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THE LIFE AND WORKS OF RICHARD FISHACRE OP

Prolegomena to the Edition
of his Commentary on the *Sentences*

by
R. James Long
and
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With gratitude and affection
we dedicate this book to Louis Bataillon
and to the memory of Leonard Boyle,
Geoffrey Preston, and James Weisheipl,
loyal sons of Saint Dominic all.

*Qui vero haec scrutatur ut Deus saltem
per speculum cognoscatur studiosus est*

Richard Fishacre OP

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FOREWORD

Unique undertakings call for unique strategies. The *Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften* has agreed to issue as part of its series dedicated to publishing the hitherto unedited intellectual heritage of the Middle Ages the imposing *Sentences* Commentary of the English Dominican Richard Fishacre. Of the impressive list of volumes issued in this series, moreover, this project is uniquely international: of the seven editors, four are European, the remaining three are North American. Recent developments in communications technology have enabled us all to keep in frequent touch.

Beyond the means, however, there lay the spirit. Language and cultural barriers notwithstanding, each of us has from the very beginning enjoyed the utmost cooperation from his/her fellow editors. This spirit was manifest in the colloquium we held at Oxford's Blackfriars on 8 July 1998 to commemorate the 750th anniversary of the death of Friar Richard Fishacre, attended by more than forty scholars. Five of the editors gave brief presentations on their work in progress, and plenary talks were given by Leonard Boyle OP, Robert Ombres OP, and Fergus Kerr OP. Michael Robson OFMConv preached at the Mass at the end of the day. The papers, or versions thereof, were published in 1999 as a special issue of the journal *New Blackfriars*, which was devoted to the life and thought of Fishacre.

I have thought it useful to preface our international edition with a volume of prolegomena. Though I and others have been adding bits and pieces to the picture, no one has undertaken a sustained study of the life and writings of Fishacre since Franz Pelster's groundbreaking effort in the thirties. This volume provides, in addition, descriptions of all the Fishacre manuscripts, most of which have never been adequately reported. As with other publications of the *Kommission für die Herausgabe ungedruckter Texte aus der mittelalterlichen Geisteswelt*, it will be the responsibility of each editor (Stephen Brown for Book I; me for Book II; Gerhard Leibold, Alexander Eichinger, and Klaus Rodler for Book III; Joseph Goering and Maura O'Carroll for Book IV) to account for the peculiar textual situation of his/her/their book.

Dr. O'Carroll and I worked very closely together, and together we bear responsibility for this volume. That is not to say that there was not some division of labor. Because she was closer to the manuscript libraries, it was she who developed the protocol and visited the libraries in Europe to describe the manuscripts; again for reasons of proximity, I examined the Chicago manuscript, but according to the *proforma* developed by Dr. O'Carroll. Hers was also the abundance of new information on the Fishacre tribe. Nor can I lightly say that the rest was mine, for that would diminish the role she played in improving what I had written.

A venture of this magnitude incurs many debts. Since my days as a doctoral student, I had dreamt of editing Fishacre's massive Commentary. I remember well telling Father James Weisheipl, who had just agreed to be my *Doktorvater*, that I wanted to edit Fishacre's Commentary for my dissertation. He laughed. Thirty years later I appreciate full well why he laughed.

It was not, however, until Maura O'Carroll pushed me on the project and Richard Schenk OP offered to act as liaison with the *Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften*, with which he was at that time associated, that the dream started to assume the shape of reality. In the summer of 1987 Professor Stephen Brown and I discussed the project over a beer in a Helsinki pub, with the result that he signed on for Book I, which most closely represented his doctrinal interests. Acting on the recommendations of several former teachers, I then invited Professor Joseph Goering to consider joining the project, with responsibility for Book IV, the *pastoral* book. He readily assented. The team was completed by Dr. Gerhard Leibold, who wanted the Christology questions of Book III; he in turn was joined in 1992 by the recently graduated Dr. Klaus Rodler, who was assigned the *Tugendlehre*. When Dr. Leibold assumed a teaching position at the University of Innsbruck, his place was ably assumed by Dr. Alexander Eichinger. We all gathered at the SIEPM Congress in Erfurt in 1997, presenting our findings at a session devoted to the thought of Richard Fishacre and agreeing on final protocols and schedules for the anticipated publication. To every one of these editors I owe an immense debt of gratitude.

I am grateful as well to the *Vorsitzender* of the *Kommission für die Herausgabe ungedruckter Texte aus der mittelalterlichen Geisteswelt*, Dr. Leo Scheffczyk, for his hospitality to me and his generosity toward the project. I owe a personal debt of gratitude to Dr. Leibold for receiving me into his home and acting as my tour guide while I was in Munich.

My heartfelt thanks to the scholars whom I and Dr. O'Carroll have consulted during the years of preparation, with sincerest apologies to any I may have inadvertently omitted: Leonard Boyle OP, Richard Dales, Albinia de la Mare, Allan Fitzgerald OSA, James Ginther, Jeremiah Hackett, Maryanne Kowaleski, Hugh Lawrence, Neil Lewis, Thomas Losoncy, James McEvoy, Arthur Madigan SJ, M. Michèle Mulchahey, James P. Reilly, Richard Rouse, Richard Schenk OP, Richard Sharpe, Simon Tugwell OP, Fred Unwalla, and Rega Wood.

Finally, I thank my family — Wendy, Damian, Justin, and Christian — for sharing their lives this past decade with a thirteenth-century friar. Without their support and forbearance my researches would not have been possible.

R. James Long
General Editor

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The manuscript descriptions could not have been written without the academic hospitality of so many library staffs, and particularly those of Bologna, the Biblioteca Universitaria; of Cambridge, Gonville and Caius and Trinity Colleges; of Liverpool University Library; of London, the British Library and Lambeth Palace Library; of Naples, the Biblioteca Nazionale; of Oxford, the Bodleian Library, especially Duke Humfrey staff, and Balliol College Library; of Paris, the Bibliothèque Nationale; of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, and of Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. The generosity and kindness of all the staffs have been an immense encouragement to our work on Richard Fishacre.

In particular we appreciate deeply the friendly and expeditious way in which some of the above libraries and their appropriate authorities have allowed us to select and publish illustrations for this first volume of the Fishacre edition. We record the permissions so graciously given by the Fellow Librarian of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge; of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge; of the Keeper of the Western Manuscripts and the Trustees of the British Library, London; of the Master and Fellows of Balliol College, Oxford; of the Warden and Fellows of New College, Oxford; of the Provost and Fellows of Oriel College, Oxford; of the Keeper of Special Collections and Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford; of the Keepers of the Manuscripts Department of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris; and of the Prefect of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

We are most appreciative of the gift of time and energy from Sister Mary Christine Vaughan SND, who checked grammar and particularly punctuation, and from Professor C.H. Lawrence, who offered valuable comments. We are grateful to John K. Reynolds, who turned M.E. O'Carroll's hand-drawn maps into computer accessible maps and much improved on the originals.

Both of us acknowledge debts of gratitude for generous financial support: R.J. Long to the National Endowment for the Humanities, enabling him to take a year's leave and to travel to the various manuscript collections; and to his college, Fairfield University, for a sabbatical and for several research grants; M.E. O'Carroll to the Leverhulme Foundation for a research grant which enabled the numerous expenses of travel for manuscript research to be largely met, and to the British Province of the Sisters of Notre Dame for continual support.

We acknowledge the support of the *Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften*. K. Rodler has taken care of the typesetting of this book. In its final checking we have been much aided by our fellow editors, A. Eichinger and K. Rodler. Any mistakes are our responsibility.

R. James Long, Maura E. O'Carroll

I. THE LIFE OF RICHARD FISHACRE OP

Richard Fishacre was English born and bred. There is no indication in fact that he ever left his native island, as did many Englishmen, for studies in Paris or some other school on the continent. Nicholas Trivet reports that Fishacre was from the diocese of Exeter, which covers Devonshire and Cornwall,¹ and indeed a search of royal and administrative records and of local ecclesiastical records in print has turned up over one hundred and sixty references in that area² to the name *Fishacre*³ from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries.

The story of the Fishacre family is itself a microcosm of many of the changes and developments in English society between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries. William of Normandy had brought with him a strong military force, most members of which were landless. Since few intended to return to Normandy and since the king had little money with which to reward his followers, he divided the conquered land in its existing Anglo-Saxon divisions among them in his role as feudal lord. This did not mean, however, that the newly landed soldiers owned the land; tenants-in-chief held of the king, and their tenants in turn held of them. This arrangement ensured continued fealty and military service to the king.

The Fishacre story illustrates in its land-holdings, its benefices, its military service, its legal activities, its Devonian and Cornish links, its royal service, and its

¹ *Annales Sex Regum Angliae*, ed. Thomas Hog (London, 1845), 229 and n. 4.

² The following sources (with the abbreviations by which they will be hereinafter cited) were consulted: Partial Buckfast Cartulary in the Reg. Exon Grandisson III; Liber Feodorum (Testa de Nevill, The Book of Fees) (= *BF*); Calendar of Chancery Rolls; Calendar of Chancery Rolls Various, including supplementary Close Rolls, Welsh Rolls, Scutage Rolls; Calendar of Chancery Warrants; Calendar of Close Rolls (= *CCR*); Calendar of Fine Rolls; Calendar of Inquisitions; Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous; Calendar of Liberate Rolls; Calendar of Patent Rolls (= *CPR*); Devon and Cornwall Record Society; Devon Feet of Fines; English Place-Name Society vols. 8 & 9 (= *EPNS*); Excerpta e Rotulis Finium in Turri Londinensi; Feudal Aids: Issues of the Exchequer from King Henry III to King Henry IV inclusive (= *FA*); Lay Subsidy of 1334; Red Book of the Exchequer, RS 99 (= *RBE*); F.C. Hingeston-Randolph, ed., Episcopal Registers: Diocese of Exeter, 10 vols. (London, 1889–1915) (= *Reg. Exon.*); also G.R. Dunstan, ed., The Register of Edmund Lacy, Bishop of Exeter, 1420–1455, Canterbury and York Society in conjunction with the Devon and Cornwall Record Society, 5 vols. (Torquay, 1963–1972); Tristram Risdon, The Chorographical Description or Survey of the County of Devon, begun 1605, probably finished about 1630 (London, 1811; repr. Barnstaple, 1970); Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum in Turri Londinensi (= *RLCinTL*); Rotuli Originalium in Curia Scaccarii Abbreviatio; Reports and Transactions of the Devonshire Association, 1862, proceeding (= *RTDA*); Victoria County History of Devon (= *VCH Devon*).

³ As is the case generally with medieval surnames, the orthographic variants of Fishacre are many: the *DNB* gives four (7:53), Emden has 13 (*BRUO*, 2:685), and the *NewDNB* [in press] will list 17.

Initial Fishacre settlements in the Eastern part of South Devon

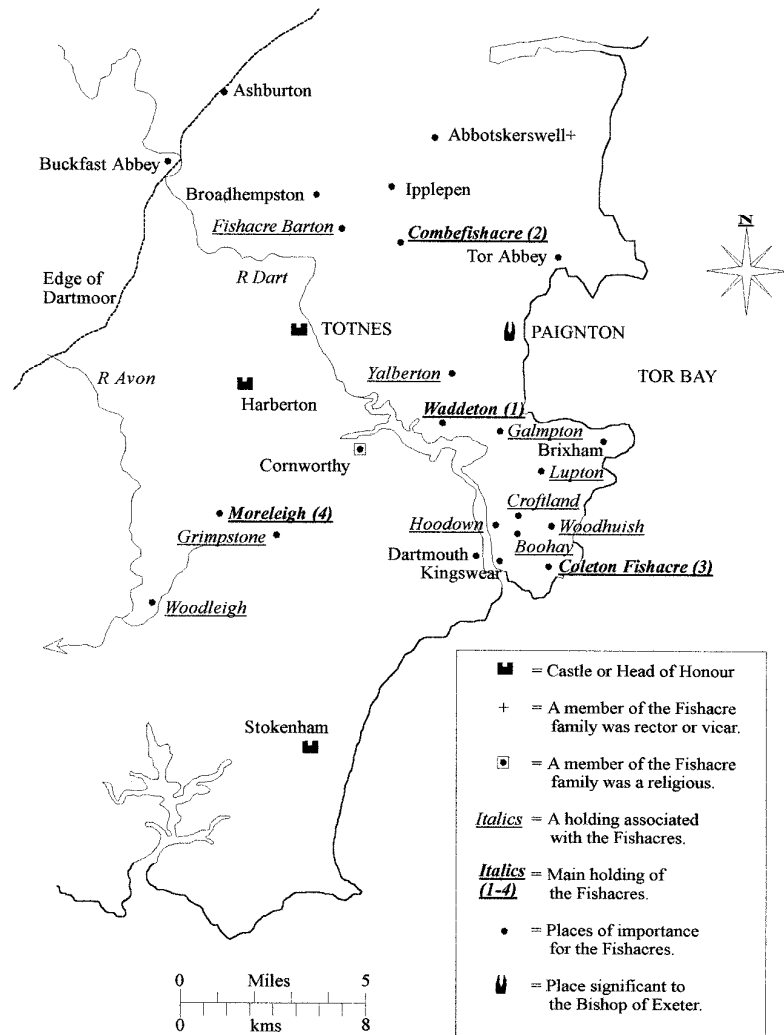


Figure 1

ecclesiastical members of every rank, the complexities of a highly organized society based on land-holding. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the records, when pieced together,⁴ reveal Fishacres who are knights, king's clerks, sheriffs, royal commissioners in the shire, priests, a monk and a friar, a tailor, several soldiers, and lawyers.

The earliest recorded Fishacre, and very likely the founder of the family, is a Martin de ffishacre,⁵ a knight holding a military fee of the Bishop of Exeter, who witnessed a charter between the years 1148 to 1156. The family loses its main Fishacre holdings with marriages of the daughters, Jane (or Joan) and Agnes, of the last Martin de Fishacre in the late fourteenth century; and the Fishacre name disappears altogether with the death of Sir Edward de Fishacre, rector of Cullompton, in 1433 or 1434. The family that began with a soldier ended with a priest.

There are three places that bear the name: Fishacre Barton, Combefishacre, and Coleton Fishacre⁶ — all in the same vicinity of south Devon⁷ — and it seemed reasonable to conclude that the name of the family is toponymic, that is, *de Fish-acre*, the form of the name that most often appears. However, the places with the name Fishacre attached to them do not appear in the written records until after 1228,⁸ almost a century after the appearance of the surname. The more likely story, therefore, is that it was originally a nickname applied to a Norman knight-

⁴ The story of the Fishacres is an excellent example of the piecing together of a local history which is more concerned with the daily activities of life on the manor, in the parish, in the hundred, and in the shire. Such information is like a jig-saw with many missing pieces. With respect to Devon, however, we are blessed with a wealth of records: the edited registers of the Bishops of Exeter, a partial cartulary of Buckfast Abbey, some late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century accounts of the shire, the Victoria County History, and the one hundred and thirty-plus volumes of the *Reports and Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, which includes the Exon. Domesday. In maps there are the riches of the Ordnance Survey together with many original maps of various parts of Devon available in the *RTDA*. In national records there are the Royal records as edited in the Rolls Series; by the Historical Manuscripts Commission; by the Public Record Office, and others.

⁵ The fact that *Martin* is the most common Christian name in the Fishacre clan, and in fact in almost continuous use from one generation to the next, both lends weight to the claim that Martin I was the founder and also shows clearly that the family was Norman in origin. It is very possible that the name Martin in the de Fishacre family indicates the heir.

⁶ The names do not predate the Normans: in Exon. Domesday Book Combefishacre is recorded as Comba and Coleton Fishacre as Coletona; there is no reference to Fishacre Barton (Exon. Domesday, ed. O.J. Reichel, *VCH Devon*, 1:375–547, esp. 469–70).

⁷ The area between Paignton–Brixham in the east, the extension of the Fosse Way in the north, and the estuary of the river Dart in the west is the most likely place of the original Fishacre holdings. Much of this area was part of the rich and extensive manor of Paignton, held by the Bishop of Exeter as tenant-in-chief of the king (*RBE*, 2:556); Martin de Fishacre is one of the household knights of the Bishop of Exeter in 1210–1212, and so would have held a military fee carved out of the Bishop's land-holdings. A Martin de Fishacre gained 16 acres in Galmpton in 1199 and land in Woodhuish in 1219.

⁸ *RTDA* 40 (1908), 116.

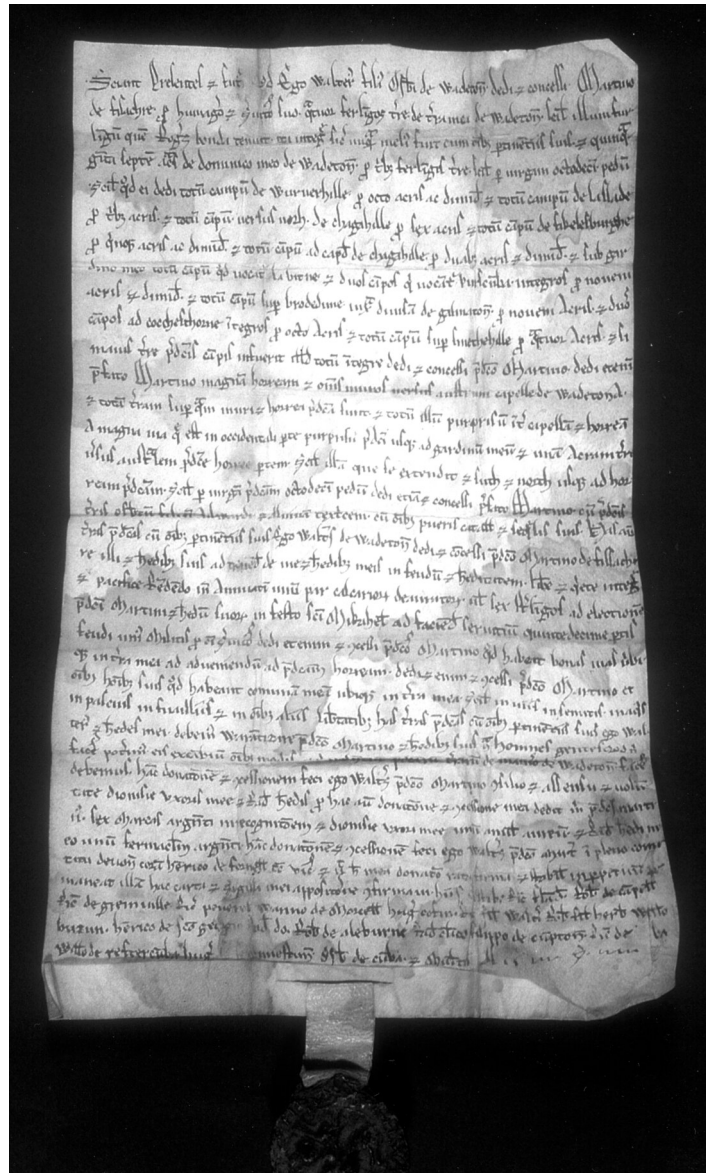


Figure 2: London, British Library Egerton Charter 2894

Charter between Martin de Fishacre and Osbert de Waddeton, between 1216 and 1240, detailing the former's acquisition of the manor.

turned-landowner who had the farming practice of using fish to manure his fields: hence, *fish-acre*.⁹ As the family grew in social importance their name became attached to places which they held over several decades, even for more than a century. In Richard Fishacre's lifetime the family was established in the main properties they held for many years, namely Combefishacre, Coleton Fishacre, Waddeton, and Moreleigh, and probably Fishacre Barton, which was part of the manor of Combefishacre. One can conclude from their increased holdings that the family was growing fast, that it had several able members, and that their land holdings were increasing in importance. Moreover, the fact that three of these early thirteenth-century Fishacres were serving the Church in one way or another indicates a certain level of social standing.

A second junior branch of the family turns up in Dublin at this same time, although the references are fewer than those to the Devon Fishacres. The first Dublin Fishacre, Warin, in 1226 is acting for the archbishop of Dublin,¹⁰ and in 1234 is appointed Chamberlain of the Exchequer there; that is, Warin is a king's clerk, a privileged position.¹¹ From the royal records we learn that Warin has a younger brother, Isaac, who is required by the king to take over Warin's Exchequer job when between 1237 and 1242 the latter has to travel on the king's business.¹² Although 1256 finds Warin still at the Exchequer, about 1275–1279¹³ a Warin de Fissacre witnesses a charter in Devon. Might it be that he had retired to his ancestral home at the end of his years of service in Dublin?¹⁴

In the first half of the thirteenth century there are a number of significant Fishacres who were more or less contemporary with Richard Fishacre OP. There is Martin de Fishacre (very possibly two persons of this name, father and son) whose main holding is Waddeton, acquired probably through marriage with Isabella of Waddeton and attested to by charter.¹⁵ Martin is an important person in the area, serving on several royal commissions¹⁶ and witnessing at least one char-

⁹ In fact, the probable location of the earliest family holdings (as well as three of the thirteenth-century holdings, Waddeton, Coleton Fishacre, and Ringmore) is near enough to the sea to render fish a plentiful commodity and hence an economically feasible fertilizer. See also *EPNS*, 9:510–11.

¹⁰ *RLCinTL*, 2 (1220–1227): 16.

¹¹ *CPR* (1232–1247), 67.

¹² *CCR* (1237–1242), 215–16.

¹³ *RTDA* 64 (1932), 53–54.

¹⁴ For the remaining members of this junior branch of the family see O'Carroll, "The Fishacre Tribe: the Family Origins of Richard Fishacre OP," in the special commemorative volume of *New Blackfriars* 80 (1999), 324–45.

¹⁵ London, British Library, Egerton Charter 2894 is the record of a Martin de Fishacre acquiring Waddeton from Osbert de Waddeton. Though the date is not recorded, it was early in the reign of Henry III, i.e. between 1216 and 1240.

¹⁶ *BF*, 2:767, Martin de Fishacre is appointed to a commission of inquiry in the hundred of Haytor, c. 1242–1244.

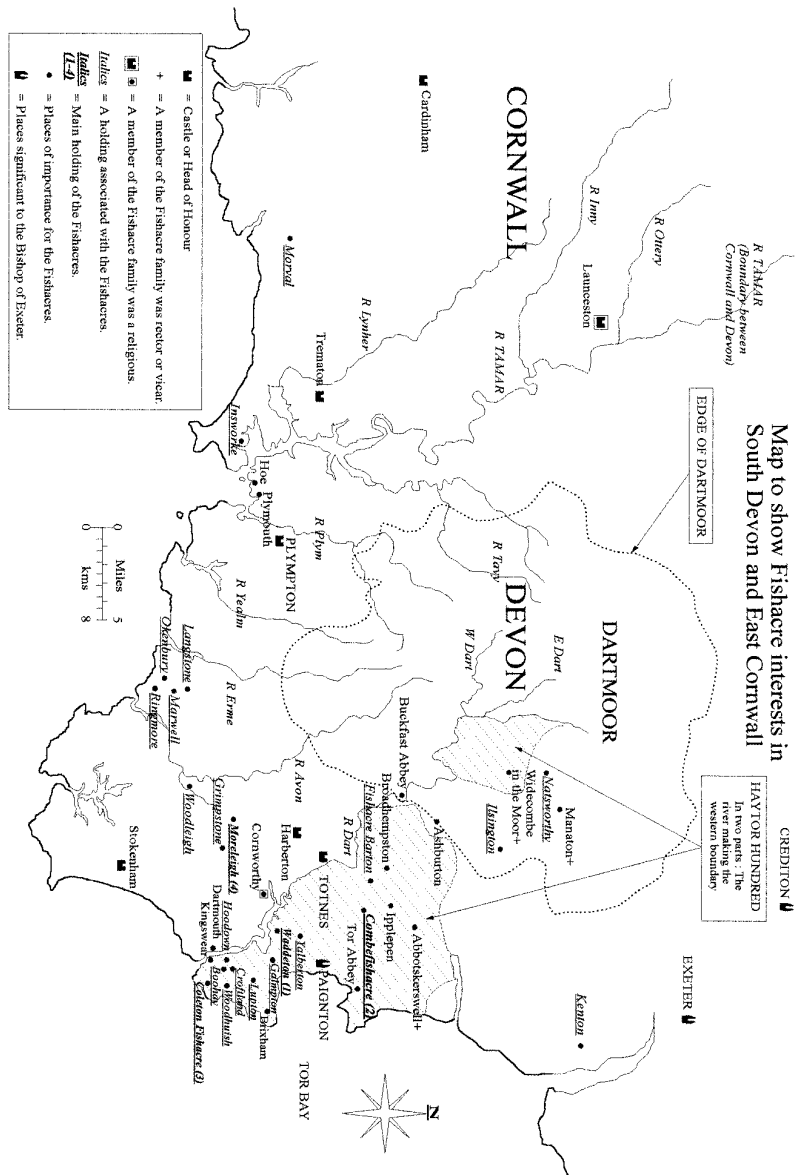


Figure 3

ter for Buckfast Abbey.¹⁷ There is Sir Peter de Fishacre who holds in Moreleigh together with Woodleigh, Battleford, and Grimstonleigh of the honor of Plympton.¹⁸ Both men have children, although it is not possible to identify them. Sir Peter is patron of at least two benefices: one the church of Moreleigh¹⁹ which he is reputed to have built; one at Stoke Rivers²⁰ in the north of the shire. This latter benefice is held by Warin de Fishacre,²¹ whom we have already seen as first a clerk and then a baron of the royal Exchequer in Dublin²² and who probably returns to Devon in the late 1270's.²³ Warin has a brother Isaac, whom we have already encountered at the Dublin Exchequer.²⁴ There is a Sir William de Fishacre, probably son and heir to a Martin at Waddeton, who serves in the Welsh campaign of the Lord Edward²⁵ and was exempted from taxes and other duties for the time of his service.²⁶ There is Robert Fishacre, a canon of the Augustinian priory in Launceston, latterly its prior and then its ex-prior.²⁷ At least two of these, Warin and Isaac, are brothers. All of them at this time in the existence of the Fishacre family are likely to be blood relations as cousins.

The Fishacre families flourished in the rest of the thirteenth century and in much of the fourteenth century.²⁸ In the course of the fifteenth century it appears

¹⁷ Partial Buckfast Cartulary in *Reg. Exon.*, Grandisson, 1561–1610, only some are dated. Some of the Fishacre witnesses are noted here: Charter IX, 1571–2, Martinus de ffishachre; Charter XIII, 1574 (first part missing) dated 1248–1249, Martinus de ffissacre; Charter XXI–III, 1581, January 1281–1282, Petrus de ffyshacre, Miles; Charter LIII, 1601, Martinus de ffissacre; Charters LVIII and LIX, 1603–4, Martinus de ffishacre. Note the different spellings of the name in the local charters.

¹⁸ *FA*, 324 and 332; *RTDA* 31 (1899), 389; *RTDA* 40 (1908), 115; *RTDA* 43 (1911), 226.

¹⁹ *Reg. Exon.*, 1: Bronescombe, 83.

²⁰ *Reg. Exon.*, 1: Quivil, 328.

²¹ *Reg. Exon.*, 1: Quivil, 356, by 11 July 1282 when another priest is appointed. Sir Warin de Fishacre has resigned his benefice which was in the patronage of Sir Peter de Fishacre.

²² *CPR* (1232–1247), 67.

²³ *RTDA* 64 (1932), 53–54. This refers to the oldest manorial record held at Waddeton in 1932. Its current whereabouts in unknown.

²⁴ *CCR* (1237–1242), 215–16.

²⁵ *CPR* (1247–1258), 658–59: 29 December 1257. William de Fissacre is one of nine people “of those staying in Wales in the service of the king and Edward his son, and have protection with clause (possibly volumus) to last as long as they are there on the said service”.

²⁶ *CPR* (1247–1258), 611, some time in 1258: “Exemption at the instance of Edward, the king’s son, of William de Fissacre of the county of Devon from being put on assizes, juries or recognitions and from being made sheriff etc. against his will”.

²⁷ *Reg. Exon.*, 1: Bronescombe, 200–02. The first house of secular canons had been established in the first Launceston castle at St. Stephen’s. Their comportment, however, led to their replacement in 1127 by Augustinian canons who later transferred the priory to the riverside in Newport. Also P.L. Hall, ed., *The Cartulary of Launceston Priory, a calendar*. Devon and Cornwall Record Society NS 30 (Torquay, 1987), xi–xxxvii.

²⁸ The rise in social status of the Fishacre family is indicated by their later varied armorial bearings. We have gained valuable insight about the arms of different members of the Fishacre

that the male line died out and with it the name, and the Fishacre holdings passed to the families of the female heirs.²⁹

We know that Richard de Fishacre is a man who grew up in South Devon. He travelled its ancient lanes, knew its tumbling rivers in their steep-sided wooded valleys, its broad estuaries, and the sea near at hand, saw for himself the farming of its rich soil. He may well have visited his relatives as the families spread westwards through that part of Devon known as the South Hams and over to the Tamar valley and Cornwall. But equally he was familiar with Dartmoor and its unique harsh landscape. He would probably have visited Ashburton and Buckfast Abbey several times. He may well have been to Crediton, where the Bishop had his chief manor, and also to Exeter, the cathedral city. It is very unlikely, however, that he first met the Dominicans in Exeter, as their priory there was not founded until 1232.³⁰ By that time Richard Fishacre OP was already unusual in his family for having left Devon and for having become a friar.

Richard possibly went from Devon as a young man to the schools in Oxford with the intention of becoming a priest of the Exeter diocese. Already two of his wider family, Robert and Warin, were in the Church, while Sir Peter had the means to provide a further benefice. Once in Oxford, however, he may have become one

family in a report made for us by P.L. Dickinson Esq., Richmond Herald at the College of Arms. Mr. Dickinson's searches among printed and written records have shown that several coats of arms are attributed to the Fishacres. He drew our attention to the four coats of arms attributed to Fishacre in J.B. Burke, *The General Armory of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales* (London, 1884), 351. Two of them are from Devon and one from Ulster. All of them have fish in various numbers and types: for example one Devon family has six fishes, while another has three pike; the Irish family has three pike with a chevron. Yet another, with no place or date mentioned, has a single dolphin. According to later records of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, several of these coats of arms are found in Combe Fishacre, Moreleigh, Ilsington and Plymouth (all places in south Devon) and also in Crediton in central Devon. The earliest written references to them, including the first in the Ashmolean Roll of about 1331–35, come from the fourteenth century. It has not been possible to include in the report any full survey of heraldry on seals and monuments. Mr. Dickinson concludes: "As things stand, there is no documentary evidence that anyone named Fishacre was using arms prior to the reign of Edward III. In these circumstances, none of the coats of arms mentioned can be safely attributed to Richard de Fishacre OP."

²⁹ For a more exhaustive account of the Fishacre family see O'Carroll, "The Fishacre Tribe" (n. 14 above).

³⁰ Between 1221, the year of the Dominicans' arrival in England and 1248, the year of Fishacre's death only 23 of the 51 priories were in existence. At the start settlement was slow but carefully considered, as no foundation was made without the full number of twelve as required by the Constitutions: Oxford, 1221; London, 1224; Norwich, 1226; York, 1227; Bristol, 1230; Exeter and Shrewsbury, 1232. Initially Oxford was the place of novitiate, of priory school, of provincial school, and of general school. See O'Carroll, *A Thirteenth Century Preacher's Handbook: Studies in MS Laud Misc. 511* (Toronto, 1997), 60–67.

DOMINICAN SETTLEMENT IN ENGLAND AND WALES 1221 - 1248

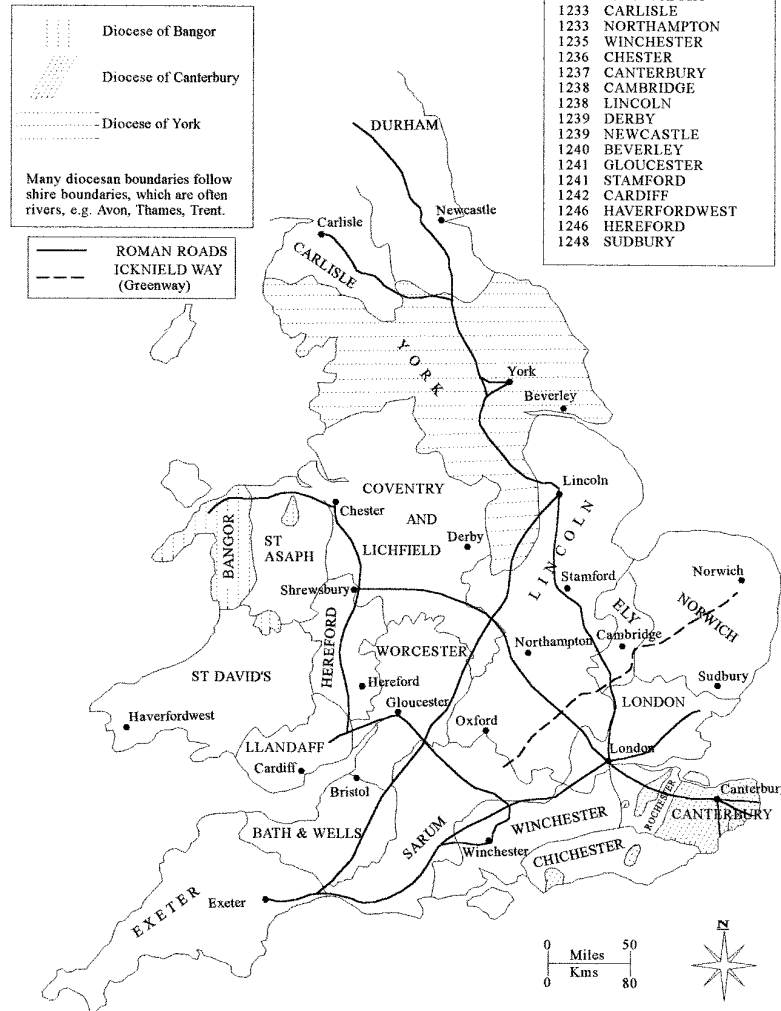


Figure 4

of Jordan of Saxony's *catches*.³¹ Whatever the account of his vocation, it would appear that he entered the Order of Preachers within the first decade of its arrival in England in 1221.

As a student at the first Oxford Blackfriars, he would have come under the tutelage of Friar Robert Bacon, the first Dominican master in theology at the young studium. Bacon was already *magister* when he embraced the Dominican rule,³² and it was for this reason that the customary novitiate was dispensed with in his case.³³

We do not know precisely when Fishacre incepted in theology, but it was probably by 1240. Although commenting on some book of Peter Lombard's *Sentences* was eventually required of all candidates for the degree of master of theology, becoming therefore the exclusive province of bachelors, the evidence suggests that Fishacre's Commentary — like the *Sentences* Commentaries of Alexander of Hales,³⁴ Roland of Cremona,³⁵ and probably also of Hugh of St. Cher³⁶ before him — was the work of a master.³⁷ He writes the work under obedience, he says

³¹ Jordan wrote in November of 1229: "At the studium of Oxford, where I am at present, the Lord has given us great hopes of a good catch" (*Beati Iordani de Saxonia Epistulae*, ed. A. Walz, *MOFPH* 22 [1951], 4). Jordan's hopes seems to have been realized a decade later when a letter from the Oxford prior, William of Thetford, revealed that the priory had forty novices; see K.W. Humphreys, "Three Letters of William of Thetford, O.P.," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 5 (1954), 203. Cf. C.H. Lawrence, *The Friars. The Impact of the Early Mendicant Movement on Western Society* (London, 1994), 74, and M.W. Sheehan, "The Religious Orders 1220–1370," in *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. J.I. Catto (Oxford, 1984), 1:199.

³² Beryl Smalley, "Robert Bacon and the Early Dominican School at Oxford," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (4th Series) 30 (1948), 1.

³³ Cf. Thomas of Eccleston (who records it with a note of disapproval), *Tractatus de adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam*, ed. A.G. Little, 2nd ed. (Manchester, 1951), 81: "Consueverunt enim ipso die ingressus sui, si vellent, profiteri, sicque fecit bonae memoriae frater R. Bacun."

³⁴ Alexander de Hales, *Glossa in IV libros Sententiarum Petri Lombardi*, eds. Pp. Collegii S. Bonaventurae (Quaracchi, 1951), 1:66*.

³⁵ M. Michèle Mulchahey, "First the Bow is Bent in Study . . .". *Dominican Education before 1350* (Toronto, 1998), 60.

³⁶ Until we have a critical edition of Hugh's Commentary, of which there are extant at least a dozen witnesses, the question of whether it is a magisterial work will remain a matter of conjecture. The *DTC* asserts without the offer of evidence that Hugh lectured on the *Sentences* in 1230 as a master. Principe has dated the written form of the work c. 1230–1232 (*Hugh of Saint-Cher's Theology of the Hypostatic Union* [Toronto, 1970], 14), but that does not tell when he lectured on the *Sentences* or even whether it was before or after his entry into the Order. I am grateful to Simon Tugwell OP for reviewing the scanty evidence for me.

³⁷ Pelster in his final word on the subject placed the beginning of Fishacre's regency in ca. 1245 and therefore the Commentary shortly before 1245, without however giving the reasons for his position other than the assertion that bachelors read the *Sentences* ("Das Leben und die Schriften des Oxforder Dominikanerlehrers Richard Fishacre [† 1248]," *ZKT* 54 [1930],

in the prologue, though lacking in strength of mind and body³⁸ — a protestation more credible coming from a master than from a student. Had the *Sentences* been a part of the theology curriculum, and hence the assignment of every student *volens nolens*, the mention of *obedience* would have been redundant.

Furthermore, his reference in the same prologue to his work on the *other part of theology*,³⁹ which was moral theology or Scripture, is probably to his commentary on the Psalms. Although no extant copy has been discovered, its publication was attested by the earliest bibliographies.⁴⁰ That the work achieved written status, however, suggests that its author was a master; the fruits of the *cursor biblicus* were seldom published.

Lastly, a bachelor would simply not have had the authority to introduce an innovation such as the *Sentences* Commentary represented at Oxford. The editors of the Commentary of Alexander of Hales, the first at Paris, had reached the same conclusion with respect to Alexander and his *Glossa*.⁴¹ In fact, the first Oxford statute regarding the *Sentences* as part of the theology curriculum does not appear until 1253 (the year of Grosseteste's death), and even then the aspirant to the grade of master was given a choice between lecturing on a book of the Bible or Lombard's *Sentences* or Comestor's *Historia*.⁴² One should avoid the temptation of anachronistically imposing later regulations on an earlier time.⁴³

530–31). This represented a change from his earlier opinion, namely, that Fishacre's Commentary was a magisterial work ("Der älteste Sentenzenkommentar aus der Oxforder Franziskanerschule. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des theologischen Lehrbetriebs an der Oxforder Universität," *Scholastik* 1 [1926], 64–65).

³⁸ "Sed ad tantam sublimitatem imperfectum meum viderunt oculi vestri — et non unicam imperfectionem sed duplicem, scilicet imperfectionem scientiae in mente et virium in corpore. Tamen oboedientiam nec valens nec volens declinare, confidentiam habeo in eo de quo dicitur *Eccli. 15: Quoniam multa est sapientia Dei et fortis in potentia*" (R.J. Long, "The Science of Theology according to Richard Fishacre: Edition of the Prologue to his *Commentary on the Sentences*," *MS* 34 [1972], 97).

³⁹ Ibid. See below.

⁴⁰ See Trivet, *Annales*, 229; *SOP*, 1:118; John Leland, *De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, ed. T. Hearne (London, 1774; repr. London, 1968), 4:38; and Thomas James, *Ecloga Oxonio-Cantabrigiensis* (London, 1600), 1:9. Franz Pelster claims he searched in vain for the work ("Das Leben," 522).

⁴¹ Alexander, *Glossa*, 1:66*.

⁴² "Statuit universitas Oxoniae, et, si statutum fuerit, iterato consensu corroborat, quod nullus in eadem universitate incipiat in theologia nisi prius rexerit in artibus in aliqua universitate, et nisi legerit aliquem librum de canone Bibliae vel librum Sententiarum vel Historiarum, et praedicaverit publice universitati" (*Statuta antiqua universitatis Oxoniensis*, ed. S. Gibson [Oxford, 1931], 49).

⁴³ Cf. Mulchahey, *Dominican Education*, 166–67: "It can no longer be assumed that every Dominican commentary on the *Sentences* is the work of an author who at some time was a university bachelor, or that it was otherwise produced in the university environment ...".

If the *terminus post quem* of Fishacre's Commentary can be fixed at 1241, and the *terminus ante quem* as 1245,⁴⁴ that would allow the Dominican master approximately four years for the composition of such a massive work. It would be difficult to conceive of the work being done in less time. That would also allow three additional years of regency, a period during which Fishacre exercised the office of a master theologian, which was to lecture, to dispute, and to preach. The fruits of these last years are detailed in the next chapter.

Whether Fishacre succeeded Robert Bacon as the sole regent master or whether they both held chairs simultaneously is not altogether certain. Our earliest source is Nicholas Trivet, writing two generations later:

Fuerat huic [S. Edmundo Rich] socius in schola magister Robertus Bacon, qui Oxoniis regens in theologia praedicatorum ordinem est ingressus. Post ingressum vero lectiones suas in scholis sancti Edwardi per plures continuavit annos. Sub quo primus de fratribus incepit frater Ricardus de Fissakere Exoniensis [Oxonienensis *ed.*] diocesis, legens una cum fratre Roberto praedicto in scholis, quas fratres infra locum, quem nunc habitant, habuerant.⁴⁵

Hinnebusch interprets Trivet as meaning that the two Dominicans held chairs simultaneously (*una cum*).⁴⁶ However, Trivet also says *legens una cum*, not *regens una cum*, implying that Bacon could have continued to lecture as master emeritus, while his student was the sole regent, or vice versa. Never in the thirteenth century, moreover, is it recorded of the Dominicans or Franciscans that either Order held more than one chair concurrently within the theology faculty at Oxford, and in fact judging from events at Paris, there would have been considerable opposition to such a move.⁴⁷

Emden interprets this same passage very differently: because Trivet wrote *legens* instead of *regens*, Fishacre lectured in the schools, he says, *probably as a non-regent master*.⁴⁸ Matthew Paris, in a text cited below, simply states that Bacon and Fishacre lectured in the same faculty.

Joseph Goering suggests a third position: reading Trivet to say that Bacon taught in St. Edmund's chair at St. Edward's, even after he became a friar, and that Fishacre, having incepted under Bacon, taught in the friars' school at Oxford, one can thus claim that they were both *legentes*, one in the "university" and the other in the Dominicans' convent.⁴⁹ Since, however, the term *regent master* was

⁴⁴ See below, chapter III, "The Sentences Commentary".

⁴⁵ Trivet, *Annales*, 229.

⁴⁶ *EEFP*, 364, n. 38.

⁴⁷ Cf. *CUP*, 1:254, n. 230.

⁴⁸ *BRUO*, 2:685.

⁴⁹ Private correspondence. This is also the position favored by Mulchahey, *Dominican Education*, 366, n. 50: "Admitting that the two may have lectured together at Blackfriars does not imply formal recognition for Fishacre was either sought or obtained from the university."

not part of Dominican vocabulary, it was not used in their schools.⁵⁰ The regency therefore would have applied only to the secular studium.

It is worth remembering that at this early date in the history of the English Dominican province Oxford was a provincial studium and a priory studium as well as an incipient general studium.⁵¹ For the considerable burden of teaching at these three levels more than one lector would be needed. There is thus no problem about Robert and Richard both lecturing at Oxford in the same faculty at the same time, but in different venues. In fact, there could well have been a third lector whose task was that of priory lector in charge of the priory studium.⁵²

If Bacon was master already in 1219, he would have been approaching sixty by the time Fishacre incepted and hence probably quite prepared to share the teaching responsibilities with his younger confrere, if not turn over the regency altogether. There are now also ample data that, unlike the seculars, the Dominicans used their chairs at Paris and at Oxford to train masters for their convents and would therefore rotate the men in and out after a term of three years, so that others might in turn be formed.⁵³ Pelster puts Bacon's retirement about 1244, but advances no reason for holding this.⁵⁴ At any rate it does not touch our thesis: Fishacre might well have been a master of theology without at the same time holding the title *magister regens*.

Death came for both friar Richard and his mentor, Robert Bacon, in the same year, 1248. Fishacre's death would have come later in the year, if it is the same Richard Fishacre who served as an executor of a prominent baron, Herbert Fitzpeter, on the Sunday before the feast of the Ascension.⁵⁵ If his inception as master took place about 1240/1241, Fishacre would have been in his early to late forties

⁵⁰ See Mulchahey, *Dominican Education*, 378, n. 111.

⁵¹ The proposal for the Dominican school at Oxford to be granted *studium generale* status (along with Bologna, Cologne, and Montpellier) was confirmed only in 1248 and not implemented until 1261; see Mulchahey, *Dominican Education*, 351–52 and n. 2.

⁵² See Mulchahey, *Dominican Education*, 352–78, and chapter two of O'Carroll's *A Thirteenth-Century Preacher's Handbook*, 35–74.

⁵³ Daniel Callus, "The *Tabulae super Originalia Patrum* of Robert Kilwardby O.P.," in *Studia Mediaevalia in honorem R.J. Martin* (Bruges, 1948), 251. Callus, in fact, traces the regencies of the masters who succeeded Fishacre (Simon of Hinton [1248–1250]; Hugh of Mistretune [1250–1253]; Peter Manners [1253–1256]; Robert Kilwardby [1256–1261], all of whose regencies were singular and of limited duration. Cf. Jean-Pierre Torrell, *Saint Thomas Aquinas*, Vol. 1: *The Person and His Work*, trans. Robert Royal (Washington DC, 1996), 98.

⁵⁴ "Das Leben," 521, and "Der älteste Sentenzenkommentar," 56, n. 4. In 1244 Robert is still acting in a capacity of some importance, but not necessarily that of a *magister regens* (see *CPR* [1232–1247], 442).

⁵⁵ See British Library, MS Harley 1708, f. 114^b and British Library, MS Cotton, Vespasian E. xxv, f. 61^b; cited from Josiah Cox Russell, *Dictionary of Writers of Thirteenth Century England* (London, 1936), 115.

when death claimed him.⁵⁶ In one of the very few autobiographical references in his writings, Fishacre protests in the aforementioned prologue that he was laboring under a twofold handicap: the first affecting his mind (lack of knowledge), the second his body (physical weakness):

But for such great excellence your eyes have observed my imperfection — and not a single imperfection but one that is two-fold, namely imperfection of knowledge with respect to the mind and of strength with respect to the body.⁵⁷

A colophon in the form of a prayer at the end of the first book of one of the Paris witnesses, moreover, alludes again to a lack of physical strength:

I ask you, dear reader, whoever you are, to beseech God on behalf of friar Richard de Fishacre, who has produced this work, that the Lord will preserve his soul now and forever and grant him strength of body so that he might bring the rest of this work to a successful conclusion. Amen.⁵⁸

These personal glimpses, if they are taken as more than commonplaces, can be seen as intimations of Fishacre's weak constitution and hence premonitions of his demise at a relatively young age. He was buried under the west wall of the church of the new priory built in the Jewry outside the walls.⁵⁹

Matthew Paris, who generally wasted little affection on the friars, wrote this moving tribute:

And in the same year [1248] two friars from the same Order, than whom there were none living who were superior in theology and the other sciences, nor indeed equal, as it is thought, namely Friar Robert Bacon and Friar Richard de Fishacre, who lectured with distinction in the same faculty for many years and gloriously preached the word of the Lord to the people, from this world migrated to God.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ The minimum age of inception, barring any dispensation to the contrary, was 35; cf. *CUP*, 1:79. However, unless the friar were already a qualified master in law or theology prior to entry, he seldom went straight through his qualifications, but alternated study and teaching. We cannot therefore be very precise in our estimates.

⁵⁷ “Sed ad tantam sublimitatem imperfectum meum viderunt oculi vestri — et non unicam imperfectionem sed duplicem, scilicet imperfectionem scientiae in mente et virium in corpore” (Long, “Science of Theology,” 97).

⁵⁸ “Rogo te, lector, quicumque es, ut roges Deum pro fratre Richardo de fishacre, qui hoc opus edidit, ut eum dominus nunc et semper in anima custodiat et in corpore vires prebeat, ut residuum operis ad finem prospere perducatur. Amen.” (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 16389 [henceforth *S*], f. 90^v).

⁵⁹ Hinnebusch, *EEFP*, 365; Leland, *Collectanea*, 4:59. A surviving part of the priory, the second foundation at Oxford, is currently one of the interior walls of the School for the Deaf at the bottom of St. Ebbe's Street.

⁶⁰ “Et eodem anno [1248] duo fratres de eodem ordine quibus non erant maiores, immo nec pares, ut creditur, viventes in theologia et aliis scientiis, videlicet frater Robertus Bacon et

Such are the meagre facts established by the best authenticated sources. Whatever other details have crept into the *vita* are the result either of the inventiveness of sixteenth-century antiquarians or the pious imaginings of earlier hagiographers. The accounts, for example, of Fishacre's studies at Paris,⁶¹ his intense friendship with Robert Bacon such that he died of grief shortly after his teacher's death, and the commencement of his teaching as early as 1234 can all be traced to Leland and Bale.⁶² Gerard of Frachet, on the other hand, is the sole authority⁶³ for the edifying tale of Fishacre's death:

An English lector named Richard, being at the point of death, called out: "Pray earnestly for me, brethren, for soon I shall have to encounter some terrible apparitions." His eyes then began to roll uneasily, and by the pallor of his features and wild gestures he gave signs of the terrible agony he was passing through. After a while he exclaimed on regaining consciousness: "Oh, blessed be God, I am saved, thanks to the prayers of my own brethren and of the Friars Minor, whom I have always especially loved." And so, giving glory to God in his fashion, he gave up his spirit.⁶⁴

A second tale from the *Lives of the Brethren* concerns the apparition during his final illness of a friar Richard, whom the editor identifies as possibly Fishacre:

frater Ricardus de Fishakele, qui egregie plurimis annis in eadem facultate legerunt et populis gloriose praedicaverunt verbum Domini, ab hoc saeculo ad Deum migraverunt" (*Chronica maiora*, ed. H.R. Luard [London, 1880], 5:16).

⁶¹ J. Pits mentions expressly: "Parisiis eum aliquando studuisse auctor est Lelandus" (*Relationum historicarum de rebus anglis* [Paris, 1619], 317). J. Bale, never one to temper his extravagantly anti-papalist language, embroiders Leland's account and has Fishacre studying "goat-stags and tragelaphs and other monstrous scurrilities of the sophists at Oxford and Paris (Et horum [Dominicorum fratrum] obtenebratus nebulis cimericis, deliramentisque fanaticis excaecatus, nihil Oxonii et Parisiis prater tragelaphos et hircocervos, aliasque sophistarum scurrilitates monstificas protulit)" (*Scriptorum illustrium Maioris Brytanniae catalogus* [Basel, 1557], 295).

⁶² Pelster, "Das Leben," 521.

⁶³ Although too often dismissed as too hagiographical, the *Vitae Fratrum* is not without historical value. As Simon Tugwell reminded us in a private correspondence (16 May 1999), the text was revised by Humbert of Romans, who would have corrected it had Gerard gotten it wrong.

⁶⁴ "Cum frater Ricardus, lector in Anglia, morti appropinquasset, ait: 'Fratres, orate pro me, quia cito terribiles apparebunt.' Post hoc cepit oculos terribiliter huc et illuc convertere et admirabilis timoris signa vultu et gestu monstrare. Tandem ad se rediens ait: 'Benedictus Deus, salvatus sum ad instanciam fratrum nostrorum et fratrum minorum, quos semper dilexi.' Et glorificans Deum emisit spiritum" (Gerardus de Fracheto, *Vitae Fratrum Ordinis Praedicatorum*, ed. B.M. Reichert [Louvain, 1896], 277; *Lives of the Brethren of the Order of Preachers 1206–1259*, trans. Placid Conway, ed. Bede Jarrett [London, 1924], 261–62). The editor of the English translation claims that the manuscript used by the translator was not always the best (vii).

In the same province of England when brother Richard was now near death, he suddenly cried out: “Woe, oh woe to you who say the divine office negligently, for the souls in purgatory protest that you so tardily and tepidly fulfill what you owe them.” Then he added these few words: “Alas, the Blessed Virgin complained to her Son, in my presence, about you, that that little bit that you say about her you recite so imprecisely and with a heart so lacking in devotion that it is accounted as nearly nothing. But I heard such a melody in heaven as no one could even imagine on earth.” Having said this he fell asleep in the Lord.⁶⁵

Beyond this there is silence.

