td><em>Sermones de sanctis</em></td>
<td>Guillaume de Maillé</td>
<td>17 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td><em>Sermones de dominicis</em></td>
<td>Pierre de Saint-Benoit</td>
<td>24 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td><em>Sermones de festis</em></td>
<td>Pierre de Saint-Benoit</td>
<td>21 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td><em>Commune sanctorum scilicet Nimis honorati sunt</em></td>
<td>Pierre de Saint-Benoit</td>
<td>20 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td><em>Sermones attrebatenses, de dominicis</em></td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Not listed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

278 Latin entry reads: ‘Sermones fratris Thomas Britonis dominicis, tam de epistolis quam de evangeliiis...scilicet Abicionius’.

279 Latin entry reads: ‘Sermones Abicionius de Mali de dominicis’.

280 Also referred to as Gérard de Maillé.

281 Latin entry reads: ‘Sermones eiusdem de festis, scilicet a festo S. Andree apostoli usque ad Annunciationem dominicam’.

282 Latin entry reads: ‘Sermones fratris Petri de Sancto Benedicto, scilicet Desideratus de dominicis’.

283 Latin entry reads: ‘Sermones eiusdem de festis, scilicet Suspendium’.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shelfmark</th>
<th>Cambridge, Peterhouse MS 131</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Second half thirteenth century.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Origin</td>
<td>The Paris pecia system.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contents</td>
<td>Text travelling alone (ff. 2v-294), contents table appears in opening folios (f. 1 missing, remaining table appears on f. 2r).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pecia Remarks</td>
<td>Pecia copy, pecia marks present, texts composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata. MS appears 80 pieces in length, likely made from an alternative exemplar from the work listed in the above entry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes on User</td>
<td>Two user hands appear in text: first user notes in French hand, frequent notes suggest user consulted work as reference text. Second hand is English, notes less frequent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decoration</td>
<td>Opening incipit likely had a decorated initial, cut out (f. 2v).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

284 Text also known as *Sermones allebatenses*, author or compiler unknown but may be Dominican. See d’Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, pp. 161; 276.

285 Text also known as the Legifer collection, an anonymous collection of Franciscan sermons. See d’Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, p. 276.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shelfmark</th>
<th>Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.15.15</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Late thirteenth century/ Early fourteenth century.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Origin</td>
<td>The Paris pecia system.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contents</td>
<td>Text travelling alone, contents table appears in opening folios (ff. 1-2r).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pecia Remarks</td>
<td>Pecia copy, pecia marks present, texts composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes on User</td>
<td>Frequent user notes suggest MS consulted as working reference text. Marginalia in Anglicana cursive hand.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decoration</td>
<td>No decoration above red and blue inks.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shelfmark</th>
<th>Paris, BNF MS Lat. 13749</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Late thirteenth century/ Early fourteenth century.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Origin</td>
<td>The Paris pecia system.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contents</td>
<td>Text travelling alone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pecia Remarks</td>
<td>Pecia copy, texts composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes on User</td>
<td>MS possibly working reference text, user marginalia throughout text in French book hand. User most frequently highlights passages of text and composes Type II-PD (Passage Division) and II-PS (Paraphrased Summation) notes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decoration</td>
<td>No decoration above red and blue inks.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 110 | *Sermones de dominicis* | Nicolas de Biard | 51 | 18 den. |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shelfmark</th>
<th>Paris, BNF MS Lat. 15953</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Fourth quarter thirteenth century.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Origin
The Paris pecia system (not all texts assumed pecia works, however all texts likely produced in Paris).

Contents
Text is part of a compilation of works from anonymous writers and known preachers including Guillaume de Mailly, Nicolas de Mans, Walter de Château-Thierry, Eudes de Châteauroux, Guiard de Laon, Guillaume d’Auvergne, Nicolas de Biard, Nicolas de Gorran, Stephen of Bourbon, and Guibert de Tournai.

Pecia Remarks
Works travelled together, possible pecia copies, texts composed by different scribes in book hands including Textualis Semi-Quadrata, pecia mark present in Biard’s work:

\textit{hic finitur 51\textsuperscript{a}pe\ de dominicis et ista ultima pecia est corrupta, ut mihi videtur} (f. 134r).

Notes on User
Ms compiled specifically for Pierre de Limoges, a thirteenth-century preacher and theologian at the University of Paris. He composed user marginalia throughout MS, frequent passages from synodal sermons. See previous discussion in chapter 5.

Decoration
No decoration above red and blue inks.

Shelfmark
Paris, BNF MS n.a.l. 2032

Date
Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.

Origin
The Paris pecia system.

Contents
1. \textit{Sermones de dominicis} (ff. 1r-153v)

2. \textit{Sermones de festis} (ff. 154r-205v)

Pecia Remarks
Works travelled together, pecia copies, pecia marks present, texts composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.

Notes on User
MS possible working reference text, user marginalia common in texts.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decoration</th>
<th>Opening folio features inhabited initial with master lecturing students (f. 1r).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Shelfmark</strong></td>
<td>Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Rawlinson C 711</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Date</strong></td>
<td>Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Origin</strong></td>
<td>The Paris pecia system.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Contents</strong></td>
<td>Text travelling alone (ff. 4r-200), preceded by alphabetical contents table (ff. 2r-3r).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pecia Remarks</strong></td>
<td>Pecia copy, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Notes on User</strong></td>
<td>MS working reference text, user marginalia throughout in English cursive script. Type II-AT (Additional Text) user note appears on f.1v, list of the miracles of Christ with Bible passage locations. Fourteenth-century Type I-OM (Ownership Mark) on f. 3v identifies Thomas Graunt in the household of Anne, Countess of Staffordshire (1383-1438) as a later user.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Decoration</strong></td>
<td>No decoration above red and blue inks.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 111 | *Sermones de festis* | Nicolas de Biard | 18 | 6 den. |
| 112 | *Distinctiones* | Maurice de Provins | 84 | 3 sol. |

| **Shelfmark** | Paris, BNF MS Lat. 14942 |
| **Date** | Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century. |
| **Origin** | The Paris pecia system. |
| **Contents** | Work travelling alone (ff. 1r-290), accompanied by alphabetical table of contents (ff. 291r-292v). |
| **Pecia Remarks** | Pecia copy, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata. |
Notes on User
MS casual reference only, no user marginalia present. Type I-OM (Ownership Mark) on f. 290r notes Johannes Camasse of St Victor convent composed book for his institution. Possible library book for convent.

Decoration
No decoration above red and blue inks.

The list of legal text exemplars

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Legal Text Exemplar</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Listed</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>113</td>
<td>Decretales sive Liber Extra</td>
<td>Gregory IX</td>
<td>Not listed</td>
<td>4 sol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114</td>
<td>Glossa ordinaria in Decretales</td>
<td>Bernard of Botone</td>
<td>Not listed</td>
<td>5 sol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115</td>
<td>Decretum</td>
<td>Gratian</td>
<td>Not listed</td>
<td>4 sol.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Shelfmark
Paris, BNF MS Lat. 3906

Date
Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.

Origin
The Bologna pecia system.