⁶⁵ “In eadem Anglie provincia cum frater Ricardus iam exanimis esset, subito clamavit: ‘Heu, heu vobis, qui divinum officium negligenter dicitis, quia conqueruntur anime de purgatorio, quod ita tarde et tepide solvitis, quod eis debetis.’ Et pauca superadditis: ‘Heu, beata Virgo conquesta est Filio, me presente, de vobis, quod istud modicum quod dicitis de ea indistincte et indevoto dicitis corde quod quasi pro nichilo deputatur. Ego autem audivi melodiam in celo, qualem nullus nec cogitare posset in terra.’ His dictis in Domino obdormivit” (ibid., 165; trans. mine. The Conway translation [*Lives of the Brethren*, 148] here bears little resemblance to the Latin text).

II. FISHACRE'S WRITINGS

In addition to his magisterial *Sentences* Commentary, Fishacre produced a number of other theological writings in his brief career as *magister sacrae paginae*. The extant works, however, are not always easily reconcilable with the earlier bibliographies.¹ Nicholas Trivet attributes to him, besides a *Sentences* Commentary, a commentary or *postillae* on the Psalms (as far as Psalm 70), which were, he says, very beautiful and intermixed with delightful moral lessons:

Hic Richardus super *Sententias* scriptum temporibus suis perutile composuit, et super *Psalterium* usque ad psalmum septuagesimum postillas edidit pulcherrimas, moralitatibus suavissimis intermixtas.²

In 1339 this commentary was recorded as being at the priory at London, when the provincial, Richard of Winkley, ordered an inventory to be made of the library, and was still there and at Norwich when Leland made his visits about 1536.³ Leland⁴ and Bale⁵ record the work, and at least one copy survived the Dissolution: in 1600 Thomas James writes of a copy at New College, Oxford, catalogued as MS 248, whose incipit was missing.⁶

That Fishacre had lectured on some book of Scripture, moreover, is suggested by his remarks in the prologue to his *Sentences* Commentary. Dividing the science of theology into two parts, he says the first part has to do with the highest good and the second with the highest truth. Although both parts are contained *indistincte* in Holy Scripture, modern masters focus on moral matters when they lecture on Scripture and leave the more difficult doctrinal questions for their glosses on the Lombard, where there is no difference between lecturing and disputing. But then he addresses his readers, saying that now that they have heard instructions in moral matters, the *ratio ordinis* demands that they advance to the difficult questions about the faith:

¹ In fact, the earliest catalogues — the *Catalogus Stamsensis*, the *Catalogus Laurentii*, and the *Catalogus Upsalensis* — ascribe only a Commentary on the *Sentences* to Fishacre; see *Laurentii Pignon Catalogi et Chronica*, ed. G. Meersseman (Rome, 1936), 21, 66, and 75.

² N. Trivet, *Annales Sex Regum Angliae*, ed. Thomas Hog (London, 1845), 230.

³ William A. Hinnebusch, *EEFP*, 365–66. See also Richard Sharpe, *HLW*, 476.

⁴ *De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, ed. T. Hearne (London, 1774; repr. London, 1968), 4:28. Hinnebusch is of the opinion that Leland's report of a copy at Rievaulx (*Fizaker super Deus illuminatio*) may be a reference to a postill on Psalm 26: *Dominus illuminatio mea et salus mea* (366). Cf. *The Libraries of the Cistercians, Gilbertines and Premonstratensians*, ed. David N. Bell, *Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues* 3 (London, 1992), 140, no. 22.

⁵ *Scriptorium illustrium Maioris Brytanniae catalogus* (Basel, 1557), 295.

⁶ Thomas James, *Ecloga Oxonio-Cantabrigiensis* (London, 1600), 1:9. Echard repeats the story a century later (*SOP*, 1:118).

Ideo haec scientia, quae est de uno ex duobus, habet partes duas: una est de unitate affectus cum summa bonitate, et alia est de unitate aspectus cum summa veritate. . . . Utraque fateor harum partium in sacro Scripturae canone — sed indistincte — continetur. Verumtamen tantum altera pars, scilicet de moribus instruendis, a magistris modernis cum leguntur sancti libri docetur. Alia tamquam difficilior disputationi reservatur. Haec autem pars difficilior de canone sacrarum Scripturarum excerpta in isto libro qui Sententiarum dicitur ponitur. Unde non differt hic legere et disputare. . . . *Quia ergo in praecedentibus de moribus instruendis audistis, ratio ordinis et consummationis exigeret ut et secunda pars, quae est de quaestionibus circa fidem difficilibus, nunc convenienter legeretur* [emphasis mine].⁷

In other words, Fishacre is here embarking on the second part of his students' theological instruction, asserting that they have already heard lectures on Scripture, arguably the missing postills on the Psalms.

Leland, from whom most subsequent bibliographers draw, also lists a commentary on the parables of Solomon, for which he even supplies an incipit (*Multiplici ratione audiendum*).⁸ This attribution is repeated by Bale,⁹ by Echard,¹⁰ and more recently by Kaeppli¹¹ and Sharpe,¹² but as yet no such work has been identified.

Also assigned an *incipit* is a work entitled *De poenitentia* (*Quia ut habet S. Augustinus*).¹³ Although this work has likewise never been recovered, Henry of Kirkestede (known as Boston of Bury) reports that there was a copy at St. Benedict's, Hulme.¹⁴ Predictably, the title appears in the lists of Bale, Echard, and Kaeppli.¹⁵

Other titles in the post-medieval bibliographic tradition carry little or no weight and more than likely are mere commonplaces. Bale, and subsequently Echard, list titles such as *Postillae morales*, *Commentarii Bibliae*, *Quaestiones variae*, and *Quodlibeta*.¹⁶ This last title even makes Kaeppli's list, on the strength of Leland's having seen such a work at King's College, Cambridge.¹⁷ Conceivably, the *Quodlibeta* might refer to the collection of questions excerpted from the first

⁷ Long, "Science of Theology," 96–97.

⁸ *Collectanea*, 4:152.

⁹ *Catalogus*, 295.

¹⁰ *SOP*, 1:118. Echard gives his source as John Pits (*Relationum historicarum de rebus anglicis* [Paris, 1619]) and adds, somewhat skeptically: "ubi tamen servantur non monet" ("he gives no advice as to where they are kept").

¹¹ *SOPMA*, 3:305, no. 3468.

¹² Sharpe, *HLW*, 476.

¹³ Bale, *Catalogus*, 295; *SOP*, 118; *SOPMA*, 3:305, no. 3470.

¹⁴ Cambridge, Univ. MS Add. 3470, f. 128; cited from Russell, *Dictionary*, 115.

¹⁵ See n. 13 above.

¹⁶ Bale, *Catalogus*, 295–96; *SOP*, 1:118.

¹⁷ *SOPMA*, 3:305, no. 3469. Cf. Leland, *Collectanea*, 4:1715.

two books of the *Sentences* Commentary, now catalogued as Trinity College MS O.1.30,¹⁸ but that is purely conjectural.

Finally, Russell drew attention to *an unidentified tract* by Fishacre on the theological virtues that is cited at the end of Magdalen College (Oxford) MS 60:

de amore Dei . . . patet satis clare in tractatu quem Richardus Ffisachee frater de ordine predicatorum composuit de tribus virtutibus theologicis, scilicet spe, fide, et caritate . . .¹⁹

Leonard Boyle speculated that possibly the anonymous *De fide, spe, et caritate* contained in Corpus Christi College, Oxford, MS 32, was the aforementioned treatise by Fishacre.²⁰ Although Emden preserved the tentative nature of the ascription in his *Register*,²¹ Kaeppli on no additional evidence upgraded it as *probable*.²² It has recently been demonstrated, however, that neither internal nor external evidence can establish that Fishacre is the author of the Corpus Christi text, and that if he did write a treatise on the theological virtues, it has not yet surfaced.²³

Other works, not listed in any of the older bibliographies, however, have been identified as Fishacre's. First, there is ample evidence, internal and external, that the treatise on heresies (*Legi Augustinum*), appended to Vatican Ottob. lat. 294, was written by Fishacre.²⁴ In the Gonville and Caius College witness of Fishacre's *Sentences* Commentary there occurs the following marginal note:

Hic deest questio de eternitate uel increacione mundi, que scripta est una cum questione de luce in paruo volumine ante questionem de heresibus.²⁵

Several folia later, the ascription is confirmed by a second note:

Hic deest questio de luce que scripta est in paruo quaterno cum questionibus de heresibus.²⁶

¹⁸ This manuscript has been edited and published: Long, "The Moral and Spiritual Theology of Richard Fishacre: Edition of Trinity Coll. MS O. 1. 30," *AFP* 60 (1990), 5–143.

¹⁹ Oxford, Magdalen College MS 60, f. 264. See Russell, *Dictionary*, 115. Richard Sharpe records the treatise as cited in BL MS Burney 356, f. 117^v (*HLW*, 477).

²⁰ L.E. Boyle, "Three English Pastoral Summae and a 'Magister Galienus'," *Studia Gratiana* 11 (1967), 140, n. 15.

²¹ *BRUO*, 2:286.

²² *SOPMA*, 3:305, no. 3471.

²³ Joseph Goering and R. James Long, "Richard Fishacre's Treatise *De fide, spe, et caritate*," *Bulletin de philosophie médiévale* 31 (1989), 103–11.

²⁴ Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Vaticana Ottob. lat. 294 [henceforth *V*], ff. 287^a–294^{vb}. This treatise has been edited and published: Long, "Richard Fishacre's *Super S. Augustini librum De haeresibus adnotationes*: An Edition and Commentary," *AHDL* 60 (1993), 207–79.

²⁵ Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College 329/410 [henceforth *C*], f. 170^{vb}. See Pelster, "Das Leben," 529, who first called attention to this note.

²⁶ *C*, f. 175^{va}.

The fact, moreover, that the treatise on heresies is sandwiched between two authenticated works²⁷ by Fishacre in the Vatican manuscript provides supporting evidence. Thirdly, there are stylistic considerations: in particular, Fishacre's characteristic hesitancy to commit to a position (*nec asserere presumo, asserere non audeo, non assero tamen*) and the frequency of the shibboleth *fateor*.²⁸ Lastly, and most convincingly, there are several references in the heresies treatise to the Commentary and at least six parallel passages.²⁹

Fishacre's point of departure is Augustine's catalogue of heresies from the beginning of the Christian era to his own time. Claiming that Augustine did not present reasons in refuting the heresies he enumerated, Fishacre undertakes to do just that, that is, for each of the heresies he will give the heretics' reasons and the reasons of the Catholics against them. In fact, of the ninety heresies listed by Augustine Fishacre responds only to the first six, leading some scholars to conclude that the work is incomplete.³⁰

Following immediately upon the *adnotationes* on heresies in the Vatican manuscript is a question on the Ascension of Christ (*Quesitum fuit de ascensione: qua uirtute Christus ascendit?*).³¹ Again, although anonymous, there can be no doubt of Fishacre's authorship. As with the previous work, the same arguments — physical location, style, and parallel passages with the Commentary — can be marshalled.³² Moreover, stylistic clues,³³ the rather unfinished nature of the text, and the character of the not infrequent errors strongly suggest that the original was in the form of a *reportatio*.

In this little work Fishacre approaches the subject of the Ascension with originality and daring. In fact, until Aquinas's careful and thorough discussion of the question, Fishacre's opusculum stands virtually alone with respect to the extent to which he makes use of the new science. Invoking the Aristotelian concepts of natural place, natural motion, gravity and levity, vacuum, and time, he asks by what power Christ's ascension took place: that is, was it by virtue of his divinity, his body, or his soul? Opting for the last, he further asks whether the Ascension was gradual or instantaneous, and finally in what direction Christ ascended.³⁴

The marginal notes from the Gonville & Caius College manuscript referred to above, which are possibly in the author's own hand, alluded to a little vol-

²⁷ The second work is the question on the Ascension of Christ (see below).

²⁸ Long, "*Super librum De haeresibus*," 207–08.

²⁹ Ibid., 208. There should be no question mark in Kaeppli's list: see *SOPMA*, 3:305, no. 3473.

³⁰ Ibid., 208–09. Cf. Pelster, "Das Leben," 531, and *EEFP*, 365.

³¹ This question has also been edited and published: Long, "Richard Fishacre's *Quaestio* on the Ascension of Christ: An Edition," *MS 40* (1978), 30–55. Cf. Kaeppli, *SOPMA*, 3:306, no. 3474.

³² Ibid., 31–32.

³³ For example, *dicebat; ad hoc quod dicis; cuius des subtilitatem; responde*.

³⁴ Ibid., 38–40.

ume (*parvum volumen*) or a notebook (*quaternus*³⁵) which contained, in addition to the aforementioned *Adnotationes super librum De haeresibus*, two additional questions: one on the eternal duration of the world, the other on the metaphysics of light.³⁶ In the process of preparing the critical edition we have now recovered these questions, which survive by virtue of having been appended to a London manuscript of the Commentary³⁷ and subsequently incorporated into appropriate places in the text of a Paris manuscript of the same commentary.³⁸

Since these questions do not appear in the text in the earliest manuscripts of the *Sentences* Commentary,³⁹ clearly they were written after the completion of the latter, that is to say, during the final three or four years of Fishacre's life.⁴⁰ Both pieces exhibit a growing confidence on the part of the author, a master of theology in full possession of his powers, boldly exploring new ground, transcending the work of Grosseteste on the same issues.

In his question on the eternal duration of the world, Fishacre unquestionably has Grosseteste's *Hexaameron* open on the desk before him. But he has just as unquestionably rethought the issue, adducing new arguments and placing the whole in a systematic (one might even say *scholastic*) context. He provides the traditional Aristotelian arguments for the world's eternal duration, refutes each in turn, then provides arguments — some of them quite subtle — for the world's temporal duration.⁴¹

³⁵ On the use of this term in the thirteenth century see L.J. Bataillon, "Exemplar, Pecia, Quaternus," in *Vocabulaire du livre et de l'écriture au moyen âge*, ed. O. Weijers (Turnhout, Belgium, 1989), 206–19.

³⁶ A marginal note in Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria lat. 1546 [henceforth *B*], repeats the allusion: "questionem de eternitate mundi que deest habes in alio volumine questionum . . .". It is altogether possible that the unbound volume of Fishacre's *opuscula* survived into the sixteenth century and was what Bale was referring to as *quaestiones variae*.

³⁷ The question on the eternity of the world is copied on some blank folia at the end of London, British Library Royal 10. B. vii [henceforth *R*], ff. 386^b–388^{va}, and the question on light follows directly upon it (ff. 388^{va}–389^a).

³⁸ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 15754 [henceforth *P*], ff. 87^{vb}–89^{va} and 91^b–91^{vb}. Both of these questions have been edited and studied: see Long, "The First Oxford Debate on the Eternity of the World," *RTPM* 65 (1998), 52–96; and Long and Timothy B. Noone, "Fishacre and Rufus on the Metaphysics of Light: Two Unedited Texts," in *Roma, magistra mundi. Itineraria culturae medievalis: Mélanges offerts au Père L.E. Boyle à l'occasion de son 75^e anniversaire*, ed. Jacqueline Hamesse (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1998), 517–48. Both texts will be reproduced as Appendix A and Appendix B in the edition of Book II of the Fishacre Commentary.

³⁹ That is, in *B*, *C*, *R*, and *V*; see chapter IV, "The Manuscripts" below. It is significant that both pieces appear in appropriate places in the text of Fishacre's Commentary only in *P*, which is a later copy (see below), and in *R*, an early manuscript, appended at the end where the scribe found some blank folia.

⁴⁰ It will be argued below that the *terminus ante quem* is about 1245.

⁴¹ Long, "Eternity of the World," 57–64.

Fishacre's short treatise on light likewise draws its inspiration from Grosseteste but again goes beyond the latter in asking new questions: namely, is light a substance or an accident, and is it body or spirit? After a thorough exploration of both positions, Fishacre concludes that light is not an accident nor a spirit, but rather a corporeal substance.⁴² So bold and original was his position, however, that he drew the fire of the Franciscan, Richard Rufus, who was possibly acting as a surrogate for the bishop of Lincoln.⁴³

Two additional questions — on the nature of the heavens and on the Genesis text declaring the division of waters in the firmament — are likewise identified by a marginal note in *C*:

Nota quod hic desunt due questiones, una de celo, alia de aquis super celos, et sunt infra, folio 183.⁴⁴

In *B* there appears a similar note:

Hic desunt quedam questiones de celo quas habes alibi ubi est tale signum.⁴⁵

These questions appear in the text (at Book II, distinction 14, chapters 2 and 4) in later manuscripts, including *P*, but are omitted from the earliest witnesses. Our conjecture is that these likewise are the fruit of Fishacre's disputational activities after he completed his Commentary and like the questions on the duration of the world and on light were later tipped into relevant places in the Commentary text.⁴⁶

Finally, a word must be said about Fishacre's sermons. As a friar Preacher his vocation was to preach and as a master of theology he preached principally to university audiences. Although most medieval sermons that survive are anonymous, Russell has identified as many as ten sermons that are Fishacre's, contained in four different manuscripts.⁴⁷ Of this number only two have been published and studied. The first is on the Pauline text *Non enim heres erit filius ancille cum filio libere* (Gal 4,30), and it betrays clear links with the *Sentences* Commentary.⁴⁸ For his theme, for example, he returns to the image he exploited in the Commentary, that of Sarah and Hagar. He also re-uses his unusual theory of hell being a place of compression, density, and darkness. The first version of the sermon, moreover, contains many lively *exempla*, including proverbs in English and French and some about royalty.⁴⁹ The second sermon is on the text *Ego autem sicut oliua fructifera*,

⁴² See Long and Noone, "Metaphysics of Light," 518–23.

⁴³ Ibid., 523–28.

⁴⁴ *C*, f. 179^{va}.

⁴⁵ *B*, f. 127^a.

⁴⁶ These will be printed as Appendix C and Appendix D in the edition of Book II.

⁴⁷ Russell, *Dictionary*, 115. Kaeppli repeats Russell's list (*SOPMA*, 3:305, no. 3472).

⁴⁸ O'Carroll, "Two Versions of a Sermon by Richard Fishacre OP for the Fourth Sunday of Lent on the Theme 'Non enim heres erit filius ancille cum filio libere'," *AFP* 54 (1984), 113–41. O'Carroll dates the sermon between 1240/43 and 1248; *Preacher's Handbook*, 90.

⁴⁹ The source of the stories about royalty had been problematical, except that in the reign of Henry III Dominicans were often chosen as confessors by the royal family. The existence

comparing the Virgin Mary to the olive tree, and bears witness to Fishacre's theological methodology: that is, to make the fullest use of the new science — in this case the pseudo-Aristotelian *De plantis* — in the service of theology.⁵⁰ Mary, for example, like the tree, reproduces without any assistance from a male and yields her fruit, furthermore, without the loss of integrity and without experiencing pain.

If there is a lesson to be learned from this reordering of the Fishacrean corpus, it is this: lists of titles without any texts or sources of texts indicated should always be viewed with suspicion. Too many medieval and (even) modern scholars, in this and other cases, have tended simply to reproduce the titles recorded by their predecessors with no hard evidence that these were anything but pure fancy. In the meantime, there have existed authentic works which, because they have hitherto not been identified, have not received their proper attention.

of Fishacre cousins in the royal Exchequer in Dublin, moreover, suggests a further possible source for some of his stories.

⁵⁰ Long, "The Virgin as Olive-Tree: A Marian Sermon of Richard Fishacre and Science at Oxford," *AFP* 52 (1982), 77–87.

III. THE *SENTENCES* COMMENTARY

Richard Fishacre's Commentary on Peter Lombard's *Sentences* remains by far his most significant contribution and the literary work on which his reputation principally hinges. For several reasons Fishacre's Commentary occupies a unique place in the history of the genre. To begin with, it was the first such work written at Oxford,¹ and that fact alone invites special attention.

We have argued above² that Fishacre composed the work after he had incepted as master of theology and that four years was a reasonable time to allow for its composition. As to the precise dates, we are able to suggest only probable *termini*. The most reliable *terminus post quem* is provided by a reference in the third distinction of the second book to a proposition condemned by the bishop of Paris in 1241³:

Novi multos modernorum magistrorum morulam cum Magistro hic ponere, in tantum etiam ut quidam sententiam excommunicationis intulerint in illos qui suae potestati ordinariae subditos dixerint in eodem instanti creationis angelos peccasse et cecidisse.⁴

A marginal note to this text in one of the manuscripts makes clear the reference:

Nota quod isti fuerunt magistri parisienses qui deficientes argumentis per excommunicationem arguunt opinionem suam.⁵

The *terminus ante quem* is less firm. Fishacre's citations of the *Nicomachean Ethics* are to the older translation, the so-called *Vetus*, not to the translation made by Grosseteste.⁶ Since Fishacre would surely have made use of the new (and more complete) translation, and since Gauthier dates the Grosseteste translation between 1246 and 1247, the Fishacre Commentary would have been finished before the latest version of the *Ethics* arrived on the scene.⁷

¹ Perhaps the earliest evidence is provided by a scribal note on the flyleaf of Oxford, Oriel College 43: "Fishacre primus doctor de ordine predicatorum qui scripsit super librum Sententiarum." See Daniel A. Callus, *Introduction of Aristotelian Learning to Oxford* (repr. London, 1944), 32. The scribe surely means *the first at Oxford*. Otherwise this note would be difficult to reconcile with the fact Hugh of St. Cher's Commentary was written approximately a decade before Fishacre's and several years after he had joined the Order (see chapter I, "The Life").

² See 24–25.

³ See *CUP*, 1:171.

⁴ Fishacre, In 2 *Sent.*, dist. 3, cap. 4.

⁵ R, f. 105^{va}.

⁶ See e.g. In 2 *Sent.*, dist. 27, cap. 1.

⁷ *Aristoteles Latinus*, 21/1–3, fasc. 3 (trans. Grosseteste: *textus purus*), ed. R.A. Gauthier (Louvain, 1972). Albert the Great was already lecturing on the *Ethica* some time before

A more compelling case can be constructed from the time required for writing other works. As detailed in the previous chapter, it can now be confirmed that Fishacre composed several smaller treatises, which were either incorporated into the body of the text of the *Sentences* Commentary in one or more codices or appended thereto in others. Among these are four *quaestiones*, perhaps argued in the schools, which find their way into later copies of the Commentary,⁸ as well as unique copies of the treatise on heresies and the question on the Ascension of Christ, which are appended to V. All of these writings are the disputational works of a mature scholar, written after the completion of the work on the *Sentences*. Allowing a productivity rate of a question or treatise per term, a minimum of three years must be allowed for their composition, supposing no prolonged period of incapacitating illness before his death in 1248.⁹ This pushes the date for the completion of the Commentary back to 1245.

With the information currently available to us we cannot claim more than that Fishacre's Commentary was roughly contemporaneous with the issuing at Paris of Albert's *Sentences* Commentary and the *Summa fratris Alexandri*.¹⁰ The investigation of possible Fishacrean influences on Albert's work¹¹ and the Alexandrine *Summa* awaits the publication of Fishacre's Commentary. There are, however, several indications to suggest that the two Parisian works found their way across the Channel within a very short time. First, there are three marginal additions in the Cambridge witness of the Fishacre Commentary mentioned above from two Albertine treatises, the *De poena parvulorum* and the *De peccato originali*,¹²

1252; *Alberti Magni Super Ethica: Commenta et quaestiones*, ed. W. Kübel (*Opera omnia*, ed. Colon. 14/1 [1968]), Proleg., v–vi.

⁸ These include a question on light, on the eternity of the world, on the nature of the heavens, and finally on the division of the waters (*Gen* 1,6–7). The former pair are found in only two of the manuscripts, the latter two in four of the manuscripts. The only manuscript which contains all four questions is *P*, which belonged to the Parisian master Gerard of Abbeville, who bequeathed it to the library of the Sorbonne upon his death in 1271.

⁹ A colophon in an incomplete witness of the Commentary (viz. *S*, f. 90^v) is either a commonplace or an expression of the scribe's awareness that Fishacre's constitution was not the strongest. See chapter I, "The Life", n. 58, for the text.

¹⁰ Albert's Commentary was complete by 1249, with the date of 1246 being given by one of the arguments in Book II (James A. Weisheipl, "The Life and Works of St. Albert the Great," in *Albertus Magnus and the Sciences*, ed. Weisheipl [Toronto, 1980], 22). The *terminus ante quem* for the *Summa halesiana* is given by the Quaracchi editors as 1245 (*Prol.*, cccxl).

¹¹ Callus mentions his indirect influence on Albert, but gives no instances; *Introduction*, 32–33, and *NCE* 12:479. Timothy Noone, however, has found an unmistakable reference to Fishacre's view on the metaphysics of light in Albert's *Super Dionysium De divinis nominibus*, cap. 2, n. 31. Since Fishacre is identified simply as *quidam*, we anticipate that other references will be equally anonymous and therefore difficult to find. We are grateful to Professor Noone for sending us this reference.

¹² See lib. 2, dist. 30, cap. 1 (*C*, f. 237) and cap. 5 (*C*, f. 238) and dist. 33, cap. 2 (*C*, f. 244).

both dated circa 1246 by the Cologne editors.¹³ There is in addition a lengthy passage in the Vatican witness, apparently in the hand of the original scribe, from the *Summa fratris Alexandri*.¹⁴ What we infer from these instances is that Fishacre had not seen these works at the time he was committing his Commentary to writing, but that scribes (or, in the case of the Cambridge manuscript, possibly Fishacre himself) were aware of the pieces early in the history of the text's transmission.

More than simply being the first out of the gate, however, the Fishacre Commentary is unique because it seeks to effect a relationship between speculative theology and the already robust English tradition of science, which went under the rubric of philosophy.¹⁵ In the rich and dense Prologue already referred to Fishacre borrows imagery from the book of *Genesis* to illustrate the affiliation: Abraham according to the biblical account is obliged to have sexual relations with Hagar, the slave woman, before he is able to impregnate Sarah. The aspiring theologian, in other words, must have commerce with the worldly sciences, before he can with any hope of being productive enter the chambers of the queen of the sciences.¹⁶

The science of theology has two parts, Fishacre claims: the one focuses on God as the supreme goodness; the other on God as supreme truth. The former is concerned with instruction in morals, the latter with the more difficult questions concerning the faith. Fishacre commonly refers to this division in terms given currency by Grosseteste, namely, *aspectus* (study of the theory) and *affectus* (the concerns of right moral living).¹⁷ Though both parts are contained indistinctly (*indistincte*) in the sacred text, *modern masters*, as he calls them, treat the former part in their commentaries on Sacred Scripture; the latter and more difficult part is extracted from the holy canon and placed in the book called the *Sentences*.¹⁸

¹³ Albertus Magnus, *Quaestiones*, eds. Albert Fries, Wilhelm Kübel, and Henry Anzulewicz (*Opera omnia*, ed. Colon. 25/2 [1993]), xxvii.

¹⁴ See V at lib. 2, dist. 18, cap. 5, ff. 235^v–236.

¹⁵ See e.g. Long, "Science of Theology," 71–98; and S.F. Brown, "Richard Fishacre on the Need for 'Philosophy,'" in *A Straight Path. Studies in Medieval Philosophy and Culture: Essays in Honor of Arthur Hyman*, eds. R. Link-Salinger, J. Hackett, M.S. Hyman, R.J. Long, and C.H. Manekin (Washington DC, 1988), 23–36. For a more detailed study of how this methodology impacts on his theology of the created world see Long, "The Role of Philosophy in Richard Fishacre's Theology of Creation," in *Miscellanea Mediaevalia* 26, eds. Jan A. Aertsen and Andreas Speer (Berlin, 1998), 571–78.

¹⁶ Long, "Science of Theology," 85. The aphorism of the schoolmen *Non est senescendum in artibus* is here echoed in Fishacre's warning that those who pursue the sciences exclusively have grown so old in the embraces of their mistress that when they finally go in to the lady of the house, they are unable to father children owing to their advanced age, just as the elderly David slept with Abisag but knew her not (*ibid.*, 86).

¹⁷ See James McEvoy, *The Philosophy of Robert Grosseteste* (Oxford, 1982), 107, 135, 138, 257–58, and 331.

¹⁸ See Long, "Science of Theology," 96–98.

Thus in his Commentary Fishacre treats systematically all the doctrinal questions raised by the Lombard text and even some that are not. Sometimes this treatment is in the nature of a simple gloss on the Lombard text, sometimes the reader is treated to the full apparatus of a scholastic disputation, with arguments for and against and a *solutio*. This methodological device, new for the Oxford studium, was of crucial importance in the evolution of scholastic thinking. For thinkers to reach the heights of speculative theology, which some historians regard as one of the most splendid achievements of the High Middle Ages, they had to distance themselves from the restrictions of textual commentary and engage the philosophically interesting questions that the text suggested.¹⁹ Eventually the questions became free-standing, either as disputed or quodlibetal questions, or questions that became the building blocks of the great *summae*.²⁰

The division of theology into two parts advocated by Fishacre seems to have fallen foul of the formidable Bishop of Lincoln and former Oxford master, Robert Grosseteste. The earliest documented evidence of Grosseteste's opposition is in the form of his letter to the Oxford masters,²¹ insisting that all their lectures (*vestras lectiones omnes*), especially those in the morning hour, the time set aside for what were called the *ordinary* lectures,²² be based on the books of Sacred Scripture. Instead, continued Grosseteste, the *hora matutina* was being given over to unspecified books (the *Sentences* are not mentioned by name), which were not, like Sacred Scripture, *foundational*.

Although James Ginther has recently made the case that there is no evidence in Grosseteste's letter that he was opposed to the *new theology* but simply to its preeminent place in the curriculum,²³ it must at the same time be admitted that Grosseteste's letter certainly does not represent an endorsement of the kind of speculative theology represented by the *Sentences* commentaries. Quite the contrary: the bishop's letter is quite unambiguous that *all* ordinary lectures be based on Scripture, which for him *was* theology.²⁴

¹⁹ It is precisely this independence from the biblical text that bothered more conservative thinkers like Roger Bacon: "Et liber Sententiarum non adhaeret textui (s. Scripturae), sed vagatur extra textum per viam inquisitionis" (*Opus minus*, ed. J.S. Brewer, *Fr. Rogeri Bacon opera quaedam hactenus inedita* [London, 1859], 329).

²⁰ See Artur Landgraf, "Sentenzenglossen des beginnenden 13. Jahrhunderts," *RTAM* 10 (1938), 55.

²¹ See *Roberti Grosseteste quondam episcopi Lincolniensis Epistolae*, ed. H. Luard, *Rolls Series*, 25 (London, 1861), no. 123, 346–47. Luard suggests a date of 1246, based on its location in the manuscripts (cxxix), and this would fit with the chronology we are constructing.

²² Since only masters lectured *ordinarie*, this reference provides yet another argument that Fishacre's Commentary was a magisterial work.

²³ James Ginther, "Theological Education at the Oxford Studium in the Thirteenth Century: A Reassessment of Robert Grosseteste's Letter to the Oxford Theologians," *FS* 55 (1998), 83–104.

²⁴ See Lawrence, *The Friars*, 143.

Hard on the heels of the Grosseteste letter, in fact, came a sealed letter, an *epistola secreta*, issued by Pope Innocent IV and addressed to the redoubtable bishop of Lincoln. After some general comments about the vocation of the theologian to lay bare the obscure passages of the divine law,²⁵ he gets to the point of the letter:

We send word to you (*mandamus*) not to prohibit our beloved son, friar R. [Fishacre presumably] of the Order of Preachers, teaching at Oxford in the theology faculty, from lecturing *ordinarie* on the books of the *Sentences*, but rather encourage the same in order that he might lay bare to his attentive listeners, in accord with the grace bestowed on him, the profound contents and necessary truth of that book, since in it are to be found testimonies by Catholic teachers, worthy of belief, which assert the truth that must be adhered to by believers when the darkness of error has been dissipated.²⁶

Since the papal letter follows the bishop's letter by a year or less, it is difficult not to reach the conclusion that the former was a response to the latter's pastoral reprimand of Fishacre, since the Dominican master was the only one — to the best of our knowledge — who was lecturing on the *Sentences* at Oxford.²⁷ Rightly or wrongly, at some point Grosseteste's letter to the masters seems to have been interpreted as hostile to a theology other than one based directly on the sacred text. Hence the pope's intervention on Fishacre's behalf.

There is a second noteworthy feature of the Fishacre Commentary: namely, that having made the distinction between moral and speculative theology in his prologue, with the promise of isolating the difficult questions concerning the faith for students already instructed in the moral message of the Scriptures, Fishacre time and again turns aside from the speculative considerations prompted by the

²⁵ "Episcopo Lincolnensi. Cum illa, quae suae profunditatis obscuritate velantur, eorum qui exercitatos habent sensus in legis perscrutatione divini sint studiosa indagine capacioribus revelandas ut enodatis altioribus et quae confusione ambigua humanis intellectibus pervium iter claudunt, ad intelligenda cetera accessus facilis habeatur sicque cessent scopuli scrofulosi et calliginosis montibus in plana conversis perscrutantibus scripturas via sani pateat intellectus per quem fidei liqueat veritas et amplectanda morum disciplina pandatur" (Padua, Bibl. Antoniana MS 79, ff. 49^v–50). This letter has been edited by G. Abate, "Lettere 'secrete' d'Innocenzo IV e altri documenti in una raccolta inedita del sec. XIII," *Miscellanea Franciscana* 55 (1955), 347, n. 149.

²⁶ "Mandamus quatenus dilectum filium fratrem R. de ordine Praedicatorum apud Oxoniam docentem in theologica facultate a lectione ordinaria libri Sententiarum non debeas prohibere, sed potius inducas eundem ut secundum gratiam sibi datam continentiam profundam et veritatem necessariam ipsius libri auditoribus aperiat studiosis, cum in eo catholicorum doctorum inveniantur testimonia fide digna quae depulsa erroris calligine tenendam fidelibus asserant veritatem" (ibid., f. 50).

²⁷ Ginther is at a loss to provide an alternative explanation for the pope's letter ("Theological Education," 103).

Lombard text to draw some moral lesson for his reader. The Fishacre Commentary, in short, is replete with these *moralitates*.²⁸

When discussing the immutability of God in the first book, for example, Fishacre finds occasion to inveigh against religious who, owing perhaps to a harsh word on the part of a prelate, change convents or, even worse, change religious orders. The topic of God's simplicity in the same distinction urges the reader to adhere to the Simple, that is to God, who is without fold (*sine plica*). Fishacre recalls St. Paul's warning that he who cleaves to a harlot becomes one body with her; the same holds true for those who cling to their possessions, to their cattle, horses, lands, villas, to their gold and silver — attachments that are even more egregious. The man in the parable [*Luke* 12,19] who says: *My soul, you have plenty of good things laid by for many years to come; take things easy, eat, drink, have a good time* Fishacre condemns as enjoying his plenty at the expense of those who want even the necessities of life. And so forth throughout the Commentary.

Since many of these excursions are obtrusive and break up the flow of the argument, one has to wonder what Fishacre is up to. Was he trying to minimize the difference between the Bible as locus of moral instruction and the *Sentences* as locus of the more difficult speculative issues — indeed, minimize the difference between Scripture and the *Sentences*? Had the opposition of Grosseteste come to his attention even as he was fleshing out the theological project he had sketched in his prologue? Or did he simply anticipate the kind of objection that a vigilant prelate with a more traditional notion of theology might raise?

Whatever the answer, it is clear that Fishacre's Commentary delivered more than it promised, and the result was an integrative work of theology that is rare, if not unique, in the genre of *Sentences* commentaries.²⁹ What is also a matter of historical record is that the new theological methodology eventually triumphed. At mid-century Richard Rufus wrote what was probably the first *Sentences* Commentary by an Oxford Franciscan, reflecting in the proemium what he took to be Grosseteste's view of theology, which is that it was coterminous with Scripture:

At this point some people like to raise certain general questions regarding theology itself, and this thanks to this *summa* of the Master [Lombard]. This does not seem to me to be necessary, since this *summa* is not theology itself, nor even any part of it. For the divine Scripture is whole in itself, perfect quite

²⁸ Many of these lessons, at least from the first two books of the Commentary, were gathered together by an enterprising scribe, perhaps a Cistercian monk (judging by the provenance of the manuscript, which was Fountains Abbey in Yorkshire), and issued separately. This text has been edited and published: Long, "The Moral and Spiritual Theology of Richard Fishacre: Edition of Trinity Coll. MS O.1.30," *AFP* 60 (1990), 5–143.

²⁹ See Long, "The Integrative Theology of Richard Fishacre OP," in the special commemorative volume of *NB* 80 (1999), 354–60.

apart from this and every other *summa*. . . . Nevertheless because this is the custom, we too will touch on some of [these issues].³⁰

Rufus was, however, fighting a war that was already all but lost. Although there is no evidence that Simon of Hinton, the Dominican master who succeeded Bacon and Fishacre, lectured on the *Sentences*, nor Hugh nor Peter,³¹ Robert Kilwardby did, and so apparently did every Dominican bachelor thereafter. In 1253 the Oxford masters passed the statute mentioned above, that seems in retrospect to have been an attempt at compromise.³² By 1267, however, Oxford had capitulated to the Parisian custom and mandated use of Lombard's *Sentences* as the text to be covered by students in the theology faculty.³³

Even after Friar Thomas Aquinas had found the *Sentences* wanting as a theology text for beginners and composed his own, the Dominicans themselves continued to mandate use of the Lombard in their convents.³⁴ It was not until the sixteenth century, in fact, that the *Summa theologiae* would replace the *Sentences* as the friars' standard textbook of theology.³⁵

* * *

Since Fishacre's sources will receive detailed study by the editors of the various books, there is little need to say much here. Since, moreover, the sources will differ from book to book, anything said here will need to be qualified. It can, however, be safely asserted that in addition to the usual array of patristic sources that were invoked by the scholastic theologians of the High Middle Ages, Fishacre was particularly open to the newly translated sciences of Aristotle and the Muslim commentators. As Daniel Callus noted a half century ago:

³⁰ Oxford, Balliol Coll. MS 62, f. 6^{va}. Peter Raedts says of Rufus's Commentary that it was "politically inspired. Richard had to take note of the Bishop of Lincoln's letter to the Oxford theologians which took the form of a spirited defence of the identity of theology and Bible commentary, at least in theory" (*Richard Rufus of Cornwall and the Tradition of Oxford Theology* [Oxford, 1987], 150).

³¹ See above, chapter I, "The Life," n. 53.

³² See *ibid.*, n. 42.

³³ We take 1267 as the *terminus ante quem* from Roger Bacon's philippic in that year against the modern theologians who had abandoned the source of Christian truth, the Bible, in favor of novelties. Cf. *Opus minus*, ed. J.S. Brewer, 329.

³⁴ See Mulchahey, *Dominican Education*, 156.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 165–66. One of the principal reasons for the longevity of the *Sentences* as the centerpiece of Dominican theological education was the need for coherence with the programs at Paris and Oxford: in other words, as long as bachelors of theology at the major *studia generalia* were required to lecture on the *Sentences*, friars being trained in the provincial *studia* with an eye to being sent on for doctoral studies continued to be drilled on the same work, no matter the superiority of the *Summa theologiae* (*ibid.*, 344).

It would certainly be an exaggeration to claim Fishacre as an ardent Aristotelian. But there is no doubt that his knowledge of the new learning, compared with that of many of his contemporaries, was astonishingly wide. This is, perhaps, why Matthew Paris praises him, not only as a pre-eminent theologian, but also as a scientist, *in theologia et aliis scientiis*. His commentary on the *Sentences* is . . . the first Oxford commentary in which Aristotelian learning was introduced in theological speculation.³⁶

More recent studies have expanded the non-Christian sources to include such figures as Avicenna, Averroes, Moses Maimonides, Ptolemaeus, Alpetragius, and Alhacen (whom Fishacre knows simply as *auctor Perspectivae*).³⁷ How deeply Fishacre penetrated these sources is a further question.³⁸ Theologians of Fishacre's generation, raised as they were on the tradition of Christian Neoplatonism first forged by Augustine, simply did not have the hermeneutical tools wholly to absorb the new learning. It is not surprising therefore that Fishacre is often eclectic in his approach and not infrequently falls victim to a false syncretism.³⁹

Among the *moderns*, that is, those of Fishacre's own generation and that of the immediately preceding, the list of sources includes Simon of Tournai, Praepositinus of Cremona, William of Auxerre, Hugh of St. Cher, and Alexander of Hales. However, the single most important influence — saving perhaps that of his mentor, concerning which we have no measure, is that of Robert Grosseteste.⁴⁰

³⁶ Callus, *Introduction*, 31–32. Cf. Pelster, “Das Leben,” 536–37.

³⁷ For example, W.H. Principe, “Richard Fishacre's Use of Averroes,” *MS* 40 (1978), 349–60; idem, “Early Explicit Use of Averroes by Richard Fishacre with respect to Motion and the Human Soul of Christ,” *Actas del V Congreso Internacional de Filosofía medieval* (Madrid, 1979), 1127–37; S.F. Brown, “The Reception and Use of Aristotle's Works in the Commentaries on Book I of the *Sentences* by the Friars Preachers in the Early Years of Oxford University,” in *Aristotle in Britain During the Middle Ages*. Proceedings of the international conference at Cambridge 8–11 April 1994, ed. J. Marenbon (Turnhout, Belgium, 1996), 351–69; and Long, “The Reception and Use of Aristotle by the Early English Dominicans,” *ibid.*, 51–56.

³⁸ Fully a third of the references to Aristotle in Book II, for example, can be found in a florilegium edited by Jacqueline Hamesse (*Les Auctoritates Aristotelis* [Louvain, 1974]), which suggests that Fishacre's acquaintance with certain dimensions of Aristotelian philosophy — namely, the psychology, the ethics, and the metaphysics — remained on the aphoristic level; see Long, “Reception,” 54–55.

³⁹ In Book II, for example, Fishacre cites with approval the Aristotelian aphorism that all of our knowledge begins in the senses, then embraces an Augustinian noetic of divine illumination; the two positions are simply incompatible.

⁴⁰ See e.g. R.C. Dales, “The Influence of Grosseteste's *Hexaameron* on the *Sentences* Commentaries of Richard Fishacre, O.P. and Richard Rufus of Cornwall, O.F.M.,” *Viator* 2 (1972), 271–300; J. McEvoy, *Gli inizi di Oxford. Grossatesta e i primi teologi (1150–1250)* (Milan, 1996), 72–78; and K. Hedwig, *Sphaera Lucis. Studien zur Intelligibilität des Seienden im Kontext der mittelalterlichen Lichtspekulation* (Münster i. W., 1980), cap. 5: “Robert Grosseteste: Sphaera Lucis.”

Although the fact of Grosseteste's authority has long been known to scholars, its extent has through the editing process come more fully to light.⁴¹

The extent of the influence of Fishacre's Commentary is yet to be plumbed and in large measure awaits the appearance of the edition. Scholars have discerned his influence on Simon of Hinton's work, on an R. de Stavington, on Franciscans William of Melitona and Bonaventure, and on Kilwardby, who may or may not have been a student.⁴² In a negative sense, Fishacre's most direct and penetrating influence was on his Franciscan contemporary, Richard Rufus of Cornwall. Scholars in recent years have been chronicling the several Fishacrean teachings with which Rufus took issue, sometimes emphatically so,⁴³ and it is expected that even more will come to light.⁴⁴

We have noted above an indication of Fishacre's influence on Albert the Great. What effect, however, his work had on his younger confrere, Thomas Aquinas, is uncertain. Until further investigation, we are left only with a tantalizing marginal note in a Toulouse manuscript of Bernard Gui's *De quattuor in quibus*:

F. Ricardus Fissakre natione Anglus tempore S. Thomae, et eo antiquior, qui super sententias profundissime scripsit, cuius scripta S. Thomas desiderabat habere.⁴⁵

⁴¹ See e.g. Long and Noone, "Metaphysics of Light," 518–19; Long, "Richard Fishacre's Treatise *De libero arbitrio*," *Moral and Political Philosophies in the Middle Ages*. Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Medieval Philosophy (Ottawa, 17–22 August 1992), eds. B. Carlos Bazán, Eduardo Andújar, Léonard Sbrocchi (Ottawa, 1995), 2:879–85; idem, "The First Oxford Debate on the Eternity of the World," *RTPM* 65 (1998), 54–64; and idem, "The Cosmic Christ: The Christology of Richard Fishacre OP," in *Christ Among the Medieval Dominicans. Representations of Christ in the Texts and Images of the Order of Preachers*, eds. Kent Emery and Joseph Wawrykow (Notre Dame IN, 1998), 335–37.

⁴² Callus, *Introduction*, 32–33, and *NCE* 12:479. For the many parallel doctrines with Kilwardby see the introduction to *Quaestiones in librum primum Sententiarum*, ed. J. Schneider (Munich, 1986), 26*, 29*, 38*–45*, 53* and 55*.

⁴³ Raedts, *Richard Rufus*, 27–9, 140–46, 150–54, 157, 160, 163–64, 189, 208–20, 234, and Long and Noone, "Metaphysics of Light," 517–48.

⁴⁴ The project to edit all of Rufus's extant works has been undertaken by Dr. Rega Wood and her associates.

⁴⁵ *SOP*, 1:118.

IV. THE MANUSCRIPTS

There are sixteen manuscripts which have been identified as containing all or part of the *Sentences* Commentary of Richard Fishacre.¹ The manuscripts, Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale 162,² and Brescia, Queriniana B. VI. 2,³ formerly assigned to Fishacre, proved in the event not to be his. The list with their sigla is as follows:

B	Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria lat. 1546 (xiii)	I–III
C	Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College 329/410 (xiii)	I–IV
T	Cambridge, Trinity College O. 1. 30	(extracts, I and II only)
Cg	Chicago, University MS 156 (xiii)	III (in part)– IV (in part)
Lp	Liverpool, University F. 4. 18 (xiii ex.)	IV (imperfect)
R	London, British Library Royal 10. B. vii (xiii)	I–IV
L	London, Lambeth Palace 116 (xiv)	prologues only
Np	Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale VII. C. 19 (xiii)	IV (imperfect)
A	Oxford, Balliol College 57 (xiii)	I–IV
N	Oxford, New College E. 112 (xiii ex.)	I–II
Og	Oxford, Oriel College 31 (xiii ex.)	indices only
O	Oxford, Oriel College 43 (xiii)	I–IV
P	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 15754 (xiii)	I–III
S	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 16389 (xiii)	I–II d. 3
V	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Vaticana Ottob. lat. 294 (xiii)	I–IV d. 8
W	Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek lat. 1514 (xiii)	I–II

¹ F. Stegmüller, *Repertorium Commentariorum in Sententias Petri Lombardi* (Würzburg, 1947), 1:348–49; T. Kaeppeli, *SOPMA*, 3:303–06.

² See G. Mazzatinti, *Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia* (Florence, 1894), 4:49, and V. Doucet, *Commentaires sur les Sentences. Supplément au répertoire de M. Frédéric Stegmüller* (Florence, 1954), 88.

³ Stegmüller, *Repertorium*, 1:348.

From the mid-thirteenth century, St. Thomas Aquinas became the theologian par excellence for the Order of Preachers, and other Dominicans, while making their contributions, had less significance. Richard Fishacre is of the first generation of Preachers, not among the founding fathers, but following hard on their heels. Among his contemporaries were Hugh of St. Cher, Raymond of Peñafort, William Peraldus, Peter of Rheims, and Albert the Great. As we saw above, according to Bernard Gui Thomas Aquinas was sufficiently interested in Fishacre's work that he wanted his own copy of Fishacre's Commentary.⁴ Comparison of the surviving numbers of Fishacre's *Commentary* with the English Dominican Robert Holcot's († 1348) *Wisdom Commentary* and his *Pictures*⁵ illustrates that, while Fishacre's theology and philosophy are of undoubted interest, his work did not become popular in the same way as did Holcot's, which ran to numerous manuscripts and even early printed books. While one must allow some element of the sixteenth-century factor⁶ to be the cause of so few manuscripts of Fishacre's remaining, in no way can it be the whole story. Fishacre is at the beginning of the study of theology within a university context in England. He is a younger contemporary of the great Robert Grosseteste⁷ and, as we sketched above, much influenced by the theology of Grosseteste, yet he is also an independent thinker and teacher. His theology was ultimately overtaken, but it continued to exercise its influence.

What is of great interest, giving rise to many questions for which there are no easy answers, is the geographical spread of those manuscripts of Fishacre's *Sentences Commentary* which we actually possess.⁸ Currently they are found in England, in Austria, in France, and in Italy, with one even having travelled anonymously to the United States.⁹ Here, one must distinguish between medieval and modern holdings of the manuscript.

Fishacre manuscripts of which we know at least one medieval owner number fourteen. Bologna 1546 (B) belonged originally to S. Domenico, Bologna. Is it

⁴ See chapter III, "The Sentences Commentary" above, n. 45.

⁵ Beryl Smalley, *English Friars and Antiquity in the early Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1960), 133–202, esp. 137–48.

⁶ The dissolution of the monasteries and the consequent wholesale destruction of manuscripts (and particularly those of the friars) in England from 1534/5 onwards is a fact which distorts a view of English manuscript holdings in later medieval times.

⁷ Robert Grosseteste was a polymath, a great scholar, associated with the formal academic start of the University of Oxford in the early thirteenth century; the first regent master to teach the Oxford Franciscans in theology; and from 1235 until his death in 1253 bishop of Lincoln, who with the help of the Dominican and Franciscan friars, carried out in his diocese the pastoral reforms in clerical education and preaching envisaged by the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215.

⁸ M.R. James, *The Wanderings and Homes of Manuscripts* (London, 1919).

⁹ University of Chicago 156. It was originally assigned the misleading title *Promptuarium Homileticum*, a title which it still bears on its new binding.

possible that, like religious today, one copy of any work written is held by the general archives of the order, and so an early copy went to Bologna? Cambridge, Gonville and Caius 329/410 (*C*) was very probably one of the theology manuscripts acquired by E. Gonville for his new hall and has remained there ever since. Cambridge, Trinity O. 1. 30 (*T*) was probably made for the Cistercians at Fountains Abbey in Yorkshire and only reached Trinity in the early eighteenth century. London, BL Royal 10. B. vii (*R*) belonged to St. Mary Overy, the great Augustinian house near London Bridge, and then to Trinity Hall, Cambridge. London, Lambeth Palace 116 (*L*), part one, belonged to the Benedictine Abbey of St. Augustine's in Canterbury. The unusual Naples manuscript VII. C. 19 (*Np*) was probably in the Augustinian house of Carbonara soon after its foundation in the fourteenth century as it is recorded in the earliest catalogue of 1552. The Oxford College manuscripts arrived there mainly through gift or bequest of past masters or fellows: Balliol 57 (*A*) was given to the College by Bishop William Gray, a bibliophile and humanist, in the late fifteenth century; New College E. 112 (*N*) was given by Archbishop Cranley between 1408 and 1417; Oriel 31 (*Og*) was given by Oriel's famous lodger, Thomas Gascoigne, who had a great interest in thirteenth-century English theology, by 1458 at the latest, but possibly earlier; Oriel 43 (*O*) was given in 1430 by John Martell, a former fellow of Oriel.¹⁰ Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 15754 (*P*) was owned by the secular master Gerard of Abbeville and bequeathed by him to the Sorbonne in 1272, while Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 16389 (*S*) was in the Sorbonne library, probably by 1321 and certainly recorded in its 1337 Catalogue. The Vatican manuscript probably belonged to at least one Dominican priory in northern Italy before being bought between 1470 and 1490 by Marco Barbo, Patriarch of Aquileia. Lastly, Wien lat. 1514 (*W*) was bequeathed in 1405 by Master Stephen von Enczesdorff to the Collegium Ducis, a constituent College of the young university there. The two manuscripts for which we have no medieval owner are Chicago 156 (*Cg*) and Liverpool F. 4. 18 (*Lp*).

It is most unlikely that many of these fourteen manuscripts were actually made by their known medieval owners. Theology manuscripts, especially ones as lengthy as Fishacre's, were not only expensive to make, but very costly to buy. In some cases, they were an investment, and in default of any banking system whereby ready cash could be obtained, they were a source of money. Such was one of the uses of Balliol 57. They were, in late twentieth-century terms, items of high market value. Probably most of the manuscripts above were acquired through the booksellers, mainly in Oxford and Cambridge. When religious houses, which were probably the main sources of theology texts, had spare copies of books, such were sold to the stationers. Fellows of Colleges were persons who could afford

¹⁰ For these donors see *BRUO*: Gray 2:809–14, Cranley 1:510–11, Gascoigne 2:745–48, Martell 2:1231.

to buy such books. That is the way most of the donors named above probably acquired their copy of Fishacre's *Sentences* Commentary.¹¹

Many of the above manuscripts by their characteristics are English manuscripts in making as well as in content. Notwithstanding, manuscript mobility is certainly illustrated by the Fishacre manuscripts, and the geographical sweep indicates a genuine widespread, although probably specialist, interest in his theology and philosophy.

Lastly, within our sixteen manuscripts there is considerable diversity of literary content. Only four of them are full copies of the four Books of Fishacre's *Sentences* Commentary: *ACOR*. Several are incomplete, but in varying states of incompleteness: *BPV* have Books I–III, *V* also has eight distinctions of Book IV; *N* and *W* have Books I–II; while *S* has only Book I and three distinctions of Book II. *Oriel* 31 only has indices to Fishacre's Commentary. *Cg* has only a partial text of Book III and what seems to be most of Book IV; *Np* and *Lp* have only Book IV, but neither is a full copy of the text. *L* has only the prologues to each of the four Books, and *T* has only extracts from the first two books of the Commentary. At the end of this Fountains manuscript, the scribe disarmingly notes that he has taken only extracts because of the *prolixity* of the original. Clearly in whatever manner the Fishacre *Sentences* Commentary is used in these manuscripts, the variety of use indicates that Fishacre's writings were appreciated and in the language of the Dominican Constitutions were *useful*.¹²

The problem of relationships among the sixteen manuscripts is exemplified in at least two interesting coincidences concerning change of scribe in identical places, which have been noted by the editors of Book III. The first involves two manuscripts, *V* and *R*, while the second involves these two manuscripts and *B* as well. In the first, the change occurs at f. 244^{va} line 29 in *V* and at f. 252^a in *R*. This change involves a repetition of text in the latter. The second change of scribe occurs at f. 205^a line 12/13 in *V*, at f. 211^a line 25 in *R*, and at f. 218^b four lines from the bottom in *B*. In *R* the change signals severe confusions in the text.

Both instances of common change of scribe entail editorial problems. A common change of scribe could indicate the end of one gathering or section and the start of another in an exemplar. Does this mean that the above three manuscripts had a common source for Book III? But, given the editorial problems the common place of the scribal change contains, it could also indicate a muddled approach not

¹¹ M.B. Parkes, "The Provision of Books," in *Late Medieval Oxford*, eds. J.I. Catto and Ralph Evans, vol. 2 of *The History of the University of Oxford* (Oxford, 1992), 407–83.

¹² "Constitutiones antiquae ordinis fratrum predicatorum," ed. Henri Denifle, *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters* 1 (1885), 194; Dominican Constitutions, Prologue (in the translation of W.H. Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order* [New York, 1973], 2:6: "Our study ought to tend principally and ardently and with the highest effort so that we might be useful to the souls of (our) neighbours").

only by the scribes, but by the person organizing the overall copying of the text and his available documentary sources.

* * *

Dr. O'Carroll was given permission by Albinia de la Mare to use the *Proforma* she recommended to her students, which in turn was her amended version of one that Julian Brown had devised.¹³ In applying this template to the scholastic theology of Fishacre, however, Dr. O'Carroll discovered that some elements of the physical description fit better under *content*. Specifically, these are corrections, marginalia, and hands. Thus emerged the pattern by which the Fishacre manuscripts were described.¹⁴

There remain some elements within the descriptions which need further explanation or comment. These will follow the order of the description.

As far as catalogues of manuscripts are concerned there was much disparity.¹⁵ The best were those written in comparatively recent times, such as the catalogue of the Balliol manuscripts by Mynors,¹⁶ and the catalogues which resulted from the marathon manuscript description work of M.R. James. These made the task of describing far easier. Others, such as V, had no printed catalogue at all or, like the two Paris manuscripts, had very sketchy descriptions. The catalogue describing Cg has an incorrect title and attribution.¹⁷

With regard to the contents of the manuscripts three items are worthy of note: the use of scholastic abbreviations, the incidence of the Grosseteste indexing symbols, and the sorting out of scribal hands. These manuscripts are rich in scholastic abbreviations for patristic authorities such as *aug'*/*au'* for Augustine, *g'g'* for Gregory, *dam'* for John Damascene, *b'* for Bernard. There is also a rich assortment of abbreviations for scholastic arguments and descriptions, such as *g^a* for 'contra', *ex^m* for 'exemplum', *N^a/n^a* for 'nota', *ob^o* for 'obiectio', *op^o/op^opio* for 'opinio', *Q^o/q^o/Q/q* for 'quaestio', *R^o/r^o* for 'responsio' and *S^o/s^o* for 'solutio'.

¹³ The practical recommendations of Richard Hunt and Neil Ker about what was needed in a full description of a manuscript undoubtedly played their part in this formulation. There is a very helpful analysis of the task of manuscript description in the Preface to vol. 1 of *Aegidii Romani Opera Omnia. Catalogo dei manoscritti* (Florence, 1987). This analysis has been modified in later volumes.

¹⁴ See the revised *Proforma* at the end of this introduction.

¹⁵ Owing to this range of completeness and reliability, it was thought best simply to reproduce the descriptions from the published catalogues in an appendix (see 213–22) and not to include them in the descriptions that follow.

¹⁶ R.A.B. Mynors, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College Oxford* (Oxford, 1963).

¹⁷ See M. Jewett and R.J. Long, "A Newly Discovered Witness of Fishacre's Sentences-Commentary: University of Chicago MS 156," *Traditio* 50 (1995), 342–45.

The Fishacre manuscripts, moreover, reveal many incidences of the symbols commonly linked with Robert Grosseteste.¹⁸ Nowhere, however, in the manuscripts of Fishacre's *Sentences* Commentary are Grosseteste's symbols used in his characteristic way, namely for identifying specific content and linking passages together. Rather the symbol patterns are used for annotating — rather like footnotes — either missing passages or extra material or the place for a distinction. In a way Grosseteste's symbols were handy reference patterns which could be used for wholly different purposes — the patterns are the same, but the meanings are not. It is likely that this is an English, possibly Oxford, adapted usage.

An understanding of differences between hands often comes only after long acquaintance with a manuscript. In some cases the change of hand was clear. In other cases it was far less clear. In view of the differences in surface of parchment, in nib shape and wear, in disparities in ink, both of color and strength, of variations in temperature when the scribe was writing, in the mood changes of the scribes themselves, and all the other factors which influence handwriting, a conservative view was taken in the following descriptions. Where a change of hand is indicated, this is in many cases a suggestion rather than a definition.

In *C* there is evidence of at least three *pecia* marks. Such a small sample of *pecia* markings is difficult to interpret, particularly as they do not, from external observation, seem to relate to the content of the text as such. Overall lack of *pecia* markings in these Fishacre manuscripts strengthens the opinion offered by L.J. Bataillon that Destrez's theories about the *pecia* system are not necessarily a universal criterion for the making of all medieval scholastic manuscripts, and that on the whole manuscripts made in England did not seem to give evidence of a *pecia* system.

In the section on the physical description of the manuscript, the question arose of how to measure or indicate some aspects. Experience has shown that impressions are rarely accurate. Counting seemed the safest way of establishing some facts. But because one cannot have absolute certainty that one has observed all that is to be seen, the numbers given are relative; hence the significance of the word *about*. The following convention has been used for most number records: numbers up to 100 are recorded in words; numbers over a 100 and numbers used to record lines and columns are recorded in numbers only. Strict arithmetic accuracy is not claimed in the numbers recorded. Nevertheless, the number is a genuine indication of approximation. This *caveat* applies also to the sections on quality of parchment, and the measurements involved in giving the dimensions of

¹⁸ R.W. Hunt, "Manuscripts containing the Indexing Symbols of Robert Grosseteste," *The Bodleian Library Record* 4, no. 5 (September 1953), 241–55. The manuscripts examined were Oxford Bodleian Library: Bodley 150, Bodley 198, Bodley 785, Hatton 102, Lat. th.c.17 ff. 158–248, Laud Misc. 746, Lincoln lat. 33, Trinity Coll. E. 17 ff. 1–42, 90–98; London BL: Harley 3111, Royal 5 D x; Lambeth Palace: 151.

leaves and of the writing block. There is one further problem about measurement, with which all who have endeavored to obtain the width of a folio in a tightly bound manuscript will be familiar: how much is to be allowed for the binding? On the whole we tried to measure what was there, without adding any binding allowance. Thus all the measurements are in harmony with each other in an approximate way, but total accuracy is not claimed in the way it can be claimed in modern book-production. Part of the problem of course lies with the origin of the parchment. Sheep for all their similarity are not factory-produced to identical size. The cost of parchment was high, and so the production of folios for manuscript making made the best available use of the sheep skin at the cost of all folios being exactly the same size.

Another matter has emerged in the course of writing the following descriptions. Who is the person who draws the lines on the pages and establishes the pattern of the page? Is it the scribe or, if a scriptorium is the locus, the one who prepares the parchment? This question has arisen as on a number of occasions the same hand is writing within a different page pattern. It is difficult to note the exact differences, but they seem to focus on the number of vertical columns allowed beside the two-column writing block. Many manuscripts of scholastic works have an extra narrow margin in the outer edges of the writing block where annotations such as numbers or abbreviations are written. Some have an extra margin on the outer edge of the page, the function of which is less discernible. Yet others have parallel lines near the edge of the page at the top and at the bottom. Not always are these used. The top parallel lines are often used in a completed manuscript for the *Book* and *Number* identification. It would seem that these Fishacre manuscripts raise some questions about the book production of their time. In so far as the narrow lines either in the side or bottom margins are concerned it would seem to be the scribe who draws these in at need.

Finally, there is one scribal characteristic of most of the Fishacre manuscripts which is rarely seen elsewhere,¹⁹ namely the insertion chiefly in the bottom margin, a few times in the top margin and sometimes within the actual text, most often by the scribe, of summaries of the main text in distinction form. In some manuscripts these are called *arbores ramificatae*. They are an unusual literary device, found sometimes in other thirteenth-century manuscripts and may prove to be a factor for identifying manuscripts made in England, or by English-trained scribes.²⁰

¹⁹ Note such summaries in distinction form in MS Laud Misc. 511, ff. 5–50^v, where they are used as summaries of the sermons in the main text. This is an English Dominican manuscript, a preacher's handbook, made between 1256 and 1275, very probably in Oxford, and containing one of the few sermons attributed to Richard Fishacre.

²⁰ See R.H. and M.A. Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons: Studies on the Manipulus Florum of Thomas of Ireland* (Toronto, 1979), 20. Although owing to the efforts of Franz

There remains but to draw attention to some practices which, if found, indicate that a manuscript is English in its making. Some years ago Neil Ker noticed the practice of writing above the line of the drawn writing-block or within the drawn writing-block.²¹ He observed that this change occurred about the middle of the thirteenth century. If examples of either practice are found, this can help towards dating a manuscript. An older scribe trained in the first half of the thirteenth century would write *above top line* after the mid-thirteenth century, even into the 1270's. A younger scribe trained at the time of this change would write *below top line* from the mid-thirteenth century onwards. Hence the use of this change in scribal practice for dating is approximate rather than precise.

Sonia Patterson²² researched flourishing practices in English (largely Oxford) and French (largely Paris) manuscripts and found some elements in flourishing which were indicative of either an English or French provision. Lastly, in relation to flourishing itself, the occurrence of blue painted initials with flourishing in red, and no red initials flourished blue, indicates an English rather than a French practice. While none of these practices are sufficient on their own to identify and date a manuscript, they are helpful indicators, and if several or many of these practices occur within one manuscript, the probability that the manuscript is English in origin is strengthened. As such they have been used in the following descriptions.

Pelster, Richard Hunt, Neil Ker, and Graham Pollard over one hundred manuscripts, spanning more than 150 years, have been identified with this device, it makes its first appearance in the Fishacre Commentary (ibid.).

²¹ N.R. Ker, "From *Above Top Line* to *Below Top Line*: A Change in Scribal Practice," *Celtica* 5 (1960), 13–16.

²² Sonia Patterson, "Paris and Oxford Manuscripts in the Thirteenth Century." B.Litt. thesis (Oxford University, 1969). See also a more recent publication about flourishing and decoration of initials: Patricia Stirnemann, "Fils de la vierge. L'initiale à filigranes parisienne: 1140–1314," *Revue de l'art* 90 (1990), 58–73.

Towards a Description of a Fishacre Manuscript: Proforma

1 HEADING

- 1 Pressmark
- 2 Title(s), or summary of contents, and language
- 3 Date and origin
- 4 Provenance
- 5 Catalogue

2 CONTENTS

- 1 Contents: notation of each article or sub-article
- 2 Corrections
- 3 Marginalia, including any notes, numbers, symbols etc. and interlinear notes
- 4 Hands

3 PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

Make-up of the MS

- 1 Number of leaves, including all end or added leaves
- 2 Foliation, including all early and mistaken foliation
- 3 Materials: papyrus, membrane, or paper; ink
- 4 Overall dimensions of the leaves
- 5 Written space (including writing *above top line* or *below top line*); ruled space; ruled lines; numbers of lines in columns
- 6 Numbering of columns and lines
- 7 Quiring/Collation
- 8 Arrangement of sheets (hair and flesh sides)
- 9 Pricking
- 10 Ruling
- 11 Quire signatures and leaf signatures
- 12 Catchwords/Cues

Handwriting

- 1 Guide-letters for initials; notes for rubrics or illustrations
- 2 Changes of scribe or rubricator in relation to contents and/or quiring
- 3 Texts of scribal signatures, mottoes, monograms etc.
- 4 Titles: scripts, color etc.

Decoration and Illumination

- ¹ Minor initials, line fillers etc.
- ² Illuminated initials and borders
- ³ Flourished initials
- ⁴ Historiated initials
- ⁵ Miniatures

This section should include attributions to region, scriptorium/workshop, or artist, with texts of artists' signatures, mottoes etc.

Binding

- ¹ Date and origin
- ² Technique
- ³ Decoration

Opening words of the second leaf

Further Comment — if relevant

4 PROVENANCE

- ¹ Recipient (if known), with record of dedication, heraldic devices, inscriptions, marginalia etc., including entries in catalogues, references in correspondence etc.
- ² Later owners, with similar record of evidence, including entries in auction and booksellers' catalogues.

5 BIBLIOGRAPHY

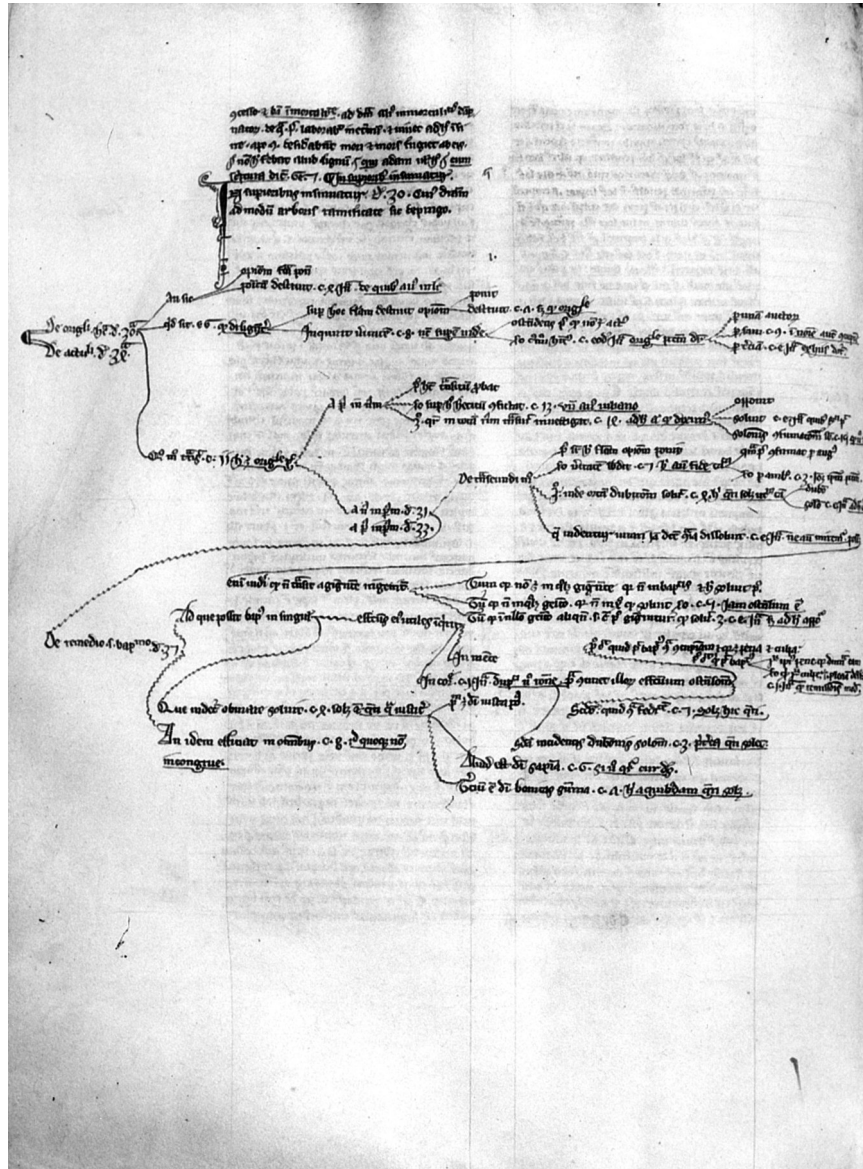
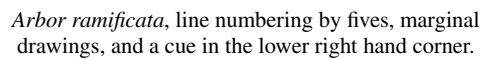
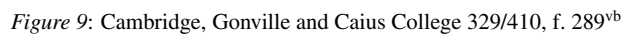


Figure 7: Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College 329/410, f. 236^v

Extensive *arbor ramificata*, a device for dividing the text that first appears in the Fishacre manuscripts, and decorated initial (*I*).





Pecia mark in upper right corner (*hic incipit .6. pec.*); also use of arabic numerals to identify arguments and marginal *nota*.

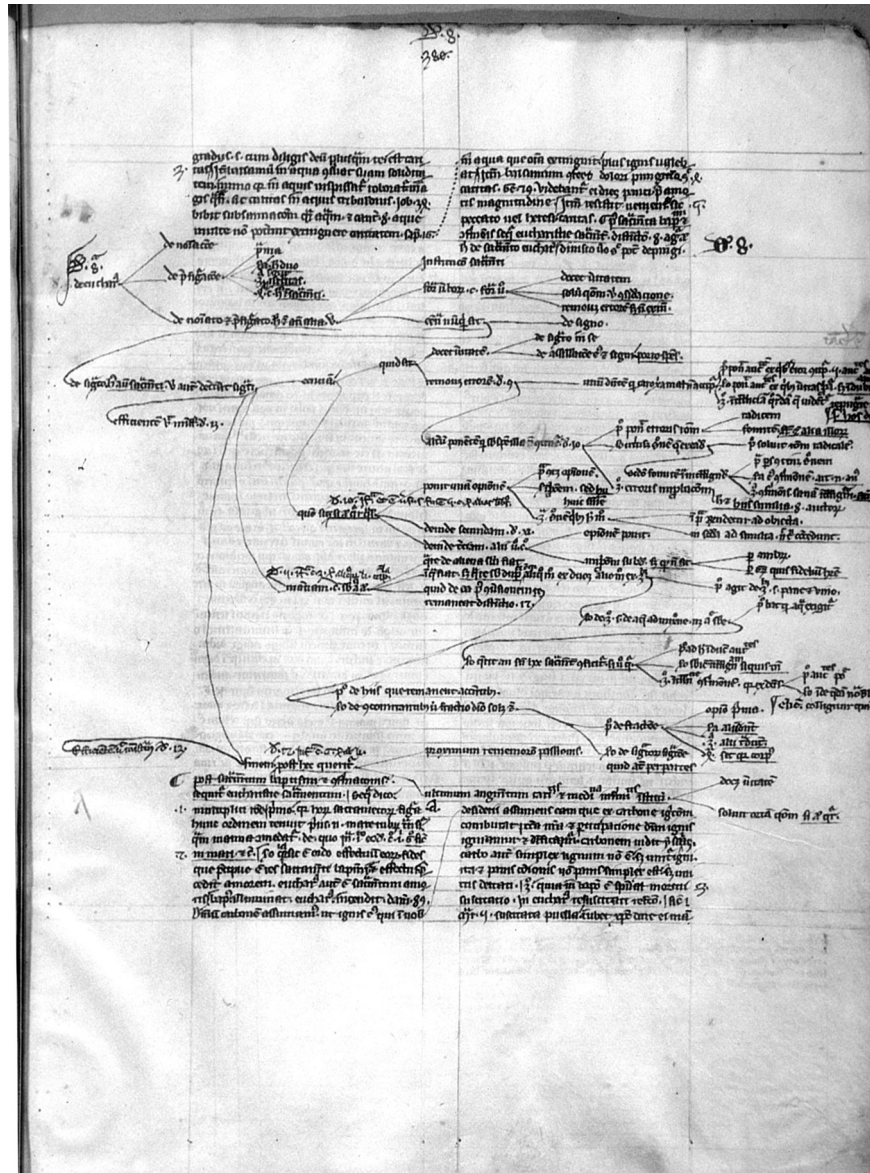


Figure 10: Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College 329/410, f. 380

Example of page layout beneath an *arbor* and the writing block of the page, determined by vertical and horizontal lines; pricking on left.



Figure 11: Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College 329/410

Spine of manuscript with stitching visible, a hole in the cover (possibly for chaining), and evidence of parchment under the leather.

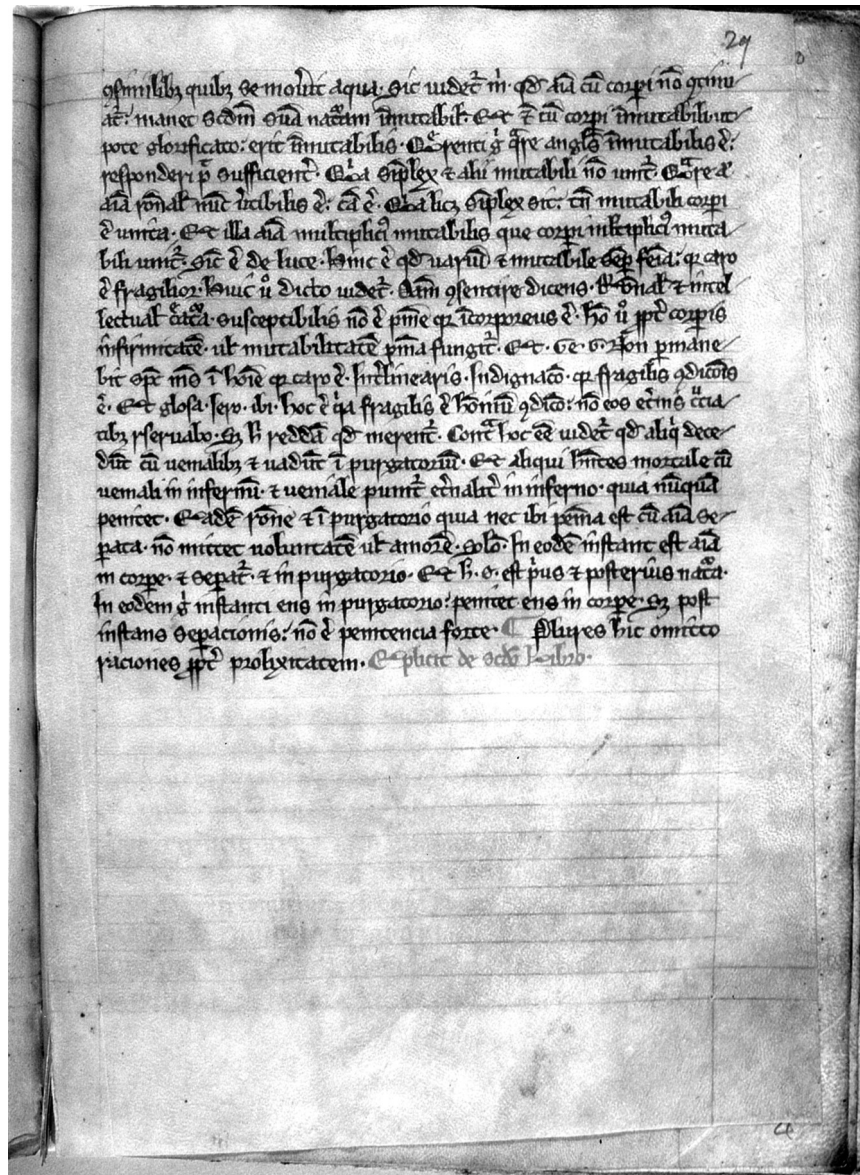


Figure 12: Cambridge, Trinity College O. 1. 30, f. 29

Colophon (*Explicit de secundo libro*) in red ink;
notice also prickings on the right side of the page.

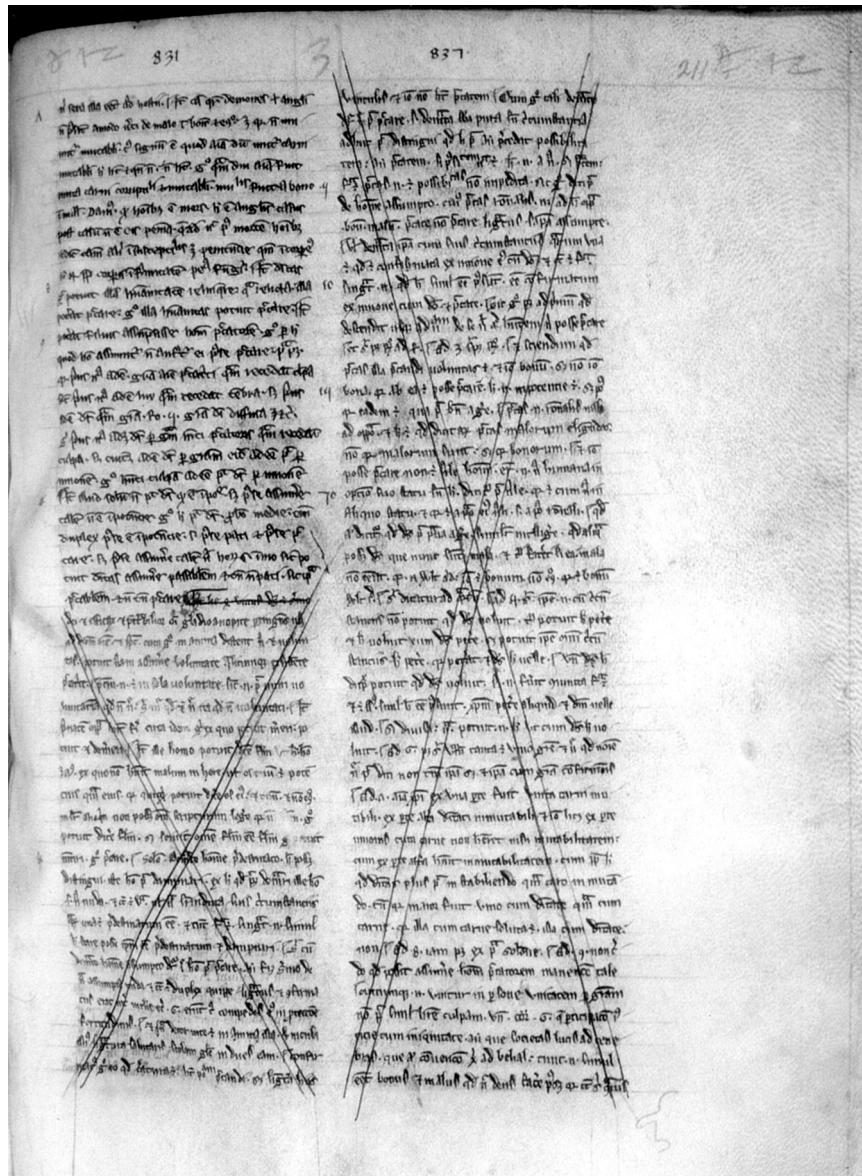


Figure 13: London, British Library Royal 10. B. vii, f. 211

Canceled text; begins at point where hand changes
(col. 831, line 25); drawing of face at bottom right.

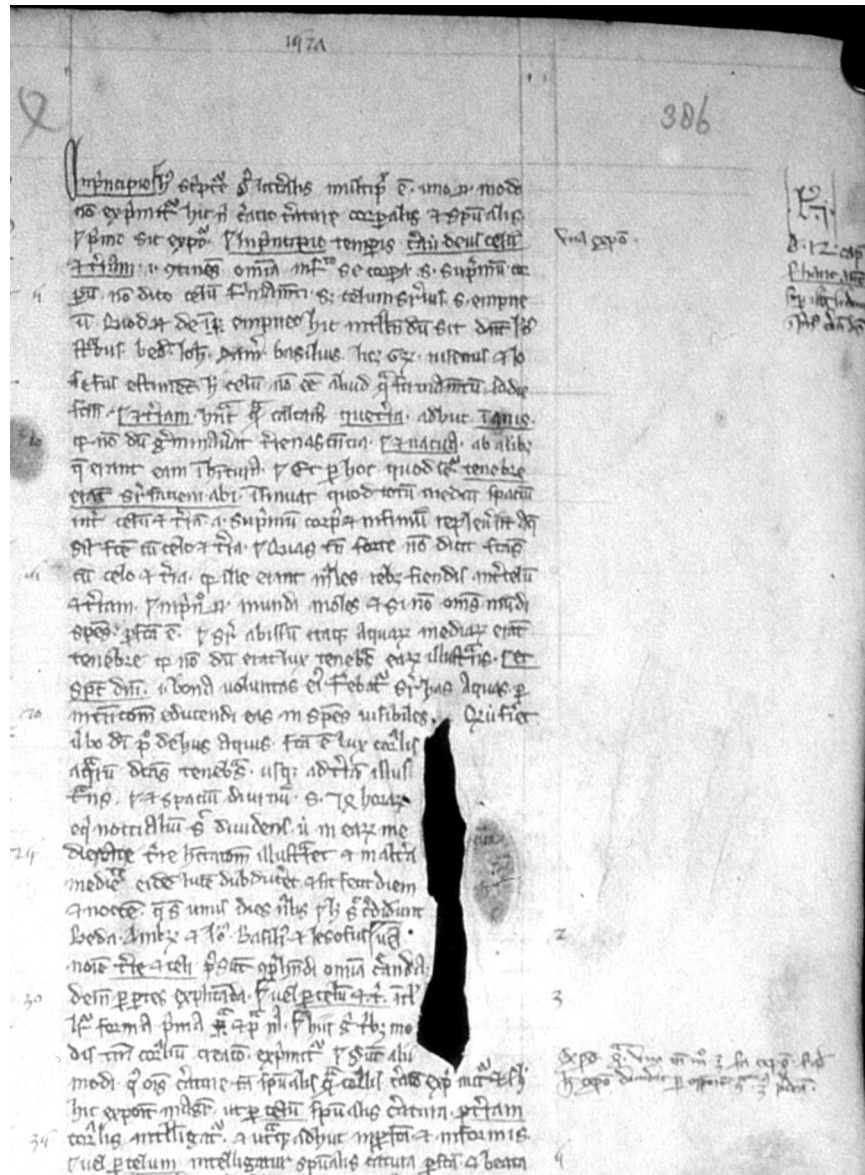


Figure 14: London, British Library Royal 10. B. vii, f. 386^b

Question added at the end of Book IV, with marginal reference to its place in the text (L. 2, dist. 12); note also hole and fallout of scar tissue.

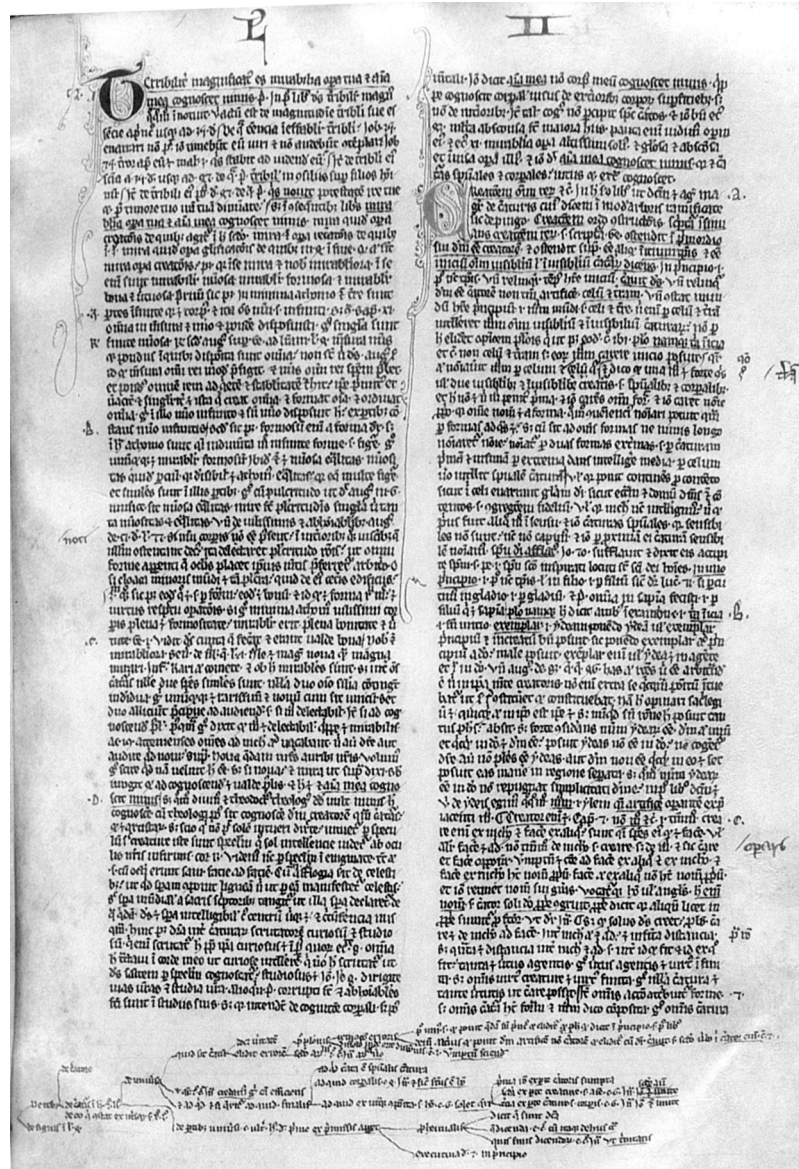
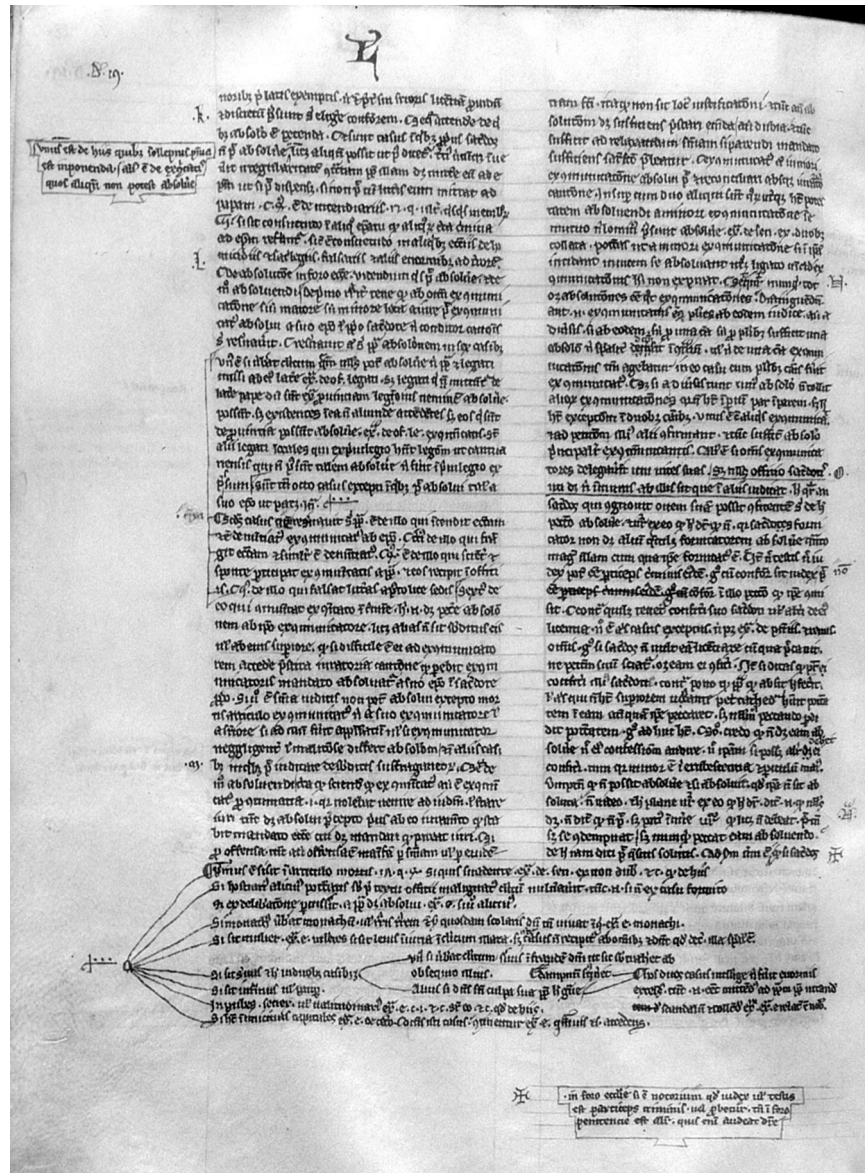


Figure 15: Oxford, Balliol College 57, f. 79

Initials (T and C) with characteristic English flourishing; note also the *arbor* in the bottom margin, its usual location in most Fishacre manuscripts.

Figure 16: Oxford, Balliol College 57, f. 287^v

Two examples of texts boxed in red as well as usages of Grossetestian symbols. The elaborate *L* at the top of the left column signifies *Liber*.

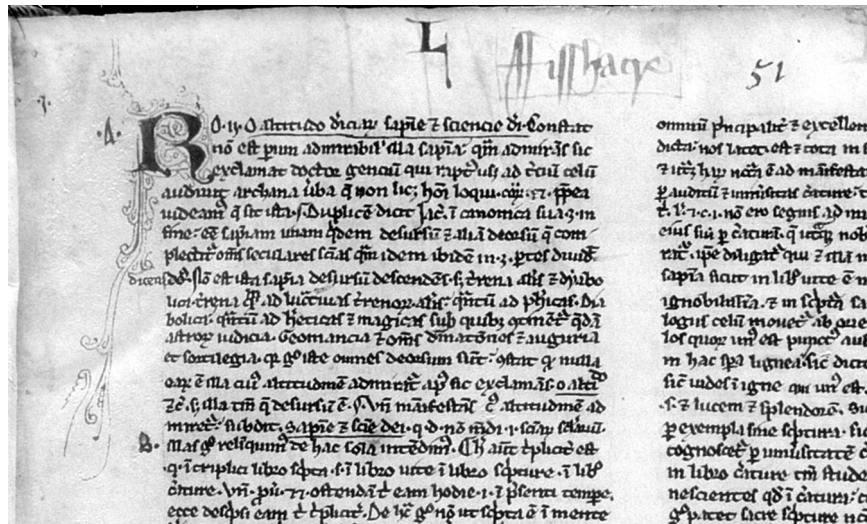


Figure 17: Oxford, Balliol College 57, f. 3

Initial letter (R) with English flourishing; note also the spelling of the author's name (*ffsshacre*) in a later hand.

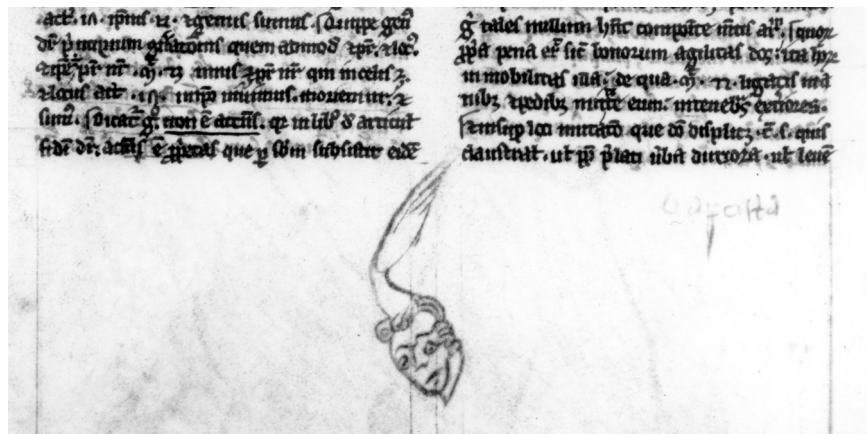


Figure 18: Oxford, Oriel College 43, f. 29v

A face-cum-hand drawing in the bottom margin.

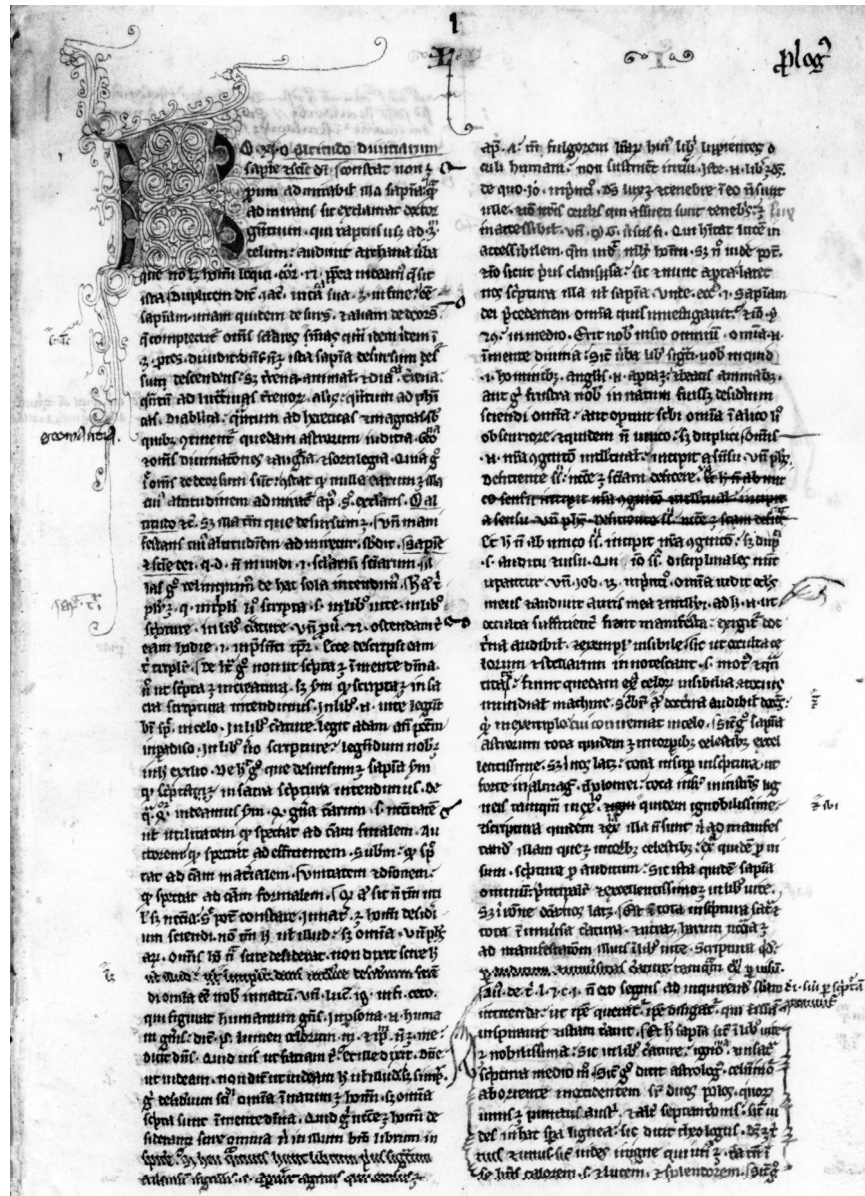


Figure 19: Oxford, Oriel College 43, f. 1

Very elaborate initial letter (R) with English flourishing, Grosseteste symbols in center margin; note the pointing hands and marginal corrections.

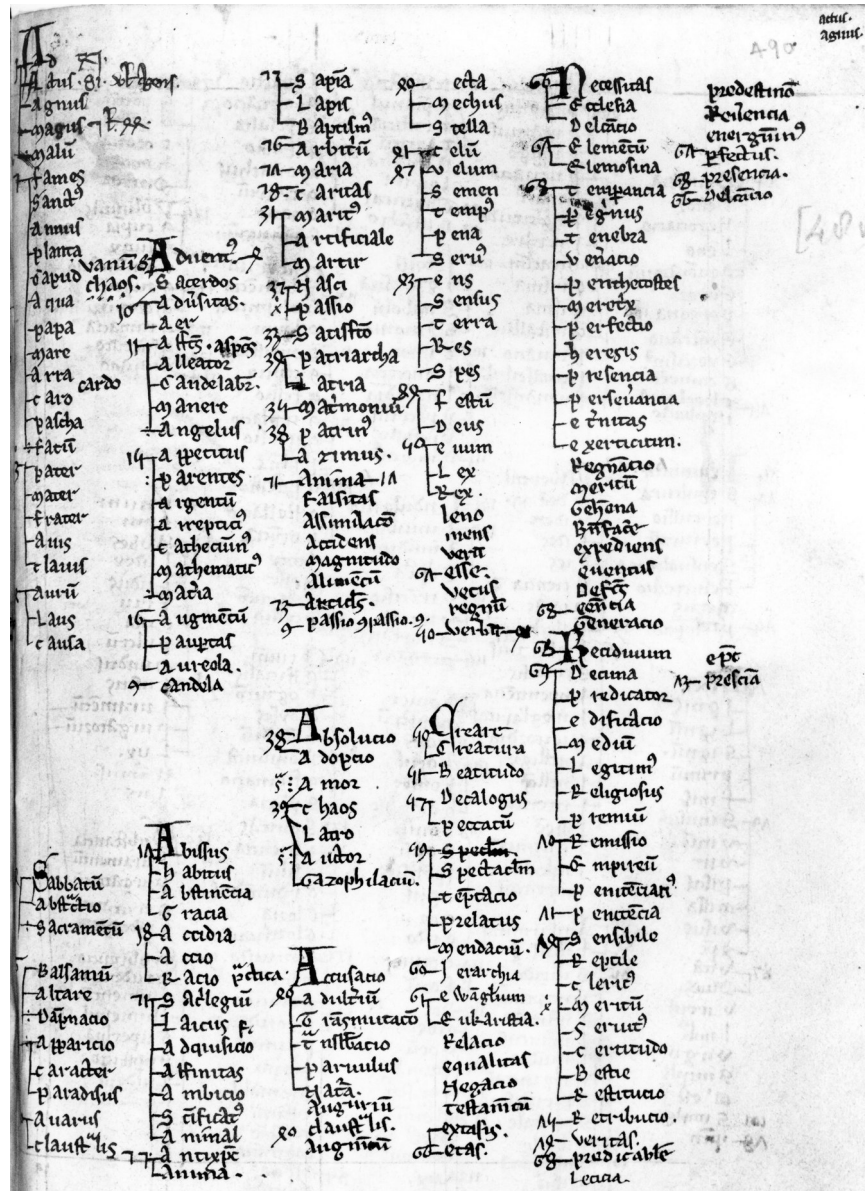


Figure 20: Oxford, Oriel College 43, f. 490

One of three indices in this manuscript,
the organizing principle of which is unclear.

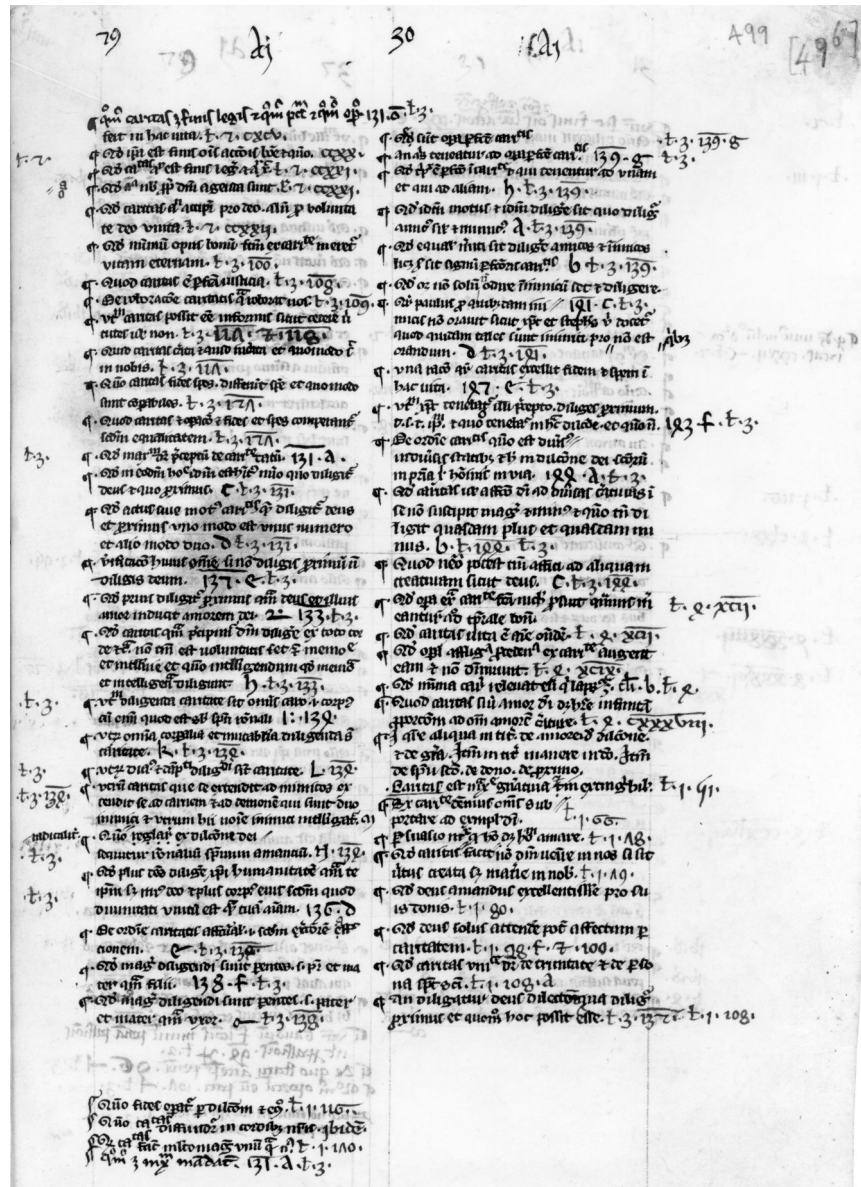
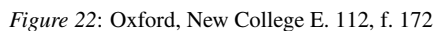


Figure 21: Oxford, Oriel College 43, f. 499

Another index in the same manuscript, this one in a different hand and alphabetical; this page lists instances of *caritas*, with appropriate book and page references.



Part of an index of Fishacre's *Commentary*. Indexed here are *donum*, *oculus*, *voluntas*, *lux*, *punctus*, *culpa*, and *superstitio*.