Contents
The Decretum of Gratian, accompanied by the glossa ordinaria of Bartholomew of Brescia (ff. 369)

Pecia Remarks
Pecia copy, texts composed in Italian Rotunda and glossing scripts.

Notes on User
MS likely working reference text, user marginalia present.

Decoration
Medium quality text, MS features inhabited and decorated initials (1-3 lines high) throughout.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Legal Text Exemplar</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Listed</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>116</td>
<td>Glossa ordinaria in Decretum</td>
<td>Bartholomew of Brescia</td>
<td>Not listed</td>
<td>6 sol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117</td>
<td>Summa super titulis Decretalium</td>
<td>Geoffrey of Trani</td>
<td>Not listed</td>
<td>2 sol.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Latin category header reads: ‘Hec est taxatio exemplarium’.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Pecia</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td><em>Summa decretorum</em></td>
<td>Huguccio of Pisa</td>
<td>Not listed</td>
<td>8 sol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119</td>
<td><em>Lectura super Decretum</em></td>
<td>Petrus de Salinis</td>
<td>Not listed</td>
<td>5 sol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td><em>Apparatus in quinque libros Decretalium</em></td>
<td>Innocent IV</td>
<td>Not listed</td>
<td>10 sol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121</td>
<td><em>Casus decretorum</em></td>
<td>Bartholomew of Brescia</td>
<td>Not listed</td>
<td>2 sol. et 6 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122</td>
<td><em>Casus longi super quinque libros Decretalium</em></td>
<td>Bernard of Botone</td>
<td>Not listed</td>
<td>2 sol. et 6 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123</td>
<td>Two works: <em>Summa de casibus poenitentiae, Apparatus in Summam de casibus poenti</em></td>
<td>First work: Raymundus de Pennaforte; Second: Guillaume de Rennes</td>
<td>Not listed</td>
<td>3 sol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124</td>
<td>Two works: <em>Libellus in iure canonico; Libellus in iure civili sive Libellus de ordine iudiciorum</em></td>
<td>Roffredo Benevento</td>
<td>Not listed</td>
<td>5 sol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125</td>
<td><em>Repertorium</em></td>
<td>Guillaume Durand</td>
<td>Not listed</td>
<td>2 sol.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Shelfmark**: Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 32/21  
**Date**: Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.  
**Origin**: The Paris pecia system.  
**Contents**:  
1. *Tabula super Decretales Innocentii* (Nicholaus de Camilla)  
   (ff. 1r-6r) Likely non-pecia copy.  
2. *Repertorium* (ff. 65 in length)  
**Pecia Remarks**: Works travelled separately, text 2 pecia copy, pecia marks present, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User  MS working reference text, user notes present in English cursive hand.

Decoration  No decorations above red and blue inks.

Shelfmark  Oxford, New College MS 212

Date  Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.

Origin  The Paris pecia system.

Contents  Text travelling alone (begin. f. 4r)

Pecia Remarks  Pecia copy, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.

Notes on User  MS working reference text, user notes present in English cursive hand.

Decoration  No decorations above red and blue inks, edges of leaves dyed red.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Pecia Remarks</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>126</td>
<td><em>Summa super titulis Decretalium</em></td>
<td>Henry of Segusio</td>
<td>Not listed</td>
<td>10 sol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127</td>
<td><em>Lectura in Decretaes Gregorii IX</em></td>
<td>Henry of Segusio</td>
<td>Not listed</td>
<td>30 sol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128</td>
<td><em>Margarita</em></td>
<td>Henry of Segusio</td>
<td>Not listed</td>
<td>12 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129</td>
<td><em>Digestum vetus</em></td>
<td>Not listed</td>
<td>6 sol.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130</td>
<td><em>Glossa ordinaria in Digestum vetus</em></td>
<td>Accursius</td>
<td>Not listed</td>
<td>5 sol.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

288 Denifle listed the author as Bernardus Compostellanus junior, see *Chartularium*, item 531, n.48; However, recent historians have identified the author as Henry of Segusio, see R. Helssig, ‘Eine bisher übersehene Schrift des Henricus Hostiensis’, «Deutsche Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht» 14 (1904) pp. 70-82, pp.70-2; Murano, *Opere diffuese per exemplar e pecia*, item 477.
II. The pecia list of 1304

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item no.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>No. of pieces</th>
<th>Rental price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>Catena super Mattheum</em></td>
<td>Thomas Aquinas</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>4 sol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>Catena super Marcum</em></td>
<td>Thomas Aquinas</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>17 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>Catena super Lucam</em></td>
<td>Thomas Aquinas</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>3 sol. et 6 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td><em>Catena super Iohannem</em></td>
<td>Thomas Aquinas</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>3 sol. et 6 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td><em>In primo Sententiario</em></td>
<td>Thomas Aquinas</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>29 den.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Shelfmark  Cambridge, St John’s College MS C.2 (52)
Date       Approx. c1300 to 1331.
Origin     The Paris pecia system.
Contents  

1. *In primo Sententiarum* (ff. 1r-121v)  

2. *In seondo Sententiarum* (ff. 123r-251v)  

Pecia Remarks  
Pecia copies, pecia marks present, texts 1 and 2 composed by separate scribes in French bookhands.

Notes on User  
MS texts most likely travelled together as user notes in same cursive hand appear in both texts. MS contains Type I-OM (Ownership Mark) to show work belonged to Henry Eastry (d. 1331), prior of Christ Church, Canterbury: ‘Thome de Alquino super librum sententiarum Henrici prioris’ (endleaf).

Decoration  
No decorations above red and blue inks.

Shelfmark  
Paris, BNF MS Lat. 15761

Date  
First quarter fourteenth century.

Origin  
The Paris pecia system.

Contents  
Text travelling alone (ff. 3r-155v), features user-added table of contents (ff. 1r-2v).

Pecia Remarks  
Pecia copy, text composed in a French bookhand.

Notes on User  
MS may have been composed by French user himself, with accompanying marginalia in a French cursive hand. Most likely a working reference text.

Decoration  
Black ink only, spaces throughout text for rubric to be added.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td><em>Physica</em></td>
<td>William of Moerbeke’s Latin translation of Aristotle</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shelfmark</td>
<td>Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS MacClean 154</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Late thirteenth century/ Early fourteenth century.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Origin</td>
<td>The Paris pecia system.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Contents  | 1. *Physica* (ff. 1-69v), followed by first page of *Metheora* copied by mistake (f. 70r)  
2. *De caelo et mundo* (ff. 70v-108v)  
3. *De generatione et corruptione* (ff. 109r-130r)  
4. *Metheora* (ff. 131r-174r)  
5. *De anima* (ff. 174v-198v)  
6. *De Sensu et sensatu* (ff. 199r-208)  
7. *De memoria et reminiscencia* (ff. 208-211v)  
8. *De somnno et vigila* (ff. 211v-219v)  
9. *De longitudine* (begin. f. 219v)  
10. *De iuventute* (begin. f. 222v)  
11. *De Phisiognomiae* (begin. f. 232)  
12. *De pomo sive de morte Aristotlelis* (begin. f. 240v)  
13. *De morte et vita* (begin. f. 241v)  
14. *De bona fortuna* (begin. f. 246)  
15. *De coloribus* (ff. 248v-254v)  
16. *De inundatione Nili* (begin. f. 255)  
17. *De motu animalium* (ff. 257-262)  
18. *De vegetabilibus et plantis* (ff. 262v-276v)  
19. *De proprietalibus elementorum* (begin. f. 277)  
20. *De causis* (ff. 286-295v) |
| Pecia Remarks | Works travelled together, pecia copies, texts composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata. |
| Notes on User | MS likely used as working reference text, user notes frequent |
including Type II-GA (Graphical Aid) notes.