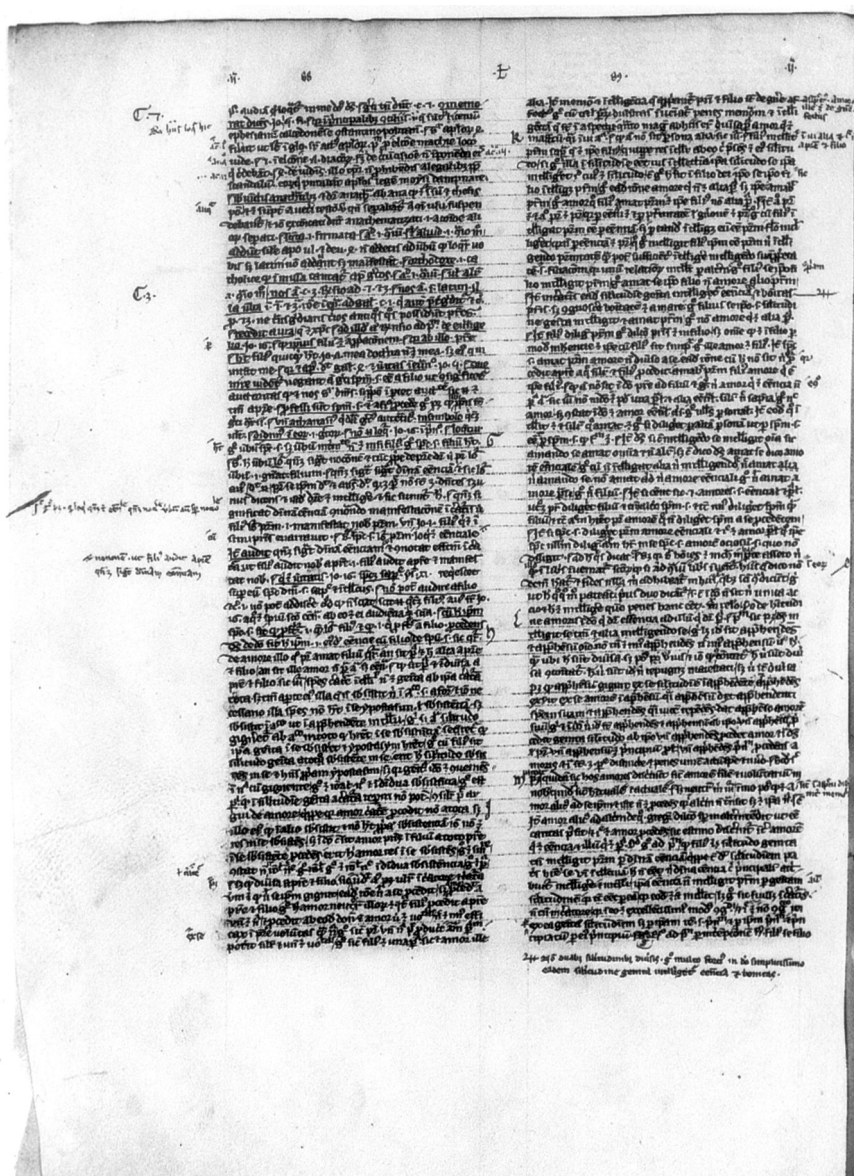
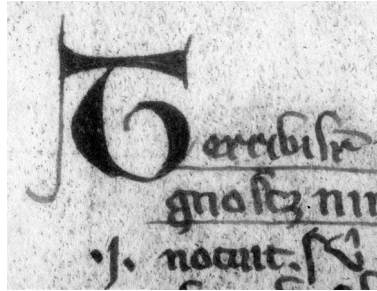
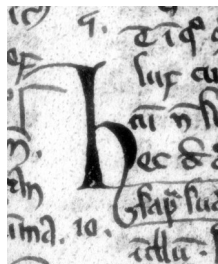
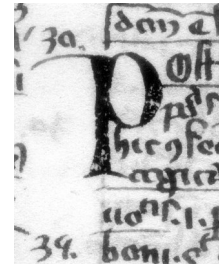


Figure 23: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 15754, f. 22v

Erasures of line numberings in the center margin (visible only as a smudge every five lines), and the substitution of letters of the alphabet as referencing symbols (the Parisian system).

Figure 24: f. 88^{va}Figure 25: f. 88^{vb}Figure 26: f. 119^bFigure 27: f. 173^bFigure 28: f. 172^{vb}

Figures 24–28: Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Vaticana Ottob. lat. 294

Capital letters in brown-black ink, the shape of which indicates a date of execution closer to the middle rather than to the end of the thirteenth century.

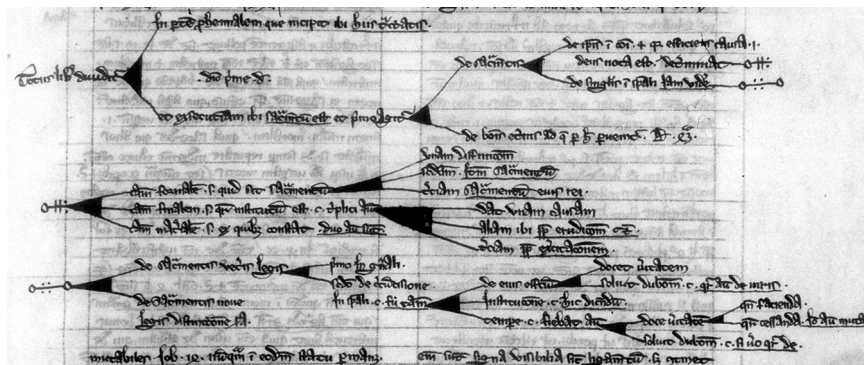


Figure 29: Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Vaticana Ottob. lat. 294, f. 262

An *arbor* dividing all of Book IV, utilizing Grossetestian symbols to connect the major branches of the tree; note the thickening of the angles.

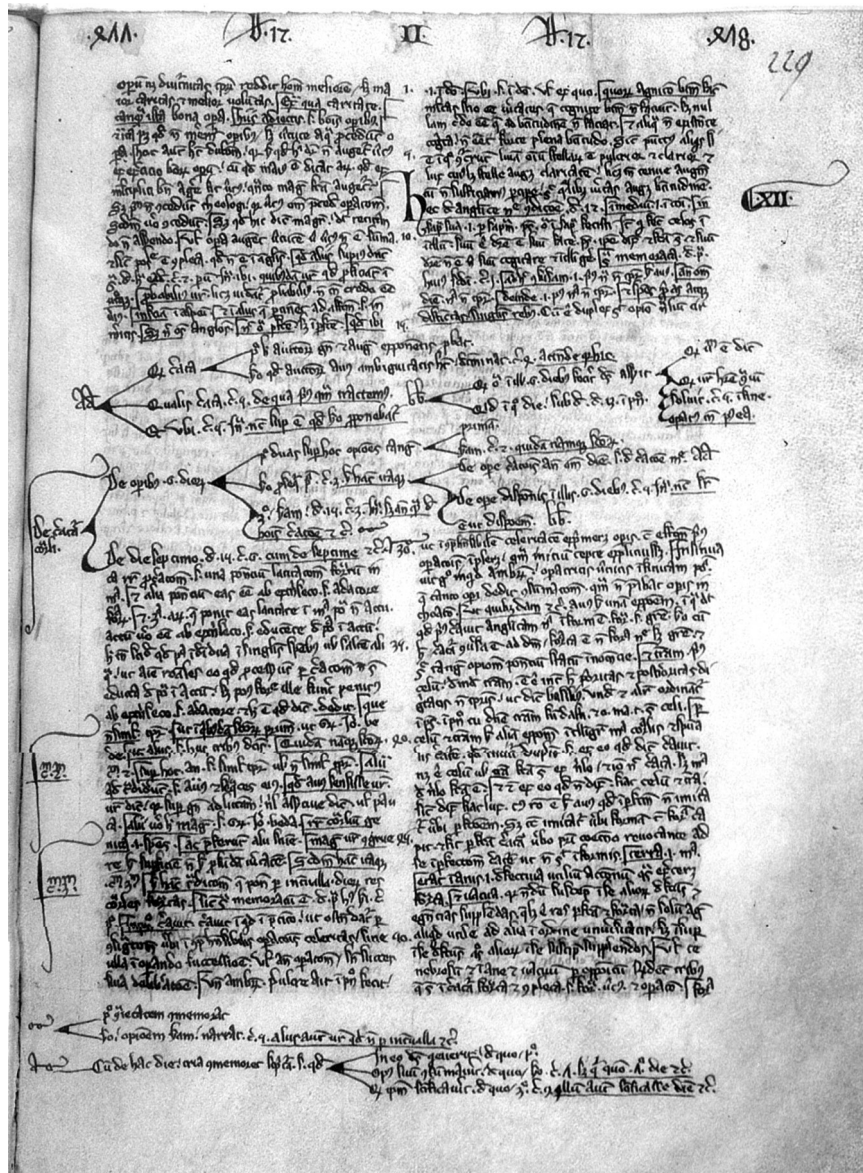


Figure 31: Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Vaticana Ottob. lat. 294, f. 119

Arbor illustrating the division of the text of the next four distinctions; note also the use of Grossetestian symbols, the underlining of lemmata, and chapter indications.

Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria lat. 1546 (B)

1 HEADING

- ¹ *Pressmark*: R. Biblioteca dell'Università di Bologna = Manoscritti = No 1546.
- ² *Title*: Ricardus Anglicus Super tres Libr⟨os⟩ ⟨S⟩ententiarum. *Language*: Latin.
- ³ *Date and origin*: thirteenth century, probably English.
- ⁴ *Provenance*: S. Domenico, Bologna; after Italian independence the Dominican Library was confiscated by the new state and its contents dispersed; the University of Bologna.
- ⁵ *Catalogue*: Frati, L. *Indice dei codici latini conservati nella R. Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna*. Florence, 1909, 350.

2 CONTENTS

- ¹ *Contents*
- ^{1.1} ff.¹ ii–viii, Indices
ff. ii^a–ii^c, *Incipiunt problemata primi libri*
ff. ii^c–ii^{vc}, *Incipiunt problemata secundi libri*
ff. ii^{vc}–iii^b, *Incipiunt problemata tercii libri*
f. iii^v, Alphabetical Index 1
ff. iv–viii, Alphabetical Index 2
- ^{1.2} ff. 1–96^v, Book I (no Title, but numbers in top margin)
Inc. ⟨R⟩o xi. *O altitudo diviciarum sapientie et scientie dei. Constat non est parum admirabilis illa sapientia quam admirans sic exclamat doctor gentium qui raptus usque ad 3^m celum ...*
Exp. ... *et ideo dico benedicta sit creatrix et gubernatrix omnium sancta et indiuidua trinitas et nunc et semper et per infinita seculorum secula. Amen, amen, amen, amen, amen.* (last two in another hand).
- ^{1.3} ff. 97–188^v, Book II (no Title, but numbers in top margin)
Inc. ⟨T⟩erribiliter magnificatus es, mirabilia opera tua et anima mea cognoscet nimis. Ps. *In primo libro deus terribiliter magnus quoquo modo innotuit vbi actum est de magnitudine terribili sue essentie ...*
Exp. ... *subdita sit quasi dicat semper sublimiori obediendum non semper inferiori et ita deo pre omnibus qui uetat uenialia. Explicit liber secundus.*
- ^{1.4} ff. 189^a–192^a, *De caelo* and *De divisione aquarum*, these are questions which postdate the Commentary.²

¹ A peculiarity of this manuscript is that the original numbering is given by page, not folio. For the sake of consistency, however, we have followed the modern folio references.

² These will be printed as Appendices C and D in the edition of Book II.

Inc. *Simplicium ita ut totum esset forma et naturam non ... De celo ...*

Exp. ... *equaliter tendunt ad centrum et nulla aliam permittit descendere.*

- 1.5 f. 192^v, margin heading, *Ex libro vii^o confessionum beati augustini*

Inc. *Procurasti mihi per quemdam hominem ...*

Exp. ... *Abscondisti enim hec a sapientibus et prudentibus et reuelasti ea paruulis etc.*

- 1.6 ff. 193^a–258^{va}, in top margin, *Incipit tercius, incipit opus fratris Richardi super iii^m sententiarum*

Inc. *(T)ria sunt mihi difficilia et quartum penitus ignoro: viam aquile in celum, viam colubri super petram, viam nauis in medio mari et uiam uiri in adolescentula ...*

Exp. ... *absoluit eos immo potius denunciat absolutos.*

Explicunt postille secundum fratrem Richardum anglicum de ordine fratrum predicatorum super tres primos libros sententiarum Magistri petri lumbardi et sunt fratrum predicatorum concesse ad usum fratris Petri Regino.

- 1.7 f. 258^{va}–258^{vb}, four sets of notes in the same hand

Inc. *Liber primus diuiditur ...*

Exp. ... *per ministros Christi.*

2 Corrections

- 2.1 ff. 1–96^b, Book I

In ff. 1–23^{vb} there are many brief corrections of words or phrases; from ff. 24–48^{vb} and 50^a onwards very few. Fourteen examples of extra text are found between ff. 9 and 30^{va}, thereafter four only on ff. 49^{va}, 54, 54^v, 72^a.

- 2.2 ff. 97^a–188^b, Book II

There are many brief corrections, words or phrases throughout, and twenty-seven examples of extra text in a different hand throughout Book II.

- 2.3 ff. 189^a–192^b, *De caelo* and *De divisione aquarum*

There are no obvious corrections.

- 2.4 ff. 193^a–258^v, Book III

There are many single word corrections; fewer than thirty insertions of extra text, most from f. 229 onwards.

3 Marginalia

General comment: The description of the use of arabic numerals are placed with the rest of the marginalia as they are a constitutive part of the scholastic apparatus with which this manuscript is so well provided by its scribes. There seem to be two distinct patterns of Grosseteste's indexing symbols being used: the first from ff. 9^b to 141^a are the usual ones associated with Grosseteste's own; the second from ff. 196^a to 248^b is a variant of numbers of dots on either side of a sloping

line or in a sloping rectangle — the slope is from bottom left to top right in every symbol.

3.1 ff. 1–96^b, Book I

The marginalia, most of them in ink, are very well organized. They contain many different elements: a constant feature is the use of arabic numerals for identifying distinctions etc. within the text; the use of *nota* for emphasis; the presence of summaries both large³ — about fifty at least, and small — about thirty six, the former tending to be either within the text or in the top or bottom margins, the latter in margins only; the identification of authorities mainly patristic by margin notes such as *aug'*, *g'g'* etc.; margin headings, a few at the beginning; there are many annotation symbols of a fairly standard type and also three fingers and one face; lastly there are many uses of *S^o*, *g^a*, *R^o*, *ob^o* in the margins to identify parts of the scholastic argument. *Ex^m* is found a few times. Illustrative diagrams are found in four instances: ff. 8^{va}, 13^b, 72^a, 83^b. There are also marginalia in lead pencil. Unfortunately, apart from the summaries in distinction form and the use of arabic numerals, the marginalia as apparatus tend to be best up to f. 24, and thereafter more sporadic. Where the apparatus exists, it is helpful in reading the text.

3.2 ff. 97^a–188^b, Book II

The marginal use of arabic numerals, of scholastic symbols for identifying elements in the text, of authorities, of *Nota*, of large marginal distinction summaries⁴ (about seventeen), of small marginal distinctions (about nineteen), is similar to that of Book I, but is more consistent and more frequent throughout Book II. There are two fingers and three diagrams. Margin headings are used much in Book II.

3.3 ff. 189^a–192^b, *De caelo* and *De divisione aquarum*

Patristic authorities are identified, arabic numerals are used frequently, and there are two astronomical diagrams.

3.4 ff. 192^v Section on Augustine's *Confessions*

There are no marginalia at all.

3.5 ff. 193^a–258^{va}, Book III

The marginalia are quite different in their totality from the first two books. Marginal headings are standard. There are about twenty-two large marginal distinction summaries,⁵ but only about four small marginal distinctions. About five ex-

³ 2^{v-tm}, 4*, 6^v, 10tm, 10^{v-tm}, 12tm, 13, 14, 19^v, 24, 27, 28^v, 29, 30^v, 33, 34, 35, 36, 36^v, 38^v, 42^v, 44^v, 45^v, 47, 47^v, 48^v, 49^{va}, 50, 51, 52, 53^v, 56^v, 58^v, 61, 63^v, 65, 66, 69, 70^v, 72, 74, 78, 79^v, 80, 81^v, 85^v, 87^v, 88, 90, 90^v, 92^v, 94^v, 95. (tm indicates top margin, * indicates *arbores ramificatae* within the text.)

⁴ 97, 99, 102^v, 106^v, 107, 108^v, 109^v, 114, 116^v, 120^v, 121^v, 123^v, 125^v, 136^v, 148, 150^v, 169^v, 188^v(?).

⁵ 194^a, 234, 234^{v*} (2), 234^v, 236^{b*}, 239^v, 239^{vb*}, 244^a, 250^a, 250^{va*}, 252^a, 252^{b*}, 254, 254^{v*}, 257^{vb}, 258.

empla are noted. There is much use of the scholastic symbols, *Q*, *R*, *g^a*, *Oppio*, *S*; but *Nota* is used very little; arabic numerals have a similar, but much less frequent use than in the first two books. All marginalia tail off in the last folios of the book from f. 255.

4 *Hands*

Most of the hands are book hands rather than cursive ones. Cursive hands seem to be used for the extensive marginal summaries, or *arbores ramificatae*. There are the usual problems of quality of parchment surface, of nature of the nib, of the inconsistencies of the scribes. It seems clear, however, that this manuscript is the work of many scribes. The following scribal changes are suggested:

Index	f. i–iii	Hand 1	
Index	f. iii ^v	Hand 2	
Index	ff. iv–viii	Hand 3	
Book I	ff. 1 ^a –17 ^{vb}	Hand 4	
	ff. 18 ^a –40 ^{vb}	Hand 5	very characteristic <i>d</i> and tail to <i>g</i>
	ff. 41 ^a –43 ^b	Hand 6	
	ff. 43 ^{va} –48 ^{vb}	Hand 5	
	ff. 49 ^a –72 ^{vb}	Hand 6	
	ff. 73 ^a –81 ^{vb}	Hand 5	
	ff. 82 ^a –96 ^{va}	Hand 7	very regular book hand
Book II	ff. 97 ^a –123 ^{va}	Hand 5?	
	ff. 123 ^{va} –131 ^{vb}	Hand 8	
	ff. 132 ^a –148 ^{vb}	Hand 9	
	f. 149 ^{a–b}	Hand 10	
	ff. 149 ^b –158 ^{vb}	Hand 9	
	ff. 159 ^{a–b}	Hand 11	
	ff. 159 ^b –166 ^{vb}	Hand 12	
	ff. 167 ^a –169 ^{vb}	Hand 13	
	ff. 170 ^a –177 ^a line 14	Hand 8	
	ff. 177 ^a line 14–192 ^a	Hand 14	includes <i>De celo/De divisione aquarum</i>
Book III	ff. 193 ^a –196 ^a line 6	Hand 15	
	ff. 196 ^a line 6–218 ^b	Hand 5?	distinct <i>d</i> but <i>g</i> different
	ff. 218 ^{va} –249 ^b	Hand 16	two hands? change at f. 234 ^b ?
	ff. 249 ^b –258 ^{va}	Hand 17	

There are several different hands in the marginalia, most of them apparently contemporary with the manuscript. Probably many of them are linked with the main scribal hands of the text.

3 PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

Make-up of the MS

- ¹ *Number of leaves, including all end or added leaves:* iA+i–viii, 1–260 + ix. iA and ix are the end leaves. F. iA has *Appedix* (sic) *MSS 959* in black ink; in red ink crossed out with black ink which has burnt the paper is (*MS*) *III A–I–50* and in pencil *4C* or *46*.
f. 259^v has five short pieces of writing:
Two lines are crossed through, indicating ownership/usage. There is a note *Iste liber est ordinis fratrum praedicatorum deputatus ad usum* [spatium] *Quicumque eum furatus fuerit uel alienauerit anathema sit.*
Also crossed through: *Super tres libros sententiarum secundum fratrem richardum anglicum ordinis predicatorum.*
Ad.x.18.b.liram..b.
Ricardus anglicus in a later, fifteenth-century(?) hand.
Two lines almost obliterated but not crossed through: *Iste liber est prouincie Lombardie concessus ad vsum fratri Francisco ordinis fratrum predicatorum.*
f. ix is blank on both sides.
- ² *Foliation, including all early and mistaken foliation:* as noted, modern foliation is i–viii and 1–260. In the modern foliation there is an error in making f. 160 f. 169. The original text was paginated in arabic numerals in the top right hand corner on the recto side and in the top left hand corner on the verso side 1–99, C, C1–C9, then 110 to 473; f. 259^v has no arabic numbering. Pages 384–397 are missing from the present manuscript. One cut edge is visible.
- ³ *Materials:* ff. iA and ix are of paper; ff. i–viii and 1–260 are parchment. Of 268 folios forty-two have holes; twelve have slits, with six each of these totals having both faults; another ten have repairs, while forty-seven have some piece missing from an edge. This use of poor quality parchment is similar to others among the Fishacre manuscripts, but the holes are not too significant — in some cases they are written around. It is the look of the manuscript that is faulty, not its efficiency as a book. *Ink:* the ink used is mostly black and shades of black. In the extra text in Book II, some of the corrections and the pagination are written in brown ink.
- ⁴ *Overall dimensions of the leaves:* these were taken as one in twenty-five folio sample and are remarkably consistent, averaging about 7³/₄ by 10³/₄ inches or 19.5 by 27.4 cms.
- ⁵ *Written space:* the manuscript is written in two columns throughout, except for the three columns in the Index. The writing is all *below top line*. Measurements were taken in the same manner as that of the folios, but had more variation in the size of the writing block — part of this variation reflected the fact that in this manuscript the parallel columns of the folios did not have exactly the same sized writing block. The variations run from 2¹/₄ to 2¹/₂ inches or 5.5 to 6.4 cms. width by 7¹/₄

to $7\frac{5}{8}$ inches or 18.1 to 19.3 cms. length. *Ruled space*: all the rulings are done in lead (plummet). There are four patterns: for the first three folios of the Index, the page frame is in three columns with a fine middle line in each longitudinal margin. The pattern most common in this manuscript has two columns ruled, but with an extra line on the outside of each column giving a narrow margin on which most of the arabic numerals and scholastic abbreviations are placed. A small number of folios are similar to the common pattern, but without the extra outside columnar line. The last pattern, again applying to a small number of pages, is similar to the common one, but with an extra set of very narrow double lines on each longitudinal edge. *Ruled lines*: all the lines are very finely drawn in lead. *Numbers of lines in columns*: the numbers of lines in the columns, again sampled at one in twenty-five, vary mainly between 53 and 61 e.g. 58, 50, 61, 57, 53, 59, 55, 56, 58, 47, 54.

- ⁶ *Numbering of columns*: there is numbering of columns in arabic numerals at the very top of the page — sometimes obliterated by cropping for parts of the manuscript. In Book I ff. 1–17, cols. 1–66 (ink); ff. 17^{vb}–19, cols. 68–78 (pencil); ff. 19^{va}–21, cols. 75–87 (ink); ff. 21^{vb}–28, cols. 84–110 (pencil); f. 28^{vb}, col. 130 (pencil); f. 29^a, col. 143 (numbering discrepancy). There is no further column numbering in Book I. In Book II ff. 97^{vb}–102^{vb} have arabic numbered columns 4–24 (ink). Nothing can be seen in pencil. There is no more numbering in Book II. Book III has no column numbering in ink or pencil. *Numbering of lines*: in Book I ff. 1–16 and ff. 25, 34^v have lines numbered in fives; ff. 36^v, 40, 45^v, and 75 have a few numbers in fives inserted. In Book II ff. 97–103 only have lines numbered in fives, while in Book III only f. 193 has this line numbering in fives.

⁷ *Quiring/Collation*

number	start	string	end	cue	notes
1 (8/10)	i	v ^v –vi	viii ^v	none	two pages cut out ff. vii ^v –viii
2 (12)	1	6 ^v –7	12 ^v	<i>cum omnia ut iam dictum est</i>	very poor parchment
3 (12)	13	18 ^v –19	24 ^v	<i>confiteor tibi pater quia abscondisti</i>	very poor parchment
4 (12)	25	30 ^v –31	36 ^v	<i>et primo agamus</i>	
5 (12)	37	42 ^v –43	48 ^v	<i>i.e. intellectum</i>	
6 (12)	49	54 ^v –55	60 ^v	<i>propter summam</i>	
7 (12)	61	66 ^v –67	72 ^v	<i>in superioribus</i>	
8 (12)	73	78 ^v –79	84 ^v	cue cropped	
9 (12)	85	90 ^v –91	96 ^v	none	
10 (14)	97	103 ^v –104	110 ^v	<i>angeli uero loquu(n)tur ad deum</i>	
11 (12)	111	116 ^v –117	122 ^v	none	

12 (12)	123	128 ^v –129	134 ^v	<i>duplex cognitio</i> ... (cropped)	
13 (12)	135	140 ^v –141	146 ^v	cue cropped	
14 (12)	147	152 ^v –153	158 ^v	<i>liberum arbitrium</i> <i>esse probant</i>	
15 (14)	159	165 ^v –166	172 ^v	<i>forcius deus. Ad</i> <i>secundum dico</i>	extra cue on f. 170 ^v , f. 171 ^v
16 (16)	173	180 ^v –181	188 ^v	none	extra cue on ff. 173 ^v , 174 ^v , 175 ^v , 176 ^v
17 (4/6)	189	191 ^v –192?	192 ^v	none	See NB below
18 (10)	193	197 ^v –198	202 ^v	<i>et (exp.) non sit etc.</i>	
19 (12)	203	208 ^v –209	214 ^v	<i>quam ymagine</i>	ink cue erased, pencil replacement
20 (10)	215	219 ^v –220	224 ^v	<i>mobilis ad motorem</i>	
21 (12)	225	230 ^v –231	236 ^v	<i>menti vnito</i> <i>de quo d(icitur)</i>	
22 (12)	237	242 ^v –243	248 ^v	<i>consequentes. Eo ipso</i> <i>enim quod domificat</i>	
23 (12)	249	254 ^v –255	260 ^v		f. 249 damaged inside edge

NB Two sheets have been cut off here (gathering 17). The original pagination affirms that four pages are missing, that is, two folios.

- ⁸ *Arrangement of sheets (hair and flesh sides)*: this seems to be standard throughout.
- ⁹ *Pricking*: the holes for the lines in the writing block remain uncropped on the outer edges of ff. i–28, 33–36, 41–48, 55–60, 85–96, 138, 140–146; while ff. 160–170 have three holes towards the bottom of the page matching longitudinal lines and ff. 173–193 have three holes top and bottom of the page for the same purposes.
- ¹⁰ *Ruling*: see above.
- ¹¹ *Quire signatures and leaf signatures*: none observed.
- ¹² *Catchwords/Cues*: see table of gatherings.

Handwriting

- ¹ *Guide-letters for initials*: there is a variation in practice between the three books. In Book I about nineteen spaces — mostly of two or three lines in height — are left and guide initials found in the margin. They are linked most closely with the start of a distinction. In Book II there is less consistency. Again about nineteen spaces have been left, and one scribe has drawn three initials between ff. 141^a and 147^b. In Book III, f. 193^a, there is one space only. No more are provided for. *Notes for rubrics or illustrations*: none. *Color*: ff. ii–iii^b are exemplars of most use of color in this manuscript, some headings are in red, some red underlining, some first letters are rubricated and also some paraps. Book I has no rubrication. Book II has some red paraps and some rubrication of first letters. Book III has no rubrication.

- ² *Changes of scribe or rubricator in relation to contents and/or quiring*: there are changes of scribe for gatherings 2, 8, 10, 12, 15, 18, and 23. Gatherings 2, 10, and 18 contain the start of Books I, II, and III of Fishacre's Commentary.
- ³ *Texts of scribal signatures, mottoes, monograms etc.*: none.
- ⁴ *Titles: scripts, color etc.*: none.

Decoration and Illumination

- ¹ *Minor initials, line fillers etc.*: none.
- ² *Illuminated initials and borders*: none.
- ³ *Flourished initials*: none.
- ⁴ *Historiated initials*: none.
- ⁵ *Miniatures*: none.

Binding

- ¹ *Date and origin*: not clear. In itself, the binding seems to have some affinity with works still remaining in the library of San Domenico in Bologna.
- ² *Technique*: the measurements are between 1³/₄ to 2 inches or 4.4 to 5 cms. wider and higher than the sewn gatherings. The binding is very fragile. The front cover is completely broken away and the back cover is held in position by the top one of the present three strings. Because it is so damaged, it is possible to see the stringing quite clearly; the present stitching of the binding, itself old, is not the original, as these holes remain and can be seen in five even sets. The present stitching has three main horizontal bars, and lesser ones at the top and the bottom of the spine. These bars seem to contain the strings which extend into the covers of the binding for attaching the cover to the book. The technique is the same as that for attaching a book to wooden boards. But this manuscript does not have wooden boards as part of the cover but hand-made cardboard, which is very soft. This raises the question whether the first cover — of which the holes remain — was also made of this easily damaged cardboard. The method seems to have been that a large piece of cardboard which would wrap around the stitched gatherings was selected. The top and bottom edges were folded over to be flush with the edges of the membranes; the side edges were folded in similarly and mitred. The strings — which in a wooden cover would have been pegged in — seem to have been only stuck down to the cardboard, and then protected by the pasting down of the paper endpapers. The spine was then covered by a piece of white (now yellow) parchment being stuck to the cardboard and overlapping on the cardboard sides of the binding about ³/₄ inch or 2.2 cms. on the back and front covers with the exception of the bottom front cover, which is almost an inch or 2.4 cms. wide. The title is lettered in brown ink on the spine.
- ³ *Decoration*: none. This is a utilitarian binding.

Opening words of the second leaf

f. iii (Indices): *d<istinctio> prima vtrum possibile esset patrem ...*f. 2^a (Commentary): *ergo aliquod 3^{um} reliquorum erit huius subiectum ...*

Further Comment

This manuscript shares many characteristics of mid- to later thirteenth-century English manuscripts in the use of arabic numerals for some line numbering and for some column numbering. It also has uses of arabic numerals in the marginalia, and quite a large use of Grosseteste's indexing symbols. It is likely that this manuscript originated in England, and very probably in a Dominican priory there. This raises the question of how and when this manuscript of Fishacre's Commentary went outside England. It could have travelled to the continent as so many sermon collections did from the continent, in a friar's bag. The exchange of students across provinces for their higher studies in theology — especially for those who were seen as future regent masters in a university faculty of theology — could have meant that an Italian friar studying in Oxford had the means and the will to take a copy with him. It would not be unusual for an important Dominican priory like Bologna to have copies of works by friars of different provinces.

4 PROVENANCE

¹ *Recipient*: S. Domenico Bologna; see catalogue.

² *Later owners*: during the time of Napoleon, the library of S. Domenico was given to the Università di Bologna. The University has held it since then.

5 BIBLIOGRAPHY

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Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College 329/410 (C)

1 HEADING

- 1 *Pressmark*: mid-spine 410 (red), underneath 329 (black).
- 2 *Title*: Summa Ric. Fishacre super Sent. *Language*: Latin.
- 3 *Date and origin*: it would seem to be an English manuscript; catalogue says late thirteenth century.
- 4 *Provenance*: not certain.
- 5 *Catalogue*: James, M.R. *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Gonville and Caius College*. Vol. 1. Cambridge, 1907, 372.

2 CONTENTS

- 1 *Contents*
- 1.1 ff. 1^a–122^{va}, Book I, in top left hand corner of page *Incipit summa fratris R. de fissacre super sententias*
Inc. ⟨R⟩o xi. *O altitudo diuiciarum sapientie et scientie dei. Constat non est parum admirabilis illa sapientia quam admirans sic exclamat doctor gencium qui raptus usque ad 3^m celum ...*
Exp. ... *et ideo dico benedicta sit creatrix et gubernatrix omnium sancta et indiuidua trinitas et nunc et semper et per infinita seculorum secula. Amen, amen, amen.*
- 1.2 ff. 122^{vb} line 1 for two folios, reject folios of the start of Book II
Inc. ⟨T⟩erribiliter magnificatus es, mirabilia opera tua ...
Exp. ... *sed forte cogitas tot sunt religiosi tot.*
These two folios are unnumbered.
- 1.3 ff. 123^a–258^{va}, Book II of Fishacre's *Sentences Commentary*, no title
Inc. ⟨T⟩erribiliter magnificatus es, mirabilia opera tua et anima mea cognosce nimis. *Ps. In primo libro deus terribiliter magnus quoquo modo innotuit ubi actum est de magnitudine terribili sue essencie ...*
Exp. ... *subdita sit quasi dicat semper sublimiori obediendum non semper inferiori et ita deo pre omnibus qui uetat uenialia.*
- 1.4 ff. 259^a–352^b, Book III of Fishacre's *Sentences Commentary*, no title
Inc. ⟨P⟩rouerb 03 (sic) *Tria sunt mihi difficilia et quartum penitus ignoro: uiam aquile in celo, uiam colubri super petram, uiam nauis in medio mari et uiam uiri in adolescentula ...*
Exp. ... *absoluit eos immo potius denunciatur absolutos.*

- 1.5 ff. 352^{va}–533^{vb}, Book IV of Fishacre's *Sentences* Commentary, no title
 Inc. *⟨Q⟩vid est sapientia et quemadmodum facta sit referam et non abscondam a uobis sacramenta dei. Sapientia 6. Potest hunc sermonem dicere aut magister aut exponens magistrum . . .*
 Exp. . . . *Quecumque dixi in hiis de tuo agnoscant et tu et tui, si qua de meo et tu ignosce et tui. Amen, Amen, Amen.*
- 2 *Corrections*
- 2.1 ff. 1^a–122^{va}, Book I
 Up to f. 36^v there are very few corrections, but between 36^v and 54^v there are forty-five word and phrase corrections. From 54^v to the end of the book there are 176 of these. Corrections of text number about 100, but these also include additions of text — twenty-six of which are found before f. 30 and are provided by at least two annotators. There are about eleven more additions of text in the rest of the book. NB Ff. 1–10 are badly damaged, with many parts of the margins torn, so that corrections herein are difficult to discern.
- 2.2 ff. 122^{vb} line 1 for two folios, reject folios of the start of Book II
 There is an active corrector for this text. He uses a dark brown ink, a very fine nib and writes corrections and underlinings within the text. One word correction and two textual omissions are inserted.
- 2.3 ff. 123^a–258^{va}, Book II
 This book has quite a different pattern from Book I. Corrections of words and phrases are minimal — about eighty-nine instances in all. Corrections of text number about sixty-eight. There are none of either type from ff. 123^a–132^v. The sixty-eight textual corrections include about thirty-one additions of text: eleven are found between ff. 237–238^v and three from ff. 243^v–245. It is less easy to see how many annotators are functioning. There is a long interpolation from 183^{vb}–186^{vb}, which the annotator numbers dist. 24 c. 1.
- 2.4 ff. 259^a–352^b, Book III
 Book III is different from either of the first two books. There are far more — about 247 — corrections of words and phrases and sixty-seven corrections of text, twenty-six of which appear to be additions to the text. Those on ff. 279 and 290^a seem to be by the same hand.
- 2.5 ff. 352^{va}–533^{vb}, Book IV
 Again the balance is different in Book IV. There are over 363 corrections of words and phrases. Up to f. 451, there are 238; and 125 from ff. 451–533^{vb}, which are less evenly distributed. Corrections of text and annotations thereto are also numerous: 161, of which about fifty-seven are additions to the text. Ff. 364^v, 370^{vb}, 371^{va}, 373^{a–b}, and many others are significant. Several annotators are at work here.

3 *Marginalia*

General comment: The occurrence and style of marginalia are individual to each Book. Two kinds are found throughout, namely: the large summary-distinctions found mainly in the bottom margins but sometimes within the text, and secondly the use of alphabetical letters in capital form within either the distinctions or even the chapters within distinctions. They are found always in the center margin of the page. These do not seem to have the function of dividing the page into reference sections. It is difficult to discern their actual function, but, perhaps like the ones in the Balliol Fishacre manuscript, they had an original link with the Index. This manuscript, however, does not have an Index anywhere. Unlike most of the other Fishacre manuscripts, almost no faces nor fingers are found. But many hands are involved in the marginalia, not all of them thirteenth-century. This would indicate a steady, even continuous, use of the Commentary.

3.1 ff. 1^a–122^{va}, Book I

Book I has a greater variety of marginalia than any of the other books. The *arbores ramificatae* or large summaries in distinction form are fairly continuous.⁶ The majority are found in the bottom margin of the page. Small distinctions are only few, about seven in all. There are about five diagrams, mostly geometrical figures (also two pencil whorls). Up to f. 40 there are about fifty-three authorities, mostly Fathers and Masters, marginally annotated. In the rest of the book there are very few. These early folios also have some margin headings, and many examples of *nota*. Book I also has numerous examples of a small black axe-shaped paraph.⁷ Throughout the book there are frequent uses of arabic numerals, together with abbreviations of scholastic usage, indicating the various parts of a questio with *q^a*, *op^o*, *s^o* etc. There are hundreds of these markings (about 589). Ff. 55–66^v are atypical in having very few of these markings. There is one face on the edge of page 49^b. There are also several examples of the symbols associated with Grosseteste, but they do not have the function of his markings. They seem to be used as reference rather than content indicators. About twelve different patterns are used. There is a more extensive use of *nota*, almost equally in ink as in pencil, including at least four uses by a later annotator using grayish ink and a thick nib, whose comments are found throughout the rest of the manuscript.

3.2 ff. 122^{vb} line 1 for two folios, reject folios of the start of Book II

No marginalia are found in this small section.

⁶ ff. 3tm, 5^{v*}, 14, 15^v, 19^v, 26, 31, 34, 36, 36^v, 38, 40^v, 42, 42^v, 44^v, 47, 52^v, 55, 57tm, 59, 59^v, 60, 61tm, 61, 62^v, 63^{*}, 63, 64, 67, 70^v, 73, 76, 79, 81^{**}, 82, 85^v, 87^v, 89, 92tm, 92^{**}, 98, 101, 101^v, 104, 109^v, 111^v, 112, 114^v, 115, 117^{v**}, 120^{v**}, 121^{**} (tm indicates top margin; * indicates that the summary is within the text; ** indicates two hands in the distinction summary).

⁷ Cf. Oxford, New College E. 112.

3.3 ff. 123^a–258^{va}, Book II

Marginalia in this book are very sparse, apart from the large summaries in distinction form⁸ and the use of capital alphabetical letters within the text. There are very few marginal headings and very few arabic numerals and scholastic abbreviations — probably fewer than fifty, many of them in pencil. There are about twelve uses of Grosseteste's symbols with the same function as in Book I. But there is also a very frequent use of one shape, a vertical line topped by three dots in a triangle, found throughout the book. There are no diagrams, no black paraphs, and fewer than ten annotations of authorities. The interpolation, 184^{vb}–186^v, has nine uses of scholastic abbreviations, three authorities, and three margin headings.

3.4 ff. 259^a–352^b, Book III

This book is different again. Its emphases, apart from the large summary distinctions⁹ and use of alphabetical capital letters are found in the increased use of margin headings, about ninety-four up to f. 309, but only thirty-six in the rest of the book; in a regular use of *nota* throughout (about 103, of which ten are by the later annotator with his thick nib); and in the steady and much increased use of arabic numerals and scholastic abbreviations together. There are nearly 1000 of these (301 arabic numeral sequences and 688 scholastic abbreviations). There are about the same small number (fourteen) of the indexing symbols with the same function as in Books I and II. There are about six small marginal distinctions. Only one diagram is given and no fingers or faces. The triangular dotted vertical line is found about nine times. It is possibly another annotator.

3.5 ff. 352^{va}–355^{vb}, Book IV

Book IV is more like Book III than any other. There are about four small marginal distinctions and several of the large summaries¹⁰ in distinction form. Because of the lack of foliation it is not possible fully to identify their places. After the foliation stops there are at least eleven, several within the text. On the whole, however, for such a long book there are very few of these distinction summaries compared with the first three books. The use of arabic numerals and scholastic abbreviations together continues as in Book III. There are nearly 1700 of these (527 arabic numeral sequences and 1169 scholastic abbreviations). Unlike many of the other Fishacre manuscripts, this particular annotation continues to the very

⁸ 123^v, 127, 132, 139^{**}, 140^{v**}–141, 143, 145, 148, 148^v, 157^v, 160, 161^v, 167, 170^v–171^a, (interpolation 184^{vb}–186^v, none) 197, 207, 211^v, 213^v, 215^v, 216^v, 218^v, 221^v, 228^v, 232^v, 233^v–234^a, 235^v, 236^v, 239, 243, 245^{*}, 248, 249, 252^v, 255^v.

⁹ 260, 260^{v*}, 267, 271^b, 275^v, 277, 279, 281^v, 286, 292tm, 296^v, 305^v, 309, 309^v, 310, 315^v, 317^{v–tm}, 318^{*} (3) this is a single page column, 319^v, 320^v, 321^v (different hand), 325^{*}, 327^v, 328^v, 331^v, 333^{b*}, 334^{vb*}, 336tm, 336, 337^{vb} (different hand), 338^b (2*, 1), 338^v, 339^{b*}, 339^v table of sacraments added, 340^{b*}, 343^v, 344tm, 344, 346 (different hand), 346^{v*}, 347^{a–tm}, 347^a, 348, 350^{vb*}, 351^a, 352^{b*}.

¹⁰ 354, 362, 363^v, 369tm, 372, 374, 380^{*}, 388^v (different hand), 400, 409, 415, 423^v, 430, 443^{*}, 444^b, 445^{*}, 445^a, 446, 446^v, 448^b, 456^{v*}, and at least 11 more.

end of the book instead of tailing off. The use of marginal headings is variable, with about thirty-seven up to f. 383, twenty-seven between ff. 383 and 431, and about seventy in the remaining hundred folios. These tail off towards the end but, because of the lack of foliation, it is not possible to be very clear about this incidence. The use of *nota* is infrequent up to f. 400, with only two from the thick-nib-using annotator. From f. 400 to the end there are at least fifty-six, some in pencil and probably many more pencil ones not identified. Of these about twelve are from the above annotator. On f. 376^{vb} one pencil finger is found and on f. 390^a one face. The indexing symbols with the same function as in the other books number about twenty.

4 *Hands*

This is a very difficult part to sort out with total clarity. Much more time for close examination of letter forms and other details is needed. The lack of foliation in the latter part of this manuscript hinders the making of further suggestions about hands between f. 421^a and f. 486^v. With these provisos and also the ones previously made about variation within any scribe's own hand, the following are suggested:

Book I	ff. 1 ^a –20 ^{va} line 42	Hand 1	
	ff. 20 ^{va} line 42–44 ^{vb} line 31	Hand 2	
	ff. 44 ^{vb} line 32–55 ^a line 2	Hand 3	
	ff. 55 ^a line 2–104 ^{vb}	Hand 4	
	ff. 105 ^a –122 ^{va}	Hand 5	
	ff. 122 ^{vb} plus two unnumbered folios	Hand 6	may be two hands here
Book II	ff. 123 ^a –183 ^{vb}	Hand 7	
	ff. 183 ^{vb} –186 ^{vb}	Hand 8	
	ff. 187 ^a –194 ^{vb}	Hand 7	
	ff. 195 ^a –238 ^{va}	Hand 9	
	ff. 238 ^{va} –251 ^a line 30	Hand 10	
	ff. 251 ^a line 31–258 ^{va}	Hand 9	
Book III	ff. 259 ^a –266 ^a line 6	Hand 11	
	ff. 266 ^a line 7–352 ^b	Hand 12	
Book IV	ff. 352 ^{va} –358 ^{vb} ?	Hand 13	
	ff. 359 ^a –391 ^{a+b} line 5	Hand 14	unclear, several hands?
	ff. 391 ^{a+b} line 6–421 ^a or 427	Hand 15	unclear, several hands?
	f. 487, gathering 43–end	Hand 16	

3 PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

Make-up of the MS

- ¹ *Number of leaves, including all end or added leaves*: this is difficult to ascertain, as the manuscript does not have modern foliation. A physical count yields 535 folios. There are no end leaves. Also bound in are two severely cropped folios between 258^v and 259. This would give an initial total of 537 folios. The top right hand corner of the front pastedown has the following in a later date (possibly an 18th-century hand): *Floruit hic auctor circa annum salut. 1240. Regnante Hen.3. vid. Bal. p. 295*. In the center of the pastedown are the college arms and beneath it *Coll. Gonv. et Caius 410* (in mauve-red ink) and beneath it 329 (in faded black ink). The last folio is either missing or is the pastedown on the back board of the binding.
- ² *Foliation, including all early and mistaken foliation*: this is difficult to sort out. As far as possible, the facts are that the original medieval numbering exists up to f. 462, but two folios between ff. 122 and 123 were not numbered (presumably because they were rejects). From f. 462 there are some modern pencil foliations, but they are not sequential. The following folios are numbered in pencil: 463, 475–476, 485–490, 492, 494–496, 511, 523, and 533.
- ³ *Materials*: the quality of the parchment is good in comparison with several other Fishacre manuscripts. Worm holes are found between ff. 1 and 9. There are about forty large holes, several of them from fall-out of scar tissue; there are about one hundred and ten small holes with multiple small holes on thin patches in about ten folios. There are also about six tears, twenty-three slits, and thirteen repairs. Poor edges are found (apart from the deliberately damaged ff. 1–10) on about thirty-five folios, some of them poor corners. The pastedowns are membrane. *Ink*: the first two books are in dense black or mainly black ink, sometimes there is a brown tint. Book III starts with brown ink and correctors' markings in black. Book IV is mainly black, but not densely so — there are varying shades of brown in it. Ff. 425–447 are brown. Some of the annotations are in brown ink.
- ⁴ *Overall dimensions of the leaves*: measurements were taken on a one-in-twenty-five sample and proved quite consistent. The width varied from about 8¹/₈ to 8¹/₃ inches or 20.2 to 21 cms. This manuscript seems unusual in that a mid-folio width measurement was about 0.5 cm. wider than the top or bottom of the folio. The length of the folios was more even, varying from 11¹/₄ to 11¹/₂ inches or 28.5 to 29 cms.
- ⁵ *Written space*: there are two columns on each folio. All writing is *below top line*. The size of the writing block has a varying width from 2¹/₄ to 2¹/₃ inches or 5.5 to 5.9 cms. Often the width of the two columns is not equal, the one on the outer edge of the page being the wider of the two. The length of the writing block has a varying width from 7¹/₂ to 7²/₃ inches or 18.8 to 19.2 cms. *Ruled space*: the ruled

space has a number of minute variations focussed mainly on the pattern of the vertical lines. In the first three books the page pattern has two extra vertical lines drawn on the outer side of each column to give an extra narrow column. This is used in this manuscript for much of the scholastic annotation of arabic numerals and abbreviations. A further variation is the addition of an extra vertical line to divide the central narrow column. In this manuscript this is useful for separating the alphabetical letters. A further elaboration of the pattern is the addition of double lines framing the page and an extra set of horizontal parallel lines in the bottom margin. Book IV, however, has a much simpler pattern, most often four vertical lines and two horizontal lines giving the writing block. *Ruled lines*: all these lines are drawn in lead. *Numbers of lines in columns*: on a one-in-twenty-five sample, the line numbers include 43, 44, 48, 49, 51, 52, and 58 to a column, the most common number being 51 and the least common 58. Several of the bottom margins have extra ruled lines for annotations or distinction summaries.

- ⁶ *Numbering of columns*: the numbering systems in the manuscript are sophisticated but not consistent throughout the manuscript. Books I and II have the total pattern, namely on the verso side of the opening is the number of the book and the arabic numbering of the two columns, while on the recto side of the opening are found the arabic numeral of the folio, the arabic numeral of the distinction, and the arabic numbering of the two columns. The arabic numbering of the columns is astray from f. 107, when the scribe numbered f. 107^a 425 and its neighbor f. 107^b 456, a jump of thirty. At the start of Book II, because the last numbered column in Book I is f. 122^{va}, column number 417, the scribe continues the numbering from that point, but it is now only twenty-nine ahead. *Numbering of lines*: within each page is the numbering of the lines in fives. But the whole number is not written, the zero being replaced with a point and intervening 5 written without its *tens* number. Sometimes a 5 has dots on either side, or one dot or no dot. There is, however, one exception in the line-numbering on fives in Book II between ff. 185 and 186^v, the interpolation.

For Book III arabic numbering is found for the book, the folio and the distinctions, but neither for the columns nor for the lines. In Book IV the numbering of the distinctions continues to the end, but the numbering of the folios ends at f. 462. The absence of any numbering system in the last part of Book IV is a handicap to its use. A few pencil arabic folio numerals have been inserted, probably by M.R. James, when he did the description of the manuscript for the Catalogue, in order to identify the start of a gathering.

⁷ *Quiring/Collation*

number	start	string	end	cue	notes
1 (12)	1	6 ^v –7	12 ^v	cue very cropped	
2 (12)	13	18 ^v –19	24 ^v	<i>essenciam</i>	

3 (12)	25	30 ^v –31	36 ^v	<i>sed illo eius</i> (cropped)	
4 (12)	37	42 ^v –43	48 ^v	cue cropped	
5 (8)	49	52 ^v –53	56 ^v	<i>de purissimis</i>	
6 (12)	57	62 ^v –63	68 ^v	<i>non dicit</i>	See NB below
7 (12)	69	74 ^v –75	80 ^v	<i>facientes personas</i>	
8 (12)	81	86 ^v –87	92 ^v	<i>hec ut scilicet</i> <i>sapient</i>	
9 (12)	93	98 ^v –99	104 ^v	<i>nec forte exigit</i>	
10 (12)	105	110 ^v –111	116 ^v	<i>vnde tantum hec duo</i>	
11 (8)	117	120 ^v –121	122+2	none	reject folios
12 (12)	123	128 ^v –129	134 ^v	none	
13 (12)	135	140 ^v –141	146 ^v	cue cropped	
14 (12)	147	152 ^v –153	158 ^v	none	
15 (12)	159	164 ^v –165	170 ^v	none	
16 (12)	171	176 ^v –177	182 ^v	cue cropped	
17 (12)	183	188 ^v –189*	194	cue cropped	
18 (12)	195	200 ^v –201	206 ^v	<i>grauamen meum</i>	
19 (12)	207	212 ^v –213	218 ^v	none	
20 (12)	219	224 ^v –225	230 ^v	<i>ecce gratuita</i> <i>omnino ablata</i>	
21 (10)	231	235 ^v –236	240 ^v	<i>dicunt quod queritur</i> <i>non absoluunt</i>	
22 (12)	241	246 ^v –247	252 ^v	<i>secundum quos</i> <i>quilibet actus</i>	cue disagrees with f. 253
23 (6)	253	256 ^v –257	258 ^v		2 folios cut out
24 (12)	259	264 ^v –265	270 ^v	<i>se habenti peccatum</i> <i>et hoc vel originale</i>	
25 (12)	271	276 ^v –277	282 ^v	<i>questio. Item queritur</i> <i>an hec sit uera</i> <i>deus factus est . . .</i>	f. 278 ^a : “Inc. 4 pec.”
26 (12)	283	288 ^v –289	294 ^v	<i>Ita quod Iohannes ei</i> <i>fuerit pater spir. . .</i>	f. 289 ^{vb} : “6 pecia”
27 (12)	295	300 ^v –301	306 ^v	<i>inferioris cum</i> <i>carne quia unibil. . .</i>	f. 295 ^{vb} : “7 pecia”
28 (12)	307	312 ^v –313	318 ^v	<i>hec diuidencia</i> <i>mortale</i>	f. 312 ^{vb} : cropped note; pecia?
29 (12)	319	324 ^v –325	330 ^v	<i>accidens. Ad</i> <i>3^m iam patet</i>	
30 (12)	331	336 ^v –337	342 ^v	<i>cum augustino</i> <i>et Ieronimo</i> <i>primis rationibus</i>	

31 (12)	343	348 ^v –349	354 ^v	<i>et uir prudens non aborebit</i>	
32 (12)	355	360 ^v –361	366 ^v	<i>trinitatis nomine</i>	
33 (12)	367	372 ^v –373	378 ^v	<i>vel mulierum paruulos</i>	
34 (12)	379	384 ^v –385	390 ^v	<i>glorificati corporis subtilitatem</i>	
35 (12)	391	396 ^v –397	402 ^v	cue badly rubbed	
36 (14)	403	409 ^v –410	416 ^v	<i>igitur guloso pocius</i>	
37 (10)	417	421 ^v –422	426 ^v	<i>hic dolor</i>	
38 (12)	427	432 ^v –433	438 ^v	<i>ipsa scientia et per hoc</i>	
39 (12)	439	444 ^v –445	450 ^v	<i>proximi quociens</i>	See NB below
40 (12)	451	456 ^v –457	462 ^v	cue cropped	foliation ends
41 (12)	463 p	string seen		<i>consensu vouerunt</i>	
42 (12)	475 p	string seen		<i>gaudium</i>	
43 (12)	487 p	string seen		<i>de condicionis impedimento sciendum</i>	
44 (12)	499 p	string seen		<i>tercia est dicencium animam</i>	
45 (12)	511 p	string seen		<i>arbitror sic inebriari</i>	
46 (11)	523 p	string seen			

NB On f. 63 in the bottom margin is a small cross which is a binding cue.

* indicates that the string could not be seen; *p* means that the folio number has been added in pencil.

Throughout the manuscript M.R. James has written in pencil in the bottom right hand corner the number of the gathering, but has repeated the number 38 for gathering 39.

In this manuscript there are three *pecia* marks with on average five to six folios between each identification. Observation and guesswork have revealed no more. It is difficult to know how to interpret these markings.