**Decoration**
Opening folio contains decorated border with grotesques and two hounds pursuing a hare (f. 1). Each text opens with a gold initial.

**Shelfmark**
Cambridge, University Library MS II. II. 10 (105)

**Date**
Late thirteenth century/ Early fourteenth century.

**Origin**
The Paris pecia system.

**Contents**
1. *Physica* (ff. 1r-51v)
2. *De caelo et mundo* (ff. 52r-80v)
3. *De generatione et corruptione* (ff. 80v-96v)
4. *De metheora* (ff. 96v-129v)
5. *De anima* (ff. 129v-148v)
6. *De sensu et sensatu* (ff. 149r-155v)
7. *De memoria et reminiscencia* (ff. 156r-158v)
8. *De sompno et vigilia* (ff. 158v-165r)
9. *De motu animalium* (ff. 165r-168v)
10. *De longitudine et brevitate vitae* (ff. 168v-170v)
11. *De iuventute et senectute* (ff. 170v-172v)
12. *De respiratone* (ff. 172v-178r)
13. *De physiognomia* (ff. 178r-181v)
14. *De figuris* (ff. 181v-184r)
15. *De lineis indivisibilitibus* (ff. 184r-186v)
16. *De inundatione Nili* (ff. 187-188)
17. *De proprietatibus elementorum* (ff. 188v-194)
18. *De coloribus* (begin. f. 194v)
19. *De progressu animalium* (begin. f. 198v)
20. *De mundo* (begin. f. 204v)
22. *Vita Aristotelis*, Ammonius (begin. f. 212)
23. *De pomo* (begin. f. 214)
24. *De intelligentia* (begin. f. 218)
25. *De vegetabilibus et plantis* (begin. f. 220)
27. *De causis*, followed by commentary of Avicenna (begin. f. 235)
28. *Metaphysica* (ff. 240v-310r)

**Pecia Remarks**
Works travelled together, pecia copies, texts composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.

**Notes on User**
MS likely working reference text, frequent user marginalia including Type II-GA (Graphical Aids).

**Decoration**
Opening of each work features decorated initial.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Translator</th>
<th>Pecia</th>
<th>Denomination</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td><em>De caelo et mundo</em></td>
<td>William of Moerbeke’s Latin translation of Aristotle</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td><em>De generatione et corruptione</em></td>
<td>William of Moerbeke’s Latin translation of Aristotle</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4 den. et obol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Four works: <em>De sensu et sensatu; De anima; De memoria et reminiscencia; De somnpo et</em></td>
<td>William of Moerbeke’s Latin translation of</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10 den.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
vigilia

Aristotle

Eleven works: De longitudine; De iuventute; De respiratone; De morte et vita; Phisiognomiae; De causis; De mundo; De pomo sive de morte Aristotelis; De bona fortuna; De coloribus; De inundatione Nili


289 Fifth to ninth, and eleventh works: Pseudo-Aristotle.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shelfmark</th>
<th>Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS C.F.M. 14</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Late thirteenth century/ Early fourteenth century.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Origin</td>
<td>The Paris pecia system.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Contents         | 1. *Ethica Nicomachea* (begin. f.1r)  
                  | 2. *Politica* (begin. f.86v)  
                  | 3. *Rhetorica* (begin. f.127r)  
                  | 4. *Magna moralia* (begin. f.166v) |
| Pecia Remarks     | Works travelled together, pecia copies, texts composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata. |
| Notes on User     | MS likely used for casual reference only, user notes infrequent. |
| Decoration        | Opening incipit features inhabited initial (f.1r). |

<p>| 14 | <em>Politica</em> | William of Moerbeke’s Latin translation of Aristotle | 17 | 12 den. |
| 15 | <em>Rhetorica</em> | William of Moerbeke’s Latin | 12 | 9 den. |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Translation of</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td><em>Problemata vulgata</em></td>
<td>Bartholomew of Messina’s Latin</td>
<td>Aristotle</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>translation of</td>
<td></td>
<td>15 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td><em>Magna moralia</em></td>
<td>Bartholomew of Messina’s Latin</td>
<td>Aristotle</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>translation of</td>
<td></td>
<td>6 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td><em>Secretum Secretorum</em></td>
<td>Philip of Tripoli’s Latin translation</td>
<td>Pseudo-Aristotle</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>of</td>
<td></td>
<td>6 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Five works: <em>De Historia animalium</em>; *De</td>
<td>William of Moerbeke’s Latin translation of Aristotle</td>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>progressu animalium*; <em>De motu animalium</em>;</td>
<td></td>
<td>32 den.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>De partibus animalium</em>; <em>De generatione</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>animalium</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td><em>De principiis naturae</em></td>
<td>John Sackville</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10 den.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td><em>Expositio libri Meteorologicorum Aristotelis</em></td>
<td>William of Moerbeke’s Latin translation of Alexander of Aphrodisias</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12 den.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td><em>In secundo Sententiarum</em></td>
<td>Thomas Aquinas</td>
<td>47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>34 den.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td><em>In tertio Sententiarum</em></td>
<td>Thomas Aquinas</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>34 den.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td><em>In quatro Sententiarum</em></td>
<td>Thomas Aquinas</td>
<td>93</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5 sol. et 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td><strong>Prima secundae</strong>&lt;sup&gt;290&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Thomas Aquinas</td>
<td>60 (listed as 70)</td>
<td>46 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td><strong>Secunda secundae</strong></td>
<td>Thomas Aquinas</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>5 sol. et 6 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td><strong>Tertia pars</strong></td>
<td>Thomas Aquinas</td>
<td>54 (listed as 55)</td>
<td>44 den.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Shelfmark: Oxford, Balliol College MS 44  
Date: Late thirteenth/Early fourteenth century.  
Origin: The Paris pecia system.  
Pecia Remarks: Pecia copy, pecia marks present, text composed in English cursive hand, likely user’s own.  
Notes on User: Possible MS a working reference text, with user notes present.  
Decoration: No decorations above red and blue inks.

Shelfmark: Oxford, New College MS 124  
Date: Late thirteenth/Early fourteenth century.  
Origin: The Paris pecia system.  
Contents: Text (ff. 6r – 162r) travelling with two unidentified works.  
Notes on User: Likely MS for casual reference only, user notes uncommon.  
Decoration: Medium quality MS with decorated opening folio (f. 6r)

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<sup>290</sup> As previously discussed in chapter 10, Latin entry likely a misprint: ‘pro prima parte Summe fratris Thome’.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Lines</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Summa contra Gentiles</td>
<td>Thomas Aquinas</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>44 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Three works: Quaestiones disputatae De anima; De virtutibus; De unione verbi incarnati modo continuo numerantur</td>
<td>Thomas Aquinas</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>6 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Quaestiones disputatae de veritate</td>
<td>Thomas Aquinas</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>4 sol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Quaestiones disputatae De potentia Dei</td>
<td>Thomas Aquinas</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>22 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Quaestiones de malo</td>
<td>Thomas Aquinas</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>20 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Quaestiones de spiritualibus creaturis</td>
<td>Thomas Aquinas</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Expositio super Job</td>
<td>Thomas Aquinas</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Postille super Ysaiam</td>
<td>Thomas Aquinas</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>16 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>De divinis nominibus</td>
<td>Thomas Aquinas</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>De perfectione spiritualis vitae</td>
<td>Thomas Aquinas</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Quaestiones de quodlibet</td>
<td>Thomas Aquinas</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>18 den.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**The works of Nicolas de Gorran**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Lines</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Postilla super Psalterium</td>
<td>Nicolas de Gorran</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>5 sol.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

291 Latin category header reads: ‘Opera fratris N«icolai» de Gorham’.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Shelfmark</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td><em>Postilla super Ecclesiasticum</em></td>
<td>Nicolas de Gorran</td>
<td>Oxford, Merton College MS 170</td>
<td>Late thirteenth century/ Early fourteenth century.</td>
<td>The Paris pecia system.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td><em>Postilla super Mattheum</em></td>
<td>Nicolas de Gorran</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td><em>Postilla super Epistolas canonicas</em></td>
<td>Nicolas de Gorran</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td><em>Themata de dominicis diebus et de sanctis</em></td>
<td>Nicolas de Gorran</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contents

2. *Postilla super Lucam* (ff. 51r-169v)

Pecia Remarks
Works travelled together, pecia copies, composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.

Notes on User
MS working reference text, user notes frequent throughout in English cursive hand.

Decoration
No decorations above red and blue inks.
| Contents | 1. *Themata de dominicis diebus et de sanctis* (ff. 1r-84r)  
2. *Distinctiones* (ff. 8r-268r) |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pecia Remarks</td>
<td>Works travelled together, pecia copies, pecia marks present, texts composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes on User</td>
<td>MS likely working reference text, user marginalia present throughout in Anglicana hand.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decoration</td>
<td>No decoration above red and blue inks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shelfmark</td>
<td>Paris, BNF MS Lat. 12425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Origin</td>
<td>The Paris pecia system.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Contents | 1. *Themata de dominicis diebus et de sanctis* (ff. 1r-95r)  
2. *Distinctiones* (ff. 95v-204v) |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pecia Remarks</td>
<td>Works travelled together, pecia copies, texts composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes on User</td>
<td>MS possible working reference text, user marginalia common.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decoration</td>
<td>No decoration above red and blue inks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shelfmark</td>
<td>Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Bodley 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Origin</td>
<td>The Paris pecia system.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contents</td>
<td>Work travelling alone (ff. 1r-297v), accompanied by alphabetical table of contents (ff. iv(r)- vii(r))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pecia Remarks</td>
<td>Pecia copy, pecia marks present, text composed in Textualis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 45 | *Distinctiones* | Nicolas de Gorran | 68 | 32 den. |
Semi-Quadrata.

Notes on User: MS likely working reference text, user marginalia present throughout in English hand.

Decoration: Opening folio features decorated initial (f. 1r).

Shelfmark: Paris, BNF MS Lat. 15952

Date: Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.

Origin: The Paris pecia system.

Contents: Text part of collection of works by various authors including tracts and sermons on marriage, the Epiphany, confession, morality, and other subjects; a tract on confession attributed to Robert de Sorbon; questions on the Sentences; decretal apparatus of Anselli de Gautechar.

Pecia Remarks: Works travelling together, Gorran text pecia copy, text composed in French cursive script most likely by user himself.

Notes on User: MS likely working reference text, as user copied out works to consult.

Decoration: No decoration, black ink only.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>46</th>
<th>Postilla super Apocalipsim</th>
<th>Nicolas de Gorran</th>
<th>26</th>
<th>18 den.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

316
## The works of Giles of Rome concerning theology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shelfmark</th>
<th>Cambridge, Pembroke College MS 121</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Fourth quarter thirteenth century/Early fourteenth century.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Origin</td>
<td>The Paris pecia system.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contents</td>
<td>Text travelling alone (ff. 1-230r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pecia Remarks</td>
<td>Pecia copy, pecia marks present, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes on User</td>
<td>MS likely casual reference only, with few user notes present. User likely English as notes composed in Anglicana cursive. End of text contains list of themes in a fifteenth-century hand (ff. 231v).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decoration</td>
<td>No decoration above red and blue inks.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shelfmark</th>
<th>Oxford, Magdalen College MS 186</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Origin</td>
<td>The Paris pecia system.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contents</td>
<td>Text travelling alone (ff. 1r-267v). Followed by table of contents (ff. 268r-270r).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pecia Remarks</td>
<td>Pecia copy, pecia marks present, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes on User</td>
<td>MS a working reference text, user may be English with marginalia written in cursive hand.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decoration</td>
<td>Decorated initial on opening page (f. 1r).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

292 Latin category header reads: ‘Opera fratris Egidii super theologiam’.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Pages</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td><em>Theoremata de Corpore Christi</em></td>
<td>Giles of Rome</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>15 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td><em>Quaestiones VII De Resurrectione mortuorum</em></td>
<td>Giles of Rome</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td><em>Tractatus de peccato originali</em></td>
<td>Giles of Rome</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2 turon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td><em>Postilla super Canticum</em></td>
<td>Giles of Rome</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td><em>Quaestiones XIII de esse et essentia</em></td>
<td>Giles of Rome</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td><em>Quaestiones X de mensura angelorum</em></td>
<td>Giles of Rome</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td><em>Quaestiones XIV de cognitione angelorum</em></td>
<td>Giles of Rome</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td><em>De materia caeli contra Averroistas</em></td>
<td>Giles of Rome</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Two works: <em>Expositio decreti ‘Firmiter’</em></td>
<td>Giles of Rome</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>De Summa Trinitate et fide catholica</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Expositio in decretalem ‘Cum Marthe’</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td><em>Tractatus de laudibus divinae sapientae</em></td>
<td>Giles of Rome</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td><em>Quodlibeta</em></td>
<td>Giles of Rome</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>2 sol. et 6 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td><em>Quodlibeta</em></td>
<td>James of Viterbo</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>20 den.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

293 Latin entry reads: ‘de Evo’.
The works of Richard of Middleton, O.F.M.\textsuperscript{294}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td><em>In primo Sententiarum</em></td>
<td>Richard of Middleton</td>
<td>39 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td><em>In secundo Sententiarum</em></td>
<td>Richard of Middleton</td>
<td>61 4 sol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td><em>In quarto Sententiarum</em></td>
<td>Richard of Middleton</td>
<td>85 5 sol. et 4 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>Quodlibeta</td>
<td>Peter of Auvergne</td>
<td>30 2 sol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>Quodlibeta</td>
<td>Henry of Ghent</td>
<td>191 12 sol.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Shelfmark: Oxford, Magdalen College MS 217

Date: Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.