- ⁸ *Arrangement of sheets (hair and flesh sides)*: this seems to be standard throughout.
- ⁹ *Pricking*: this is found on many of the folio edges. On most folios the holes for the vertical lines of the page layout remain.
- ¹⁰ *Ruling*: see above.
- ¹¹ *Quire signatures and leaf signatures*: there are no quire signatures. Only one gathering, number 39, has marking a–m for leaf signatures.
- ¹² *Catchwords/Cues*: see table of gatherings.

Handwriting

- ¹ *Guide-letters for initials*: in Book I there are about eighteen of these, in Book II only about four, in Book III about seventeen, and in Book IV about two. In Book I

there are about eight spaces for letters, in Book III about three, and in Books II and IV none. *Notes for rubrics or illustrations*: no notes as such. There are a few places where letters and some numbers have been rubricated sparsely, for example on ff. 15^{vb}, 21^b, 24–24^v the distinction numbers and book numbers are rubricated. On ff. 93^v–98 there are four red titles in the edge of the top margin as well as chapter numbers, question numbers, and distinction numbers in red.

- ² *Changes of scribe in relation to contents and/or quiring*: it would seem that there is a change of scribe at the start of gatherings 8, 10, 17, 18, 24, and 43. There is also a change of scribe at the start of Books II and III, but it could be that the same scribe ends Book III and starts Book IV.
- ³ *Texts of scribal signatures, mottoes, monograms etc.*: none observed.
- ⁴ *Titles: scripts, color etc.*: a few titles, including one on f. 1^a, *Incipit summa fratris R. de fissacre super sententias*.

Decoration and Illumination

- ¹ *Minor initials*: there are about eighteen, all done in black ink. *Line fillers*: two only, one a third of a line on f. 259^a and one on the verso side of the last folio in the manuscript. *Paraphs*: in Book II there are a series of paraphs between f. 127 and 192^a, all by the same hand and indicating, on the whole, the start of a distinction. These have some minute flourishing on their base. Book IV also has some distinctive paraphs with the same function, but by a different hand. They are fewer in number, some between ff. 362^b and 363^{vb} and others at the start of distinctions 44, 45, 47, and 50.
- ² *Illuminated initials and borders*: none.
- ³ *Flourished initials*: there are three between ff. 234^{va} and 236^a, but they are drawn in black and the flourishing is also in black ink. In so far as it is possible to discern they seem to fit the criteria for English flourishing as established by Sonia Patterson.
- ⁴ *Historiated initials*: none.
- ⁵ *Miniatures*: none.

Binding

- ¹ *Date and origin*: it looks as if the binding meets the criteria established by Pollard¹¹ of late thirteenth-century English binding practices.
- ² *Technique*: the measurements are 11⁹/₁₆ to 11¹³/₁₆ inches or 29.2 to 29.7 cms. in length by 8¹/₈ to 8⁵/₈ inches or 20.5 to 21.7 cms. in width by 4 inches or 9.7 cms. in depth. The binding seems to be the original one. The covers are thick bevel-edged

¹¹ H. Graham Pollard, "The Construction of English Twelfth Century Bindings," *The Library* (5th Series) 17 (1962), 1–22; idem, "Describing Medieval Bindings," in *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to R. W. Hunt*, eds. J.J.G. Alexander and Margaret T. Gibson (Oxford, 1976), 50–65.

boards covered with once white whittawed leather, now a grimy pale-brown which is flaking. The gatherings are sewn on to four double leather thongs. The fixture of these to the boards comes from the outside and through the boards, probably at a sloping angle through the bevel and into grooves on the inside of the board, where it feels as if it is fixed by a small wooden dowel. The leather on the spine is very badly worn, so that between the thongs, small rectangles of used parchment can be seen. The binding itself is tight. Wear and tear has separated the back cover from the manuscript, while on the front cover the leather thongs have broken and the attachment is solely the stringing of the sewn binding. The manuscript did once have two fastenings of leather thongs fitted on the front being fixed to metal studs on the back. One hole for these studs is empty, while the top one has some metal still in place and damaging the parchment of the last folios. There are also holes at the top of the binding, consonant with the manuscript having at one time been chained. On the cover is the title, *Summa Ric. Fishacre super Sent.* This is partially obliterated by wear and tear.

- ³ *Decoration*: none. On the front outside cover is written in black ink, *Summa Ric. Fishacre sup Sent*

Opening words of the second leaf

sed in infinitum maior est uirtus creatoris . . .

Further Comment

This manuscript is a utilitarian scholastic manuscript. From its extensive use of arabic numerals, both in the organization of the manuscript and its use later, it is very likely an English manuscript. It is probably made in Oxford, as its binding is similar to other manuscripts made there. In one section of Book III there is evidence of pecia use. It would seem that the pecia are each about five or six folios of the present manuscript. Whether this is indication of the activity of a university stationer, or is a Paris practice adopted by the scribes, Dominican or lay, of the library of Blackfriars is at present supposition. The manuscript could be a Dominican product, but there is no observable evidence, except the initial ascription to Fishacre, of Dominican interest. There is, however, the addition in the marginalia annotations of material from the work of Albertus Magnus.¹²

4 PROVENANCE

The extent of the medieval manuscript holdings of Gonville and Caius is uncertain, not because of lack of manuscripts, but because of inadequate information about their provenance. Part of the problem is that the earliest available catalogue

¹² See chapter III, "The *Sentences* Commentary" above.

is that made in 1600 by Thomas James. A parchment sheet belonging to Gonville Hall, with titles of books borrowed and some names of borrowers from the early fifteenth century, has been discovered since the work of Dr. M.R. James, but this document has not yet been edited.

According to Philip Gaskell¹³ Gonville Hall together with Peterhouse and Pembroke were the three Cambridge colleges which retained much of their medieval manuscript and early printed book holdings. According to M.R. James,¹⁴ our manuscript was in the Thomas James Catalogue with a number of I.30. Inside the present manuscript is a note in a sixteenth-century hand,¹⁵ indicating that Bale had noted its presence. It may be inferred, then, that MS 329/410 belonged to Gonville Hall sometime after 1348 — the date of the foundation of the Hall by Gonville.

This manuscript looks as if it was made in Oxford, as it shares several characteristics in binding with identified Oxford manuscripts. As the researches of Ker have shown, scholastic manuscripts were often bought and sold within the university ambience of Oxford and Cambridge. As an early theological text by an English Dominican theologian from the Schools MS 329/410 would find a natural home in a college or hall some of whose members belonged to the faculty of theology at either of the two English universities.

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¹³ Philip Gaskell, *Trinity College Library: The First 150 Years. The Sandars Lectures 1978–9* (Cambridge, 1980), 3–4.

¹⁴ M.R. James, I:ix, xxi.

¹⁵ M.R. James, I:372.

Cambridge, Trinity College O. 1. 30 (T)

1 HEADING

- ¹ *Pressmark*: O. 1. 30.
- ² *Summary of contents*: three separate items, one derived from Richard Fishacre's *Sentences* Commentary, one from a liturgical source, and the last from pastoralia/spirituality. *Language*: Latin.
- ³ *Date and origin*: judging by the hands, the Fishacre treatise is later than the other two items.
- ⁴ *Provenance*: initially Fountains Abbey was the place where these originated. The second two parts have a monastic rather than a parochial or schools flavor.
- ⁵ *Catalogue*: James, M.R. *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge. A Descriptive Catalogue*. Vol. 3. Cambridge, 1907, 34–35.

2 CONTENTS

- ¹ *Contents*
- ^{1.1} ff. 1–29, extracts from Fishacre's *Sentences* Commentary,¹⁶ Books I and II
This is a pastoral treatise from Fountains Abbey, and possibly edited by a Cistercian monk there. Title in red: *Diuisio scientiarum: quod accidentibus (sic) ad theologiam oportet alias precognoscere*.
Inc. *O altitudo diuiciarum sapientie et sciencie dei. Ro xi. Constat non est parum admirabilis illa sapientia quam admirans sic exclamat doctor gentium ...*
Exp. ... *penitet ens in corpore. Sed post instans separacionis non est penitencia forte. Plures hic omitto rationes propter prolixitatem. Explicit de secundo libro*.
There are three missing folios at this point. Their excision has damaged f. 29.
- ^{1.2} ff. 30–36^v, an incomplete untitled miscellaneous treatise on liturgical matters
This treatise includes the dedication of a church, vestments, aspects of the Divine Office etc.
Inc. *⟨D⟩e ecclesiasticis ut tractarem officiis eorumdemque misticam dulcedinem uobis exponerem ...*
Exp. ... *⟨H⟩ore autem tertie officium celebratur quia in hac hora spiritus sanctus apostolos inflammauit. In vi^{ta} celebratur officium in ...* Text ends.
There is a missing folio here; its cut edge is stuck down and sewn into f. 36.
- ^{1.3} f. 37, start of a sermon or sermon material
The text of this is exactly the same as the start of f. 38. It would seem that, following the custom of the time, the reject folio was bound in before the correct text. No title.

¹⁶ This text has been edited by Long in *AFP* 60 (1990), 5–143.

Inc. *⟨A⟩ppropinquans Iesus in iherosolimam id est ad uisionem superne pacis id est ad passionem et resurrectionem et ascensionem . . .*

Exp. . . . *id est sub illi ipsa lege.*

f. 37^v is blank.

^{1.4} ff. 38–46^v, no title

These items are sermons or sermon material.

Inc. *Appropinquans Iesus ierosolimam id est ad id est ad (sic) uisionem pacis id est ad passionem, resurrectionem et ascensionem . . .*

Exp. . . . *Per seruum qui missus est intelligimus predicatoros inuitatentes nos ad cenam. Per horam cene intelligimus* (ends abruptly).

f. 47 is blank and f. 47^v was the original pastedown.

² *Corrections*

There are none except in the margin of f. 33^v in the text on the Divine Office where there is an insertion of a phrase.

³ *Marginalia*

None, except for one reference in the Fishacre treatise on f. 10.

⁴ *Hands*

On the whole there is a scribe for each main section. The following is suggested:

Extracts of Book I and II	ff. 1–29	Hand 1	the first few folios look different from the later ones, but the style is similar
Treatise	ff. 30–35 ^v	Hand 2	
Sermon material	f. 36	Hand 3	
Sermon material	ff. 37–46 ^v	Hand 4	

³ PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

Make-up of the MS

¹ *Number of leaves, including all end or added leaves:* i, ii, iii, iv, 1–47, v. Inside on the present front pastedown is written in black-brown ink *C.67*, and underneath is *No. 199*, and beneath that *O.1.30*, beside it in brown ink but crossed through is *O.3.32*. On the original pastedown *C.67* is written and beside it is pasted a bookplate with the College arms. At the bottom of f. 1 in red is written *Liber S. Marie de fontibus*.

² *Foliation, including all early and mistaken foliation:* ff. 1–47.

³ *Materials:* ff. i–iii and v are modern paper; f. iv is older paper (James indicates it was sixteenth-century) with music written on staves on both recto and verso sides. This f. iv was the front pastedown. The other folios are all parchment. The edges

are rough, but the quality is good overall. In forty-seven folios there are about one hole and two slits, together with slits from over-zealous cutting between ff. 29^v to 30. *Ink*: all brown in tone.

- 4 *Overall dimensions of the leaves*: two sample measurements were taken and yielded a similar measurement of 5½ inches or 14.2 cms. in width by 7¾ inches or 19.5 cms. in length.
- 5 *Written space*: all the text is written in one column to a page only. The Fishacre text is written *below top line*, the other text is *above top line*. The one-page writing block on two samples is 4⅜ inches or 11 cms. in width, by 6⅛ to 6¾ inches or 15.5 to 16 cms. in length. *Ruled space*: the writing block is defined by four lines, two vertical and two horizontal. In the Fishacre text, however, the outside margin is very wide, and near the edge of the page another vertical line is drawn. *Numbers of lines in columns*: on a one-in-ten folio sample the numbers of lines vary between 30, 32, 36, and 40.
- 6 *Numbering of columns and lines*: none.

7 *Quiring/Collation*

number	start	string	end	cue	notes
1 (12)	1	6 ^v –7	12 ^v	none	
2 (12)	13	18 ^v –19	24 ^v	none	
3 (5)	25	28 ^v –29	29 ^v		See section 2.1.1 above
4 (8)	30	33 ^v –34	37 ^v		
5 (10)	38		47 ^v		string cannot be seen — binding too tight

- 8 *Arrangement of sheets (hair and flesh sides)*: this is standard.
- 9 *Pricking*: pricking is found for horizontal writing lines from ff. 30 to 47.
- 10 *Ruling*: see above for patterns; all is done in lead.
- 11 *Quire signatures and leaf signatures*: none.
- 12 *Catchwords/Cues*: none.

Handwriting

- 1 *Guide-letters for initials*: there are at least twenty-two of these in the Fishacre treatise and fifty-two spaces for initials. In the treatise on the Divine Office there is one guide-letter and three spaces. In the sermon material there are three initials and about twenty-three spaces. *Notes for rubrics*: none. Rubrication of titles only.
- 2 *Changes of scribe or rubricator in relation to contents and/or quiring*: there are changes of scribes at gatherings 1, 4, and 5.
- 3 *Texts of scribal signatures, mottoes, monograms etc.*: none.
- 4 *Titles: scripts, color etc.*: each section in the Fishacre treatise is headed with a title in red.

Decoration and Illumination

- ¹ *Minor initials*: there are six initials, painted green, and seven initials, painted red, in the Fishacre selection. These alternate, apart from one repetition of red. These are monastic colors rather than scholastic colors. There are many spaces for other initials, which were not inserted. *Line fillers*: none.
- ² *Illuminated initials and borders*: none.
- ³ *Flourished initials*: none.
- ⁴ *Historiated initials*: none.
- ⁵ *Miniatures*: none.

Binding

- ¹ *Date and origin*: from the front pastedown, which is identified as sixteenth-century music notation, binding is possibly at that time.
- ² *Technique*: the cardboard covers are about $8\frac{1}{8}$ inches or 20.3 cms. in length by $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches or 15.7 cms. in width by $\frac{5}{8}$ inches or 1.6 cms. in depth. The folios are stitched onto six strings. How they are fixed to the card is not seen. The spine is repaired with thick cream-colored parchment. At the top is stuck a small label with a decorated *O*; halfway down is another small label with *I*, and at the base a third small label with *30*. The stitching is very tight and makes opening the manuscript difficult.
- ³ *Decoration*: none.

Opening words of the second leaf

[ple]ne priuacio perfectionis. Vnde Seneca ...

Further Comment

As on the bottom of f. 1 there is a rubricated note indicating ownership by the Cistercian Abbey of St. Mary of Fountains, it is possible that the manuscript was made there. In the later part of the thirteenth-century Cistercian monks could be sent, not without some monastic opposition, to study theology at Oxford. Rewley Abbey was founded there in the 1290's for this purpose. It was much less likely that an English Cistercian would be sent to study in Paris. On the whole decoration was not a Cistercian practice.

4 PROVENANCE

The Fishacre section of the manuscript, and possibly the whole, came initially from Fountains Abbey, and was probably removed from there during the Reformation.

It seems that at least two separate treatises have been bound together, as the hands and page layout of the Fishacre treatise are later (probably late thirteenth-century) than those of the *De ecclesiasticis officiis* or of the sermons/sermon material which, being *above top line*, is probably early to mid-thirteenth-century. As the binding is a later probably sixteenth-century happening, it is feasible that two/three small treatises were bound together. As a theory, it is possible to suggest that a monk studying theology at Oxford made excerpts from Fishacre's *Sentences Commentary* for the use of himself and his community.

Because Trinity College was virtually a new foundation in the sixteenth century, it had no medieval holdings as such, although some of the manuscripts of Michaelhouse did come into its possession. According to James, whose introduction to volume 3 of his Catalogue gives an interesting account of the gifts of manuscripts to the Library, the old number of this manuscript was 199. It was one of the collection of over four hundred manuscripts gathered first by Dr. Thomas Gale, Dean of York from 1697 to his death in 1702, and augmented by his son, Roger Gale, who gave this rich collection to Trinity College in 1738.¹⁷

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¹⁷ See James, v–viii.

Chicago, University 156 (Cg)

1 HEADING

- ¹ *Pressmark*: Chicago 156.
- ² *Summary of contents*: distinctions 3 to 12 and 18 to 34 of Book III of Richard Fishacre's *Commentary on the Sentences* and most of Book IV. *Language*: Latin.
- ³ *Date and origin*: probably English, late thirteenth- to early fourteenth-century.
- ⁴ *Provenance*: known only from the eighteenth-century bookplate of E. Browne.
- ⁵ *Catalogue*: Ricci, Seymour de, and W.J. Wilson. *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*. Vol. 1. New York, 1935, 572, no. 156.

2 CONTENTS

¹ *Contents*

General comment: The lacunae in the contents of Book III reflect the omission, for whatever reason, of some gatherings¹⁸ of the original manuscript. The present manuscript omits distinctions 1 to 2, 13 to 17, 35 to 40 of Book III and distinctions 28 to 29, 34 to 37 of Book IV. Moreover, the copyist of this manuscript not only omitted most of Fishacre's literal glosses on the Lombard's text but also omitted most of the distinctions in summary form, known as the *arbores ramificatae*. The latter are perhaps the most distinctive part of the content of Fishacre's work, and are found in most of the earliest manuscripts of Fishacre's *Sentences Commentary*. The copyist, who is perhaps also an editor, did retain some distinctions giving some content within the distinctions as opposed to summaries of the whole distinction.¹⁹

^{1.1} f. 1

Inc. *Igitur et Christus utroque modo fuit in lumbis abrahe nec aliter leui. Ergo eodem modo inerat Christus et leui. Sed inesse fuit causa decimationis in eo. Ergo equaliter et Christus et leui decimati sunt . . .*

This is the end of Book III, distinction 3 of Fishacre's *Sentences Commentary*.

^{1.2} f. 2–45^b, Book III dist. 4 – dist. 34 (passim)

Inc. *Cum uero incarnatio uerbi, d<istinctio> 4^a . . .*

Exp. . . . *magistri uero communiter ponunt 6.*

¹⁸ Gatherings 1–11, second half of gathering 5. Between ff. 168 and 169 three pages have been cut out.

¹⁹ For example, f. 43^v, the acts of the virtue of temperance; f. 45, the different gifts; f. 73, a comparison of the sacraments; f. 97^v, the kinds of satisfaction and a consideration of almsgiving as part of satisfaction.

- ^{1.3} f. 46–171 [172],²⁰ Book IV, Fishacre's *Sentences* Commentary
 Inc. *Sap 6. Quid est sapientia quemadmodum facta sit referam et non abscondam a vobis sacramenta Dei. Potest hunc sermonem dicere aut magister aut exponens magistrum . . .*
 Exp. . . . *Et tunc sicut tria sunt in cera ad ignem posita, scilicet calefieri, liquefieri, et fluere, et quodlibet concomitatur alterum sicut sequens ipsum, sic tria sunt: cognitio vel dilectio et affectio vel fruitio. Explicit.*
- ^{1.4} ff. 171^v [172^v]-172 [173]
 Blank except for some *probationes peninae*.
- ^{1.5} ff. 172^v [173^v]-173^v [174^v], what seem to be sermon notes
 Inc. *Quisquis sub spe confessionis humanos adhuc honores amittere timet, iste indulgentiam quam ficta postulat humilitate a Deo adipisci non valet. Non est enim vera confessio quam comitatur mentis elatio . . .*
 Exp. . . . *Gratia Dei plenus est qui nihil de sua virtute sed totum de Dei gratia presumit.*
- ² *Corrections*
- ^{2.1} ff. 1–45^b, partial Book III
 In Book III there are approximately 171 corrections and twenty-one *nota*.
- ^{2.2} ff. 46–171 [172], Book IV
 There is a significant increase of corrections to about 718, but only twenty-four *nota*. The increase, however, is not even as there are very few between ff. 95 and 148^v, and from f. 157 to the end.
- ³ *Marginalia*
- ^{3.1} ff. 1–45^b, partial Book III
 Between ff. 1 and 9 there are only six examples of marginalia, while from ff. 9^v to 18 there are none, but from ff. 18^v to 45 there are over 100. Some are questions, some are emphases, some of these are rubricated. Their functions are varied: indicating *exempla*; or marginal titles of content within the text; or scholastic terminology indicating parts of the argument. Throughout this partial Book III there are few corrections in a later hand, but between ff. 36 and 38 there are major additions of text. A note at the bottom of f. 45^v, the end of Book III, reads: *Hic defficiunt 6 distinctiones fere.*
- ^{3.2} ff. 46–170^{vb}, Book IV
 There are about 200 items of marginalia in Book IV. One large portion of text towards the end, ff. 145^v–158, has none, as do a few smaller portions: 52^v–54^v, 61^v–63^{va}, 66^v–69^v, 125–127^v. The functions of the marginalia seem similar to

²⁰ Since there is a mistake in foliation from f. 90 onward, the folio number recorded will be given as marked in the manuscript and the true folio number, always one number higher, will be given in square brackets. See Physical Description, section 3.2 (below).

those of Book III. Herein, however, there are more side markings in the margins, about fourteen in all. The rubricated marginalia, about seventeen instances, are found mostly from f. 161 to the end of the text. On f. 83^v and f. 85 there are marginal notes in a later hand indicating omissions; while on f. 136^v there is a note indicating the omission of two complete distinctions from the text.

4 *Hands*

Allowing for variations in ink and nibs there seems to be one main hand in this manuscript, the writer of the Fishacre text. A later more cursive hand has written a few folios towards the end.

partial Book III and IV	ff. 1–171	Hand 1
miscellaneous notes	ff. 172 ^v –174 ^v	Hand 2

3 PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

Make-up of the MS

- ¹ *Number of leaves, including all end or added leaves:* 1–174. There are no beginning or end leaves that do not contain writing. There is some water damage at the beginning and end of the manuscript.
- ² *Foliation, including all early and mistaken foliation:* the foliation, the work of a later scribe, is not accurate. Every fifth folio is marked. One folio is not counted between ff. 90 and 95, so that what is marked as f. 95 is in fact f. 96; that is, from f. 96 onwards the true number is one more than the written number.
- ³ *Materials:* the writing material is membrane. *Ink:* the color varies from brown to dark brown to black.
- ⁴ *Overall dimensions of the leaves:* although there is a minor variation in the size of the leaves, the approximate measurements are 9½ inches or 24 cms. in length by 6¾ inches or 17 cms. in width.
- ⁵ *Written space:* the manuscript is written in a two column to a page format. All writing is *below top line*. The writing block has an average width of almost 2 inches or 5 cms. while the length of the writing block varies between 6⅝ and 6⅞ inches or 16.8 and 17.5 cms. *Ruled space:* three double vertical lines divide the page into two columns of text with margins on either side and a center divider. There are as many as three parallel lines at the bottom of the page under the last line of writing and generally two at the top. Beginning with f. 26, the number of lines at the bottom is reduced to two or sometimes one and sometimes none at all. *Ruled lines:* the lines are finely drawn in lead. *Numbers of lines in columns:* there are 48 lines to each column.
- ⁶ *Numbering of columns and lines:* there is no numbering of either columns or lines.

⁷ *Quiring/Collation*

Physically the codex is made up of eighteen gatherings of five folded sheets of membrane, all but two of the gatherings containing ten folia. Arabic numerals in the center of the bottom margin identify the beginning of each quire. According to these indications, the manuscript in its present form starts only with gathering 12 and 13 followed by gatherings 15 to 29. Original gatherings 1 to 11 and gathering 14 are omitted from the manuscript in its present state. Hence the partial nature of Book III of Fishacre's *Sentences* Commentary in this codex. It is possible that parts of Book II, perhaps even of Book I of his Commentary, were contained in the original manuscript.

number	start	string	end	cue	notes
1 (10)	1	5 ^v –6	10 ^v	<i>habita a uerbo</i>	
2 (10)	11	15 ^v –16	20 ^v	<i>persone vniri</i>	missing gathering no. 13 in calce 11
3 (10)	21	25 ^v –26	30 ^v	none	no. 15 in calce 21
4 (10)	31	35 ^v –36	40 ^v	none	no. 16 in calce 31
5 (5)	41	45 ^v	45 ^v	none	5 folios cut out See NB below
6 (10)	46	50 ^v –51	55 ^v	none	
7 (10)	56	60 ^v –61	65 ^v	<i>tam mili</i>	no. 18 in calce 56
8 (10)	66	70 ^v –71	75 ^v	<i>vel lanceatur</i>	no. 19 in calce 66
9 (10)	76	80 ^v –81	85 ^v	<i>ibi videtur</i>	no. 20 in calce 76
10 (10)	86	90 ^v –91	95 ^v	<i>septuag.</i>	foliation mistake no. 21 in calce 86
11 (10)	95	99 ^v –100	104 ^v	none	no. 22 in calce 95
12 (10)	105	109 ^v –110	114 ^v	none	no. 23 in calce 105
13 (10)	115	119 ^v –120	124 ^v	none	no. 24 in calce 115
14 (10)	125	129 ^v –130	134 ^v	none	no. 25 in calce 125
15 (10)	135	139 ^v –140	144 ^v	<i>culpa</i>	no. 26 in calce 135
16 (10)	145	149 ^v –150	154 ^v	<i>puto ad</i>	no. 27 in calce 145
17 (10)	155	159 ^v –160	164 ^v	<i>amore spirituali</i>	no. 28 in calce 155
18 (9)	165	169 ^v –170	173 ^v		

NB From the latin note *Hic defficiunt 6 distinctiones fere*, it would seem that the excision was an earlier event when the Commentary was actually in use rather than a later vandalism.

⁸ *Arrangement of sheets (hair and flesh sides)*: this seems to be standard throughout.

⁹ *Pricking*: this is visible only from ff. 21 to 28. The rest seem to have been removed by cropping. The holes, top and bottom, for the vertical lines are still in place for all but thirty folios towards the end of the manuscript where cropping seems to have been more radical.

- 10 *Ruling*: see above.
- 11 *Quire signatures and leaf signatures*: apart from the quire numbers noted in the table above there are none observed.
- 12 *Catchwords/Cues*: see table of gatherings.

Handwriting

- 1 *Guide-letters for initials*: none. *Notes for rubrics or illustrations*: none.
- 2 *Changes of scribe or rubricator in relation to contents and/or quiring*: only at ff. 172^v [173^v]-174^v [175^v] where the sermon notes are found.
- 3 *Texts of scribal signatures, mottoes, monograms etc.*: none.
- 4 *Titles: scripts, color etc.*: none.

Decoration and Illumination

- 1 *Minor initials, line fillers etc.*: none.
- 2 *Illuminated initials and borders*: none.
- 3 *Flourished initials*: there are three found on ff. 48^b (the letter *S*), 107^{va} [108^{va}] (the letter *Q*), and 125^a [126^a] (the letter *D*). The last of these has ascending and descending decorations which extend for nearly the entire height of the page. The colors are blue and red.
- 4 *Historiated initials*: there is a handsome historiated capital *S* beginning Book IV on f. 46^a.
- 5 *Miniatures*: none.

Binding

- 1 *Date and origin*: the current binding is modern. The book was rebound in 1994.
- 2 *Technique*: in the rebinding the manuscript was taken apart, the last leaves dry cleaned and repaired insofar as possible. Single leaves throughout the book were attached to Japanese paper hinges. The book was then sewn on alum tawed thongs and bound in full limp vellum with hand sewn headbands and new acid free end signatures. The pages are bound with seven rows of stitching, which follow the original stitching. The binding (now missing) that this modern binding replaced was an English binding about 1730, of brown calf decorated with insects, animals etc., and with a gilt border.
- 3 *Decoration*: none.

Opening words of the second leaf

[sol]uite templum. Io 2. Quidam dicere presumpserunt ...

4 PROVENANCE

- 1 There is no evidence with the manuscript of its origins.

- ² The manuscript bears the eighteenth-century bookplate of Edward Browne and the 1792 bookplate of the executors of the estate of Thomas Eyre, an Englishman. The manuscript was purchased from Percy Dobell and Son by Ms. Shirley Farr (University of Chicago, class of 1904) and donated to the University in 1926. It is now part of the manuscript holdings of the University of Chicago.

5 BIBLIOGRAPHY

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Liverpool, University F. 4. 18 (Lp)

1 HEADING

- ¹ *Pressmark*: MS. F. 4. 18.
- ² *Title*: Tractatus de Viciis. *Language*: Latin.
- ³ *Date and origin*: *The Guide to the Manuscript Collections in Liverpool University Library*, Library Publications no. 1 (Liverpool 1962), 10, notes that it is an English manuscript, late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century.
- ⁴ *Provenance*: bought for £20 by the Librarian of the University of Liverpool, 29th March 1895. The bookplate is a pre-1914 version.
- ⁵ *Catalogue*: Ker, N.R. *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*. Vol. 3. Oxford, 1983, 312–313.

2 CONTENTS

- ¹ *Contents*
 - ^{1.1} ff. 1–3^b, Index of contents of *Summa de vitiis* of Guilelmus Peraldus OP
 - ^{1.2} ff. 3^b–72^b, *Summa de vitiis*

Inc. *Dicturi de uiciis incipiemus a uicio gule propter hoc quod dicit glosa . . .*
Exp. . . . *qui est benedictus deus in secula. Explicit summa de uiciis.*
 - ^{1.3} ff. 73^a–96^{vb}, part of Book IV of Richard Fishacre's *Sentences* Commentary

Inc. *⟨S⟩ap 6. Quid est sapientia et quemadmodum facta sit referam et non abscondam a uobis sacramenta dei. Hunc sermonem potest dicere aut magister aut exponens magistrum . . .*
Exp. . . . *ad 8 fateor posset minori uirtute stetisse quam habuit et ideo minori quam habuit surrexisse.*
- ² *Corrections*
 - ^{2.1} ff. 1–72^b, *Summa*

The corrections are of two kinds. The first are words corrected by another hand. There are about one hundred and twenty of these. The second are insertions by the scribe of omitted text — which from length seems most likely to be one or more lines. There are about forty-five of these.
 - ^{2.2} ff. 73^a–96^{vb}, Book IV

There are very few corrections, except for about two insertions of omitted text.
- ³ *Marginalia*
 - ^{3.1} ff. 1–72^b, *Summa*

Marginalia are chiefly in the form of margin headings, often rubricated. There are also several pencil markings and words. The former are mainly emphasizing lines

in the side margins. There are about sixteen of these and a few *nota*. Throughout the *Summa* there are decorated initials indicating the start of a new section. Colored paraps help to order the content of the sections.

3.2 ff. 73^a–96^{vb}, Book IV

Margin headings are sparse, about six in all. There are no paraps, but there are spaces left, probably for their insertion. There is a little apparatus of scholastic abbreviations, about thirteen and one set of arabic numerals. There is one elaborate *nota*. But there are no distinction summaries, *arbores ramificatae*, or other marginalia as found in other manuscripts of the Fishacre text.

4 *Hands*

There seem to be two main hands similar to each other; both are book hands, but the second has more variability in tidiness and has a slight slope to the right.

<i>Summa</i>	ff. 1–72 ^b	Hand 1
Book IV	ff. 73 ^a –96 ^{vb}	Hand 2

3 PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

Make-up of the MS

- ¹ *Number of leaves, including all end or added leaves:* I, II, ff. 1–96, III, IV. Inside the front cover is a bookplate of the University of Liverpool, with the blank for the donor filled with the manuscript number F. 4. 18. In the bottom left-hand corner is a small paper label with *University Library Liverpool* printed on it and, written in ink below, *MS. F. 4. 18*. In the righthand corner is written diagonally in pencil *rs* (old style) *ml*, *f* or *s* (old style) and under it 2/5. On f. I all inscriptions are written in pencil. In the top left-hand corner is *M+/,* and slightly lower to the right, *£20* underlined. About a fifth down in a nineteenth-century hand is written *Summa de Viciis Capitalibus*. Beneath this are two scraps of paper, remaining probably from a stuck-in paper label which was later removed. Below this, about two fifths down the page in the center, is 29/3/95 and beneath it *£20*. In the bottom lefthand corner is noted *Gatherings 1–6¹⁰, 7¹² || 8³⁰⁺³*, with *Fishacre* under this last number. The remaining ff. II–IV^v and the end pastedown have no annotations.
- ² *Foliation, including all early and mistaken foliation:* foliation is modern 1–96. There is no older numbering system. Ff. I, II, III, IV are not numbered.
- ³ *Materials:* ff. I, II, III, and IV are modern paper; ff. 1–96 are membrane. The quality of the parchment is better than in many other Fishacre manuscripts. It is quite thick, and not much has been re-used. There are about six small holes and one large one, two slits which have been repaired, and one tear. There are a few uneven edges. On f. 15 this is the result of the loss of scar tissue. Some of the folios, namely 1–5, 94, and 95, have been repaired: the former on the outside edge and the latter two on the inner binding edge. The first folios between 1 and 10,

and the last folios between 92 and 96, are damaged by worm holes. Ff. 1 and 96^v are very badly worn. Probably the manuscript was unbound for considerable time. The pages have been cropped in the binding process, and some of the flourishing has been cut off. *Ink*: The writing of the *Summa* is mainly in black or gray-black ink. The writing in the Fishacre portion is mostly brown, some dark and some pale, but all with a reddish tint. Ff. 94^{vb}–96^{vb} are written in dense black ink.

- 4 *Overall dimensions of the leaves*: these were taken in a one-in-twenty-five folio sample and prove remarkably consistent in each main text. The *Summa* text is about 13¹/₄ inches or 33.7 cms. in length and 9 inches or 22.8 cms. in width; while the Fishacre text is about 13¹/₈ inches or 33.2 cms in length by 9¹/₈ inches or 23.2 cms. in width.
- 5 *Written space*: measurements were taken in a similar sample to the dimensions of the leaves. The writing block is in the familiar scholastic two-column layout of the page. In the *Summa* the writing block is about 2³/₅ by 9⁵/₈ inches or 6.5 by 24.3 cms. In the Fishacre extract the writing block is 3 by 9⁷/₈ inches or 7.5 by 24.6 cms. The side margins in the *Summa* are wider than in Book IV. *Ruled space*: all the rulings are done in lead. A very simple pattern is followed: there are four longitudinal lines defining the width of the margins and columnar writing blocks, with one horizontal line at the top of the writing blocks going across the width of the page, and one horizontal line at the bottom of the writing block, not extending into the margins. There is one variant in Book IV, which is a minimal change in the page layout by omitting the top horizontal line in the margins. *Ruled lines*: in Book IV thirteen of the openings have ruled double parallel lines at intervals of 18 to 20 lines. *Numbers of lines in columns*: on a one-in-fifteen sample for the Peraldus text and one-in-five for Book IV, the lines in the columns number between 71 and 74. In Book IV the numbers vary from 65 to 78 with more in the 70+ range.
- 6 *Numbering of columns and lines*: there is no numbering of columns or lines in either the *Summa* or Book IV.

7 *Quiring/Collation*

number	start	string	end	cue	notes
1 (10)	1	5 ^v –6	10 ^v	none	1 in pencil: BM f. 6 ^a ?
2 (10)	11	15 ^v –16	20 ^v	none	
3 (10)	21	25 ^v –26	30 ^v	none	1 in pencil: BM 35 ^{va}
4 (10)	31	35 ^v –36	40 ^v	none	
5 (10)	41	45 ^v –46	50 ^v	none	
6 (10)	51	55 ^v –56	60 ^v	none	
7 (12)	61	66 ^v –67	72 ^v	none	
8 (10)	73	77 ^v –78	82 ^v	none	
9 (10)	83	87 ^v –88	92 ^v	none	
10 (4)	93	94 ^v –95	96 ^v		

- 8 *Arrangement of sheets (hair and flesh sides)*: this seems to be standard throughout.
- 9 *Pricking*: none observed. The cropping has been extensive and seems to be by gathering.
- 10 *Ruling*: see above.
- 11 *Quire signatures*: none. *Leaf signatures*: none.
- 12 *Catchwords/Cues*: none.

Handwriting

- 1 *Guide-letters for initials*: In the *Summa* there are about 111 with existing initials, and forty-six initials without guide-letters. In Book IV there are about four guide-letters only, ff. 73^a (4 lines size), 74^a, 75^b, and 75^{vb}. *Notes for rubrics or illustrations*: none. There are many small spaces in Book IV, possibly for the insertion of paraphs, as has been done on f. 74^v and from f. 81^a to the end. These are by the same scribe who left spaces and also filled some in.
- 2 *Changes of scribe in relation to contents and/or quiring*: at the end of the *Summa* with a new one for Book IV.
- 3 *Texts of scribal signatures, mottoes, monograms etc.*: none.
- 4 *Titles: scripts, color etc.*: in the *Summa* there are many varieties of rubricated titles within the text; and also margin headings, often with a paraph. In Book IV there are none.

Decoration and Illumination

- 1 *Minor initials*: at the start of the *Summa* there are a few ordinary capital letters delicately decorated. In Book IV a few capitals of ordinary size are given some extra penlines in the same color. *Linefillers*: none.
- 2 *Illuminated initials*: there is one illuminated initial on f. 1^a, a capital *T* with a curved rather than vertical stem, and a top which ends in a snake's head. The capital was gold and the infill was originally blue. Both colors have nearly flaked off. What looks like pink is in fact the red pen drawing of the initial and its decoration prior to painting. There may have been some red flourishing around the body of the initial as well, for there still remains a pattern underneath its base. *Illuminated borders*: none.
- 3 *Flourished initials*: the *Summa* is particularly rich in these. They are very skillfully drawn and the variants in the external decoration are beautiful and varied. The infill decoration is more standard, and is very consistent, especially in the *S*. There are about 160 initials — all blue flourished red — over half of them *S*. Other frequent initials are *P* and *D*. What distinguishes this manuscript from others with flourished initials is the use of large equally beautifully flourished paraphs. There are about 122 of these; and innumerable smaller ones — all of these have blue paraph shape and are flourished in red. Within the text are very many small blue ones. The function the initials seem to have is starting a new sec-

tion of the *Summa*, while the paragraphs of varying sizes mark out the different parts within the section. So a functional purpose adds substantially, not only to the ease of using the text, but to its beauty. There are no flourished initials in Book IV.

⁴ *Historiated initials*: none.

⁵ *Miniatures*: none.

Binding

¹ *Date and origin*: the modern, late nineteenth-century binding clearly follows the original medieval binding. The label notes that it is by W. Pratt. He has not so far been traced.

² *Technique*: the measurements are 13⁵/₈ inches or 34.6 cms. in length by 9⁷/₁₆ inches or 23.6 cms. in width by 1⁵/₁₆ inches or 3.4 cms. in depth. The boards are stiff cardboard covered with shiny black leather somewhat scuffed. The folios are sewn on to five double thongs, probably leather, as can be seen from the spine ridges. It is possible neither to see or feel how the thongs are fixed down on the boards.

³ *Decoration*: This is minimal. Inside between the pastedown and the edge three thin gold lines outlining the shape on the three outer edges are stamped. On the actual thickness of the leather binding two parallel thin gold lines are stamped. On the top and bottom thickness of the spine leather is a pattern of three sets of three gold lines each set separated by two minute circles divided by a line. The gold on the top edge is worn. On the spine the title *TRACTATUS DE VICIIS* is stamped in gold on the second gap between the thongs; then there is an empty gap; then *MS. IN MEMBRANIS* and in the fifth gap *XIII SAEC.*

Opening words of the second leaf

sit nequam . . .

Further Comment

This manuscript contains the *Summa de vitiis* by Guilelmus Peraldus OP and the first fourteen distinctions of Book IV (*De Sacramentis*, some of which is devoted to the sacrament of penance) of the *Sentences* Commentary of Peraldus's English Dominican contemporary, Richard Fishacre. This manuscript seems to be a pastoral compilation of library rather than pocket-book size for the use of confessors. The fact that both sources are Dominican could indicate a Dominican priory library set-up with scribes. Such would be a larger priory, possibly a *studium provinciale*. But the quality of the parchment is better than the usual Dominican manuscript. So it could have been made commercially as a pastoral manual for sale either to a Dominican priory or to someone with serious pastoral interests. Secondly, the flourishing identifies this manuscript as English. The initials are all blue flourished red, a specific English practice. Moreover, the patterns of the

flourishing, both the infill patterns and the external flourishing, fulfill the criteria established for English manuscripts by Sonia Patterson. They also fall into the style she identifies as belonging to the second half of the thirteenth century. As Fishacre died in 1248, and as Peraldus did not long survive him, and as the hands in which the manuscript is written are thirteenth- rather than fourteenth-century hands, it is suggested that this is an English manuscript belonging possibly to the third quarter of the thirteenth century and of possible Dominican provenance.

4 PROVENANCE

Apart from the date of purchase, March 1895, there is no previous record of this manuscript to be found. It is probably one of the many manuscripts which were dispersed in the suppression of religious houses by Henry VIII and his minions after 1534. From the dilapidated state of ff. 1 and 96^v Ker concluded that it had been some time without a cover.

¹ *Recipient*: unknown.

² *Later owners*: unknown, but currently the University of Liverpool. The university manuscripts have shelf-marks which were devised by Thomas Glazebrook Rylands for his own collection (collection, shelf, place on the shelf) which he bequeathed eventually to the University in 1900. Other acquisitions are numbered in the same way.²¹

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Ker, N.R. *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*. Vol. 3. Oxford, 1983.

Patterson, Sonia. "Paris and Oxford Manuscripts in the Thirteenth Century." B.Litt. thesis, Oxford University, 1969.

²¹ M. Gibson and M. Kauffmann, eds., *Medieval Manuscripts on Merseyside. Catalogue of an exhibition held in the University Art Gallery, Liverpool, from 6 May to 16 July 1993, and in the Courtauld Institute Galleries, London, from 15 October to 28 November 1993* (Oxford, 1993), vii–ix.

London, British Library Royal 10. B. vii (R)

1 HEADING

- ¹ *Pressmark*: MS Royal 10. B. vii.
- ² *Title*: Fishacer super sentent. L. 1–4. *Language*: Latin.
- ³ *Date and origin*: catalogue says thirteenth-century. It seems to be an English manuscript.
- ⁴ *Provenance*: in the manuscript is noted *Liber beate Marie Ouerey* (Southwark); later in a fifteenth-century hand is noted *de trinitate Cantebrigie*.
- ⁵ *Catalogue*: Warner, Sir George F., and Julius P. Gilson, eds. *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*. Vol. 1. London, 1921, 313.

2 CONTENTS

- ¹ *Contents*
- ^{1.1} ff. 2–91^b, Book I (has the number of book in middle of top margin)
Inc. *Ro 11 O altitudo diuiciarum sapientie et scientie dei. Constat non est parum admirabilis illa sapientia quam admirans sic exclamat doctor gencium qui raptus usque ad tercium celum . . .*
Exp. . . . *et ideo dico benedicta sit creatrix et gubernatrix omnium sancta et indiuidua trinitas et nunc et semper et per infinita seculorum secula. Amen, Amen, Amen.*
f. 91^v is blank.
- ^{1.2} ff. 92^a–94^{va}, *De caelo* (has the number of Book II in middle of top margin) and *De divisione aquarum*²²
Inc. *De celo diuersi diuersimode senserunt. Quidam enim posuerunt celum esse de numero simplicium . . .*
Exp. . . . *equaliter tendunt ad centrum et nulla aliam permittit descendere.*
Both sides of f. 95 are blank, although partially erased lead writing is on part of the pages.
- ^{1.3} ff. 96^a–178^{vb}, Book II (has the number of book in middle of top margin)
There is also a title in small black writing: *Sent. L. 2. prima pars.*
Inc. *Terribiliter magnificatus es, mirabilia opera tua et anima mea cognosce nimis. Ps. In primo libro deus terribiliter magnus quoquo modo innotuit ubi actum est de magnitudine terribili sue essentie . . .*
Exp. . . . *subdita sit quasi dicat semper sublimiori obediendum non semper inferiori et ideo deo pre omnibus qui uetat venialia.*

²² These will be printed as Appendices C and D in the edition of Book II.

Both sides of f. 179 are blank, although the latter has erased lead writing. Correct pencil numbers of the columns remain.

- 1.4 ff. 180^a–261^b, Book III (has the number of book in middle of top margin)
 There is also a title in small black writing: *Introitus in 3^m sententiarum*.
 Inc. *Prouerb. 13. Tria sunt mihi difficilia et quartum penitus ignoro: viam aque (sic) in celis, uiam colubri super petram, uiam nauis in medio mari et uiam uiri in adolescencia (sic) . . .*
 Exp. . . . *abso(l)uit eos immo potius denunciat absolutos*.
 ff. 261^v–263 are blank. F. 262 has most of the page excised, leaving a narrow top about 1³/₄ inches or 4 cms. and a very narrow inner margin.
- 1.5 ff. 264^a–386^a, Book IV (has the number of book in middle of top margin)
 Inc. *Quid est sapientia et quemadmodum facta sit referam et non abscondam a uobis sacramenta dei. Sapientia 6. Potest hunc sermonem dicere aut magister aut exponens magistrum . . .*
 Exp. . . . *Quecumque dixi in hiis de tuo agnoscant et tui, si qua de meo et tu ignosce et tui. Amen, Amen, Amen*.
- 1.6 ff. 386^b–388^{va} line 12, *Quaestio de aeterna duratione mundi*²³
 Inc. *In principio. Huius scripture sensus litteralis multiplex est . . .*
 Exp. . . . *cum ad destructionem propriam sibimet ipsi sufficient*.
- 1.7 ff. 388^{va} line 13–389^a line 33, *Quaestio de luce*²⁴
 Inc. *Si queritur qualis lux illa fuerit corporalis scilicet an spiritualis . . .*
 Exp. . . . *habens formam tantum a creatura sicut lux*.
 f. 389^b–389^v completely blank.
- 1.8 ff. 390^a–408^{vb}, alphabetical Index
 Its columns are numbered 1–67, with 27 omitted; also column numbers 70–77, equivalent to a whole folio, are omitted between columns 68 and 69 on one side of f. 408 and columns 78 and 79 on the other side, f. 408^v.

2 Corrections

- 2.1 ff. 2–91, Book I
 The numbers of specific corrections are small: about nine for words, about six for phrases, about seven for insertion of omitted text. There are also about three examples, all brief, of extra text added by the scribe or corrector.
- 2.2 ff. 92^a–94^{va}, *De caelo* and *De divisione aquarum*
 Only one correction of a word seems to be noted.

²³ For an edition of this text see Appendix A of the edition of Book II and also Long, “Eternity of the World,” 68–89.

²⁴ See Appendix B of the edition of Book II and Long and Noone, “Metaphysics of Light,” 530–36.

2.3 ff. 96^a–178^{va}, Book II

As in Book I the numbers are small: about three for words, one for a phrase, seven for insertion of omitted text, and two brief examples of extra text.

2.4 ff. 180–261^b, Book III

In contrast to Book II, Book III has numerous corrections. These include about forty-one for words, about nine for phrases, about thirteen for insertion of omitted text: on f. 231^{va} there is a considerable portion; and about nine examples of added text.

2.5 ff. 264–386^a, Book IV

This book has numerous corrections, about thirty-nine for words, about nine for phrases, and about eighteen for insertion of omitted text.

2.6 ff. 390–408^{vb}, Index

There seem to be no corrections as such.

3 *Marginalia*

General comment: The description of the use of arabic numerals is included for, like those found in the Bologna manuscript, they are a constituent part of the scholastic apparatus with which the manuscript is well provided. There are also many pencil annotations, though not as numerous as those in ink. Some of these are indications for future inking, but others are separate. Some of the blank pages between the books have extensive pencil notes. There are varying uses of the Grosseteste indexing symbols. In Book I there are only about five; in Books II and III a number of symbols are used, in some cases to indicate the distinction summaries, but in most cases by later annotators; while in Book IV there is quite an extensive use of the symbols, mainly to indicate the distinction summaries.

3.1 ff. 2–91, Book I

The marginalia mainly are of two kinds: arabic numerals to identify parts of distinctions and some aspects of a scholastic analysis, and abbreviations to indicate the identity of the analysis, whether *g^a*, *q^o*, *ob^o*, *op^o* or *s^o*. In Book I these are most frequent in the first folios. Other marginalia include the use of margin headings and a few identifications of authorities. There are also some drawings: about two fingers, about three geometrical figures and one face. There are at least nineteen *arbores ramificatae*, mainly in the bottom margin.²⁵ There are also about six small summaries. Most of these are written in a contemporary, often scribal, hand. There are also many additions in a later secretary hand, probably fourteenth- or a later century. These are written in a gray-black ink and probably reflect the writer's interests.

3.2 ff. 92^a–94^{va}, *De caelo* and *De divisione aquarum*

A few uses of numbers and scholastic abbreviations.

²⁵ ff. 4, 6, 13, 14, 18tm, 18*, 30^v, 32^v, 34, 36^v, 37^v, 38^v, 41, 42, 48, 50^v, 52^v, 82^v. (tm indicates top margin; * indicates that the summary is within the text.)

3.3 ff. 96^a–178^{va}, Book II

As in Book I there are many large summaries,²⁶ about twenty; margin headings are used sometimes, but not consistently; some small summaries, about ten. Arabic numerals are used at least 130 times, most often in conjunction with scholastic abbreviations delineating the argument; but the marginalia here include many pencil annotations, some of them indications for inking over, others difficult to analyze; fingers are also used, at least thirteen times. There are two geometric drawings and a few annotations identifying authorities. Between ff. 135 and 144 there is a very sparse use of any marginalia. This book also has many additions by the gray-black ink annotations of the later hand.

3.4 ff. 180–261^b, Book III

In this book, as in the following one, there is a greater use of the arabic numerals in conjunction with the scholastic abbreviations than in the first two books — over 190 of the former and at least 300 of the latter. Large summaries²⁷ in distinction form number at least thirty-three, many of them in the bottom margin but others within the text; while small distinctions, mostly in the side margins, number about ten. Margin headings are used, but not consistently. There are two fingers, but seem to be no drawings. The later annotator using gray-black ink is not so generous with annotations, leaving ff. 205–260 without comment.

3.5 ff. 264–386^a, Book IV

The majority of annotations in this book are the arabic numerals together with the scholastic abbreviations, nearly 400 of the former and over 700 of the latter. Even allowing for the greater length of Book IV compared with the first three books, this is a higher proportion of this form of annotation. Margin headings are sporadic, pencil annotations are found, although not throughout. The large summaries or *arbores* number at least forty-two²⁸ and the small ones fifteen. There is at least one face, one finger, and two drawings. Authorities are identified in about four places. This book, unlike the first three, has a greater use of indexing symbols. As in Book III, there is much less annotation by the later gray-black ink user. On ff. 286–315, 317–327, 328^v–339, 353^v–379^b he writes nothing. From f. 350 to the end there is a diminishing use of annotations.

²⁶ ff. 96, 98^v, 102, 107, 114, 116, 117^v, 121, 124, 136, 142, 153 (space left at top), 160^v, 164, 168^v, 169^v, 171^v, 172^v, 175, 176^v.

²⁷ ff. 181 (2), 195, 197^v, 201^v, 207 (side margin), 207^v, 215^v ^{lm}, 219*, 222*, 222, 222^v**, 227, 228^v (2), 229^a*, 230*, 230^{vb}*, 234^{vb}*, 234^v, 236^{vb}*, 237^v, 240, 243^b*, 244^b*, 244^{va}*, 246^b*, 246^v–247^a, 247^{vb}*, 248^a*, 249^v, 250, 250^b*, 252, 252^b*/**, 254, 254^v, 254^{vb}*, 256^{vb}, 257^a*, 257^a, 260*, 260^b, 261^a. (** indicates two hands in the distinction summary.)

²⁸ 265, 266, 266^v, 270, 271**, 275^v, 277, 280, 293^v, 294, 294^v, 299^v, 304, 310 (2), 314^v, 319, 323^v, 324^v**, 325^v a one column page and a large distinction summary, 326, 327, 331, 333, 339^v (3), 341, 344^v–345, 350, 351^{vb}, 358^v, 359^v, 360^v, 361, 361^b, 363, 364, 367 (2), 370, 378^v, 380 (2), 384 (2), 384^{vb}.

3.6 ff. 390–408^{vb}, Index

Marginalia here are minimal; there are very few corrections, but some additions within the medieval alphabetical order.