Origin: The Paris pecia system.

Contents:

1. Non-ppecia tables in Anglicana cursive hand, likely composed by user. Includes contents tables to accompany Ghent’s quodlibets; Étienne Tempier’s 1270 list of banned propositions; 8 theological questions of Robert of Winchelsea originally lectured in Oxford in 1283;

2. Quodlibeta (ff. 12r-191r)

3. *Abbreviatio Summae Henrici de Gandavo* (ff. 192-338)

4. Quodlibetal questions (Robert of Winchelsea) (begin. f. 338)

\textsuperscript{294} Latin category header reads: ‘Opera fratris Richardi’.
5. Questions against Thomas Aquinas (Giles of Rome)  
   (begin. f. 364)
6. Seventeen questions on theology (poss. Giles of Rome)  
   (begin. f. 381), followed by user notes in English hand  
   (ff. 389r-end)

Pecia Remarks: Texts 2 and 3 pecia copies, pecia marks present, texts  
   composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.

Notes on User: MS working reference text, user marginalia present  
   throughout in Anglicana cursive hand and tables above.

Decoration: No decorations above red and blue inks.

Shelfmark: Paris, BNF MS Lat. 15358
Date: Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin: The Paris pecia system.
Contents: Text travelling alone.

Notes on User: MS working reference text, user marginalia present.
Decoration: No decorations above red and blue inks.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>66</th>
<th>Quodlibeta</th>
<th>Godfrey of Fontaines</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>82</td>
<td>5 sol.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Shelfmark: Cambridge, Pembroke MS 170
Date: Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin: The Paris pecia system.
Contents: Text travelling alone (ff. 4r-175), accompanied by contents  
   tables in user hand (ff. 1v-3v).

Notes on User: MS working reference text, user marginalia present throughout in Anglicana cursive hand. Type I-OM (Ownership Mark) states MS donated to Marie Valance Hall (present-day Pembroke College) by a master of the college, John de Tynemu, likely mid fourteenth-century note (f. 175v).

Decoration: No decorations above red and blue inks.

Shelfmark: Paris, BNF MS Lat. 14311
Date: Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin: The Paris pecia system.
2. *Quodlibeta* (ff. 57r-290v), quodlibets arranged out of order.

Pecia Remarks: Works did not travel together, text 2 pecia copy, pecia marks present, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.

Notes on User: MS working reference text, user marginalia present in text 2.
Decoration: No decorations present in text 2, black ink only. Space left for rubric.

Shelfmark: Paris, BNF MS Lat. 15842
Date: Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin: The Paris pecia system.
Contents: Text travelling alone, followed by titles of questions (ff. 384r).

Pecia Remarks: Pecia copy, pecia marks present, text composed in Textualis
Semi-Quadrata.

Notes on User: MS possible working reference text, user notes present.

Decoration: No decorations above red and blue inks.

Shelfmark: Paris, BNF MS Lat. 15844

Date: Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.

Origin: The Paris pecia system.

Contents: Text travelling alone.


Notes on User: MS possible working reference text, user notes present.

Decoration: No decorations above red and blue inks.

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>Pro textu Biblie</td>
<td>See item 87 of 1275 list</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>Interpretationes nominum hebraicorum</td>
<td>Stephen Langton</td>
<td>15 pecia et 6 fol.</td>
<td>16 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Expositiones vocabulorum Biblie</td>
<td>Guillelmus Brito</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>30 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Expositio prologorum Biblie</td>
<td>Guillelmus Brito</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>16 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>Concordantiaebibliae</td>
<td></td>
<td>108 pecia et 6 fol.</td>
<td>9 sol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>De proprietatibus rerum</td>
<td>Bartholomew the Englishman</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>6 sol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>Legenda aurea</td>
<td>Jacopo da Varazze</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>4 sol.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Shelfmark: Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Canon. misc 142
Date: Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin: The Paris pecia system.
Contents: Text travelling alone, contents table appears in opening folios (f. 1v-2v).
Pecia Remarks: Pecia copy, pecia marks present, texts composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata. MS appears 95 pieces in length, likely made from the exemplar listed in the above entry.
Notes on User: MS likely a working reference copy, marginalia generally Type II-RM (Reference Marks) and II-S (Source) notes.
Decoration: No decoration above red and blue inks.

Shelfmark: Paris, BNF MS lat 16564
Date: Late thirteenth century/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin: The Paris pecia system.
Contents: Text travelling alone (ff. 2r-329r), contents table (ff. 2v-3v).
Pecia Remarks: Pecia copy, texts composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata, MS appears 95 pieces in length, likely made from the exemplar listed in the above entry.
Notes on User: MS likely working reference text, frequent user marginalia throughout text in French cursive hand.
Decoration: Opening incipit features decorated initial (f.2v).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shelfmark</th>
<th>Paris, BNF MS n.a.l. 373</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Origin</td>
<td>The Paris pecia system.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contents</td>
<td>Work travelling alone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pecia Remarks</td>
<td>Pecia exemplar, no pecia marks present, unusual for exemplar and suggests they may have been cropped. Composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes on User</td>
<td>MS likely used for rental system, user notes infrequent in text.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decoration</td>
<td>No decoration, text in black ink only. Space left for rubric.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 75 | Distinctiones | Nicolas de Biard | 60 | 3 sol. |
| 76 | Sermones ‘Ad status’ | Guibert de Tournai | 61 | 3 sol. |
| 77 | Sermones ‘Compendii’ \(^{295}\) | Unknown | 56 | 3 sol. |
| 78 | Sermones de tempore \(^{296}\) | Thomas Brito | 61 | 3 sol. |
| 79 | Liber de exemplis sacrae Scripturae | Nicolas de Hanaper | 25 | 18 den. |
| 80 | Distinctiones | Maurice de Provins | 84 | 5 sol. |

\(^{295}\) Text remains unidentified at this time, see Murano (2005) item 849.

\(^{296}\) Latin entry reads: ‘Sermones fratris Thomas Britonis dominicis, tam de epistolis quam de evangeliis...scilicet Abiciamus’. 
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shelfmark</th>
<th>Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Laud. misc. 380</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>First quarter fourteenth century.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Origin</td>
<td>The Paris pecia system.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Contents  | 1. *Sermones 'Precinxisti' scilicet Commune sanctorum* (ff. 1r-100v)  
|           | 2. *Sermones discipuli de tempore et de sanctis* (Johann Herolt) (ff. 100v-130v) fifteenth century copy of text. |
| Pecia Remarks | Works did not travel together, text 1 pecia copy, composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata. |
| Notes on User | MS working reference text, user marginalia common in Anglicana cursive hand. Text 1 followed by contents table in English script, possibly copied by user (f. 100v). |
| Decoration | No decorations above red ink, rubric may have been completed by user with its English appearance. |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shelfmark</th>
<th>Paris, BNF MS n.a.l. 1474</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Origin</td>
<td>The Paris pecia system.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contents</td>
<td>Work travelling alone (ff. 2r-118r), followed by tables of saints’ and feast days (ff. 118r-122r).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Pecia Remarks  Pecia copy, pecia marks present, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.

Notes on User  MS possibly casual reference text only, user marginalia uncommon.

Decoration  No decorations above red and blue inks.

Shelfmark  London, British Library MS Royal 8 C XVI

Date  First quarter fourteenth century.

Origin  The Paris pecia system.

Contents

1. *Summa de Electionibus* (Lawrence de Somercote), non-pecia text copied by user (ff. 1r-84r)
2. *Summa de abstinentia* (ff. 7r-163r), followed by content tables (ff. 163v-168v)
3. *Pharetra* (Guillaume de la Furmenterie) (ff. 169r-319r)

Pecia Remarks  Works travelled together, texts 1 and 2 pecia copies, pecia marks present, texts 1 and 2 composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.

Notes on User  MS likely working reference text, user marginalia present throughout and text 1 can be classified as Type II-AT (Additional Text) user note.

Decoration  No decoration above red and blue inks.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entry</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Copyist</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td><em>Tractatus exemplorum alphabeti</em>²⁹⁷</td>
<td>John of Wales</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>12 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td><em>De habundancia exemplorum</em></td>
<td>Humbert de Romans</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12 den.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

²⁹⁷ Latin entry reads: ‘In accida’.
86  De ortu scientarum  Robert Kilwardby 18 12 den.
87  De oculo morali  Pierre de Limoges 20 12 den.
88  Summa sermonum  Guy d’Évreux 102 5 sol.

Shelfmark  Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Laud. misc. 348
Date  Late thirteenth century/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin  The Paris pecia system.
Contents  Text travelling alone (ff. 1-390), contains tables of contents and themes (ff. 227r-366)
Pecia Remarks  Pecia copy, composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User  MS working reference text, user marginalia common in Anglicana cursive hand. In tables user has numbered keywords’ locations in the main text with Arabic numerals.
Decoration  No decorations above red and blue inks.

Shelfmark  Oxford, Lincoln College MS Lat. 113
Date  Late thirteenth century/ Early fourteenth century.
Origin  The Paris pecia system.
Contents  Text travelling alone (ff. 1r-217), contains tables of contents and themes (ff. 128v-130r, 158v-161r)
Pecia Remarks  Pecia copy, composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.
Notes on User  MS working reference text, user marginalia common in Anglicana cursive hand.
Decoration  Opening folio features decorated initial with portrait of Guy d’Évreux and vine leaf frame with animal figures (f. 1r).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shelfmark</th>
<th>Paris, BNF MS Lat. 12428</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Late thirteenth century/ Early fourteenth century.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Origin</td>
<td>The Paris pecia system.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contents</td>
<td>Text travelling alone (ff. 1r-285v), includes tables of contents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pecia Remarks</td>
<td>Pecia copy, pecia marks present, composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes on User</td>
<td>MS working reference text, user marginalia present in French cursive hand.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decoration</td>
<td>No decoration above red and blue inks.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shelfmark</th>
<th>Paris, BNF MS Lat. 16491</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1293, as stated in explicit (f. 296r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Origin</td>
<td>The Paris pecia system.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contents</td>
<td>Text travelling alone (ff. 1r-196r), includes tables of contents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pecia Remarks</td>
<td>Pecia copy, pecia marks present, composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata possibly by user himself.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes on User</td>
<td>MS working reference text, user marginalia present throughout in French book hand similar to main text. Type IO-OM (Ownership Mark) states MS owned by Robertus Bernardus de Normandia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decoration</td>
<td>No decoration above red and blue inks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shelfmark</td>
<td>London, British Library MS Royal 8 E VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Origin</td>
<td>The Paris pecia system.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contents</td>
<td>Text travelling alone (ff. 2r-126r), accompanied by contents table (ff. 1r-v).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pecia Remarks</td>
<td>Pecia copies, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata, pecia mark present: <em>principium petiae et hic</em> (f. 97r).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes on User</td>
<td>MS likely working reference text, user marginalia present throughout.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decoration</td>
<td>No decoration above red and blue inks.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

298 Latin entry reads: ‘De vitis patrum’, Murano suggests that this is not the work of the Church Fathers *De vitis patrum* and instead the work of Gerard who composed *De vitis fratrum* c.1259-60 in the Dominican convent of Saint-Jacques in Paris. Murano, *Opere diffuse per exemplar e pecia*, item 917.

299 Bériou states that there are three different manuscript redactions of this text, and has not identified the correct redaction that features on the pecia list because no surviving copies contain pecia marks. See N. Bériou, ‘Robert de Sorbon’, in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité: ascétique et mystique, doctrine et histoire* 13, A. Vauchez (ed.) (Paris: Beauchesne, 1988) cols. 816-24, col. 819-20.
Works of canon law

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shelfmark</th>
<th>Paris, BNF Lat. 3893</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1314, as stated in explicit (f. 387r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Origin</td>
<td>The Paris pecia system.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contents</td>
<td>Copy of Gratian’s <em>Decretum</em> accompanied by glossa ordinaria of Bartholomew of Brescia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pecia Remarks</td>
<td>Pecia copy, pecia marks present, texts composed in French book hand and glossing script. Scribe identified in explicit as Thomas of Wymondswold, an English copyist present in Paris during the first half of the fourteenth century.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes on User</td>
<td>MS possible working reference text, user notes present. High quality manuscript, likely produced for a senior member of the university or a prosperous prelate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decoration</td>
<td>Opening folio features large illumination of two knights kneeling before Christ (f. 1r), illuminations occur throughout.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

300 Latin category header reads: ‘Opera in iure canonico’.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shelfmark</th>
<th>Oxford, Lincoln College MS 50</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1233, as stated in explicit: ‘vixit anno domini 1233’ (f. 245r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Origin</td>
<td>The Bologna pecia system.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contents</td>
<td>Text travelling alone (ff. 1-245r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pecia Remarks</td>
<td>Pecia copy, pecia marks present, text composed in Italian Rotunda. Number of pieces suggests exemplar length of 61 pieces.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes on User</td>
<td>MS working reference text, user notes present in Anglicana</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
cursive hand. Early fifteenth-century Type I-OM (Ownership Mark) identifies John Southam, Archdeacon of Oxford (1404-1441) as later user.