4 *Hands*

All our texts seem to be a mid-thirteenth- to an early fourteenth-century style. There are few secretarial scripts, except in some of the marginalia. There is the usual difficulty of analyzing hands. Allowing for the variations in writers' moods, worn pens, and change of ink, and taking a conservative view of numbers of hands, we suggest the following:

Book I	ff. 2–94	Hand 1	Book I and <i>De caelo</i> etc.
Book II	ff. 96 ^a –139 ^b line 22	Hand 2	
	ff. 139 ^b line 23–178 ^{va}	Hand 1	
Book III	ff. 180 ^a –194 ^b	Hand 3	very like Hand 1
	ff. 194 ^{va} –211 ^{vb}	Hand 4	could be two hands as there are variants; yet another hand is in evidence for canceled text on f. 211 ^{a–vb}
Book IV	ff. 212 ^a –251 ^{vb} line 44	Hand 5	empty space before next hand
	ff. 252 ^a –261 ^b line 41	Hand 6	empty space before next hand
	ff. 264 ^a –286 ^a line 6	Hand 7	
	ff. 286 ^a line 6–299 ^{vb}	Hand 8	
	ff. 300 ^a –352 ^b line 4	Hand 9	several hands difficult to sort out, but differences in <i>a</i> , <i>g</i> , and <i>q</i>
	ff. 352 ^b line 4–358 ^{vb}	Hand 10	
	ff. 358 ^{vb} –369 ^a	Hand 11	empty space before next hand
	ff. 370 ^a –389 ^a	Hand 12	
Index	ff. 390 ^a –408 ^{vb}	Hand 13	

There is great variation in the production of this manuscript. Most of Books I and II seem to have been written by one scribe only, but Books III and IV are copied by many scribes. This would indicate production either by a stationer or by a community. As the hands do not always change with the gathering, it is likelier to be the latter.

3 PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

Make-up of the MS

- ¹ *Number of leaves, including all end or added leaves:* i (marbled end-paper), ii, 1–409, iii, iv, and v (verso side marbled end-paper).
- ² *Foliation, including all early and mistaken foliation:* 1–409 in pencil, older foliation written before the new end-sheet was placed, ·1· – ·10· on ff. 2–11.

- 3 *Materials*: pages i, ii, iii, iv, and v are paper, and ff. 1–409 are parchment. The quality of the parchment is variable, from moderate to poor. Some are recycled folios, some are very thin; many edges, at least fifty, have slits possibly from the initial cutting of bifolia from the original membranes. At least eighty folios have holes; some are in the margins, others are in the text which is written around them. Many of the edges are uneven. *Ink*: The ink is mainly black, but some sections are written in brown and a few folios in a pale brown ink. The gray-black ink used by the later annotator is very distinctive compared with the inks used in the text.
- 4 *Overall dimensions of the leaves*: these are very uneven in size and many edges are uneven, reflecting the parchment taken from the edges of the animal skin. They vary in size from $7\frac{3}{16}$ inches or 18 cms. in width by 11 inches or 27.9 cms. in length, to larger ones $8\frac{1}{8}$ inches or 20.3 cms. in width by $11\frac{3}{16}$ inches or 28.3 cms. in length. They are not much smaller than the binding of the book.
- 5 *Written space*: the written space in this manuscript is the standard two column format of the scholastic manuscript. Measurements of the writing block were taken one-in-twenty-five folios and proved more consistent than the folio size. On the whole the writing block varies in width from $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches or 5.4 cms. to a small number at $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches or 6.1 cms., and in length from $8\frac{1}{8}$ inches or 20.5 cms. to $8\frac{3}{8}$ inches or 21 cms. The width of the outer margin is almost equal to that of the writing block, i.e. almost a third of the width of the page. All writing of the Commentary text except for f. 276^b is *below top line*. Occasionally there is extra narrow ruling, the same width as the writing block in the bottom margin, but this is not standard in this manuscript. *Ruled space*: the ruling, in pencil, is standard with four parallel longitudinal lines to make the writing block and a line across the top of the writing block. On several pages narrow parallel longitudinal lines are drawn on the outside of the writing block on which are written arabic numerals relating to distinctions within the text. *Numbers of lines in columns*: the number of lines on a page varies from 49 to 65, but 55 to 60 is the more standard range.
- 6 *Numbering of columns and lines*: the manuscript has columns numbered in arabic numerals throughout from 1 to 1539. In a few places, more often at the end of a Book, there are no column numbers, e.g. f. 91^v. In a few places the scribe has repeated column numbers and in even fewer places the corrector has noticed this: e.g. f. 70^b and 71 both have *col* 279; f. 141^{vb}/142^a both have *col* 556; and f. 145^a and 145^b both have *col* 568. In Book I columns 260 to 263 are omitted. This omission is reflected in the gathering and indicates that a page has been cut from the manuscript. From f. 26, where *col.* 97 is repeated, the numbering is out of sequence with the page pattern and remains so. This manuscript is characterized by line-numbering in fives throughout. In a few places the line numbering has been omitted, mostly between ff. 347^v and 359^v. This is one of the few manuscripts having such a faithful adherence to the line-numbering in fives.

⁷ *Quiring/Collation*

Sorting this out was comparatively simple for the first three books, as there were scribal cues as well as stringing to note. Book IV proved harder to clarify, owing to the absence of cues. The following is suggested:

number	start	string	end	cue	notes
1 (10)	1	5 ^v –6*	10 ^v	<i>purgatissimis</i>	
2 (10)	11	15 ^v –16	20 ^v	<i>primum filius dei habet</i>	
3 (10)	21	25 ^v –26	30 ^v	<i>et dicunt quod</i>	
4 (8)	31	34 ^v –35	38 ^v	<i>sequitur quod discipulus</i>	
5 (8)	39	42 ^v –43	46 ^v	<i>quelibet persona ad eam</i>	
6 (8)	47	50 ^v –51*	54 ^v	<i>auctoritates predictas</i>	
7 (8)	55	58 ^v –59*	62 ^v	<i>et uolucrum et quadrupedum</i>	
8 (5)	63	65 ^v –66	67 ^v	none	absent column numbers 760–763 indicate a missing folio
9 (10)	68	72 ^v –73	77 ^v	<i>pater a filio</i>	
10 (10)	78	82 ^v –83	87 ^v	<i>uel potest dici quod</i>	page twisted under
11 (4)	88	89 ^v –90*	91 ^v	none	blank page
12 (4)	92	93 ^v –94**	95 ^v	none	blank page
13 (10)	96	100 ^v –101*	105 ^v	<i>est contradictio</i>	
14 (10)	106	110 ^v –111	115 ^v	<i>esse diuinum quod non</i>	
15 (10)	116	120 ^v –121	125 ^v	<i>de potentia in actum</i>	
16 (10)	126	130 ^v –131	135 ^v	<i>et in secunda hora eiusdem</i>	
17 (10)	136	140 ^v –141	145 ^v	<i>tanta ut ex eis</i>	
18 (8)	146	149 ^v –150	153 ^v	<i>rationem seminalem</i>	
19 (10)	154	158 ^v –159	163 ^v	<i>hic flammeus gladius dicitur</i>	
20 (8)	164	167 ^v –168	171 ^v	<i>siue alio modo inexplicabili</i>	
21 (8)	172	175 ^v –176	179 ^v	none	blank page
22 (8)	180	183 ^v –184	187 ^v	<i>debet preponi ignobilior</i>	
23 (8)	188	191 ^v –192	195 ^v	none	

24	(8)	196	199 ^v –200	203 ^v	none	
25	(8)	204	207 ^v –208	211 ^v	<i>sed deum et ho. . .</i>	ff. 211 ^a line 26 to end of 211 ^v are scored out
26	(8)	212	215 ^v –216*	219 ^v	none	
27	(8)	220	223 ^v –224*	227 ^v	<i>pro multis effundetur Mt 26</i>	
28	(8)	228	231 ^v –232	235 ^v	<i>numero sed hec ut supradictum est</i>	
29	(8)	236	239 ^v –240	243 ^v	<i>beatis et ideo prophetia</i>	
30	(8)	244	247 ^v –248**	251 ^v	none	
31	(12)	252	257 ^v –258*	263 ^v		5 blank pages
32	(12)	264	269 ^v –270	275 ^v	none	
33	(8)	276	279 ^v –280	283 ^v	none	
34	(16)	284	291 ^v –292	299 ^v	none	
35	(8)	300	303 ^v –304	307 ^v	none	
36	(14)	308	314 ^v –315	321 ^v	none	
37	(12)	322	327 ^v –328**	333 ^v	none	
38	(14)	334	340 ^v –341*	347 ^v	none	
39	(10)	348	352 ^v –353	357 ^v	none	
40	(12)	358	363 ^v –364	369 ^v	none	blank page
41	(10)	370	374 ^v –375*	379 ^v	none	
42	(10)	380	384 ^v –385*	389 ^v	none	blank page
43	(8)	390	393 ^v –394**	397 ^v		
44	(12)	398	403 ^v –404**	409 ^v		

NB In the above table * indicates that the string could not be seen; ** indicates that a fragment of string could be seen.

There is no evidence of pecia marks in this manuscript, although the presence of blank pages, sometimes entire folios, throughout the manuscript could indicate that the copying into this manuscript took less parchment than the original exemplar. On the whole, as Père Bataillon has indicated,²⁹ the pecia system as practised in Paris was not a general practice in Oxford, and probably not in London or Cambridge either.

⁸ *Arrangement of sheets (hair and flesh sides)*: this is standard throughout.

⁹ *Pricking*: this is found on one quire only, gathering 30 ff. 244–251^v; and on ff. 220, 222, 224, 226, 228–235. On ff. 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 404, and 405 there are a few holes similar to pricking, but only in pairs in about three places

²⁹ Private correspondence. See also Hughes V. Shooner, “La production du livre par la pecia,” in *La production du livre universitaire au moyen âge. Exemplar et pecia. Actes du symposium tenu au Collegio San Bonaventura de Grottaferrata en mai 1983*, eds. L.J. Bataillon, B.G. Guyot, and R.H. Rouse (Paris, 1988), 25–26.

(similar to the marking up of the page for writing). For most folios in Books I–III and for most of Book IV, except a few gatherings where the cropping has removed them, two holes at the bottom of the folio indicating the lines of the central margin are found. In Book IV a few folios have three holes, giving a central line in the middle margin.

- ¹⁰ *Ruling*: see above.
- ¹¹ *Quire signatures and leaf signatures*: none.
- ¹² *Catchwords/Cues*: see table of gatherings.

Handwriting

- ¹ *Guide-letters for initials*: none, although there is one space on f. 370^a for an initial, but no guide-letter. *Notes for rubrics*: none. In Book I ff. 2–4^b there is some underlining in red and some rubrication of paraps; Book II has none; Book III has three words clumsily underlined in red on f. 203^b line 19; Book IV has none.
- ² *Changes of scribe in relation to contents and/or quiring*: there are changes of scribe for gatherings 13, 26, 31, 32, 35, 41, and 43. Gatherings 1, 13, and 32 contain the start of Books I, II, and IV of the Commentary, while gathering 43 is the start of the Index.
- ³ *Texts of scribal signatures, mottoes, monograms etc.*: none.
- ⁴ *Titles: scripts, color etc.*: none.

Decoration and Illumination

- ¹ *Minor initials, line fillers etc.*: there are none. There are a few minor flourishes of marginal paraps in Book III, while some letters in the bottom lines have lengthened tails. All these are found between ff. 212 and 238.
- ² *Illuminated initials and borders*: none.
- ³ *Flourished initials*: these are found in the Index only and are blue flourished red. From Sonia Patterson's criteria it would seem that the flourishing is of the late thirteenth century.
- ⁴ *Historiated initials*: none.
- ⁵ *Miniatures*: none.

Binding

- ¹ *Date and origin*: Philippa Marks, Curator of Bindings at the British Library, when consulted on this manuscript, ventured the opinion that the binding was the work of the British Museum bindery dating from the nineteenth century, although she further commented that it is just possible that the bindings were earlier (17th or 18th Century) with the tooling added when the manuscripts were acquired by the Museum.

- ² *Technique*: the measurements are 11³/₄ inches or 29.6 cms. in length by 8¹/₄ inches or 20.5 cms. in width by 3¹/₄ inches or 8 cms. in depth. The binding is white leather on wooden boards with five parallel bands of stitching. The titles and list of contents are stamped in gold on red leather labels, and stuck to the white leather of the spine. The endpapers, front and back, are strong paper with a blue oil-paint combed pattern, clearly of recent rather than early origin. The original stitching has remained in part and has simply been worked over in the most recent binding activity.

On the spine are four sets of writing between the covered binding-thongs. At the top is *FISHACER SUPER SENTENT. L. 1–4*. Beneath this is *MUS. BRIT. BIBL. RES.* Beneath this is *10. B. vii, P.180, PLUT. XII. C.* Beneath this is *SEC. XIV FR. GALE DE BILLI GHAM ET B.MARIAE DE OVERYE*. (*N* is probably missing from the name *Billingham*).

- ³ *Decoration*: gold stamped patterns on top and bottom of the spine.

Opening words of the second leaf

creator omnis creature. Maior ergo et certior . . .

Further Comment

The only thing possible to say as yet is that this manuscript displays many characteristics of scholastic books associated with the friars, and especially with the Dominicans in England, namely the use of arabic numerals in the text as well as the numbering of columns and the numbering of lines in fives. There is also the fact that the historiated initials follow the English practice of being blue with red flourishing. The variety of hands involved in writing the manuscript, and the variants in scribal practice would possibly put the making of this manuscript in the context of a religious community rather than a stationer's shop.

4 PROVENANCE

This manuscript probably started out as one produced by Dominicans. From one of the annotations it would seem that fr. Willelmus Redymer had the manuscript bound. He is found both in Emden's survey of Dominicans in England³⁰ and in Emden's *Biographical Register of the University of Oxford*.³¹ William was ordained subdeacon in 1402 and deacon in 1403. By 1431 he was a Doctor of Theology. The biographical registers of both Oxford and Cambridge yielded no further information on the other men mentioned in the annotations, especially doctor Richard Burghull and master Johannes Herryson. The Dominican Jo-

³⁰ A.B. Emden, *A Survey of Dominicans in England* (Rome, 1967), 433.

³¹ *BRUO*, 3:2210.

hannes Harryson, ordained priest in 1496,³² is apparently not the same person as the latter. From using the information within the manuscript, it appears that this is a well-travelled manuscript, having links with the Augustinian priory of St. Mary Overy in Southwark, with Dominicans at the start of the fifteenth century, and with Trinity Hall, Cambridge, later in the same century. This manuscript mobility is perhaps more common in medieval times than is generally accepted. How this Fishacre Commentary reached the King's Library is an unknown journey.³³ It may have been part of the manuscripts garnered in various ways after the Dissolution. On the one hand, it is not listed as part of the Library collected by Lord Lumley and purchased by James I for his son Prince Henry in 1609. Our manuscript was, on the other hand, noted in the Catalogue of 1666 on f. 17. Before its present number it was one of the Cotton Manuscripts possibly in the Plutarch category.

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³² Emden, *Dominicans*, 357.

³³ For a short history of the Royal collections of manuscripts, see J.P. Gilson's Introductions to vol. 1, xi–xxxii, and to vol. 3, vii–ix, in the *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*.

London, Lambeth Palace 116 (L)

1 HEADING

- ¹ *Pressmark*: COD. LAMBETH. 116.
- ² *Title*: De nominibus Hebraicis etc. *Language*: Latin.
- ³ *Date and origin*: part I, a collection of short treatises with the shelfmark G. z. 12, is earlier than part II, the work of John Bromyard, with the shelfmark J. γ. 7 — which is clearly mid- to late fourteenth-century.
- ⁴ *Provenance*: part I belonged to St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury. Part II has not been located, but it is Dominican in original content. The two were bound together by Archbishop Sancroft in his rebinding activities.³⁴
- ⁵ *Catalogue*: James, M.R., and C. Jenkins. *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace*. Part 2. Cambridge, 1931, 189–192.

2 CONTENTS

General comment: items 6 to 9 of the catalogue description (see appendix below) are in fact copies of the four prologues of Richard Fishacre's *Sentences* Commentary. The titles of these are written in pencil in the margin. Only these will be described in detail.

- ¹ *Contents*
- ^{1.1} ff. 123^b–125^{vb}, *Lectio in primum librum sententiarum*
Prologue to Book I of Richard Fishacre's *Sentences* Commentary.
Inc. *Ro 11. O altitudo* ...
Exp. ... *tanti laboris ponentes reuertimur ad propositum*.
- ^{1.2} ff. 126^a–126^{va} line 3, *Lectio in 2^m librum sententiarum*
Prologue to Book II of Richard Fishacre's *Sentences* Commentary.
Inc. *Terribiliter magnificatus* ...
Exp. ... *quia creaturas et spirituales et corporales intus et extra cognoscet*.
- ^{1.3} ff. 126^{va} line 6 – 127^{vb}, *Lectio in 3^m librum sententiarum*
Prologue to Book III of Richard Fishacre's *Sentences* Commentary.
Inc. *Prouerbiis 13. Tria mihi sunt difficilia* ...
Exp. ... *incognita ut dicit salomon, aliqua tamen quoquo modo cognita*.
- ^{1.4} ff. 127^{vb}–130^b, *Lectio in 4^m librum sententiarum*
Prologue to Book IV of Richard Fishacre's *Sentences* Commentary.

³⁴ E.G.W. Bill, *A Catalogue of Manuscripts in Lambeth Palace Library MSS. 1222–1860*, with a supplement to M.R. James's *Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace* by N.R. Ker (Oxford, 1972), 1–7.

Inc. *Quid est sapientia* ...
Exp. ... *sacramenta de illis agitur*.

² *Corrections*

There are two small ones in the prologues to Book I, one in the prologue to Book II, and none in either prologues to Book III or Book IV.

³ *Marginalia*

There are no significant ones in any of the four prologues.

⁴ *Hands*

The hands are clearly related to the contents. The following list is suggested:

an Index	ff. 1–30 ^v	Hand 1
	ff. 31–97 ^b	Hand 2
	ff. 98 ^a –116 ^b	Hand 3
includes Prologues	ff. 118–130	Hand 4
Bromyard	ff. 132–236 ^v	Hand 5

3 PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

Make-up of the MS

- ¹ *Number of leaves*: 238.
- ² *Foliation*: endpaper not marked, i, 1–236.
- ³ *Materials*: the endpapers are paper, the rest is parchment. This is very good parchment, quite thick and with little scar tissue. In ff. 1–131^v twelve folios have small holes, several of them from scar tissue. There are at least five tears, two splits, and five repairs — one on f. 103^v much later than the others. About ten folios have non-squared bottom edges and a few have less than straight vertical edges. The edge of f. 24 is incompletely cropped. Ff. 132–134 and 233–236 are very ragged and dirty, indicating a considerable existence separate from ff. 1–131. *Ink*: part I black, part II mostly brown.
- ⁴ *Overall dimensions of the leaves*: measurements were taken of part I on a one-in-twenty-five sample, but proved even more difficult to measure than many other manuscripts, because of the very tight binding. The size of the leaves in part II varies from $7\frac{3}{4}$ to $7\frac{7}{16}$ inches or 19.4 to 18.6 cms. in width by $12\frac{1}{16}$ to $12\frac{3}{16}$ inches or 30.4 to 31 cms. in length.
- ⁵ *Written space*: all writing is *below top line*. All contents, apart from the Index, which has three columns, are in a two-column format. Only the Fishacre section had been measured. The writing block measures about $2\frac{5}{8}$ by $8\frac{5}{8}$ inches or 6.6 by 22.3 cms. *Ruled space*: there are three patterns in part I: for the Index, five

narrow columns with a double vertical line between them; for ff. 31–97 the simplest pattern of four vertical lines giving two columns space with a horizontal line drawn at the top and bottom of the writing block; while ff. 98–130 have a more complex pattern with double vertical lines on the outsides of the two columns and an extra double set of lines dividing the two main margins. The horizontal lines are also doubled at the top and bottom of the writing block, and an extra set of each dividing the top and bottom margins. There are a few narrow lines drawn in the bottom margin for extra text. *Ruled lines*: all lines are drawn in pencil. *Numbers of lines in columns*: the numbers of lines in the columns taken on a one-in-twenty-five folio sample of part I vary from 47 in the early folios to a steady 45 in the sample from ff. 50 to 125.

- ⁶ *Numbering of columns and lines*: there is no numbering at all of columns or lines, neither are letters of the alphabet used.

⁷ *Quiring/Collation*

(The numbering of James's catalogue description is being kept)

number	start	string	end	cue	notes
[1]	EP		i		
A 1 (12)	1	6 ^v –7*	12 ^v	<i>Anan</i>	
B 2 (12)	13	18 ^v –19*	24 ^v	<i>Ca. 44</i>	
C 3 (6)	25	28 ^v –29*	30 ^v	none	2 folios cut off at 30 ^v
D 4 (12)	31	36 ^v –37*	42 ^v	<i>transiordanem</i>	
E 5 (12)	43	48 ^v –49*	54 ^v	none	
F 6 (12)	55	60 ^v –61*	66 ^v	none	
G 7 (12)	67	72 ^v –73*	78 ^v	none	f. 71 has 'e' BRC f. 72 has 'f' BRC
H 8 (12)	79	84 ^v –85*	90 ^v	none	
J 9 (7)	91	94 ^v –95*	97 ^v	none	new work starts, last folio cut off
K 10 (12)	98	103 ^v –104	109 ^v	<i>maiori</i>	a–f in pencil BRC
L 11 (8)	110	113 ^v –114*	117 ^v	none	ff. 116 ^v –117 ^v blank
M 12 (8)	118	121 ^v –122	125 ^v	<i>terribiliter</i>	
N 13 (8)	126	129 ^v –130	131 ^v	none	See NB below
A 14 (10)	132	136 ^v –137	141 ^v	none	b–e, i; 'a' missing
B 15 (12)	142	147 ^v –148	153 ^v	<i>extra de prebendis</i>	a–e, iii
C 16 (12)	154	159 ^v –160	165 ^v	<i>Et ideo homo exigit</i>	a–e, ii
D 17 (12)	166	171 ^v –172	177 ^v	<i>ad leccionem uero nominis</i>	a–e, iiii
E 18 (12)	178	183 ^v –184	189 ^v	<i>gaudebit priuilegio gracie</i>	a–e, v; 'a' faint

F 19 (12)	190	195 ^v –196	201 ^v	<i>clamauit ac ante sanationem</i>	a–e, vi; ‘a’ and ‘e’ faint
G 20 (12)	202	207 ^v –208	213 ^v	<i>melius esset sibi quod ratione</i>	a–e, vii
H 21 (12)	214	219 ^v –220	225 ^v	<i>ubi est signum est et signatum</i>	a–e, viii
J 22 (11)	226	231 ^v –232	236 ^v		a–e, ix

NB In the above table EP means endpaper; * indicates that the string could not be seen; BRC means bottom right corner.

The last two folios of gathering 13 have been cropped, the penultimate one to about two-thirds width and the last one to an edge just sufficient for binding. Neither piece is foliated. The gathering had eight bound folios, but only six numbered folios.

The lack of agreement between the cue and the opening line of f. 226^a would indicate that some text is missing here in gathering 22. But since this treatise is by a later Dominican and not by Fishacre, this problem need not detain us here.

The alphabetical letters at the start of each gathering are in a later, probably seventeenth-century hand. The mis-ordering of the leaf signatures in gatherings 15 and 16 is probably a scribal error in picking up the prepared folios, as the textual contents are in correct order.

The different patterns of quire signatures indicate the separate making of the two parts of this present manuscript. This conclusion is confirmed by the catalogue account of the Library.

- 8 *Arrangement of sheets (hair and flesh sides)*: this seems standard throughout.
- 9 *Pricking*: on most folios in part I there are holes at the top and bottom for the vertical lines. On ff. 98–117 the holes for the writing lines have not been cropped.
- 10 *Ruling*: see above.
- 11 *Quire signatures and leaf signatures*: see table above.
- 12 *Catchwords/Cues*: see table of gatherings.

Handwriting

- 1 *Guide-letters for initials*: only one noticed; many of the initials, however, still have their guide-letters, either within the letter or by its side. *Notes for rubrics or illustrations*: none as such. There is rubrication from ff. 31^a–116^b, with a use of blue as well as red, although the red is more common.
- 2 *Changes of scribe or rubricator in relation to contents and/or quiring*: on the whole changes of scribe link with the contents.
- 3 *Texts of scribal signatures, mottoes, monograms etc.*: none.
- 4 *Titles: scripts, color etc.*: none.

Decoration and Illumination

- ¹ *Minor initials*: these are frequent in part I and are on the whole blue, alternating with red. They look as if the flourisher had not done the historiation. *Line fillers etc.*: none.
- ² *Illuminated initials and borders*: none.
- ³ *Flourished initials*: one only on f. 31^a. It seems to be a late thirteenth-century style.³⁵
- ⁴ *Historiated initials*: none.
- ⁵ *Miniatures*: none.

Binding

- ¹ *Date and origin*: the present binding dates from the early seventeenth century and is part of Archbishop Sancroft's work. The spine has been repaired in recent times.
- ² *Technique*: the front cover is about 13 by 8½ inches or 33 by 21.5 cms.; the back cover is about 13 by 8⅝ inches or 33 by 21.7 cms. The spine varies from about 2⅜ inches at the top and about 2⅝ inches at the base or about 6 to 6.6 cms. The binding is very tight, the folios are sewn on to five thongs, as can be seen on the spine. It is not possible to see the pattern of the thonging, or the fixture of the thongs to the boards. The latter has the feel of cardboard, not wood. The leather is a pale brown with a yellow tint in color and is standard throughout the Sancroft bindings.
- ³ *Decoration*: there is a gilded arms of the Archbishop of Canterbury stamped on both front and back covers. Apart from that, simple lines are tooled at the edges of the binding.

Opening words of the second leaf

<i>Genesis</i>	<i>Genesis</i>	<i>Genesis</i>
<i>Jordanis</i>	<i>Kedmonei</i>	23

4 PROVENANCE

- ¹ Part I of the present manuscript belonged to St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury. Part II has no evidence of ownership although it is of Dominican content.
- ² According to the Catalogues of James and Bill, the two manuscripts, now Lambeth Palace 116, were acquired by Archbishop Bancroft († 1610) or Archbishop Abbot († 1633). It is possible that Part I, formerly G. z. 12., was acquired in Canterbury itself.

³⁵ This would accord with Sonia Patterson's analysis ("Paris and Oxford Manuscripts").

5 BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bill, E.G.W. *A Catalogue of Manuscripts in Lambeth Palace Library MSS. 1222–1860*, with a supplement to M.R. James's *Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace* by N.R. Ker. Oxford, 1972.
- James, M.R., and Claude Jenkins. *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace*. Part 2. Cambridge, 1931.

Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale VII. C. 19 (Np)

1 HEADING

- ¹ *Pressmark*: VII. C. 19.
- ² *Title*: Incog. in 3.4. Senten M.S. *Language*: Latin.
- ³ *Date and origin*: no evidence in or on the manuscript.
- ⁴ *Provenance*: from the binding it is known that this manuscript belonged to the rich and famous library of a new Augustinian house founded in 1339, and built by 1343 in an area called Carbonetum outside Naples. It is in the catalogue of old manuscripts made in 1552.
- ⁵ *Catalogue*: Nine large volumes written in eighteenth- or nineteenth-century hands and organized by non-indexed topic. There are about 110 numbers in the VII. C category throughout the nine volumes. *Np* is found in volume 7, P–Q, 596.

2 CONTENTS

- ¹ *Contents*
 - ^{1.1} ff. 1–7^b, miscellaneous scholastic questions
Inc. *Questio de prouidencia diuina* ...
Exp. ... *Item ydeata in esse producta*.
 - ^{1.2} ff. 8–85^a, Book III of Albert's the Great Commentary on the *Sentences*
Neither title nor provenance, but there is a 3 in the middle of the top margin.
Inc. *Cum uenit igitur plenitudo temporis. Iste liber tercius est de reparatione hominis lapsi* ...
Exp. ... *set deo referantur cui est honor et uirtus et sapientia in secula seculorum. Amen.*
 - ^{1.3} ff. 86–147^v^b, Book IV of Fishacre's Commentary on the *Sentences*
As in Book III there is a 4 in the middle of the top margin up to f. 129.
Inc. *<S>ap 6. Quid est sapientia et quemadmodum facta sit referam et non abscondam a uobis sacramenta dei. Hunc sermonem potest dicere aut magister aut exponens magistrum* ...
Exp. ... *et ideo Iob: omnes tenebre abscondite sunt in oculis eius. Hec non assero sed sic probabile videtur.*
(End of text followed by one and three-quarter empty lines. The text ends midway through the final distinction of the book, i.e. dist. 50.)
- ² *Corrections*
 - ^{2.1} ff. 1–7^b, miscellaneous scholastic questions
There are frequent corrections ff. 1–3^{va} while in ff. 3^{vb}–5^a there are no obvious corrections and in ff. 5^b–7^b there are none.

- 2.2 ff. 8–85, Book III of Albert's the Great Commentary on the *Sentences*
Up to f. 36 some corrections both within the text and in the margins; from f. 36 minimal corrections; towards the end of Book III none, except a few textual insertions.
- 2.3 ff. 86–147, Book IV of Fishacre's Commentary on the *Sentences*
Corrections mostly of words, but not numerous; from f. 119 very few.

3 *Marginalia*

- 3.1 ff. 1–7^b, miscellaneous scholastic questions
In ff. 1–3^{va} and ff. 5^b–7^b there are none. In ff. 3^{vb}–5^a there are some later *nota* and some other marginalia. There are no marginal numbers at all.
- 3.2 ff. 8–85, Book III of Albert's the Great Commentary on the *Sentences*
Mostly omissions of text; some abbreviations for scholastic analysis: e.g. *S^o*; in ff. 74^v–75 and ff. 80–81 there are marginal headings. The numbers of the distinctions of the Commentary found in the side margins are a mixture of arabic and roman numerals. The roman version tends to have the number followed by *d*, while the arabic version has *D/d* preceding the number.
- 3.3 ff. 86–147, Book IV of Fishacre's Commentary on the *Sentences*
From f. 86 to f. 106 there are about ten little summaries in distinction form; some abbreviations for scholastic analysis; marginal headings common. The numbers of the distinctions of the Commentary which are found in the side margins are arabic, but only go to distinction 49. Arabic numerals are used frequently to indicate distinctions within the text. On the whole, the technical apparatus for this book is superior to that of Book III, but it gradually disappears towards the end of the book, e.g. there are no distinction numbers in the top right hand corner from f. 132 to f. 147.

4 *Hands*

It has been very difficult to sort these hands: the main hands are clear to read and not very abbreviated. They are more secretary than book hands. There are variants which in most cases could be accounted for by mood of the writer, quality of parchment, nib, etc. It seems that this manuscript is the product of one scriptorium only.

Questions	ff. 1–3 ^{va}	Hand 1	
	ff. 3 ^{vb} –5 ^a	Hand 2	
	ff. 5 ^b –7 ^b	Hand 3	
Book III	ff. 8–42	Hand 4	
	ff. 42 ^v –85 ^a	Hand 5	possibly another hand as well
Book IV	ff. 86–121 ^{vb}	Hand 6	
	ff. 122 ^{vb} –147	Hand 7	there is a possible change at f. 141 ^{vb}

3 PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

Make-up of the MS

- ¹ *Number of leaves, including all end or added leaves:* I, II, III, all paper; 1–147 all membrane; IV paper.
- ² *Foliation:* ff. 1–147 are in modern arabic numbering. There is distinction numbering in arabic numerals contemporary with the original in the traditional foliation place. This is not complete throughout the manuscript.
- ³ *Materials:* ff. 1–147 are parchment. The quality compared with other Fishacre manuscripts is good. In 147 folios there are seventeen with holes, nine with small holes; twenty with pieces missing from the edge; ten repairs (some of these problems are found on the same folio); three badly creased pages; and worm holes at the beginning and end of the manuscript, gradually disappearing toward the middle, viz. ff. 1–13 decreasing and ff. 140–147 increasing. *Ink:* this is very black throughout the manuscript in shades of black. There are no brownish tints in it.
- ⁴ *Overall dimensions of the leaves:* these were measured, including the first and the last, at one-in-twenty-five folios. The dimensions remained remarkably consistent at just over 9 by 12 inches or 22.8 by 30.5 cms.
- ⁵ *Written space:* the manuscript is written *below top line* in two columns. Measurements were taken, similar to those of the pages. The writing block was fairly consistent in size, about 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ by 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ to 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches, or 8 by 22.2 to 23.3 cms. *Ruled space:* this follows a standard pattern of two columns for the width of the writing block and allows for wide margins on both edges of the page, although owing to the binding the outer edges appear wider. One pattern has a double line across the top of the writing block and a fine line at its base, while the other pattern has one top line only. *Ruled lines:* these are mainly in fine lead, except for some folios in Book IV, where the drawing of lines is heavy and frequently overshoots the writing block. *Numbers of lines in columns:* the actual number of lines in the writing block varies, as the following samples show: 77, 67, 68, 63, 58, 57, 62, 56, 59, 70, 73, 77, 61, 70, 72, 57, 55, 60. There are no extra narrow lines drawn in the margins.
- ⁶ *Numbering of columns and lines:* there is no numbering of columns or of lines.
- ⁷ *Quiring/Collation*

number	start	string	end	cue	notes
1 (4)	–I	I ^v –II	III ^v	none	includes first pastedown
2 (7)	1	3 ^v –4*	7 ^v	none	cannot see how odd sheet is bound in
3 (8)	8	11 ^v –12	15 ^v	none	
4 (8)	16	19 ^v –20	23 ^v	none	
5 (8)	24	27 ^v –28	31 ^v	none	

6 (8)	32	35 ^v –36	39 ^v	none	
7 (12)	40	45 ^v –46	51 ^v	none	
8 (12)	52	57 ^v –58	63 ^v	none	
9 (8)	64	67 ^v –68	71 ^v	none	
10 (12)	72	77 ^v –78	83 ^v	none	
11 (2)	84	84 ^v –85	85 ^v	none	
12 (12)	86	91 ^v –92	97 ^v	none	
13 (12)	98	103 ^v –104	109 ^v	none	
14 (12)	110	115 ^v –116	121 ^v	<i>unus gradus</i>	
15 (8)	122	125 ^v –126	129 ^v	none	
16 (12)	130	135 ^v –136	141 ^v	<i>de corruptione naturali</i>	
17 (6/8)	142	145 ^v –146	147 ^v		are two edges of folios pasted down on f. 147 ^v ?
18 (2)	IV	IV ^v –			pastedown

NB In the above table * indicates that the string could not be seen.

- ⁸ *Arrangement of sheets (hair and flesh sides)*: this seems to be standard throughout.
- ⁹ *Pricking*: this manuscript does not — like many Fishacre manuscripts — have holes along the edge of the page which have not been cropped in the binding process, but has clear patterns of pricking on the folios themselves. This is linked with the layout of the writing block. These patterns are not exactly the same throughout the folios, but are consistent within a gathering. In the absence of cues, this fact has been helpful in identifying the number of leaves in each gathering.
- ¹⁰ *Ruling*: see above.
- ¹¹ *Quire signatures and leaf signatures*: none.
- ¹² *Catchwords/Cues*: see table of gatherings.

Handwriting

- ¹ *Guide-letters for initials*: between ff. 8–85 there are at least sixteen spaces for initials. Four of these have no little letter in the margin; from ff. 86–147 there is only one space and the little marginal letter. *Notes for rubrics*: none. There are only three red initials in the whole manuscript and about seven instances of rubrication, which are either underlining or paraphs.
- ² *Changes of scribe in relation to contents and/or quiring*: the first three items have separate hands. In Book III there is a possible change of hand with gathering 10; while in Book IV there are hand changes at the end of gatherings 14 and 16.
- ³ *Texts of scribal signatures, mottoes, monograms etc.*: none.
- ⁴ *Titles: scripts, color etc.*: none.

Decoration and Illumination

- ¹ *Minor initials*: only the three red initials, 36^{va} *N*, 38^b *D*, 41^a *H*, noted above. *Line fillers*: none.
- ² *Illuminated initials and borders*: none.
- ³ *Flourished initials*: none.
- ⁴ *Historiated initials*: none.
- ⁵ *Miniatures*: none.

Binding

- ¹ *Date and origin*: the manuscript has the standard binding of the Carbonara collection, probably made between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, when the manuscript came into the collection. The library staff identified it as a fifteenth-century binding.
- ² *Technique*: top width 9¹/₈ inches or 23.1 cms., bottom width 9¹/₈ inches or 23.1 cms.; outer length 12¹/₂ inches or 31.9 cms., inner length 12¹/₄ inches or 31 cms.; depth at top 2¹/₄ inches or 5.3 cms. and at the base 2 inches or 5 cms. The binding is made of soft ivory-colored shiny parchment covering handmade cardboard.
- ³ *Decoration*: there is some pattern on the spine of curved flourishing in a brown ink. This is characteristic of a Carbonara manuscript. The title runs: *INCOG IN 3.4 Senten M. S.* At the base of the spine is a paper label with *Biblioteca Nazionale* at the top and *Manoscritti* at the base. Between is the number of the manuscript with each element on a separate line, *VII C 19*.

Opening words of the second leaf

viii queritur utrum prouidentia inducit necessitatem in hiis que prouidentur ...

4 PROVENANCE

From information provided by the staff of the Biblioteca Nazionale it is clear that this manuscript arrived there during the nineteenth century from the collection of the Augustinian convent called Carbonara.

Final Comment

Père Bataillon made a number of helpful observations about this manuscript. Firstly, that Italian scribes in the thirteenth century use arabic numerals in similar ways to English scribes and unlike Parisian scribes, who tended to use roman numerals and the alphabetical method of dividing a page or section. Secondly, that it would seem that in this manuscript the copying is unfinished as the last distinctions in Lombard's *Sentences* are incompletely commented on. This manuscript may contain selections from Fishacre's Commentary on Book IV rather than the

whole of it. Thirdly, that the hand is clear but its provenance is unclear. It is difficult to identify too precisely an *English* or *French* or *Italian* hand at this time. So, without a specific ascription to a scribe or a scriptorium, this manuscript must remain unidentified for now.

5 BIBLIOGRAPHY

Gutierrez, D. "La biblioteca di San Giovanni a Carbonara di Napoli." *Analecta Augustiniana* 29 (1966): 59–212.

Oxford, Balliol College 57 (A)

1 HEADING

- ¹ *Pressmark*: MS 57, formerly Arch. D.6.9. (this in an eighteenth-century hand).
- ² *Summary of contents*: Commentary on the *Sentences* in four books by Richard Fishacre OP. *Language*: Latin.
- ³ *Date and origin*: probably English, late thirteenth-century.
- ⁴ *Provenance*: given to Balliol College in the late fifteenth century by Archbishop Gray, a former member of the College.
- ⁵ *Catalogue*: Mynors, R.A.B. *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College, Oxford*. Oxford, 1963, 39–40.

2 CONTENTS

- ¹ *Contents*
- ^{1.1} ff. 3^a–77^{vb}, Book I
Inc. Ro 11. O altitudo diviciarum sapientie et sciencie dei. Constat non est parum admirabilis illa sapientia quam admirans sic exclamat doctor gencium qui raptus usque ad tercium celum ...
Exp. ... et ideo dico benedicta sit creatrix et gubernatrix omnium sancta et indiuidua trinitas et nunc et semper et per infinita seculorum secula. Amen.
Both sides of f. 78 are blank.
- ^{1.2} ff. 79^a–150^{va}, Book II
Inc. Terribiliter magnificatus es, mirabilia opera tua et anima mea cognosce nimis. Ps. In primo libro deus terribiliter magnus quoquo modo innotuit ubi actum est de magnitudine terribili sue essencie ...
Exp. ... subdita sit quasi dicat semper sublimiori obediendum non semper inferiori et ita deo pre omnibus qui uetat uenialia.
- ^{1.3} ff. 151^a–221^{vb}, Book III
Inc. Proverb 30. Tria sunt difficilia et quartum penitus ignoro: viam aquile in celis, viam colubri super terram, viam nauis in medio mari, viam uiri in adolescentula ...
Exp. ... absoluit eos immo potius denuntiat absolutos.
Both sides of f. 222 have much pencil writing (for Mynor's description see appendix below).
- ^{1.4} ff. 223^a–352^b, Book IV
Inc. Quid est sapientia et quemadmodum facta est referam et non abscondam a uobis sacramenta dei. Sapientia 6. Potest hunc sermonem dicere aut magister aut exponens magistrum ...

Exp. ... *Quecumque dixi in hiis de tuo agnoscant et tui, si qua de meo et tu cognosce tui. Amen, amen, amen.*

f. 352^v has nearly a full page of writing in pencil; begun by a large *S*. Contents not identified.

2 *Corrections*

General comment: in Book I most of the corrections of text, except for scribal changes are written by a later hand: fourteenth-century³⁶ or possibly even later. Book III also has some corrections by the later annotator, as does Book IV. But there are sufficient variations in the correcting practice of each book to ask questions about the manner of the actual copying of the manuscript.

2.1 ff. 3^a–77^{vb}, Book I

The corrections of words and small phrases are about 106; while corrections of text are fewer, about thirty instances in all, of which some are in a much later hand.

2.2 ff. 79^a–150^{va}, Book II

The corrections of words and phrases number about 153. Corrections of text are fewer than in Book I with about twenty-two.

2.3 ff. 151^a–221^{vb}, Book III

There are about 152 corrections of words and short phrases and about fifty-six corrections of text. Of the latter about five insertions of text are in the later hand identified in Book I. Between ff. 177^v and 198, however, there are very few of either kind. The text additions on ff. 211^v and 212 are in the same hand, but not the hand of Book III.

2.4 ff. 223^a–352^b, Book IV

There are over 280 corrections of words and phrases. Textual corrections number over one hundred in the standard pattern of the previous books. Of these about six insertions are by the later hand already noted. In addition there are about thirty-three sections of text enclosed in a red *box*, and about three similarly enclosed by a black line. Finally, from ff. 291^v to 301 and again from ff. 313 to 352 there are no corrections of words or text. This is a higher proportional number of corrections than in the previous three books.

3 *Marginalia*

General comment: in contrast to many other Fishacre manuscripts there is practically no use of arabic numerals for information retrieval, but instead an alphabetical system of identifying content. This practice is reminiscent of Paris rather than Oxford. Apart from Book IV, there are very few of the distinction summaries.

³⁶ ff. 6^v, 11^b, 13^v, 15 (+ geometric figure), 15^{va}, 52^b, 53^{vb}, 67, 69^{va}, 71^a, 72^{va} — all in Book I; 124^{va}, 141, 147^a — Book II; 167, 167^{va}, 175^b, 180^v — Book III; 311^{va}, 310, 340^{va}, 341^v, 351^b — Book IV. Most of these additions are found in the bottom margin.

Book II has a constant use of what looks like a medieval number 2 in the margins, but its function is not clear.

There are some uses of indexing symbols similar to the patterns associated with Grosseteste, but not used with his purpose. They are used instead to identify omissions of text, rather than to analyse the content of text. There are several instances in Books I and II, and at least sixteen in Book IV.

3.1 ff. 3^a–77^{vb}, Book I

The commonest marginalia in Book I are the use of abbreviations to indicate the identity of the analysis of content in terms of scholastic method, i.e. *g^a*, *ob^o*, *op^o*, *q^o* or *s^o*. There are about five uses of arabic numerals for the same purpose. There are over 260 such markings. Other marginalia include about thirteen fingers, several *nota* in ink and some in pencil. There are a few diagrams. Unlike some other Fishacre manuscripts, there is only one small summary in distinction form and no large ones.

3.2 ff. 79^a–150^{va}, Book II

This book is similar in its proportion and type of marginalia to Book I, with well over 300 scholastic abbreviations. There is a variety of other annotations: over thirty-four *nota*, mostly drawn in pencil; eleven fingers, about half of which are in pencil. There are also in pencil about twenty-seven shapes of a blunt fist-like hand and seven heads — not profile faces. There are only four large distinction summaries between ff. 79 and 88. Seven uses of arabic numerals are noted.

3.3 ff. 151^a–221^{vb}, Book III

Unlike Books I and II, Book III has only about sixty uses of scholastic abbreviations, and there are several parts of the text with nothing at all, especially ff. 177^v–198. About eighteen examples of *nota*, the majority in pencil, are seen and about six of the usual fingers. Sixty-nine examples of fists in pencil are found in this book, but only up to f. 191^{vb}. There are two large distinctions on ff. 202 and 215^v, the latter written in the later annotating hand.

3.4 ff. 223^a–352^b, Book IV

Book IV, in common with several other Fishacre manuscripts, has many large distinction summaries; most of these are found in the bottom margin, but some are within the actual text.³⁷ There are about thirty uses of *nota*, mainly pencil and over twenty uses of fingers. Twenty-three fists are found up to f. 232^{vb} and about fourteen from f. 298^b. Twenty at least of these fists are in pencil. At the start of the book there are some instances of margin headings. On the whole the pattern of the marginalia in Book IV of this manuscript does not match evenly with the other three books.

³⁷ ff. 224, 230^v, 231^v, 236, 238, 244, 256*, 257^v, 258^v, 259^{va}*, 263, 267^{a-b}*, 267^v, 273^b*, 277^v, 282, 286⁺, 287^v, 288, 288^v, 295^{vb}*, 303*, 305, 307, 324^a*, 326^{va}*, 328^{vb}*, 331^v space for summary, 333^b*, 335^b*, 348 (* indicates distinction summary within the text; + indicates later textual correcting hand).

4 *Hands*

Most of the hands in this manuscript are book hands. There are the usual problems of variation in the parchment surface, differences in nibs, inconsistencies within each scribal hand. As Mynors commented, this manuscript is the work of many scribes. It may well have been copied from an exemplar or, given the variations in marginalia between the books, from several exemplars. There is no evidence ofpecia markings. In so far as different scribes can be distinguished, the following scribal changes are suggested. There are probably more than are indicated here:

Book I	ff. 1–39 ^a line 41	Hand 1
	ff. 39 ^a line 42–50 ^v	Hand 2
	ff. 51 ^a –77 ^{vb}	Hand 3
Book II	ff. 79–90 ^v	Hand 4
	ff. 91–102 ^v	Hand 5
	ff. 103–150 ^{va}	Hand 6
Book III	ff. 151 ^a –221 ^{vb}	Hand 7
Book IV	ff. 223 ^a –352 ^v	Hand 8

3 PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

Make-up of the MS

- ¹ *Number of leaves, including all end or added leaves:* i, 1–352, ii. On f. 2^v is a title, *Ffissacre super sententias*. For further information about annotations on ff. i–2^v see the catalogue entry.
- ² *Foliation, including all early and mistaken foliation:* modern foliation in ink is 1–352.
- ³ *Materials:* paper pastedowns at the front and back, ff. i and ii are paper, ff. 1–352 are parchment. The quality of the parchment compared with some Fishacre manuscripts is good, quite similar to MS Oriel 43. There are about forty large holes — some quite spectacular. Most result from fall-out of scar tissue. Small holes are more numerous, about seventy. None of them interfere as such with the text. Uneven edges are found about fifty-five times, of which twenty-two are corners. There are about three tears, ten slits, and seven repairs. For a working scholastic manuscript, the parchment is of good quality. *Ink:* the ink is mixed in color, but mostly black, although there are some sections with a brown-black, and very few with a brown-tinted ink.
- ⁴ *Overall dimensions of the leaves:* these were measured in a one-in-twenty-five folio sample proving very consistent in the length: 11½ to 11⅓/16 inches or 29.4 to 29.8 cms. but more variable in the width from 8 to 8½ inches or 20 to 21.1 cms.
- ⁵ *Written space:* the manuscript is written in two columns throughout, and all writing is *below top line*. Measurements of the writing block were taken in a one-in-

twenty-five folio sample. There proved to be variants in width from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches or 6.3 to 7 cms. and in length from $8\frac{3}{8}$ to $9\frac{1}{8}$ inches or 21 to 23 cms. In several of the sample folios the column nearest the binding was wider than the outer column. *Ruled space*: the commonest pattern in this manuscript appears to be the page ruled in two columns, sometimes with a double line at the top. Variants on this include a line down the middle column; this middle line with the addition of two narrow columns on the outer edge of each writing block; and with the addition of one vertical line near the outside edge of the page. On only a few pages are narrow lines drawn, and almost always for specific text. *Ruled lines*: all lines are ruled in lead. *Numbers of lines in columns*: on a one-in-twenty-five page sample, the number of lines in a column varied from 64 to 67 in Book I, 63 to 69 in Book II, 53 to 55 in Book III, and 54 in Book IV.

- 6 *Numbering of columns and lines*: there is no arabic numbering at all of either columns or lines in this manuscript. Instead there is an efficient way of locating a section of a book by the arabic numbering of the distinctions within the book. This is found in the top outer corner of the page. The place of the start of the distinction is indicated by the letter A, or less usually a, with the other letters of the alphabet — mainly upper case — used in order as far as required by the length of the distinction. Letters I, U, and W are not used. If a second use of the alphabet is needed, then lower case letters are used: aa, ab, ac to az. If this sequence is insufficient, then the same pattern is followed ba, bb, bc, to bz. The longest use is in Book IV, distinction 15, which reaches da. This alphabetical use is consistent throughout the Commentary in this manuscript. The size of the alphabetized section is not uniform. Without reading the text, it is not possible to know if the size of the alphabetized section relates to content or otherwise. Logic would suggest that content is a criterion for the use of the letters.

7 *Quiring/Collation*

number	start	string	end	cue	notes
1 (2)	1	1 ^v –2	2 ^v		
2 (12)	3	8 ^v –9	14 ^v	<i>et intelligencia</i>	ob – og over II – IIIIIII
3 (12)	15	20 ^v –21	26 ^v	<i>instantibus</i>	U over I – IIIIIII
4 (12)	27	32 ^v –33	38 ^v	<i>transfertur</i>	⊥ over I – IIIIIII
5 (12)	39	44 ^v –45	50 ^v	<i>ante eius trans. . .</i>	⊕ over I – IIIIIII
6 (12)	51	56 ^v –57	62 ^v	<i>materia</i>	e
7 (16)	63	70 ^v –71	78 ^v		g
8 (12)	79	84 ^v –85	90 ^v	<i>peccato Io 8</i>	spiral over I – IIIIIII
9 (12)	91	96 ^v –97	102 ^v	none	⌈ over I – IIIIIII
10 (12)	103	108 ^v –109	114 ^v	none	⌈ over I – IIIIIII
11 (12)	115	120 ^v –121*	126 ^v	cue cropped	□ over I, III – IIIIIII
12 (12)	127	132 ^v –133	138 ^v	<i>in prolem</i>	□ over I – IIIIIII

13 (12)	139	144 ^v –145	150 ^v		⊞ over I – IIIIII
14 (12)	151	156 ^v –157	162 ^v	none	
15 (12)	163	168 ^v –169	174 ^v	cue cropped	
16 (12)	175	180 ^v –181	186 ^v	none	
17 (12)	187	192 ^v –193	198 ^v	<i>fides talis</i>	
18 (12)	199	204 ^v –205	210 ^v	none	
19 (12)	211	216 ^v –217	222 ^v		
20 (10)	223	227 ^v –228	232 ^v	<i>singula singulis</i>	b–e
21 (12)	233	238 ^v –239	244 ^v	<i>siue impassibile</i>	I – IIIIII
22 (12)	245	250 ^v –251	256 ^v	<i>an aliquis cogno...</i>	– over I – IIIIII
23 (12)	257	262 ^v –263	268 ^v	cue cropped	o over I – IIIIII
24 (12)	269	274 ^v –275	280 ^v	none	+ over I – IIIIII
25 (12)	281	286 ^v –287	292 ^v	none	pattern over I – IIIIII
26 (12)	293	298 ^v –299	304 ^v	none	a over I – IIIIII
27 (12)	305	310 ^v –311*	316 ^v	none	b over I – IIIIII
28 (12)	317	322 ^v –323*	328 ^v	none	c over I – IIIIII
29 (12)	329	334 ^v –335	340 ^v	none	d over I – IIIIII
30 (12)	341	346 ^v –347	352 ^v		e over I – IIIIII

NB In the above table * indicates that the string cannot be seen.

Leaf signatures are seen in the first half of all gatherings except those of Book III, 14–19. In most cases, a letter or pattern has been chosen and underneath it a small vertical line drawn indicating the number of the folio between one and seven. In a few folios the vertical lines have been omitted. These marks are in pencil. Book I has patterns, Book II variations on a square, and Book IV patterns and letters of the alphabet.

- ⁸ *Arrangement of sheets (hair and flesh sides)*: this seems to be standard throughout.
- ⁹ *Pricking*: there are two kinds of pricking observable in this manuscript: on the outer edge of the folio from the horizontal ruling, and on the bottom of the page for the longitudinal lines. The former is found on ff. 83–88, 91–92, 127–139, 141–146, 151–232, and 331–352. It looks as though the trimming of the outer edges was mostly on the actual hole line. The latter are found on ff. 79–99, 118–138, while in ff. 223 to 352 (Book IV) the holes are found for the central column. Very few holes can be seen on the top edge of the page.
- ¹⁰ *Ruling*: see above.
- ¹¹ *Quire signatures*: none. *Leaf signatures*: see table of gatherings.
- ¹² *Catchwords/Cues*: see table of gatherings.

Handwriting

- ¹ *Guide-letters for initials*: there are only nine initials in the manuscript and only six observable guide-letters: in Book I: *r* on f. 3^a, *c* on f. 4^{va}, and *v* on f. 6^b; in

Book II *t* on f. 79^a, and *c* on f. 79^b; Book III has initials, but no guide-letters; in Book IV *q* on f. 223^a. *Notes for rubrics*: there is no rubrication in the manuscript except for the red lines drawn around some of the textual corrections or additions in Book IV. In the Commentary there are in the top margin of most openings the rubricated *L* for *Liber* on the verso side, and the rubricated number in roman numerals on the recto side. Books I, II, and IV seem to have been titled by the same hand, which places the *L* in the middle of the *va* column on the left of the opening and the number of the Book in the middle of the *b* column of the opening. Book III has the *L* and the number *III* in the middle of the top margin on each page of an opening. This manuscript has uses only of red and blue in the book numbering. The *L* is blue throughout, and the number has alternating red and blue down strokes starting with red for *I*.

- ² *Changes of scribe or rubricator in relation to contents and/or quiring*: there are changes of scribe for gatherings 5, 6, 8, which is the start of Book II, gathering 14, which is the start of Book III, and gathering 20, which is the start of Book IV.
- ³ *Texts of scribal signatures, mottoes, monograms etc.*: none.
- ⁴ *Titles: scripts, color etc.*: none.

Decoration and Illumination

- ¹ *Minor initials*: there are none. *Line fillers*: none except for the end of Book IV, where the *n* of the last *Amen* is extended with either continuous small *c*'s or interlocking curves.
- ² *Illuminated initials and borders*: none.
- ³ *Flourished initials*: there are nine initials in the manuscript, of which seven are flourished. They are the opening initial *R* of Book I on f. 3^a; two non-flourished initials, both blue, one on f. 4^{va}, the other on f. 6^b; in Book II the initials *T* on f. 79^a and *C* on f. 79^b; in Book III the initials *P* on f. 151^a and *C* on f. 152^a; and in Book IV *Q* on f. 223^a and *H* on f. 224^b. All the initials except *C* on f. 79^b are blue flourished red. It would appear that according to the criteria established by Sonia Patterson, the flourishing is English and of the later rather than early or mid-thirteenth-century style.
The *L* for *Liber* and the roman numeral of Book III have minimal flourishing: red curlicues for the *L*, and red and blue curlicues for the number.
- ⁴ *Historiated initials*: none.
- ⁵ *Miniatures*: none.

Binding

- ¹ *Date and origin*: according to the introduction of Mynors' Catalogue,³⁸ most of the Balliol manuscripts were rebound in the eighteenth century by Ned Doe.

³⁸ Mynors, lii.

- ² *Technique*: the covered boards are 12³/₁₆ inches or 30.8 cms. long by 8¹/₂ inches or 21.5 cms. wide and 3¹/₄ inches or 8 cms. deep. The binding is a dark reddish-brown suede leather mounted on what feels like thick cardboard. There are five strings, most likely similar to the original binding, which are fixed into the inner cover and pasted down by the paper flyleaves. On the spine is stuck a paper label with the title and beneath it the number.
- ³ *Decoration*: the decoration is the same back and front: around the outer edge of the cover is a thin black line, while a rectangular pattern in a tooled repetition of curved patterns with little “urns” facing out from each corner is the main feature of the covers.

Opening words of the second leaf

magnitudine relatorum vel quemadmodum instructus debet esse animus . . .

4 PROVENANCE

Mynors has given an illuminating account³⁹ of the activities of William Gray, a fellow of Balliol, Chancellor of the University for a little time in the early 1440's and a continuing student in Cologne and in Italy. He was in his later career King's proctor at the Papal Court. During all these years he maintained an active interest in acquiring books, in having them copied by the Dutch scribe who was a member of his household, and in their later decoration and illumination. While Gray had an interest in many different books, he particularly aimed at acquiring works of theology and philosophy. His purchase of the Fishacre *Commentary* is an example of this discrimination. William Gray became Bishop of Ely in 1454, still maintaining his collector's interest. He was very generous in bequeathing his books, amongst them MS 57, to Balliol. A special addition to the library was built to house them. MS Balliol 57 has remained in the College Library since the late fifteenth century.

5 BIBLIOGRAPHY

Mynors, R.A.B. *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College, Oxford*. Oxford, 1963.

Patterson, Sonia. “Paris and Oxford Manuscripts in the Thirteenth Century.” B.Litt. thesis, Oxford University, 1969.

³⁹ Mynors, xxiv–xlv. See also M.B. Parkes, “The Provision of Books,” 415–16.

1 HEADING

- 1 *Pressmark*: MS New Coll. E. 112.
- 2 *Summary of contents and language*: first two books of Richard Fishacre's Commentary on the *Sentences* written in Latin; and a small treatise in French.
- 3 *Date and origin*: end of the thirteenth century; English.
- 4 *Provenance*: given to New College by Archbishop Cranley.
- 5 *Catalogue*: Coxe, H.O. *Catalogus Codicum MSS. qui in Collegiis Aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adservantur*. Vol. 1. Oxford, 1852, New College, 40.

2 CONTENTS

- 1 *Contents*
 - 1.1 ff. 1–7, disparate jottings
 - 1.2 ff. 8–166^a, Book I of Fishacre's *Sentences* Commentary

Inc. *Ro xi. O altitudo divitiarum sapientie et scientie Dei. Constat non est parum admirabilis illa sapientia quam admirans sic exclamat doctor gentium qui raptus usque ad tertium celum ...*
Exp. ... *et ideo dico benedicta sit creatrix et gubernatrix omnium sancta et individua trinitas et nunc et semper et per infinita secula seculorum. Amen.*
Explicit liber primus.
 - 1.3 ff. 168^a–172^{va}, Index

Inc. *A noverat auctoritatem 117 d.19*
Exp. ... *an triplex sit fruicio.*
ff. 172^{vb}–175^v are blank except for pencil jottings and some isolated words.
 - 1.4 ff. 176^a–317^{va} line 31, Book II of Fishacre's *Sentences* Commentary

Inc. *Terribiliter magnificatus es, mirabilia opera tua et anima mea cognoscet nimis. Ps. In primo libro Deus terribiliter magnus quoquo modo innotuit ubi actum est de magnitudine terribili sue essentie ...*
Exp. ... *quasi dicat semper sublimiori obediendum non semper inferiori et ideo deo pre omnibus qui uetat uenialia. Explicit secundus liber.*
 - 1.5 f. 317^{va} line 32–f. 317^{vb} line 14, a second gloss on the same lemma that concludes Book II (the author has not been identified)

Inc. *Ut in malis, scilicet culpe. Et non in malis pene tenetur quibus perfectus suo superiori obedire, nisi limitata fuerit eius obediencia ...*
Exp. ... *non debeo facere illud pro quo certus sum perdere deum.*

- 1.6 ff. 318^a–322^a, Index with a rubric explaining its use
 Inc. *Quid est pax celestis* 37.d.37
 Exp. *De custodibus nostris* 39.d. 16 et 40 .d. 18
- 1.7 f. 322^{a–b}, a note explaining the aim and organization of the preceding index⁴⁰
 Inc. *Tabula ista precedens ordinatur secundum ordinem vocalium* ...
 Exp. ... *Hoc etiam sciendum quod a. designat primam columnam, b. secundam, c. tertiam, d. quartam.*
- 1.8 ff. 322^v–324^v, *Treatise on Confession* in French
 Inc. *⟨A⟩v cumencement de vostre confessiun* ...
 Exp. ... *le seint esperit vous doint sa grace ke vous puissiez deu parfitement. Amen. Amen.*
 This ends on f. 324^v with a prayer/practice *apres vostre confessiun* in red ink.
- 1.9 f. 324^v, seven brief and apparently random notes in two different hands

2 *Corrections*

General comment: as in several other Fishacre manuscripts, the corrections fall into two kinds: corrections of words or phrases and insertions of omitted text. There seem to be no corrections in either of the Indices or in the Treatise on Confession.

- 2.1 ff. 8–166^a, Book I
 There are about 275 corrections of words and phrases unevenly found throughout the book, with none on ff. 112–118. There are about seventy insertions of text. Most of them seem to be one or a few lines. On f. 100 in the bottom margin is an extensive note.
- 2.2 ff. 176^a–317^{va}, Book II
 In Book II there are about 105 corrections of words or phrases, with none between ff. 209 and 214. There are about twenty insertions of text, far fewer than in Book I.

3 *Marginalia*

General comment: unlike some of the other Fishacre manuscripts, there is little use of arabic numerals in the marginalia, neither are there any indications of patristic authorities. There are no illustrative drawings and only about three fingers. One characteristic, however, is the use in the side margins of neat paraps shaped like little black axes, facing mainly to the left. On a few occasions these have two

⁴⁰ “Tabula ista precedens ordinatur secundum ordinem vocalium in alphabeto et secundum omnimodam earundem combinationem; si vis ergo prompte invenire ea que in precedenti libro, secundo scilicet, continentur, sume dictionem principalem de qua fit vel fiet sermo principaliter, et vide vocalem illius sillabe vel utriusque, si sit dictio bissalaba et recurrens ad tabulam invenies illam vocalem vel illas vocales scriptas in margine secundum ordinem predictum et in littera ex opposito invenies singnatum quoto folio et quota pagina et etiam quota linea poteris illud quod queris invenire, hoc etiam sciendum quod a. designat primam columnam b. secundam c. terciam, d. quartam” (Coxe, *Catalogus*, 1: New College, 40).

dots, one on each side of the axe-head, in others one dot only is found. Without reading the text it is difficult to ascertain their functions, unless it is similar to *nota*. There are very few examples of symbols, mainly a horizontal line with a circle at the left with variations of dots above and below the line. There are about ten examples of these, also one use of a vertical line topped by three dots in triangular form. All these shapes are similar to those found in Grosseteste's extensive repertoire of symbols.

3.1 ff. 8–166^a, Book I

After the black paraps, there are about 43 uses of *nota* and 10 instances of *exemplum*. There are some uses of scholastic abbreviations like *op^o* (about four), *s^o* (about twelve), *r^o* (about four), with an extensive use (about seventy-seven) of *Q^o*.

3.2 ff. 176^a–317^{va}, Book II

Book II has about twenty-two actual uses of arabic numerals for identifying distinctions in an argument. It has about nine uses of *exemplum* much like Book I. Far more numerous are the occurrences of *nota* (about 111). The main difference in marginalia is the extensive use, at least 142, of the scholastic abbreviations for identifying parts of an argument.

3.3 ff. 322^v–324^v, *Treatise on Confession* in French

There is one use of a black axe paraph.

4 *Hands*

There are several small clear thirteenth-century book-hands. There are variations, but a minimalist approach has been taken to allow for changes in nib, ink, scribe's mood, and all the other factors which can influence handwriting. The following scribal changes are suggested:

Book I	ff. 8–166 ^a	Hand 1
Index	ff. 168 ^a –172 ^{va}	Hand 2
Book II	ff. 176 ^a –317 ^{va}	Hand 3
Gloss on 2 <i>Sent.</i> 44.1	f. 317 ^{va-b}	
Index	ff. 318 ^a –322 ^a	Hand 2
<i>Treatise on Confession</i>	ff. 322 ^v –324 ^v	Hand 4

3 PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

Make-up of the MS

- ¹ *Number of leaves, including all end or added leaves*: i, ii (cropped), iii are paste-downs which have been lifted; 1–326. Inside the cover is a number 122 (probably a previous shelf reference); f. 3 has the Petrine epitaph noted in Coxe's catalogue (see appendix); ff. 3^v–7 have odd pieces of text, some in ink, others in pencil. On

f. 7^v is a title *Lect(ura) super 1^m et 2^m Sententiarum*. Formal writing starts on f. 8; 325 and 326 seem to be end pastedowns.

- ² *Foliation, including all early and mistaken foliation*: 1–326. The original foliation starts with Book I on f. 8. Arabic numerals are written on top left-hand corner of the opening. Ff. 8^v–166^a equals 1–158. Book II has its own page numbering, also in arabic numerals.
- ³ *Materials*: parchment is the writing material. At least fifty-six pages have holes and some have tears; there are a few repairs, some of them modern. *Ink*: most of Book I is written in black ink, or shades of black. In the latter part there are some sections of black-brown ink. There seems to be no correlation between scribal hand and ink. Book II is written in a gray-black ink, with a few sections of brownish-black ink.
- ⁴ *Overall dimensions of the leaves*: there is minor variation in the size of the leaves. Measurements were made on a one-in-twenty-five sample, averaging at about $4\frac{7}{8}$ by $6\frac{7}{8}$ inches or 12.1 by 17.1 cms. The edges of the pages have been colored red.
- ⁵ *Written space*: measurements were sampled in a one-in-twenty-five folio, and in their size had a link with the specific Book. All the text is written *below top line*. The writing block in Book I is about $1\frac{5}{8}$ by $4\frac{5}{8}$ inches or 4 by 11.7 cms., while Book II's is $1\frac{11}{16}$ by $4\frac{12}{16}$ to $4\frac{15}{16}$ inches or 4.1 by 12 to 12.5 cms. *Ruled space*: four vertical lines divide the page into two wider side margins and one narrow central margin between two writing columns. Often there are two parallel lines at the top and bottom of the writing block. *Ruled lines*: these are finely drawn in lead. *Numbers of lines in columns*: to f. 215^v there are 40 lines a column; on ff. 216–312^v there are 42 lines a column; on ff. 313–317 there are 43 lines a column, and on f. 317^v 42 lines a column.
- ⁶ *Numbering of columns*: the columns are not numbered, but the openings are numbered. In Book I, at the top of each opening on the left page, there are the book number in the middle and the distinction number on the right of the page; on the right hand page there is no numbering at all. In Book II for each opening there occurs the folio number on the left of the left page, followed sometimes by the book number in the middle, and on the right of the left page and at the middle of the right page the distinction number. In Book II the book number is less regular than in Book I, being omitted about thirty times. *Numbering of lines*: all lines, except in the two Indices, are numbered in fives, with arabic numerals.

⁷ *Quiring/Collation*

number	start	string	end	cue	notes
1 (10)	i	2 ^v –3	7 ^v	none	
2 (20)	8	17 ^v –18	27 ^v	none	extra parchment folds
3 (20)	28	37 ^v –38	47 ^v	none	extra parchment folds
4 (20)	48	57 ^v –58	67 ^v	none	

5 (20)	68	77 ^v –78	87 ^v	none	
6 (20)	88	97 ^v –98	107 ^v	none	
7 (20)	108	117 ^v –118	127 ^v	none	
8 (20)	128	137 ^v –138	147 ^v	none	extra parchment folds
9 (20)	148	157 ^v –158	167 ^v	none	
10 (8)	168	171 ^v –172*	175 ^v	none	
11 (20)	176	185 ^v –186	195 ^v	<i>et voluntates</i>	extra parchment folds
12 (20)	196	205 ^v –206	215 ^v	none	
13 (20)	216	225 ^v –226	235 ^v	none	
14 (20)	236	245 ^v –246	255 ^v	none	extra parchment folds
15 (20)	256	265 ^v –266	275 ^v	none	
16 (20)	276	285 ^v –286	295 ^v	none	extra parchment folds
17 (22)	296	306 ^v –307	317 ^v	none	
18 (2)	318	318 ^v –319*	319 ^v	none	
19 (6)	320	322 ^v –323	325 ^v	none	

NB In the above table * indicates that the string could not be seen.

What look like extra cropped pieces of parchment are narrow folds, about 1/4 inch in depth, between gatherings 2 and 3, 3 and 4, 8 and 9, 11 and 12, 14 and 15, 16 and 17. There is no observable pattern or reason for the practice. It may relate to a possible restringing when the manuscript binding was repaired.

- ⁸ *Arrangement of sheets (hair and flesh sides)*: this seems to be standard throughout.
- ⁹ *Pricking*: ff. 8–26 and about 196–218, the pricking holes are still observable; not removed by cropping of the edges. The holes, top and bottom, for the vertical lines are still in place on ff. 130–147^v, 151–166. Similar holes, but at the top only, are seen on ff. 30–47, 54–61, 72–80.
- ¹⁰ *Ruling*: see above.
- ¹¹ *Quire signatures and leaf signatures*: none observed.
- ¹² *Catchwords/Cues*: none observed, except f. 195^v.

Handwriting

- ¹ *Guide-letters for initials*: Book I has about twenty spaces for initials not drawn. *Notes for rubrics or illustrations*: none. There is use of red paraphs from f. 239^v to the end of the Book including the Index. The prayer after the confession treatise is written in red.
- ² *Changes of scribe or rubricator in relation to contents and/or quiring*: there are changes of scribe for gatherings 2, 10, 11, and 18; there is in addition a change of hand at the start of the little treatise on confession.
- ³ *Texts of scribal signatures, mottoes, monograms etc.*: none.
- ⁴ *Titles: scripts, color etc.*: in Book I there is some red underlining to f. 153^v, f. 154 has a few red underlinings, while in ff. 154^v–166^a the underlining is in the

same colored ink as the script. There is no red in the first Index. In Book II red underlining is much sparser. The Index also has some red underlining.

Decoration and Illumination

- ¹ *Minor initials, line fillers etc.*: none.
- ² *Illuminated initials and borders*: none.
- ³ *Flourished initials*: in Book I there are about nineteen flourished initials, alternating red and blue; while in Book II there are only about eleven, three of which are painted but not flourished. Regular alternation of red and blue is not found in this Book. From the criteria established by Sonia Patterson, this work is clearly English in style and fits with the flourishing which was used at the end of the thirteenth century.
- ⁴ *Historiated initials*: none.
- ⁵ *Miniatures*: none.

Binding

- ¹ *Date and origin*: no evidence but probably later than the contents.
- ² *Technique*: length is about $7\frac{1}{8}$ to $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches or 18 to 18.3 cms., width about 5 to $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches or 12.8 to 13.2 cms., and depth about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches or 6.5 cms. The pages are bound with five rows of stitching. The covers are made of a soft leather with a suede finish, russet-brown in color, stuck onto stiff cardboard. Probably at the same time, the binding tapes for tying the book together were inserted through holes in the front and back covers, and stuck to the inside before the parchment was pasted down. Only small stumps of tape remain today. Some repairs have been made on the outside and inside covers. The spine and bottom front corner have been repaired and reinforced at a later time with a rough brown suede.
- ³ *Decoration*: one shiny black ink line just inside the three edges. Then, about a quarter inch or one centimeter from the edge, three narrow shiny black lines making a rectangular pattern; this decoration is repeated on the back of the manuscript.

Opening words of the second leaf

insuper patet quod accedentem ad hanc oportet alias precognoscere ...

Further Comment

The general content of this manuscript, together with its size, the nature of its apparatus, and the fact that the *Sentences* Commentary is that of a Dominican, Richard Fishacre, suggests a likely origin within a Dominican studium at the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century.

4 PROVENANCE

Thomas Cranley,⁴¹ a fellow of Merton, who was Chancellor of the University of Oxford from at least 1390 to 1391 ended his life as Archbishop of Dublin. Archbishop Cranley purchased this manuscript from Frater Richard Torbok, who has not been identified. As a marginal note in the manuscript indicates, Archbishop Cranley bought this manuscript in Chester⁴² and gave the manuscript to New College. It is not clear whether it was given to the College during his lifetime or as a bequest after the Archbishop's death in 1417. It has been in New College Library from the early fifteenth century.

5 BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Coxe, H.O. *Catalogus Codicum MSS. qui in Collegiis Aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adservantur*. 2 vols. Oxford, 1852.
- Emden, A.B. *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*. 3 vols. Oxford, 1957–59.
- Patterson, Sonia. "Paris and Oxford Manuscripts in the Thirteenth Century." B.Litt. thesis, Oxford University, 1969.

⁴¹ *BRUO*, 1:510–511.

⁴² *BRUO*, 1:511; see also the catalogue entry in the appendix. See also M.B. Parkes, "The Provision of Books," 422.

Oxford, Oriel College 31 (Og)

1 HEADING

- ¹ *Pressmark*: Oriel MS XXXI, earlier number A, underneath it 2, underneath it 3.
- ² *Summary of contents*: about eight different works, several by Thomas Aquinas. *Language*: Latin.
- ³ *Date and origin*: probably a fourteenth-century English manuscript.
- ⁴ *Provenance*: given to Oriel College by Thomas Gascoigne in the fifteenth century.
- ⁵ *Catalogue*: Coxe, H.O. *Catalogus Codicum MSS. qui in Collegiis Aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adservantur*. Vol. 1. Oxford, 1852, Oriel College, 10–11.

2 CONTENTS

General comment: only item 7 of the catalogue description (see appendix below), namely an index of Fishacre's Commentary on the *Sentences*, will be described in detail.

1 *Contents*

ff. 307–315, Index of Fishacre's Commentary on the *Sentences*

Title at the beginning, f. 307: *Tabula fyssakyr fratris praedicatoris super 4^{or} libros sententiarum* . . . At the bottom of f. 307^a is *Liber magistri Thome Gascoygne* and *Hunc domui librum Gascoyn studii dat ad vsum*.

The first word in each section is as follows (the initial is missing, but indicated by a guide-letter):

307 ^a [A] <i>mor</i>	307 ^{vb} [B] <i>aptismus</i>	308 ^b [C] <i>ausa</i>	309 ^a [D] <i>elictum</i>
309 ^{va} [E] <i>lemosina</i>	309 ^{vb} [F] <i>ides</i>	310 ^b [G] <i>ratia</i>	310 ^{va} [H] <i>abitus</i>
310 ^{vb} [I] <i>gnorantia</i>	311 ^b [L] <i>atria</i>	311 ^{va} [M] <i>agus</i>	311 ^{vb} [N] <i>atura</i>
312 ^a [O] <i>bduratio</i>	312 ^a [P] <i>aradistus</i>	313 ^b [R] <i>atio</i>	313 ^b [S] <i>acerdos</i>
314 ^a [T] <i>empus</i>	314 ^b [V] <i>eritas</i>	314 ^{vb} [X] <i>ristus</i>	315 ^b [Y] <i>dolum</i>

2 *Corrections*

There are none in the Fishacre section.

3 *Marginalia*

There are none in the Fishacre section.

4 *Hands*

The Fishacre section is written by one scribe in a later, rather than earlier, fourteenth-century hand. The other hands in the manuscript are book hands. They

seem remarkably homogeneous within each treatise with maybe two hands in the longest one. The hand for the Aquinas treatises is clear and plain.

3 PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

Make-up of the MS

- ¹ *Number of leaves, including all end or added leaves:* ff. 1–320; the endpapers are parchment backed with stiff card; these seem to be kept from the original binding.
- ² *Foliation, including all early and mistaken foliation:* there are two sets of pencil numbers, the older ones in square brackets. The correct foliation is 1–320. At one point these numbers are one behind the proper foliation, and later are two behind. The foliation towards the end is confusing to look at.
- ³ *Materials:* the quality of the parchment is very good. It is thick and tough. Compared with most of the other manuscripts containing works by Fishacre, this is superior in quality. There are no large holes, about twenty-one small holes, several of them from fall-out of scar tissue. Only about six uneven edges, two poor shapes, three slits, two tears, five medieval repairs, and about eleven modern repairs (probably from the rebinding by Maltby's) are found. *Ink:* this is very varied in color: ff. 1–190 are mainly black, ff. 190–210 brown, ff. 210–226 brownish-black, ff. 227–265 gray-brown, ff. 267–306 greenish-gray. Ff. 307–315, the Fishacre section, is written in black, while the final folio is the same as the rest of the Aquinas tracts in greenish-gray. The colors of the ink relate to the contents.
- ⁴ *Overall dimensions of the leaves:* about 9³/₄ inches or 24.8 cms. in width by 15³/₄ inches or 39.7 cms. in length.
- ⁵ *Written space:* the whole manuscript is written *below top line* in two columns. The size of the writing block in the Fishacre section is about 3¹/₄ inches or 8.2 cms. in width by 12¹/₄ inches or 31.2 cms. in length. *Ruled space:* there seems to be a simple pattern of four vertical lines and two horizontal lines in most of the manuscript. For one section, ff. 78–190, there is a margin at the outer edge and double lines near the top and bottom of the page. *Ruled lines:* all lines are drawn in lead. *Numbers of lines in columns:* the number of lines varies throughout. In the Fishacre section they vary from 67 to 70.
- ⁶ *Numbering of columns and lines:* there is no numbering of either columns or lines in this manuscript.
- ⁷ *Quiring/Collation*

number	start	string	end	cue	notes
1 (12)	1	6 ^v –7	12 ^v	<i>non est in poten(tia)</i>	f. 1 is a pastedown
2 (12)	13	18 ^v –19	24 ^v	<i>idem penitus</i>	a–f in pencil
3 (12)	25	30 ^v –31	36 ^v	none	a–f in pencil

4 (12)	37	42 ^v –43	48 ^v	<i>que cadere possunt</i>	a–f in pencil
5 (12)	49	54 ^v –55	60 ^v	none	c–f in pencil
6 (12)	61	66 ^v –67	72 ^v	<i>corpus Christi verum</i>	
7 (6)	73	75 ^v –76	77 ^v		folio missing, cut back
8 (12)	78	83 ^v –84	89 ^v	<i>sic numquam sunt in materia</i>	i–vi, in pencil
9 (12)	90	95 ^v –96	101 ^v	<i>translatione subita et simplice</i>	i–vi, in pencil
10 (12)	102	107 ^v –108	113 ^v	cue cropped	i–vi, in pencil
11 (12)	114	119 ^v –120	125 ^v	cue cropped	a–e in pencil, faded ‘f’
12 (12)	126	131 ^v –132	137 ^v	<i>siue suscipiendi</i>	a–b in pencil, rest faded
13 (6)	138	140 ^v –141	143 ^v	<i>verbi gratia: quod ergo assumit</i>	c in pencil
14 (12)	144	149 ^v –150	155 ^v	<i>et sic ut dicunt res</i>	a–b, f in pencil
15 (12)	156	161 ^v –162	167 ^v	<i>homini requiritur absolutio</i>	1–5 in pencil, 6 very faded
16 (12)	168	173 ^v –174	179 ^v	none	c–d in pencil
17 (12)	180	185 ^v –186	191 ^v	none	
18 (2)	192	192 ^v –193	193 ^v	none	
19 (12)	194	199 ^v –200	205 ^v	<i>... postquam recipit illum</i>	1–6 in pencil
20 (4)	206	207 ^v –208	209 ^v	none	
21 (12)	210	215 ^v –216	221 ^v	<i>esset quod figeret</i>	no leaf signatures
22 (5)	222	224 ^v –225*	226 ^v		folio missing
23 (10)	227	231 ^v –232	236 ^v	<i>tam me facile</i>	
24 (10)	237	241 ^v –242	246 ^v	<i>[fes]tinabat et ego</i>	
25 (10)	247	251 ^v –252	256 ^v	<i>quam illorum</i>	
26 (10)	257	261 ^v –262	266 ^v	none	blank page
27 (10)	267	271 ^v –272	276 ^v	<i>se conueniunt</i>	
28 (10)	277	281 ^v –282	286 ^v	<i>nisi uirtus eius</i>	
29 (10)	287	291 ^v –292	296 ^v	<i>sumens carnem</i>	
30 (10)	297	301 ^v –302	306 ^v	none	
31 (10)	307	311 ^v –312	316 ^v	none	blank folios
32 (1)	317		317 ^v		the other side of the bifolium is stuck to this inner edge
33 (2)	318	318 ^v –319	319 ^v		f. 319 is a loosened pastedown

NB In the above table * indicates that the string could not be seen.

8 *Arrangement of sheets (hair and flesh sides):* this seems to be standard throughout.

9 *Pricking:* none.

10 *Ruling:* see above.

11 *Quire signatures:* none. *Leaf signatures:* see table above.

12 *Catchwords/Cues:* see table of gatherings.

Handwriting

- ¹ *Guide-letters for initials*: Fishacre's Index has guide-letters for most new sections. In the first part of the manuscript, initials are in place. In the second part, especially in the treatises by Aquinas, there are spaces for initials, but not even guide-letters. *Notes for rubrics or illustrations*: none. In the first two treatises there is much use of red and blue in paraphs and some rubrication of letters. The Aquinas parts have a rubricated heading within the column.
- ² *Changes of scribe or rubricator in relation to contents and/or quiring*: see section on hands above.
- ³ *Texts of scribal signatures, mottoes, monograms etc.*: none.
- ⁴ *Titles: scripts, color etc.*: there is one title for the Fishacre Index.

Decoration and Illumination

- ¹ *Minor initials, line fillers etc.*: none.
- ² *Illuminated initials and borders*: none.
- ³ *Flourished initials*: some in the first treatises. These are definitely fourteenth-century in style.
- ⁴ *Historiated initials*: none.
- ⁵ *Miniatures*: none.

Binding

From the structure indicated in the collation pattern, it seems that probably two separate manuscripts have been bound together as one; the first part to f. 226, and the second part from f. 227 to 319^v. The second part is all Dominican in authorship.

- ¹ *Date and origin*: modern nineteenth-century binding restored by Maltby of Oxford, very similar in every way — color, leather, and tooling — to Oriel MS 43. It was probably a standard pattern for the Oriel Library.
- ² *Technique*: the measurements are about 16 inches or 40 cms. length by about 10 inches or 25 cms. width by about 3¼ inches or 8.2 cms. depth. The book is stitched onto seven double thongs, maintaining the initial medieval structure.

Opening words of the second leaf

The writing is much damaged, but the Catalogue notes: *mencio facta* ...

4 PROVENANCE

Thomas Gascoigne was much interested in the study of theology and seriously studied Grosseteste and other thirteenth-century theologians. There is no real evi-

dence as to the ownership of this manuscript before it came into his possession.⁴³ A price of eight shillings is recorded in it. It could have been surplus to requirements in the library of a religious house, possibly Dominican, and sent for sale. Thomas Wykis,⁴⁴ who is named at the end of the manuscript, does not appear in Emden's Biographical Registers of either Oxford or Cambridge. Gascoigne himself rented a room at Oriel from 1429–1449, when on account of his various gifts and generous charity to the College, he was granted the use of his room rent-free thereafter.⁴⁵ Perhaps Oriel MS 31 was one of the gifts, or perhaps it came to the College after Gascoigne's death in 1458. It has been in the Oriel College Library since the fifteenth century.

5 BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Coxe, H.O. *Catalogus Codicum MSS. qui in Collegiis Aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adservantur*. 2 vols. Oxford, 1852.
- Emden, A.B. *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*. 3 vols. Oxford, 1957–59.

⁴³ *BRUO*, 2:745–748.

⁴⁴ See reference to Thomas Gascoigne's will with its mention of one of the fellows, Mr. Thomas Wyche, in Parkes, "The Provision of Books," 412.

⁴⁵ *BRUO*, 2:746.

Oxford, Oriel College 43 (O)

1 HEADING

- ¹ *Pressmark*: Oriel MS XLIII.
- ² *Title*: Ricardi Fishacre, Ord. Praed. Super Quatuor Libros Sententiarum Commentarius cum Prologo. *Language*: Latin.
- ³ *Date and origin*: catalogue indicates early fourteenth century.
- ⁴ *Provenance*: given to Oriel College in 1430 by Master Johannes Martill.
- ⁵ *Catalogue*: Coxe, H.O. *Catalogus Codicum MSS. qui in Collegiis Aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adservantur*. Vol. 1. Oxford, 1852, Oriel College, 16.

2 CONTENTS

- ¹ *Contents*
 - ^{1.1} ff. ii^v–iii, sets of distinctions
 - ^{1.2} ff. iv–v^v, *Ista questio que hic excerpta passim ponitur deficit in secundo libro Dist. 14*⁴⁶

Inc. *Tria queramus: an supra firmamentum sint aque ...*
Exp. ... *et nulla aliam permittit descendere.*
 - ^{1.3} f. v^v, *Istud quod sequitur deficit in 3 libro in fine 4 distinctionis ad tale signum*⁴⁷

Inc. *Set contra hoc obicitur quia ex dictis ...*
Exp. ... *gignere ut homo generare.*
 - ^{1.4} ff. 1–117^{vb}, Book I

Inc. *Ro xi. O altitudo diuitiarum sapientie et scientie dei. Constat non est parum admirabilis illa sapientia quam admirans sic exclamat doctor gentium qui raptus usque ad 3^m celum ...*
Exp. ... *et ideo dico benedicta sit creatrix et gubernatrix omnium sancta et indiuidua trinitas et nunc et semper et per infinita seculorum secula. Amen, amen, amen. Explicit liber primus hic.*
 - ^{1.5} ff. 118^a–235^{vb}, Book II

Inc. *<T>erribiliter magnificatus es, mirabilia opera tua et anima mea cognosce nimis. Ps. In primo libro deus terribiliter magnus quoquo modo innocuit ubi actum est de magnitudine terribili sue essentie ...*
Exp. ... *subdita sit quasi dicat semper sublimiori obediendum non semper inferiori et ita deo pre omnibus qui uetat uenialia.*

⁴⁶ This *Quaestio* is found at Book II, distinction 14, only in the more recent manuscripts (AP), but inserted (as here) in spare folia between books in four other manuscripts (BCOR). See Appendix C of the edition of Book II.

⁴⁷ This passage is missing from Book III, distinction 4 and is indicated by a Grosseteste indexing symbol.

- 1.6 ff. 236^a–322^a, Book III
 Inc. *Prouer 30. Tria sunt mihi difficilia et quartum penitus ignoro: viam aquile in celis, uiam colubri super petram, viam nauis in medio mari et uiam uiri in adolescentula* ...
 Exp. ... *denuntiatione absoluit eos immo potius denuntiat absolutos.*
- 1.7 ff. 322^{va}–330^{vb}, Index in alphabetical order
 Inc. *Liber primus (A)mor. Vtrum pater et filius diligant se spiritu sancto* ...
 Exp. ... *Explicit.*
- 1.8 ff. 331^a–489^{vb}, Book IV
 Inc. *Quid est sapientia et quemadmodum facta sit referam et non abscondam a uobis sacramenta dei. Sap 6. Potest hunc sermonem dicere aut magister aut exponens magistrum* ...
 Exp. ... *Quecumque dixi in hiis de tuo agnoscant et tui [vel tu suprascriptum], si qua de meo et tu ignosce et tui. Amen, amen, amen.*
- 1.9 ff. 490–491, Index in five columns of words, items are numbered 1–134
 Inc. *Ad* ...
 Exp. ... *Pondus, numerus, men* (†...†).
- 1.10 ff. 492^a–523^{vb}, Index in alphabetical order
 Inc. *Agens quando* ...
 Exp. ... *Queritur utrum omni bono equaliter.*
- 2 *Corrections*
General comment: as in several Fishacre manuscripts the corrections fall mainly into two types: corrections of words or phrases and insertion of omitted text. It would seem from the length of many of these that the missing text consists of lines omitted by the scribe. The corrections are most numerous in the first part of Book I. Each book seems to have a better system of correction at the start than it maintains at the end, although each book has its own pattern.
- 2.1 ff. iv–v^v, omitted text from Book II and III
 There are no corrections.
- 2.2 ff. 1–117^b, Book I
 From f. 1 to 48^v there are frequent corrections of words, from f. 49 to 62^v there are none; but from 62^v to 117^{vb} some corrections of words are found. A similar pattern is found with the insertion of omitted text, mostly consisting of one line. There are about seventy-eight insertions up to f. 48^v and a similar number after f. 62^b. A few in both parts are in a much later hand.
- 2.3 ff. 118^a–235^{vb}, Book II
 There are only a few corrections of words, but about 180 insertions of omitted text. About ten of these are of several lines, varying between five and eleven lines in length.

2.4 ff. 236^a–322^a, Book III

Book III has a similar pattern to Book II, few corrections of words, but about 150 insertions of omitted text with about eleven varying between four and ten lines in length.

2.5 ff. 331^a–489^{vb}, Book IV

Again this book is similar to Books II and III in having very few word corrections, but many insertions of omitted text: about 240 with at least ten of more than one line in length. From f. 448 on there are less frequent insertions of omitted text, and very sparse corrections of words and phrases.

3 *Marginalia*

General comment: in common with most of the Fishacre manuscripts, there is a regular use of summaries of the text in distinction form. Most of these are found in the bottom margin. But, unlike most of the other manuscripts, it is not certain that these *arbores ramificatae* are contemporary with this one. There are a few summaries in a hand contemporary with the manuscript. The majority are in a distinctive bold hand in black ink, which is extensive in the indices, as well as seeming to be the source of the annotation with symbols. This is designated Hand 1. On ff. 394 and 431 there are about three distinction summaries in a third hand which is similar to Hand 2. There are very few small marginal distinctions: none in Book I, about six in Book II, about seven in Book III, and about four in Book IV.

3.1 ff. iv–v^v, omitted texts from Books II and III

There are no marginalia as such, but one use of a symbol.

3.2 ff. 1–117^b, Book I

Book I⁴⁸ has fewest of the large distinction summaries, only fourteen. There are none between ff. 3^v–54 and ff. 67–105^v.

3.3 ff. 118^a–235^{vb}, Book II

Book II⁴⁹ has about fifty-four of the large distinction summaries. This is a high number of this kind of summary.

3.4 ff. 236^a–322^a, Book III

Book III⁵⁰ has about forty-three of the large distinction summaries.

⁴⁸ On ff. 3, 54^v, 59, 61, 66, 66^v, 106, 107^v, 108, 110^v, 111, 113, 116, 116^v.

⁴⁹ On ff. 118, 121^{va}, 122, 126, 132, 133, 135, 136^v, 139, 139^{vt}, 143, 146^v, 148^b, 150^t, 151, 153, 155^v, 157^{vt}, 158^v, 162, 169, 173, 175, 178^v, 181^v, 184^v, 186^v, 189^v, 192^v, 193, 198, 204 (in pencil), 206, 209^v, 211, 212^v, 213, 214, 216, 218, 219, 220^v, 222^v, 223^v–224, 225^v, 226^v, 227, 229^v, 230, 230^v, 231, 232^{vt}, 233^v, 235.

⁵⁰ On ff. 237^v, 244, 251^v, 252^v, 254^v, 255, 256^t, 257, 259, 261, 262^v, 268^t, 269^v, 270, 271^v, 279^v, 283^v, 284^v, 289^v, 291^v, 292^v–293, 294, 301, 303, 303^v, 304, 307^v, 308, 309, 309^v (2), 310^t, 310^{vt}, 311^t, 312^v, 313, 313^t, 315, 316, 318^t, 320^v, 321^t, 321^{vt}. (* indicates a distinction summary written in a hand contemporary with the manuscript.)

3.5 ff. 331^a–489^{vb}, Book IV

Book IV⁵¹ has about forty-eight of the large distinction summaries.

As in several of the Fishacre manuscripts, this manuscript is very well provided with marginalia as apparatus for understanding and using the text. The instances seem to be characteristic of each book. Use of arabic numerals is conspicuous by its absence, except in very few places. There is, however, a greater use of alphabetical letters. There is an extensive use of fingers in the first books, mainly in pencil but some in ink. They are found in all books, but in diminishing numbers, with most in Book I and fewest in Book IV. Drawings are few and include some geometrical diagrams, and others of animals, faces, boxes, and a star. They are found in Books I, II, and IV, but none in Book III. Book II, at its beginning, has some scholastic abbreviations indicating parts of a distinction or argument. Book IV has a few similarly. There are a few instances of *ex^m*. There are no marginal identifications of authorities in any of the books. Some folios, especially in the last book, have extensive pencil notes, many of these, as in earlier folios of the book, are *nota*. Some of these are given with uppercase *N* and others with lowercase *n*. A few *nota* are found in Book I, more in Book II, but only very few in Books III and IV.

Characteristic of this manuscript is considerable marginal annotation with indexing symbols. Most are Grosseteste's symbols. They are found in the central margin or in the bottom margin throughout the manuscript, and have some links with the distinction summaries and some with other material. But it is possible that these could either be linked with the giver of this manuscript to Oriel, or with Gascoigne who liked using these symbols. It is difficult to describe the shapes in words. The following are descriptions of some symbols which stand for numbers: a short line to the right with an open circle at the left in which is a dot stands for one; while the same shape but with a line to the left and the open circle in which is a dot on the right stands for two; two circles with center dots open on the outer sides stand for four.⁵²

4 *Hands*

It seems that most of this manuscript is the work of one scribe. It is a very small but beautifully neat book hand. Much of the annotation is either the scribe's work as corrector, or by another corrector, contemporary with the scribe. Then there are the summaries and the Indices, which all seem to be in distinctive hands. There are a few marks by later hands, but not many. Then there is the second equally

⁵¹ On ff. 332^v, 340, 341^v, 344⁺, 346^v, 351, 356, 356^v, 363^v, 364, 367^v, 374, 375^v, 394, 394^v, 400, 405^v, 410^v, 411, 412⁺, 412^{v+}, 413^v, 415^{v+}, 417^v, 418, 419, 421, 422^v, 427⁺, 431, 433, 435, 435^v, 443^v, 446, 447⁺ (in pencil), 457 (in pencil), 462 (in pencil), 469, 469^{v+}, 470, 471 (in pencil), 473, 480^v, 485, 488^{v+}.

⁵² We are grateful to Père Louis Bataillon OP for this information.

distinctive summary-maker hand (see *Marginalia*, General comment). The hands used for most of the text are book hands. The following table is suggested:

Distinctions	ff. ii ^v –iii	Hand 1	hand of many margin summaries
Question	ff. iv–v ^v	Hand 2	f. 316 ^v bottom margin note
Book I	ff. 1–48 ^v	Hand 3	
	ff. 49 ^a –62 ^v	Hand 4	
Book II–III	ff. 63 ^a –322 ^b	Hand 3?	change f. 181, f. 207 (?)
Index	ff. 322 ^v –330 ^v	Hand 1	
Book IV	ff. 331 ^a –340 ^{vb} line 36	Hand 5	very like Hand 3, but different <i>g</i> , uses ÷ for ‘est’
	ff. 340 ^{vb} line 36–489 ^{vb}	Hand 3	
Index	ff. 490–491	Hand 1	
Index	ff. 492 ^a –502 ^v	Hand 6	
	ff. 503 ^a –503 ^{vb}	Hand 1	
	ff. 504 ^a –512 ^{vb}	Hand 6	
	f. 513 ^a	Hand 1	
	ff. 514 ^a –514 ^{vb}	Hand 6	
	ff. 516 ^a –516 ^{vb}	Hand 1	
	ff. 517 ^a –523 ^{vb}	Hand 6	
		Hand 7	<i>arbores</i> marked + in 3. <i>Marginalia</i>

Hand 1 has written numerous annotations in the first index, and in some other parts of the main text.

3 PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

Make-up of the MS

- ¹ *Number of leaves, including all end or added leaves:* i, ii, iii, iv, v, 1–525. F. iii^v has in one hand, probably a later fourteenth-century hand, the sentence, *Ffishacre primus doctor de ordine predicatorum qui scripsit super li(bros) sententiarum*; while in a different hand there is another four-and-a-half lines of text as quoted in the Catalogue (see below).
- ² *Foliation, including all early and mistaken foliation:* modern foliation is 1–525. An older foliation numbers 1 as [4], and so on. From f. 487 the numbers in square brackets are two behind the modern foliation, but from f. 492 to f. 523 the numbers in square brackets are three behind the modern foliation.
- ³ *Materials:* ff. i and 525^v are stiff cardboard; ff. i^v, ii, iii^v, 524^v, and 525 paper; ff. ii^v, iii, iv, v, 1–524 membrane. Ff. iv–v^v are very thick and stiff parchment.⁵³ In comparison with other Fishacre manuscripts, the parchment is of good quality.

⁵³ These are the facts of the nineteenth-century rebinding.

In 525 folios there are about seventeen pieces lost through scar tissue dropping out, forty-nine holes, many of them minute, five tears, eleven slits, twenty badly shaped folios, mostly the bottom edge and outer corner, and fourteen repairs. There is some deliberate damage, as in f. 193, which has the outer margin cut out, and ff. 207, 379, and 442, which have parts of the bottom margin removed. F. 491 in the Index has only about one-fifth of its width remaining. *Ink*: the ink used is mostly black, but there are some brown shades as well, for example, ff. 1–48^v are in black with brown tints; while ff. 49–330^v are mostly strong black; ff. 331–370 have dark brown ink, some with blackish tints, some with light brown; ff. 460–486^v are in a brownish ink, which is not indelible. Ff. 160, 438, 466^v–468, and 460 at the bottom are water-damaged and the ink has run.

- 4 *Overall dimensions of the leaves*: these were measured in a one-in-twenty-five folio sample and proved remarkably consistent, with little more than $\frac{1}{8}$ inch or 0.3 cms. variation, at 7 by $10\frac{3}{8}$ inches or 17.4 by 26.2 cms.
- 5 *Written space*: sample measurements of the writing block were taken and prove very consistent at 2 by 7 inches or 5.2 by 17.5 cms. Although the text itself is written *below top line*, some parts in the indices are written *above top line*, namely: ff. 322^v–330^v, 490–490^v, 496–497, 503–503^v, 513, and 516–516^v. *Ruled space*: the commonest pattern in this manuscript has the page ruled in two columns, with a central line in the middle narrow column. Horizontally, there are two sets of parallel lines at the top, one for the book and distinction numbering, the other for the top of the writing block; and a parallel set at the bottom of the writing block. The variation on this is the omission of all the parallel lines in and outside the writing block. Whenever text is written in the bottom margins narrow ruling is provided; such is also found often in the side margins. *Ruled lines*: all lines are drawn in lead. *Numbers of lines in columns*: on a one-in-twenty-five folio sample there is a consistent number of 51 lines for all the text in this manuscript. The number of lines in the columns of the indices varies from 57–60 at the end of Book III and 46–52 at the end of Book IV.
- 6 *Numbering systems*: generally in this manuscript there is no numbering of columns or lines of Books I to IV, with the exception of the numbering with arabic numerals of columns in the second Index, ff. 492–523^v and columns 1–128. There is mis-numbering only three times: 72 is written 42; 75 is followed by 78, then 77 and 78, 76 being omitted; and 84 is written 48. This last has been corrected. The number of the distinction is written in the top right-hand corner of the opening. There is also a numbering of pages in the manuscript, with a different numbering system for each Book. Book I, ff. 1–117^v, has page numbering from 1–234 in arabic numerals; page 1 on f. 1, page 2 on f. 1^v, and so on. About eleven page numbers are missing in Book I. Book II, ff. 118–235, is numbered with small roman numerals from *i* on f. 118 to *ccxxxvi* on f. 235^v. Book III, ff. 236–322, has arabic numerals with a horizontal line above, from 1 on f. 236 to 178 on f. 322.

Book IV, ff. 331–489^v, has roman numerals with a horizontal line above each number, from *i* on f. 331^v to *cccxxviii* on f. 489^v. In Book IV the horizontal line is missing on several occasions, particularly towards the end of the book. There is possibly some mistaken numbering among the roman numerals but such is not easily seen.

⁷ *Quiring/Collation*

number	start	string	end	cue	notes
1 (2)	ii	ii ^v –iii	iii ^v	none	
2 (2)	iv	iv ^v –v	v ^v	none	
3 (16)	1	8 ^v –9	16 ^v	cue cropped	1 in pencil f. 1 ^a , see NB
4 (16)	17	24 ^v –25	32 ^v	<i>spiritualis</i>	2
5 (16)	33	40 ^v –41	48 ^v	<i>extensio</i>	3
6 (14)	49	55 ^v –56	62 ^v	<i>trinitas est</i> <i>que non est</i>	4
7 (16)	63	70 ^v –71	78 ^v	cue cropped	5
8 (16)	79	86 ^v –87	94 ^v	<i>Item cum</i> (cr)	6
9 (16)	95	102 ^v –103	110 ^v	none	7
10 (16)	111	118 ^v –119	126 ^v	<i>et naturalia</i> (cr)	8
11 (16)	127	134 ^v –135	142 ^v	<i>Augustinus in</i> (cr)	9
12 (16)	143	150 ^v –151	158 ^v	none	10
13 (16)	159	166 ^v –167	174 ^v	none	11
14 (16)	175	182 ^v –183	190 ^v	none	12
15 (16)	191	198 ^v –199	206 ^v	none	13; f. 193 margin cut
16 (16)	207	214 ^v –215	222 ^v	none	14
17 (13)	223	230 ^v –231	235 ^v	none	15; missing folios, no evidence of place
18 (16)	236	243 ^v –244	251 ^v	<i>subintellige omnes</i>	16
19 (16)	252	259 ^v –260	267 ^v	none	17
20 (16)	268	275 ^v –276	283 ^v	<i>se erunt</i> (cr)	18
21 (16)	284	291 ^v –292	299 ^v	<i>continendi</i>	19
22 (16)	300	307 ^v –308	315 ^v	none	20
23 A (1)	316		316 ^a		21 ^a . See NB below
23 B (14)	317	323 ^v –324	330 ^v		21 ^b
24 (16)	331	338 ^v –339	346 ^v	none	22
25 (16)	347	354 ^v –355	362 ^v	none	23
26 (16)	363	370 ^v –371	378 ^v	none	24
27 (16)	379	386 ^v –387	394 ^v	none	25
28 (12)	395	400 ^v –401*	406 ^v	none	26
29 (16)	407	414 ^v –415	422 ^v	<i>enim predicant</i>	27

30 (16)	423	429 ^v –430	438 ^v	<i>contraheret spirituale</i> (cr)	28. See NB below
31 (16)	439	446 ^v –447	454 ^v	<i>pecuniam plus quam</i> (cr)	29
32 (16)	455	462 ^v –463	470 ^v	none	30
33 (16)	471	478 ^v –479	486 ^v	cue cropped	31
34 (5)	487	?–?*	491 ^v	none	32
35 (16)	492	499 ^v –500	507 ^v	<i>sub specie panis</i>	
36 (14)	508	514 ^v –515	521 ^v	<i>de antiquis regulis</i>	
37 (4)	522	523 ^v –524	525 ^v		

NB In the above table * indicates that the string could not be seen.

At the end of several gatherings the cue has been cropped (cr), so when possible it has been reconstituted from the first line of the next folio. The gatherings are homogeneous with twenty-eight of the gatherings having sixteen folios. The arabic numeral in the column of notes indicates the quire signature of the last binding, probably in the nineteenth century. F. 316 has been added to gathering 23A/23B but no join can be seen in the gathering. In gathering 30 there is confusion in the stringing of the actual gathering: sight indicates 429^v–430 as the stringing, but logic indicates 430^v–431.

- ⁸ *Arrangement of sheets (hair and flesh sides)*: this seems to be standard throughout.
- ⁹ *Pricking*: the holes for the lines in the writing block remain uncropped in many places, including ff. 49–62, 103–109 (not 105), 125, 151–158, 191–192, 199, 209–220, 230, 239–249, 262–266, 272–283, 287–299, 305–330, 333–336, 339–342, 353–361, 384–390, and 393–406.
- ¹⁰ *Ruling*: see above.
- ¹¹ *Quire signatures and leaf signatures*: no original ones, but there are modern quire numbers in pencil, relating probably to the rebinding in the restoration by Maltby, Oxford.
- ¹² *Catchwords/Cues*: see table of gatherings.

Handwriting

- ¹ *Guide-letters for initials*: there are very few of these in this manuscript. Book I has at least four, three of them for *h*; Book II one, a *T* for the first initial; Book III has at least six, two for *s* and two for *p*; but Book IV has none. *Notes for rubrics or illustrations*: none. In the text of the commentary there are, in the mid top margin of most openings, the rubricated *L* for *Liber* on the verso side, and the rubricated number in roman numerals on the recto side. This manuscript has a sparse use of red and blue in rubrication and provision of paraps within the script. In some cases, the color use is linked with the start of a new distinction in the Commentary, but this usage is not consistent in each book. An unusual characteristic is the predominant use of blue for many of the paraps. There are

several red blobs, but no red underlining. It is not clear whether rubrication is a scribal function or not. It is difficult to link it clearly with the hands. From f. 322^v onwards there is no rubrication as such; that is, for the first Index, Book IV and the second Index.