Decoration No decorations above red and blue inks.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>103</th>
<th>Speculum iudiciale</th>
<th>Guillaume Durand</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Shelfmark Cambridge, University Library MS Additional 4188
Date Late thirteenth/Early fourteenth century.
Origin The Paris pecia system.
Contents 1. Speculum iudiciale (ff. 1-305v)
          2. Repertorium (ff. 306-351v)
Pecia Remarks Works travelled together, pecia copies, pecia marks present, texts composed in Italian Rotunda hand.
Notes on User MS working reference text, user marginalia present throughout.
Decoration Incipit of text 1, liber 3 features decorated initial (f. 88r).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>104</th>
<th>Repertorium</th>
<th>Guillaume Durand</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>105</th>
<th>Casus legum sive Suffragium monachorum</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
<th>47</th>
<th>28 den.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>Ordo iudicarius</td>
<td>Giles of Foscarari</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>Summa de iure canonico</td>
<td>Monaldus Justinopolitanus</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>4 sol. et 6 den.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
108 Two works: *Summa de casibus poenitentiae*, *Apparatus in Summam de casibus poenitentiae*, *Summam de casibus poenitentiae*, *Apparatus in Summam de casibus poenitentiae*, *Summam de casibus poeni* First work: Raymundus de Pennafort; Second: Guillaume de Rennes

109 Two works: *Tabula Decreti*, *Tabula Decretalium* William of Paris

110 *Casus longi super quinque libros Decretalium* Bernard of Botone

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**List of books concerning philosophy**

| Shelfmark | Cambridge, Peterhouse MS 143 |
| Date | Late thirteenth century/ Early fourteenth century. |
| Origin | The Paris pecia system. |
| Contents | 1. *Sententia libri de anima* (ff. 1r-41v)  
2. *Sententia libri De sensu et sensatu* (ff. 42r-58r)  
3. *De memoria et reminiscentia* (ff. 58v-64v)  
4. *Sententia libri De causis* (ff. 64v-78v)  
5. *De iuventute et senectute* (ff. 79r-87r)  
6. *De morte et vita* (ff. 87r-89r) |

---

Latin category header reads: ‘Hec est taxatio librorum philosophie’.
7. *De somno et vigilia* (ff. 89v-98r)
8. *De motibus animalium*, Peter of Auvergne (ff. 98r-103v)
9. *De physiognomia*, Guillelmus de Aragonia (ff. 103v-113v)
10. *Sententia super De bona fortuna*, Giles of Rome (ff. 113v-121r)

**Pecia Remarks**
Works travelled together, likely all pecia copies, pecia marks present, texts composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.

**Notes on User**
MS likely working reference text, frequent user marginalia throughout text including Type II-GA (Graphic Aids).

**Decoration**
Opening incipit features decorated initial (f. 1r)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>115</th>
<th><em>Sententia libri De sensu et sensatu</em></th>
<th>Thomas Aquinas</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>8 den.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>116</td>
<td><em>Sententia libri De causis</em></td>
<td>Thomas Aquinas</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117</td>
<td><em>Sententia libri Ethicorum</em></td>
<td>Thomas Aquinas</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>2 sol. cum dimidio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td><em>Tabula libri Ethicorum</em></td>
<td>Thomas Aquinas</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119</td>
<td><em>Sententia libri Politicorum</em></td>
<td>Thomas Aquinas</td>
<td>14 (listed as 12)</td>
<td>9 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td><em>Expositio libri Peryermenias</em></td>
<td>Thomas Aquinas</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121</td>
<td><em>Summa Posteriorum</em></td>
<td>Thomas Aquinas</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12 den.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The commentaries of Albert the Great\textsuperscript{304}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>122</td>
<td>Three works: <em>Liber de universalibus</em>; <em>De predicamentis</em>; <em>De sex principiis</em>\textsuperscript{305}</td>
<td>Albert the Great</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123</td>
<td><em>Analytica priora</em></td>
<td>Albert the Great</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124</td>
<td><em>Analytica posteriora</em></td>
<td>Albert the Great</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125</td>
<td><em>De sophisticis elenchis</em></td>
<td>Albert the Great</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126</td>
<td><em>Topica</em></td>
<td>Albert the Great</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127</td>
<td><em>Physica</em></td>
<td>Albert the Great</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128</td>
<td><em>De generatione et corruptione</em></td>
<td>Albert the Great</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129</td>
<td><em>De caelo et mundo</em></td>
<td>Albert the Great</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130</td>
<td><em>Meteora</em></td>
<td>Albert the Great</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131</td>
<td><em>De anima</em></td>
<td>Albert the Great</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132</td>
<td>Three works: <em>De sensu et sensatu</em>; <em>De memoria et reminiscencia</em>; <em>De somno et vigilia</em>\textsuperscript{306}</td>
<td>Albert the Great</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>133</td>
<td><em>De spiritu et respiratione</em></td>
<td>Albert the Great</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134</td>
<td><em>De vegetabilibus et plantis</em></td>
<td>Albert the Great</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135</td>
<td><em>De motibus et animalium</em></td>
<td>Albert the Great</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>136</td>
<td><em>De causis proprietatum</em></td>
<td>Albert the Great</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>137</td>
<td><em>De mineralibus</em></td>
<td>Albert the Great</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{304} Latin category header reads: ‘Commenta fratris Alberti’.

\textsuperscript{305} Latin entry reads: ‘In Veteri logica’.

\textsuperscript{306} Latin entry for second text reads: ‘De Sensu et sensato, et Somno et vigila’, excluding the second work.
| 138 | De natura et origine animae | Albert the Great | 8 | 5 den. |
| 139 | De natura locorum | Albert the Great | 8 | 5 den. |
| 140 | De principiis motus processivi | Albert the Great | 5 | 3 den. |
| 141 | Three works: De iuventute et senectute; De intellectu et intelligibili; De nutrimento et nutribili | Albert the Great | 10 | 6 den. |
| 142 | De animalibus | Albert the Great | 121 | 10 sol. |

| Shelfmark | Oxford, Merton College MS O.2.2 (286) |
| Date | Late thirteenth century/Early fourteenth century. |
| Origin | The Paris pecia system. |
| Contents | Text travelling alone (ff.338) |
| Pecia Remarks | Pecia exemplar, pecia marks present, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata. |
| Notes on User | MS possibly working reference text, with user marginalia common in text. Notes composed in Anglicana cursive hand. |
| Decoration | No decoration above red and blue inks. |

The works of Giles of Rome on philosophy

| 143 | Sententia super librum Physicorum | Giles of Rome | 73 | 4 sol. |
| 144 | Sententia super libro De generatione et corruptione | Giles of Rome | 24 | 16 den. |
| 145 | Quaestiones super primo libro De | Giles of Rome | 8 | 5 den. |

308 Latin category header reads: ‘Opera fratris Egidii super philosophiam’.

336
III. Non-pecia list works consulted

The following texts feature in pecia manuscripts, yet they do not appear as entries on either the pecia list of 1275 or the 1304 list.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adam de Buckfield</td>
<td><em>De anima</em> (recension 1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Shelfmark: Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Canon misc. 322
Date: First quarter fourteenth century.
Guillaume Peyraut  
*Summa de virtutibus*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>The Paris pecia system.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Contents</td>
<td>Text travelling alone (ff. 1r-63v).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pecia Remarks</td>
<td>Pecia copy, pecia marks present, composed in Anglicana cursive hand likely by user.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes on User</td>
<td>MS casual reference only, no user notes present.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decoration</td>
<td>No decoration above red and blue inks.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hugh of St Cher

| Five texts: Postilla super librum Proverbiorum; Postilla super librum Ecclesiasten; Postilla super Cantica canticorum; Postilla super Librum Sapientie; Postilla super Ecclesiasticum |

Shelfmark     | Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 297/691 |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Origin</td>
<td>The Paris pecia system.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Contents     | 1. Postilla super librum Proverbiorum (ff. 1r-64v)  
               2. Postilla super librum Ecclesiasten (ff.67r-92v) |
3. *Postilla super librum Ecclesiasticum* (ff.93r-187r)

4. *Postilla super librum Sapientiae* (ff.188r-219r)

5. *Postilla super librum Cantica canticorum* (ff.220r-266v)

**Pecia Remarks**
Works travelled together, pecia copies, composed in Anglicana cursive hand likely by user.

**Notes on User**
MS working reference text, user marginalia present throughout.

**Decoration**
No decoration above red initials and rubric.

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hugh of St Cher</th>
<th><em>In Epistolas S. Pauli</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Shelfmark**
Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 481/477

**Date**
Late thirteenth/Early fourteenth century.

**Origin**
The Paris pecia system.

**Contents**
Text travelling alone.

**Pecia Remarks**
Pecia copy, pecia marks present\(^{309}\), composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.

**Notes on User**
MS working reference text, user marginalia present throughout in English cursive hand.

**Decoration**
No decoration in MS, rubric used sparingly.

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>John of Genoa</th>
<th><em>Catholicon seu Summa prosodiae</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Shelfmark**
Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 272

**Date**
Late thirteenth century/Early fourteenth century.

\(^{309}\) Pollard suggests pieces were copied out of order. See Pollard (1978) p. 157.
### The Paris Pecia System

**Origin**  
The Paris pecia system.

**Contents**  
Text travelling alone.

**Pecia Remarks**  
Pecia copy, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.

**Notes on User**  
MS casual reference only, no user notes present. High quality MS, possibly produced for senior member of the university or prosperous prelate.

**Decoration**  
Opening folio features inhabited initial of author lecturing to student, followed by inhabited initial with author’s portrait (f. 1r)

#### Philip the Chancellor: Sermones de festis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shelfmark</th>
<th>Paris, BNF MS Lat. 15933</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Origin</td>
<td>The Paris pecia system.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Contents        | 1. *Sermones de festis* (ff. 1r-177r)  
                 | 2. *Sermones de dominicales et sanctis* (ff. 178r-219v) |
| Pecia Remarks   | Works travelled together, pecia copies, pecia marks present, composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata. |
| Notes on User   | MS working reference text, user marginalia present. |
| Decoration      | No decoration above red and blue inks. |

#### Philip the Chancellor: Summa de Bono

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shelfmark</th>
<th>Oxford, Magdalen College MS 66</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

340
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Origin</strong></th>
<th>The Paris pecia system.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Contents</strong></td>
<td>Text travelling alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pecia Remarks</strong></td>
<td>Pecia copy, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Notes on User</strong></td>
<td>MS working reference text, user notes present in French cursive hand. User-added Type II-TC (Table of Contents) on end leaf preceding text opening incipit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Decoration</strong></td>
<td>No decorations above red and blue inks.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Philip of Moncalieri | Two works: *Postilla super Evangelia Dominicalia*; *Postilla super evangelia quadragesimalia cum historia passionis dominice* |

| **Shelfmark** | Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Laud. misc. 281 |
| **Date**      | 1340-1, date of 1340 stated in note on f. 229v. |
| **Origin**    | As stated in explicit (f. 183v): Produced in Paris by frater Willhelm, a Paris scholar and monk of Eberbach Abbey. MS commissioned by his home institution of Eberbach Abbey.  
| **Contents**  | 1. *Postilla super Evangelia Dominicalia* (Part 1: ff. 1r-123r; Part 2: ff. 184r-229v)  
2. *Postilla super evangelia quadragesimalia cum historia passionis dominice* (Main text: ff. 125r-174r; Contents Table: ff. 229v-
Texts were bound incorrectly out of order, most likely travelled together.

**Pecia Remarks**
I speculate that this MS may be copied by scribe from a pecia manuscript as pecia marks present, yet not rented formally through stationer system. That is, MS not a pecia copy. Pecia marks are not numbered, only state beginning of piece: *incipit quedam pe* (ff. 127r, 129v, 130v, 218r, 226v, 229r). This could suggest scribe copied from a complete text instead of separate pieces, and thus unnecessary to copy piece numbers.

**Notes on User**
MS may have been casual reference work, user marginalia infrequent. Notes are mainly Type II-CRM (Cross-reference Marks).

**Decoration**
Text 1 decorated: opening folio features inhabited initial of monk kneeling before crowned Virgin Mary and baby Christ, vine leaf frame with animal figures (f. 1r), part 2 opens with decorated initial and vine leaf frame with ravens (f. 184r). Text 2 not decorated above red and blue inks.

**Robert Holcot**  
*Postilla super librum Sapientiae*

**Shelfmark**  
Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Laud. misc. 562

**Date**  
1347

**Origin**  
Copy in Paris format, however pecia marks suggest MS copied from a Bologna exemplar.

**Contents**  
Text travelling alone (ff. 1r-194r). Explicit appears on f. 194r, text copied in 1347 by Henricus de
Stethim de Alamania.

**Pecia Remarks**
Pecia copy, text composed by scribe in a possible German book hand, pecia marks ordered at end of each piece in manner of Bologna system: *fi. pe. v.* (f. 12r)

**Notes on User**
MS casual reference only, no user notes present. High quality MS, may have been produced for a senior member of the Paris university or prosperous prelate.

**Decoration**
Opening folio features inhabited initial of monk kneeling before crowned Virgin Mary and baby Christ, vine leaf frame (f. 1r), followed by decorated initial (f. 2r).

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**Thomas Aquinas**

*Super meteora*

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**Shelfmark**
Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Canon misc. 175

**Date**
Late thirteenth century/ Early fourteenth century.

**Origin**
The Bologna pecia system.

**Contents**
Text travelling alone (ff. 73).

**Pecia Remarks**
Pecia copy, text composed in an Italian Rotunda book hand, pecia note appears on f. 3v: *2p*

**Notes on User**
MS casual reference only, no user notes present. Fifteenth-century Type I-OM (Ownership Mark) appears on f. 1r, text was in the collection of Domenico Grimani, cardinal of San Marco.

**Decoration**
No decoration used, brown/black inks used only. Space present for rubric and initials to be added.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Shelfmark</strong></th>
<th>Paris, BNF MS Lat. 16532</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Date</strong></td>
<td>Late thirteenth/ Early fourteenth century.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Origin</strong></td>
<td>The Paris pecia system.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Contents</strong></td>
<td>Text travelling alone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pecia Remarks</strong></td>
<td>Pecia copy, pecia marks present, text composed in Textualis Semi-Quadrata.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Notes on User</strong></td>
<td>MS likely working reference text, user marginalia present. MS high quality, may have been produced for senior member of university or prosperous prelate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Decoration</strong></td>
<td>Decorated opening folios.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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Paris, BNF: lat. 28; lat. 348; lat. 513; lat. 515; lat. 516; lat. 3893; lat. 3906; lat. 12425; lat. 12428; lat. 13749; lat. 14311; lat. 14942; lat. 15358; lat. 15761; lat. 15842; lat. 15844; lat. 15933; lat. 15952; lat. 15953; lat. 16098; lat. 16099; lat. 16417; lat. 16491; lat. 16532; lat. 16564; lat. 17480; n.a.l. 373; n.a.l. 1474; n.a.l. 2032

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