- ² *Changes of scribe or rubricator in relation to contents and/or quiring*: there are changes of scribe for gatherings 3, 6, 7, 24, which is the start of Book IV, and gathering 36.
- ³ *Texts of scribal signatures, mottoes, monograms etc.*: none.
- ⁴ *Titles: scripts, color etc.*: none.

Decoration and Illumination

- ¹ *Minor initials*: there are a few. *Line fillers*: none except for the end of Book I f. 117^{vb} line 30 which has half a line of continuous small *c*'s and the end of Book II f. 235^{vb} line 7 which has a set of arrow heads, while line 8 has *c*'s as in Book I.
- ² *Illuminated initials and borders*: none.
- ³ *Flourished initials*: the opening initial *R* of Book I on f. 1^a, and the opening *P* of Book III on f. 236^a, are particularly beautiful. They both have a parti-colored pattern painted blue and red in the letter. The former extends over 7 lines, the latter over 19 lines. Both have intricate red and blue pen flourishing. There are no other initials in Book I. Book II has no opening initial, but a three-line space for one. Book III is rich in flourished initials, with about forty in all. They mostly indicate the start of a new distinction. Many are blue flourished red, and some are red flourished blue. A few initials have no flourishing. Neither the first nor the second index has any flourished initials. Book IV has one initial: blue *Q* flourished red on f. 331^a, at the opening of the book. The variations in the use of flourished initials is great. The patterns, however, are similar and were probably drawn at the same time. The designs within the flourishing seem to fit the patterns of late thirteenth-century English flourishing, as delineated by Sonia Patterson. The flourishing on the *L* for *Liber* and the roman numeral of the book have variations for each book, becoming progressively more elaborate with each book. The patterns are drawn in both red and blue.
- ⁴ *Historiated initials*: none.
- ⁵ *Miniatures*: none.

Binding

- ¹ *Date and origin*: the current binding is by Maltby, Oxford; date not given in the manuscript.
- ² *Technique*: the length is 10⁵/₈ by width 7¹/₄ by depth 3¹/₄ inches or length 26.8 by width 18.4 by depth 8.5 cms. The binding is soft light brown leather on slightly bevel-edged wood. There are five sets of thongs to which the gatherings are sewn.

Near the top is stamped in capital letters the title *Ricardi Fishacre, Ord. Praed. super quatuor Libros Sententiarum Commentarius, cum Prologo*. On the inside cover are stuck in vertical order the old numbers from a previous binding, *B 43*. On the card cover is written *F. 10*. This is possibly an earlier shelf reference.

- ³ *Decoration*: the front and back covers are tooled with the same pattern of three longitudinal rectangles with curlicues at the corners of the middle rectangle. Inside is a shape like a gothic window at the base of which are five parallel lines.

Opening words of the second leaf

f. v (*Quaestio*): *nullo modo susceptivum horum . . .*

f. 2^a (Commentary): *tue in rota. Illa de qua legitur in exodo . . .*

Further Comment

This seems to be an English thirteenth-century manuscript, but to whom it belonged before it was given to Oriel College is not clear. There are no price references in it.

4 PROVENANCE

According to Thomas Gascoigne, John Martill,⁵⁴ a fellow of Oriel College for many years, gave this manuscript to the College in 1430. It has been in the College since then.

5 BIBLIOGRAPHY

Coxe, H.O. *Catalogus Codicum MSS. qui in Collegiis Aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adservantur*. 2 vols. Oxford, 1852.

Emden, A.B. *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*. 3 vols. Oxford, 1957–59.

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Patterson, Sonia. "Paris and Oxford Manuscripts in the Thirteenth Century." B.Litt. thesis, Oxford University, 1969.

⁵⁴ See *BRUO*, 2:1231.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 15754 (P)

1 HEADING

- ¹ *Pressmark*: LATIN 15,754.
- ² *Title*: Le Commentaire de Richard Fitzaker sur les trois premiers livres des Sentences. *Language*: Latin.
- ³ *Date and origin*: a seventeenth- to eighteenth-century hand on f. IV asserts that it is a thirteenth-century manuscript.
- ⁴ *Provenance*: bequeathed to the Sorbonne by Gerard of Abbeville in 1272.⁵⁵
- ⁵ *Catalogue*:
- ^{5.1} Delisle, Léopold. *Inventaire des manuscrits de la Sorbonne, conservés à la Bibliothèque Impériale sous les numéros 15176–16718 du fonds latin*. Paris, 1870, 24.
- ^{5.2} Delisle, Léopold. *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*. Vol. 3. Paris, 1881, 27 no. 47.

2 CONTENTS

- ¹ *Contents*
- ^{1.1} ff. 1–8^b, Index
This is written in three columns in alphabetical order, probably incomplete.
Inc. *Amor* ...
Exp. ... *Quomodo malum habet ydeam siue sit culpa siue sit pena*. 52. N.
- ^{1.2} ff. 8–12^v have much faded pencil writing.
At the bottom of f. 11^v written in ink, *ariopagus, pentecoste, saulis*.
See the table of gatherings for the duplication of ff. 1–12.
- ^{1.3} ff. 1^a–65^b, Book I of Richard Fishacre's *Sentences* Commentary
Inc. *⟨R⟩o 11. O altitudo diviciarum sapientie et scientie dei. Constat quod non est parum admirabilis illa sapientia quam admirans sic exclamat doctor gencium qui raptus usque ad 3^m celum* ...
Exp. ... *et ideo dico sit benedicta creatrix et gubernatrix omnium sancta et indiuidua trinitas nunc et semper per infinita seculorum secula. Amen*.
- ^{1.4} ff. 65^b–65^{va}, a treatise
Inc. *Quod corpus celeste videtur per motum suum* ...
Exp. ... *nisi in potenciis naturalibus actiuis ut dictum est*.
- ^{1.5} f. 65^{va–b}, a second treatise
Inc. *De beatis spiritibus uel hominibus glorificatis queritur* ...

⁵⁵ See Léopold Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*. 4 vols. (Paris, 1868–81), 2:148.

Exp. ... *afficiuntur beati ad nostra bona vel mala qui adhuc sumus.*

f. 65^{bis} has faded pencil on it.

- 1.6 f. 65^{bis v}, added notes on Book I, distinction 22, chapter 5

There are also three *arbores ramificatae*. The two larger ones (*Nomen de deo dictum* and *Erratur circa Christum*) are drawn with the curved lines found in some Fishacre manuscripts.

- 1.7 ff. 66^a–133^{vb}, Book II of Richard Fishacre's *Sentences Commentary*

Inc. *(T)erribiliter magnificatus es, mirabilia opera tua et anima mea cognoscet nimis. In primo libro deus terribiliter magnus quoquo modo innotuit vbi actum est de magnitudine terribili sue essencie ...*

Exp. ... *subdita sit quasi dicat semper sublimior(i) obediendum non semper inferiori et ita deo pre omnibus qui uetat venialia.*

- 1.8 ff. 133^a–133^d are empty except for faded lead writing across the page.

- 1.9 ff. 134–188^b, Book III of Richard Fishacre's *Sentences Commentary*

At the very top of the page, *Sancti spiritus assit nobis gratia.*

Inc. *(P)rouerbiis 30. Tria sunt michi difficilia et quartum quod penitus ignoro: uiam aquile in celis, uiam colubri super petram, uiam nauis in medio mari et uiam uiri in adolescentula ...*

Exp. ... *denunciatione absoluit eos immo potius denunciat absolutos.*

2 Corrections

- 2.1 ff. 1–8^b, Index

There are no corrections.

- 2.2 ff. 1^a–65^b, Book I

There are the standard word and phrase corrections and insertions of text lines, and sometimes there are larger portions of text. All these are present in abundance in Book I with about 1483 of the first and 399 of the second. Of this latter group ninety-five are from ff. 1–15, 128 from ff. 16–41^{va}, and 176 from ff. 42^v–65^b. Also in this second group there are textual annotations, some in contemporary hands, some in a later hand. These are most numerous in the first part of Book I, in the first fifteen folios. There are about twenty extensive additions to the text here, as well as shorter ones. There are at least three hands at work. It is not possible to be precise; but undoubtedly this section of Fishacre's *Commentary* was of great interest to other users of this manuscript.

- 2.3 ff. 65^b–65^{va}, a treatise

There are no corrections.

- 2.4 f. 65^{va–b}, a second treatise

There are no corrections.

- 2.5 ff. 66^a–133^{vb}, Book II

In Book II the pattern of corrections is similar to that in Book I. There are at least 1300 in the first group, and 169 in the second. From ff. 131 to 133^{vb} there are

no corrections at all. While there are some textual additions, they are few: about nine in all.

2.6 ff. 134–188^b, Book III

Unlike some other Fishacre manuscripts in which the correctors seem to tail off as the manuscript progresses, Book III has full correctors' activity to the end, in the manner of Book II, with about 1730 word and phrase corrections. Textual corrections, however, are fewer, about 170 and a few larger ones. Of these 186 of the former and twenty-eight of the latter are found in gathering 14 alone. This manuscript has almost the largest number of corrections among the Fishacre manuscripts. It is not certain whether the text was badly copied by the scribes, was made from a defective text, or was the focus of particularly assiduous correctors.

3 *Marginalia*

3.1 ff. 1–8^b, Index

There are none.

3.2 ff. 1^a–65^b, Book I

An extensive occurrence of marginalia as seen in some other Fishacre manuscripts is found only in the first fifteen or so folios of Book I, with nearly one hundred scholastic abbreviations together with about thirty series of arabic numerals. One *exemplum* and two authorities are identified. There are about twenty large summaries in distinction form, or *arbores ramificatae*.⁵⁶ All of these are written in the bottom margin of the page. On ff. 25^a, 27^b, 33^a, 45^b there are a few small ones in the bottom margin. A diagram, drawn by one of the annotators, is found on f. 11 in the bottom margin. There are a few instances of indexing symbols like Grosseteste's, especially a circle with a slanting line from left to right across it.

3.3 ff. 65^b–65^{va}, a treatise

One *nota* and one marginal annotation are found.

3.4 f. 65^{va–b}, a second treatise

There are none.

3.5 ff. 66^a–133^{vb}, Book II

There are about ten large summaries⁵⁷ but none from ff. 83 to 123. All except one on f. 82^v and one on f. 133, which are in the top margin, are found in the bottom margin. There is very little apparatus after f. 74. There are about five margin headings, about ten scholastic abbreviations, and even fewer arabic numerals.

3.6 ff. 134–188^b, Book III

Book III is better provided with apparatus than Book II. There are thirteen samples of scholastic abbreviations up to f. 159^b, about twenty-two sets of arabic numerals, one finger in pale brown ink on f. 152^{va}, and a number of Grosseteste

⁵⁶ ff. 2, 3^v, 8^v, 9, 12, 25^v, 29, 31^v, 33, 34, 36, 49^v, 58, 59^v (2), 61 (2), 62^v, 63, 64, 64^v.

⁵⁷ ff. 66, 68, 70^v, 74, 74^v, 75, 82^v tm, 124, 124^v, 133tm. (tm indicates top margin.)

indexing symbols used for placing. Over thirty large summaries are found.⁵⁸ All unless otherwise indicated, are in the bottom margin. There are three small ones namely 168^b, 170^a, and 173^{va}. There are no faces or fingers; very few identified authorities, few margin headings, few identifications of *exempla*, and very few diagrams.

4 Hands

It is difficult to identify hands in this manuscript. The following is suggested:

Index	ff. 1–8 ^b	Hand 1	
Book I	ff. 1 ^a –65 ^b	Hand 2	has a very distinctive <i>d</i> with either a 45 degree angle, straight and black, or a bent-back curly tail
Appendix	ff. 65 ^b –65 ^{vb}	Hand 3	
Book II	ff. 66 ^a –133 ^b	Hand 2	
Book III	ff. 134 ^a –141 ^b	Hand 4	
	ff. 142–188 ^b	Hand 5	

There are several annotating hands. In ff. 1–15 these are at least three, and all unusually using brown ink.

3 PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

Make-up of the MS

- ¹ *Number of leaves, including all end and added leaves:* this is difficult as there are several different foliations. Several hand counts yielded 208 leaves, including endpapers, but not pastedown.

Inside the front cover on the pastedown is a modern label *LATIN 15,754*. The first folio has a paper label with the following: *Volume de 190 feuillets plus les feuillets 1–12 préliminaires plus les feuillets 133^a–133^d et le f. 65bis. 17 Mars 1869*. Under this label is the number 195 written in ink.

At the top of the verso of the first folio is a number 728, and below it in the same seventeenth- or eighteenth-century hand follows a very worn three-line inscription: *Ce MS Du 13^e siecle a été leguè à la maison de Sorbonne Par m Geraud D'abbville qui vivait in 1265 Comm on peut le lire à la fin du MS qui Contient Le Commentaire de Richard fitzaker sur les trois premiers livres des sentences*. This is the same hand as that of a similar note in MS 16389 (S), and which has inserted elegant flourishes in both manuscripts and written their numbers 727 and 728.

⁵⁸ ff. 135, 139^{vb}, 144^v, 147, 148^v, 151^v, 152^v, 155 (2), 155^v, 162^{v*}, 164^v, 165, 168^v, 170, 173^v, 177, 179^{b*}, 180, 180^v, 181 (3), 181^v also in the side margin, 182 (3 at least), 182^v and table of beatitudes etc., 183^v, 184, 185^a, 185^v, 186, 187^v, 188^{b*}. (* indicates distinction summary within the text.)

F. 189 has a jagged top edge, as if information has been cut away — there remain just three tails of letters. The bottom half of 189^b has illegible writing in pencil. On f. 189^v in a fourteenth-century hand is the following inscription: *Iste liber est <collegii>*⁵⁹ *pauperum magistrorum in theologica facultate studentium ex legato magistri Giraudi de abbatisvilla precii viii lib.* Under *magistri Giraudi*, in a different hand, is written *vivebat 1265*. Under this, in a very pale brown ink and a different hand, is written: *inter scripta et questiones 47*. This is a shelf mark of the early Sorbonne library (1338 Catalogue), and below, in pencil, 8 ff.

F. 190 is blank and f. 190^v has many patches of faded pencil writing. This folio also has at least one erasure. The end pastedown has ink marks and some very faded pencil. These could be erasures, but it could be the effect of damp on the quality of the parchment.

- ² *Foliation, including all early and mistaken foliation:* this is very mixed: the endpaper has no number; the index pages are numbered 1–12 by the nineteenth-century hand of the label. On ff. 1–133 (except for ff. 44, 123, and 124), and on f. 140 is original numbering (the blank page between Books I and II has no number). The index pages 1–12, the four blank folios 133 a–d between Books II and III, ff. 161–190, and possibly ff. 141–160 are numbered by the nineteenth-century hand of the label on the first folio; ff. 136–139 are in a later hand. Lack of consecutive foliation is a hindrance to the use of the manuscript.
- ³ *Materials:* all folios are parchment, including the endpapers. Similar to that of several of the Fishacre manuscripts, the quality is useful parchment, enabling the text to be written, without too much interference by the holes, but not beautiful in appearance. Out of 208 folios at least seventy-three have holes or tears or slits in them. Most of the holes, about forty-three in Book I, twenty-one in Book II, and fifteen in Book III are small, many of them being fall-out of scar tissue. The same thing has affected misshapen edges and corners on many folios. Slits, tears, and repairs are joined in this manuscript by wears — dangerous thinning of the parchment in existing scar tissue, or by unskilled scraping, and less often by erasure. There is a distinct variation between the parchment quality in each book: Book I has far more holes than either Book II or III; while Book II and III have far more misshapen edges than Book I. Book III has at least five openings with badly scraped hair side, compared with only two in Book II and one in Book I. *Ink:* the ink in the Index is brown on ff. 1–2^{vb}, 3^{va}–3^{vb}, and 4^{va}, and is then blacker. Book I is mostly black, but with reddish-brown tints on ff. 37–53^{va}. The other books are similar in being mostly plain black. The colors are difficult to interpret, although fading could be part of the reason for change of color.
- ⁴ *Overall dimensions of the leaves:* a sample of one-in-twenty-five was made, with one extra measurement for badly shaped f. 96. There is greater variation in width

⁵⁹ *collegii* is written above *est pauperum*.

from $9\frac{1}{8}$ to $9\frac{6}{8}$ inches or 22.8 to 24.5 cms., but less in length, $12\frac{15}{16}$ to $13\frac{1}{8}$ inches or 32.5 to 33 cms., than in most other Fishacre manuscripts. Part of the variation seems to be the lack of observable cropping of the edges of the manuscript.

- 5 *Written space*: the manuscript is written in two columns throughout, except for the Index, ff. 1–8^b, which is written in three columns. Rarely are the widths of the columns equal. Most of the text of the manuscript is written *below top line* except for the index on ff. 1–8^b, and f. 65^v, which are written *above top line*. The writing block was measured in the same one-in-twenty-five sample as above, with the addition of one sample of a different hand in f. 133, and an extra page from the Index. The length, at mostly 9 inches or 22.7 cms., was far more consistent than the width, which varied from $2\frac{3}{4}$ to 3 inches or 7 to 7.5 cms. The Index also had variable widths, the one nearest the binding being the narrowest, and the third one on the outside edge being the widest. Variations ran from $1\frac{7}{8}$ to 3 inches or 4.7 to 7.4 cms. in width by $10\frac{7}{16}$ to 11 inches or 26.4 to 28 cms. in length. *Ruled space*: there is a simple pattern of four vertical lines giving two simple columns, wide outside margins, and a narrow central margin, with horizontal lines defining the top but no horizontal lines defining the bottom of the writing block; while in Book II ff. 134–141^v have a double horizontal line at the top of the writing block. *Numbers of lines in columns*: the sample was taken in a one-in-twenty-five selection. In the text of the Commentary, the number of lines varied from 64 to 66 with one 68. In the Index there was far greater variation 84, 81, 78 on f. 1 and 61 in all three columns on f. 5.
- 6 *Numbering systems*: there are many numbering systems in this manuscript. All the numbering in this manuscript is in arabic numerals. On most pages Book I has a capital *L* on the verso side of an opening and a *l^{us}* on the recto side; some have only the number. Book II has mainly *2^{us}* on the verso side without any *L*. Book III has sporadic numbering only (none on about 35 openings) in the same format *L 3^{us}*. Originally the pages of the text of the *Sentences* Commentary were numbered in arabic numerals. In Book I ff. 1–22 distinction numbers are found in arabic numerals in the top outer corner of the page. For the rest of the book the distinction numbers are running titles in the middle of the top margin. In Book II distinction numbers are more consistent, mostly as running titles on the verso side. In Book III distinction numbers in arabic numerals are found on the verso side as running titles. Arabic numerals for columns are found only in Book I. Initially they were consistent to f. 36^{vb}, column 144, but many of the numbers have been erased. The other arabic column numbers remain. The arabic numbering of lines in fives was initially done in Book I up to f. 36^v, but many of them have been carefully erased.⁶⁰ In Book II there is no numbering of lines, while in Book III

⁶⁰ ff. 1–5^v, 13–20, 22–22^v, 23^v–26, 27^v–28, 30, 31^v–32, 33^{va}–36^v.

only a few folios have been given line numbers.⁶¹ A few have been erased, 35 on f. 157^v, and 45 and 50 on ff. 158, 160^v–161, and 162^v–163. Perhaps Gerard of Abbeville, or some other user, was not happy with the English custom of using arabic numerals. Instead he inserted the use of letters of the alphabet, the system used in Paris. Alphabetical letters are inserted throughout Book I and Book II except for ff. 127^{va}–133^{va}. Book III has no alphabetical letters at all. It is difficult to see the function of the insertion of letters — unless perhaps it has some link with identification of authorities. Unlike MS Balliol 57 (A) there is no consistent link with the distinction structure. This manuscript has one of the most extensive applications of arabic numerals to its organization of all the Fishacre manuscripts.

⁷ *Quiring/Collation*

number	start	string	end	cue	notes
i (2)	EP	EP ^v –i	i ^v		
1 (12)	1	6 ^v –7	12 ^v	none	same folio numbers in gatherings 1 and 2
2 (12)	1	6 ^v –7	12 ^v	<i>persone eam communicantes. Dico ergo ad</i>	
3 (12)	13	18 ^v –19	24 ^v	cue cropped or worn	
4 (12)	25	30 ^v –31	36 ^v	cue cropped or worn	
5 (12)	37	42 ^v –43	48 ^v	[la]cior. Absolute	
6 (12)	49	54 ^v –55	60 ^v	<i>de gradibus reprobtorum</i>	
7 (6)	61	63 ^v –64	65bis ^v		
8 (12)	66	71 ^v –72	77 ^v	<i>communis id est</i>	
9 (12)	78	83 ^v –84	89 ^v	<i>destruitur</i>	
10 (12)	90	95 ^v –96	101 ^v	<i>sexto tantum die</i>	
11 (12)	102	107 ^v –108	113 ^v	<i>est in meliori</i>	writing damaged
12 (12)	114	119 ^v –120	125 ^v	none	
13 (12)	126	131 ^v –132	133d ^v	none	See section 2. Foliation
14 (8)	134	137 ^v –138	141 ^v	none	
15 (12)	142	147 ^v –148	153 ^v	none	
16 (12)	154	159 ^v –160	165 ^v	none	
17 (12)	166	171 ^v –172	177 ^v	none	
18 (12)	178	183 ^v –184	189 ^v		

NB In the above table EP means endpaper.

⁸ *Arrangement of sheets (hair and flesh sides)*: this seems standard throughout.

⁶¹ ff. 134–137, 146, 148^v lines 1–35 only, 149^v–150, 157^v–158, 160–161, 162^v–163 line 50.

- ⁹ *Pricking*: only in ff. 1–12^v, gathering 2, is pricking for horizontal lines on the edge observed. Unusually ff. 67–71 in Book II have line holes in the middle of the narrow central margin. Four holes for the four longitudinal lines can be seen at the bottom, and often at the top, of most folios.
- ¹⁰ *Ruling*: see above.
- ¹¹ *Quire signatures*: there are quire signatures on the first page of the gathering in the bottom margin of most gatherings, except 1, 2, 8, and 18. *Leaf signatures*: there are no leaf signatures.
- ¹² *Catchwords/Cues*: see table of gatherings.

Handwriting

- ¹ *Guide-letters for initials*: there are numerous spaces for initials, some guide-letters, and no initials at all. On the whole the function of the larger letters in this manuscript is to indicate the start of a distinction. There are some omissions herein. There are also additional spaces for initials, the function of which is not easily discernible. Apart from the opening initial of each book — for which 4, 2, and 5 lines are given respectively to Books I, II, and III — two lines is the standard height of the space, although in Book III there are many one-line spaces. Book I has thirty-six guide-letters, eighteen missing guide-letters, and distinctions 12, 36, and 38, without provision for an opening initial. Book II has thirty-five guide-letters, no missing guide-letters, and distinctions 1, 9, 11, 18, 25, 35, 28, 41, and 43, without provision for an opening initial. Some of these, however, have a side-margin number at their start. Book III has eleven guide-letters, twenty-three missing guide-letters, and distinctions 2, 4, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, and 37, without provision for an opening initial. It is possible that these variants in practice could link with specific scribes. *Notes for rubrics*: none. *Illustrations*: none.
- ² *Changes of scribe in relation to contents and/or quiring*: there are changes of scribe at the Index, Book I, start of Book III, gatherings 14 and 15. There is no rubrication anywhere in this manuscript.
- ³ *Texts of scribal signatures, mottoes, monograms etc.*: none.
- ⁴ *Titles: scripts, color etc.*: one only on f. 1 of the Commentary in a sixteenth-century hand: *Auctor Frater Richardus Fisachre ordinis Fratrum praedicatorum Magister in Theologia Anglus*.

Decoration and Illumination

- ¹ *Minor initials*: none, but plenty of spaces provided. *Line fillers*: none.
- ² *Illuminated initials and borders*: none.
- ³ *Flourished initials*: none.
- ⁴ *Historiated initials*: none.
- ⁵ *Miniatures*: none.

Binding

- ¹ *Date and Origin:* the binding seems to fall within Pollard's criteria for thirteenth-century English bindings.
- ² *Technique:* the front board is about 10 inches wide by 13⁷/₈ inches long by 1⁷/₈ to 2 inches deep, or 25.2 by 35.1 by 4.5 to 5 cms. The back-board has a width of about 9⁷/₈ by 14 inches length or 24.9 by 35.5 cms. The wooden boards are covered with worn, originally white whittawed leather. Parts of the leather are worn or torn away, and reveal either stained wood or wood worn to a rich dark brown color. It would appear that the front board is splitting, as the leather cover has too much movement in it. The wooden boards are significantly longer at the top than the bound gatherings are, by about ⁵/₈ to ⁶/₈ inches or 1.4 to 1.7 cms. The gatherings are strung on five equally spaced double leather thongs. This is seen at the front after the first folio where the binding has loosened. The pastedowns are both thick and firmly stuck, but from the feel it would seem that the thongs could be fixed onto the thick slightly bevel-edged wooden boards with small pegs. It also feels as if the top and bottom thongs are brought onto the outside board and taken through the wood to the inside cover. The manuscript has had clasps, but neither the fixture nor the leather bands remain, only that which is studded down at the top by five pegs in the dice pattern for five, and at the bottom by a similar pegging pattern, supplemented by two on the right base of the diced five. On the top of the front cover are holes in the wood, markings, and damaged leather, which indicate that the manuscript was at one time chained. This would be consistent with the information about the division of the manuscripts in the Sorbonne into those lent to masters and those kept permanently for reference.⁶²
- ³ *Decoration:* none.

Opening words of the second leaf

of Index: *Quod numerositas ueritatum in anima non faciunt ...*

of Commentary: *ut de subiecto et tamen operatio est finis ...*

Further Comment

From the nature of the content, its codicological characteristics, especially its extensive use of arabic numerals, this manuscript can be ascribed to an English source. Aspects of its scholastic style, its theological content, its English authorship and elements of its writing, especially Hand 2, which looks very similar to a main hand in MS Laud Misc. 511 (a Dominican preacher's handbook) would suggest an English, possibly an Oxford, provenance. Because it is a work by Richard Fishacre, the manuscript could well have a Dominican as well as English origin.

⁶² R.H. Rouse, "The Early Library of the Sorbonne," *Scriptorium* 21 (1967), 42–71 and 227–51, esp. 60–61, 68–69.

4 PROVENANCE

This manuscript was owned by Gerard of Abbeville and left by him to the Sorbonne in 1272. It has been suggested that it may be linked with the Richard de Furnivall who was a member of the *familia* of the Archbishop of Canterbury.⁶³ It is possible to make guesses about its arrival in Paris at a comparatively early date, either in a friar's satchel, or with another scholar who could afford to purchase such a long text. But there is insufficient evidence in the various pastedown notes to know about either sale or purchase.

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⁶³ Rouse, "Early Library," 47–51; Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 21–22, 20 n. 39.

1 HEADING

- ¹ *Pressmark*: Latin 16,389.
- ² *Title*: Ricardus Fishaker in Sententia⟨s⟩. *Language*: Latin.
- ³ *Date and origin*: a late annotation indicates that it is thirteenth century.
- ⁴ *Provenance*: evaluated in a fourteenth-century hand for the 1338 Catalogue at 40 sol by the Sorbonne, *Collegium Magistrorum Pauperum studencium in Theologia*.
- ⁵ *Catalogue*:
- ^{5.1} Delisle, Léopold. *Inventaire des manuscrits de la Sorbonne, conservés à la Bibliothèque Impériale sous les numéros 15176–16718 du fonds latin*. Paris, 1870, 57.
- ^{5.2} Delisle, Léopold. *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*. Vol. 3. Paris, 1881, 26 no. 41.

2 CONTENTS

- ¹ *Contents*
- ^{1.1} ff. 1–90^{vb}, Book I of Fishacre's *Sentences* Commentary
The title above is partly cropped.
Inc. ⟨O⟩ *altitudo diuiciarum sapientie et scientie dei. Ro 11. Constat non est parum admirabilis illa sapientia quam admirans sic exclamat doctor gentium qui raptus usque ad tertium celum ...*
Exp. ... *et ideo dico benedicta sit creatrix et gubernatrix omnium sancta et indiuidua trinitas et nunc et semper et per infinita seculorum secula. Amen.*
One line after this, in a slightly later hand, is written the following note:
Rogo te lector quicumque es, vt roges deum pro fratre Richardo de fixacre qui hoc opus edidit, vt eum dominus nunc et semper in anima custodiat et in corpore vires prebeat, ut residuum operis ad finem prospere perducatur. Amen.
- ^{1.2} ff. 91^a–97^{va}, beginning of Book II of Fishacre's *Sentences* Commentary
Inc. ⟨T⟩ *erribiliter magnificatus es, mirabilia opera tua et anima mea cognoscet nimis. Ps. In primo libro deus terribiliter magnus quoquo modo innotuit ubi actum est de m⟨a⟩gnitudine terribili sue essencie ...*
Exp. ... *ille igitur essencie: id est angeli; rationales: id est intellectuales; natura simplices: non omnino sicut deus sed respectu inferiorum; tenuitatem: id est subtilitatem; perspicacitatem: id est limpiditatem; habilitatem.*
This manuscript ends toward the beginning of Distinction 3, namely on f. 97^{va}, a third of the way down the page.

2 *Corrections*

2.1 ff. 1^a–90^{vb}, Book I

In Book I there are over 300 corrections of words and phrases, most in a contemporary correcting hand. In ff. 5–15^v there are corrections in brown ink by two hands — one contemporary that makes about nineteen corrections of words or phrases and about eight insertions of text. In the remainder of Book I about 318 corrections are made, about eleven of them in the contemporary brown hand noted above. In the same pages there are corrections by a third later hand which uses a pale brown ink.

2.2 ff. 91^a–97^{va}, Book II

There are no corrections at all.

3 *Marginalia*

3.1 ff. 1–90^{vb}, Book I

In the first folios there is a variety of marginalia, including some identifications of patristic authorities, use of arabic numerals and of scholastic abbreviations such as *Q^o* and *S^o*. There are also insertions of text and annotations, mainly identifying questions, and the common Grossetestian symbol of a vertical line topped by a triangle of three dots. There are at least twenty-seven of these. The same hand is found with minor insertions on ff. 45, 49^v, 52^b, 53, and 64^{vb}, and more extensive ones between ff. 72 and 74: namely at least two questions, nine uses of the same Grosseteste indexing symbol, three insertions of text, and several scholastic abbreviations. There are two diagrams: one on f. 10^{va}, one on f. 68^{vb}. From ff. 39^b to 43 there is a second different annotating hand, providing considerable apparatus, including authorities — especially of Aristotle (f. 39^v) — and using arabic numerals and scholastic abbreviations. In this section too are found four samples of Grosseteste's symbols. On ff. 50^{va}, 53^b (later hand), and 67^{va}, the marginalia identify questions, *Q^o*. From ff. 72^a to 73^b there is more annotation in a later hand of scholastic abbreviations and six uses of one Grosseteste indexing symbol, the vertical line with three dots in a triangle above. Between ff. 43^v–49^a, 49^{va}–50^b, 50^{va}–53^a, 53^{va}–67^b, 67^{vb}–71^{vb}, 75–83^v, and 84^v–90^{vb} there are no marginalia. Towards the end of the book there are a number of pencilled circles about 0.4 cms. in diameter, with a horizontal line drawn in the margins. Unlike many Fishacre manuscripts, there are no large or small margin summaries or *arbores ramificatae*. There are no faces and only three fingers.

3.2 ff. 91^a–97^{va}, Book II

There are no marginalia at all.

4 *Hands*

With the usual provisos, three major hands in this manuscript are suggested:

Book I	ff. 1 ^a –15 ^{vb}	Hand 1	
	ff. 15 ^{vb} –36 ^{vb}	Hand 2	
	ff. 37 ^a –90 ^{vb}	Hand 3	
	f. 90 ^{vb} note	Hand 4	
Book II	ff. 91 ^a –97 ^{va}	Hand 3	petition for Richard Fishacre

Hand 3 is the main scribe in this manuscript. Hand 4 is included as he gives us actual information about Fishacre.

3 PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

Make-up of the MS

- ¹ *Number of leaves, including all end or added leaves:* i + 98 (98 is a pastedown). Both the front and back pastedowns have older writing in red and black. On the front pastedown is some annotation, including a price of *sol 3* and, in a much later hand, number 727 with a flourish under it (a later shelf mark perhaps), and beneath this, in a similar hand, the following inscription, in which the name of Richard has been covered with paper: *Ce MS Du 13^e siecle Contient le Commentaire* (stuck label) *fitzaker de l'ordre des f. Precheurs, Docteur d'oxford, sur le Premier Livre du maitre des Sentences*. Beneath this is a recent label, *Latin 16,389*, and under this a note: *Volume de 98 Feuilles. 23 Juillet 1869*. The end pastedown has three inscriptions with the same information. The clearest, blackest, and possibly earliest, runs thus:
Iste liber est collegii magistrorum pauperum studentium in theologia, precium xl sol. This is the valuation of the manuscript in the 1338 Catalogue of the Sorbonne. Beneath this is *scripta ... (?) xli*, then *Iste* in the same hand as the following. Lower and to the right, in brown rather than black ink, and both (it would seem) in the same hand are written two repetitions of the inscription above.
- ² *Foliation, including all early and mistaken foliation:* i + 98 written in black ink by a recent hand. F. 98 is the pastedown.
- ³ *Materials:* all folios are parchment — there is no paper at all. The quality of the parchment is good — better than most of the other Fishacre manuscripts. There are no large holes; about twelve minor holes; eight misshapen edges, mainly in the bottom corner, two of them probably fallout of scar tissue. There is one small quadrilateral cut-out on f. 56, one repair on f. 32, and one tear on f. 91. *Ink:* mostly black, some black with a reddish-brown tint, some few pages in brown ink.
- ⁴ *Overall dimensions of leaves:* these were taken in a one-in-twenty-five sample. The measurements proved remarkably consistent, averaging about 6¹⁴/₁₆ by 9¹⁵/₁₆ inches or 17.3 by 25 cms. As the top corner of f. 36 shows, there has been severe cropping of the edges of ¹/₈ to ¹/₄ inch or 0.3 to 0.5 cms.

- ⁵ *Written space*: the page is written in the standard two column scholastic format. All writing is *below top line*. Measurements of the writing block were taken in a one-in-twenty-five sample and average $2\frac{3}{8}$ by $7\frac{5}{16}$ inches or 6 by 18.5 cms. *Ruled space*: the layout of the page is consistent and simple: four vertical lines giving two columns, two outer margins and one narrow central margin, and two horizontal lines giving the top and bottom parameters of the writing block. *Numbers of lines in columns*: the number of lines in the columns on a one-in-twenty-five sample vary from 52 to 67. Such variations can reflect the variety of scribes.
- ⁶ *Numbering of columns and lines*: none at all except for f. 16, which has a bizarre use of arabic numerals, namely: line 7 has a 30, line 14 a 35, line 20 a 40, line 25 a 45, line 34 a 50, and line 41 a 53. This may reflect a scribe copying in the line numbers from his exemplar, regardless of the actual number of lines in his copy.

⁷ *Quiring/Collation*

number	start	string	end	cue	notes
1 (2)	PD	PD ^v -i	i ^v	none	
2 (8)	1	4 ^v -5	8 ^v	none	8 ^{vb} II, all gathering numbers are in pencil in the BM
3 (8)	9	12 ^v -13	16 ^v	none	16 ^{vb} III
4 (8)	17	20 ^v -21	24 ^v	cue cropped	24 ^{vb} IIII
5 (8)	25	28 ^v -29	32 ^v	none	32 ^{vb} V
6 (4)	33	34 ^v -35	36 ^v	none	36 ^{vb} VI
7 (8)	37	40 ^v -41	44 ^v	none	44 ^{vb} VII
8 (8)	45	48 ^v -49	52 ^v	none	52 ^{vb} IX
9 (4)	53	54 ^v -55	56 ^v	none	56 ^{vb} VIII, see NB below
10 (8)	57	60 ^v -61	64 ^v	none	64 ^{vb} X
11 (8)	65	68 ^v -69	72 ^v	none	72 ^{vb} XI
12 (8)	73	76 ^v -77	80 ^v	none	80 ^{vb} XII
13 (8)	81	84 ^v -85	88 ^v	none	88 ^{vb} XIII
14 (10)	89	94 ^v -95	98 ^v	PD	See NB below

NB In the above table PD means pastedown; BM means bottom margin.

Gathering 9, ff. 53-56^v, should follow gathering 7 as the binding marks indicate.

Distinction 18 is displaced by distinction 19, which here follows distinction 17.

In gathering 14 the string is not in the center of the gathering. There should be two cut ends of ff. 89 and 90, which are covered by the pastedown. It is not possible to feel them.

- ⁸ *Arrangement of sheets (hair and flesh sides)*: this seems to be standard throughout.
- ⁹ *Pricking*: there is no evidence on the outer edges. This reflects the depth of the cropping. In f. 23, however, there is a series of pricking in the narrow central margin, which gives the line markings.

- ¹⁰ *Ruling*: see above.
- ¹¹ *Quire signatures*: there are numbers II to XIII in the bottom margin of the last page of each gathering. *Leaf signatures*: none.
- ¹² *Catchwords/Cues*: see table of gatherings.

Handwriting

- ¹ *Guide-letters for initials*: despite five spaces for initials on ff. 1^a, 2^{vb}, 5^a, 91^a, 91^b, only one guide-letter is found, *t* on f. 91^a. *Notes for rubrics or illustrations*: none.
- ² *Changes of scribe in relation to contents and/or quiring*: at gathering 7, Hand 3. *Rubrication*: only on f. 1 — about five red paraphs, two marginal rubrications, three underlinings, a few rubricated letters, and some vertical red lines.
- ³ *Texts of scribal signatures, mottoes, monograms etc.*: none.
- ⁴ *Titles: scripts, color etc.*: one cropped title on f. 1^a.

Decoration and illumination.

- ¹ *Minor initials*: none.
- ² *Illuminated initials and borders*: none.
- ³ *Flourished initials*: none.
- ⁴ *Historiated initials*: none.
- ⁵ *Miniatures*: none.

Binding

- ¹ *Date and Origin*: this is difficult to say. It could be contemporary with the contents.
- ² *Technique*: This is a smallish manuscript. The binding is on average $7\frac{1}{16}$ wide by $10\frac{3}{16}$ long by $1\frac{5}{16}$ deep in inches or 17.9 by 25.6 by 2.1 cms. Front and back covers are almost the same. The folios are stitched onto four strings and affixed to thick cardboard boards (known from the worn front corner of the binding). Because the pastedowns are in place, it is not possible to see how this is done. The feel indicates that the top and bottom strings are not fixed at right angles to the spine. The cardboard is covered either with a very thin white leather, or with parchment. NB: many of the manuscripts in S. Domenico, Bologna, are covered in this manner.
- ³ *Decoration*: none.

Opening words of the second leaf

credendo esse demonstrationem quod non est ...

Further Comment

It is very difficult to say from which region this manuscript came, as there are none of the identifiable English scribal characteristics, such as arabic numerals,

fingers, faces; neither is there any identifiable flourishing. In so far as hands can be identified, this is a thirteenth-century manuscript. The nature of the manuscript's incompleteness, together with the note about Richard Fishacre — as if he were known to the annotator — would indicate an early date. As Fishacre did not go to Paris, the manuscript is probably of English rather than French provenance. It could have been made by or for an Englishman or friar who later studied in Paris.

4 PROVENANCE

Rouse⁶⁴ gives a most helpful survey of the early years of the collection. It is possible that the manuscripts in the 1338 Catalogue were already in the library by 1321.

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⁶⁴ Rouse, "Early Library," 42–71 and 227–51.

Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Vaticana Ottob. lat. 294 (V)

1 HEADING

- ¹ *Pressmark:* Ottob. lat. 294.
- ² *Title:* *Expositio super quatuor libros Sententiarum. Language:* Latin.
- ³ *Date and origin:* this manuscript has many characteristics of an English mid-thirteenth-century scholastic manuscript.
- ⁴ *Provenance:* from 1740 at the latest this manuscript has been part of the holdings of the Vatican Library.
- ⁵ *Catalogue:* *Inventarium Codicum Manuscriptorum Latinorum Bibliothecae Vaticanae Ottobonianae*, Pars 1, no. 294.

2 CONTENTS

- ¹ *Contents*
- ^{1.1} ff. 1^a–88^b, Book I
Inc. O altitudo diuiciarum sapientie et scientie dei. Ro 11. Constat non est parum admirabilis illa sapientia quam admirans sic exclamat doctor gentium qui raptus usque ad 3^m celum ...
Exp. ... et ideo dico benedicta sit creatrix et gubernatrix omnium sancta et individua trinitas et nunc et semper et per infinita seculorum secula. Amen. Amen. Amen. Explicit liber primus.
- ^{1.2} ff. 88^{va}–173^a, Book II
Inc. Terribiliter magnificatus es, mirabilia opera tua et anima mea cognoscet nimis. Ps. In primo libro deus terribiliter magnus quoquo modo innotuit ubi actum est de magnitudine terribili sue essentie ...
Exp. ... subdita sit quasi dicat semper sublimiori obediendum non semper inferiori et ita deo pre omnibus qui uetat uenialia.
Explicit liber secundus. Incipit introitus in 3^m librum.
- ^{1.3} ff. 173^b–259^a line 30, Book III
Inc. Tria sunt mihi difficilia et quartum penitus ignoro: uiam aquile in celis, uiam colubri super petram, uiam nauis in medio mari et uiam uiri in adolescentula ...
Exp. ... absoluit eos immo potius denunciat absolutos. Explicit liber 3^{us}.
- ^{1.4} ff. 260^a–286^b, Book IV to distinction 8
Inc. <Q>uid est sapientia et quemadmodum facta sit referam et non abscondam a uobis sacramenta dei. Sapientia 6. Potest hunc sermonem dicere aut magister aut exponens magistrum ...
Exp. ... set dies pasce est 14 luna, ergo dies precedens scilicet dies cene domini fuit 13^a luna. Item iudei dixerunt Mt 26: Non in die.

The text of the commentary ends here.

- 1.5 ff. 287^a–294^{vb} line 42, *Super S. Augustini librum De haeresibus adnotationes*⁶⁵
 Inc. *Legi augustinum in libro de heresibus hereticorum positiones narrare ...*
 Exp. ... *Si de aliquo, de quo? Non est assignare.*
- 1.6 ff. 294^{vb} line 44–296^b, *De ascensione Christi*⁶⁶
 Inc. *Quesitum fuit de ascensione: qua uirtute Christus ascendit ...*
 Exp. ... *Et ita cum directe ad illud ten⟨d⟩it ⟨et⟩ ascendit, ascendit ad orientem et occidentem.*
- 1.7 f. iii, note on the local movement of the angel
 Inc. *Quod angelus non moueatur localiter probatio ...*
 Exp. ... *ergo localiter non movetur.*

2 Corrections

General comment: there is great variation in the incidence of corrections in this manuscript. This seems to have some relationship to the different books of the Commentary.

- 2.1 ff. 1^a–88^b, Book I
 There are many corrections of words and phrases as well as insertions of text. In many cases the latter are about a line or two in length, indicating a scribal eye-slip. There are numerous corrections to about f. 23^a; then a diminution in number, to resume, although not at the initial frequency, from f. 70.
- 2.2 ff. 88^{va}–173^a, Book II
 There are fewer corrections, but they follow the same pattern as those in Book I.
- 2.3 ff. 173^b–259^a line 30, Book III
 On the whole, Book III has very few corrections, but there are more towards the end of the book.
- 2.4 ff. 260^a–286^b, Book IV to distinction 8
 There are very few corrections in Book IV, probably fewer than ten.
- 2.5 ff. 287^a–294^{vb} line 24, *Super S. Augustini librum De haeresibus adnotationes*
 There are none.
- 2.6 ff. 294^{vb} line 26–296^b, *De ascensione Christi*
 There are none.

3 Marginalia

General comment: most of the corrections and marginalia noted in sections 2 and 3 are more or less contemporaneous with the manuscript. There is little later annotation. There seem to be very few, if any, interlinear notes. The marginalia are well organized to form an excellent apparatus for identifying authorities in marginal abbreviations, together with a decorated vertical line of appropriate length;

⁶⁵ Long, “*Super librum De haeresibus*,” 207–79.

⁶⁶ Long, “*Ascension of Christ*,” 30–55.

for noting distinctions largely by use of arabic numerals; for seeing the shape of the analysis with technical terms like *g^a*, *op^o* etc. A characteristic of this manuscript, which it shares with several other witnesses of Fishacre's Commentary, is the use of summaries of the text in distinction form. These are found either within the text itself, between distinctions or sometimes in the margins, generally the bottom margins. Most of the shapes associated with these summaries in distinction form are curved lines with a thickening both of the curve and of the angle between two or three elements of the distinction. It should be noted that, unlike most of the other Fishacre manuscripts with *arbores ramificatae*, this manuscript has the majority of distinction summaries within the text itself, with only a few in the bottom margin. There is also a considerable use of symbols similar to many of Grosseteste's. Their function is not, as in Grosseteste's original usage, to indicate the nature of content, but rather to indicate the position of content, locate missing content, and link parts of the distinction summaries. In shape they are formed mainly of horizontal lines with variants of small circles, dots, and half circles to indicate. In a few places there are cross-references, illustrative drawings, and fingers. The latter are a form of *nota* or *nota bene*. The extensive use of marginalia, however, is not common to the whole Ottoboni manuscript of the Commentary, but reflects a pattern similar to that of the corrections as noted in section 2 above.

3.1 ff. 1–88^b, Book I

There is extensive identification of authorities, mainly Augustine, Gregory, Chrysostom, John Damascene, and the Gloss, by marginal abbreviations and paraphs to f. 29. These resume about f. 50, and more extensively again from f. 72. From f. 29^v–48 there are few marginalia, aside from continuation of the scholastic apparatus and the use of arabic numerals for identifying distinctions within the text. Indexing symbols are frequent. There are at least thirty-six distinction summaries within the text itself.⁶⁷ Drawings are found on ff. 6^a, 74, and 76.

3.2 ff. 89^{va}–173^a, Book II

In Book II the use of arabic numerals and of symbols for scholastic apparatus continues. There are fewer identifications of patristic authorities to about f. 129. In general, the frequency of the marginalia is diminishing as the book continues. At least twenty-six summaries in distinction form are found, most of them within the text.⁶⁸ Indexing symbols are more frequent at the beginning than at the end of

⁶⁷ Book I: ff. 17*, 23^v*, 25*, 26*, 26^v*, 27*, 28^v*, 29^v*, 33^v*, 35^v*, 38^v*, 39*, 39^v*, 41*, 41^v*, 42^v*, 44^v*, 47*, 49*, 51*, 51^v, 52*, 52^v*, 53^v*, 55*, 56*, 58^v*, 60^v*, 61^v*, 64*, 65*, 68^v*, 70^v*, 71* (f. 72 is almost split from its binding), 72^v*, 77*, 79*, 79^v*, 81^v*, 82*, 84*, 86^v*, 87*. (* indicates distinction summary within the text.)

⁶⁸ Book II: ff. 89*, 91^v*, 95^v*, 100^v*, 101^v*, 103^v*, 104^v*, 109*, 111^v*, 115^v*, 117*, 119* (with additions in the bottom margin indicated by Grosseteste indexing symbols), 121*, 130*, 136^v*, 138^v*, 149*, 155*, 156*, 158*, 163*, 164*, 166^v*, 167*, 171^v*, 172^v*.

the book. There are a few abbreviations indicating *exempla* in the text. There are also a few *nota*. Drawings are found on ff. 113^v, 132^v, 169^v, and 170.

3.3 ff. 173^b–259^a, Book III

In Book III the use of arabic numerals and of symbols for the analyses continues to about f. 210. Identification of authorities by marginal abbreviations is found to f. 195^v, then it diminishes to f. 223, while from ff. 225–243 there is almost nothing, and from ff. 244–259 it is minimal. In this part, however, the indexing symbols are used several times. In contrast at least thirty-four summaries in distinction form are found,⁶⁹ many of them within the text, but about nine are found in the bottom margins.

3.4 ff. 260^a–286^b, Book IV to distinction 8

There are very few marginalia. There are about eight summaries in distinction form found within the text, at least one in the bottom margin.⁷⁰

3.5 ff. 287^a–294^{vb} line 24, *Super S. Augustini librum De haeresibus adnotationes*

There are several incidences of sets of arabic numerals in the margins, a few scholastic symbols, and several marginal headings. Marginal paraphs are also used.

3.6 ff. 294^{vb} line 26–296^b, *De ascensione Christi*

There are no marginalia.

4 *Hands*

There are many hands at work in this manuscript, and identification is difficult except for one main scribe. Most of the apparatus and numbering is associated with this same scribe, while the style and hand in most of the distinction summaries in the text, the *arbores*, are linked with him too. There is a link between the different hands and the writing *above top line (atl)* and *below top line (btl)*. The following is suggested:

Book I	ff. 1 ^a –88 ^b	Hand 1	many variants of size and neatness,
Book II	ff. 88 ^{va} –173 ^a		but the consistent <i>s</i> , <i>f</i> , and <i>g</i> are
Book III	ff. 173 ^b –178 ^a line 21		distinctive; the <i>s</i> and <i>f</i> have an extra
			dash at the top; Hand 1 does not draw
			lines in the writing block and writes <i>atl</i>
	ff. 178 ^a line 21– 205 ^a line 12	Hand 2	Hand 2 writes <i>btl</i> , uses black flourishes
			mainly to indicate a distinction
			summary: 188, 189 ^v
	ff. 205 ^a line 13–207 ^{vb}	Hand 3	<i>btl</i>

⁶⁹ Book III: ff. 174*, 174^v*, 179^v, 186^v, 188, 189^v*, 192, 196, 202, 206, 214 (looks like hand 1), 214*, 217^{vb}*, 218*, 219*, 223^v, 225^v*, 225^v, 227*, 228, 231^v, 232*, 232^v*, 234^v, 237*, 241^a*, 241, 243* (3), 243^v*, 244*, 245*, 248^v (whole page), 249^v*, 252^b*, 252^v*, 255^v, 257^b*, 257^v, 258^v.

⁷⁰ Book IV: ff. 259^v, 262*, 263, 263^{va}*, 271*, 273*, 275^{va}*, 279^v*, 281^v.

	ff. 208 ^a –215 ^{vb}	Hand 4	<i>btl</i> , much corrected
	ff. 216 ^a –244 ^{va} line 28	Hand 3	f. 216 <i>atl</i> , rest <i>btl</i>
	ff. 244 ^{va} line 29–259 ^a	Hand 5	<i>btl</i>
	f. 249 ^b BM	Hand 1	writes a correction
	f. 259 ^v	Hand 6	distinction summary
Book IV	ff. 260 ^a –286 ^b	Hand 5	could be two hands here (distinctive tails for <i>g</i> and <i>q</i>); f. 260 <i>atl</i> , rest <i>btl</i>
<i>De haeresibus</i>	ff. 287 ^a –294 ^{vb}	Hand 1	This hand has same <i>f</i> as Hand 1 cf. note on ff. 135–136 ^v
<i>De ascensione Christi</i>	ff. 294 ^{vb} –296 ^b	Hand 6	

3 PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

Make-up of the MS

- ¹ *Number of leaves, including all end or added leaves:* i, ii, 1–298, iii, iv. Before the main texts in the manuscript on ff. ii–ii^v there are annotations.

On f. ii in the right-hand top corner is its present number *Cod. Ottob. 294*; beneath this, scored through, is *Rex* with a possible 42; while underneath this is smaller writing and lower down, beneath the *Rex* 42, are three erasures. Examination of these under ultra-violet light does not yield any clear statements.

On f. ii^v at top center of the page is written *138*, but it is scored through. Then come two erasures to the left of the page, one scratched out and the other inked out with black ink. In the top center in roman numerals is written *CLxxiiij*, and below this in the same humanist hand, is written in contracted form *M.⟨arci⟩ Patri⟨arc⟩hae Aquileien⟨sis⟩*. On the bottom half of the page, in a later hand, is written *Ex Codicibus Joannis Angeli Ducis Ab Altaemps* and underneath *Expositio super quatuor libros Sententiarum*. Under ultra-violet light the flyleaf seems to yield *Iste liber est conventus de Rietis fratrum praedicatorum* in what is probably a mid-fourteenth-century hand.⁷¹

On ff. 297^v–iii there are some annotations and numerous odd notes. On f. 297^v there are at least five large entries, heavily scored through, indicating monies of different denominations and in Venetian and imperial coinage either owed to or by *Philippus librarius*. The writer, who uses the first person several times, is not Philippus. There are at least eight more short monetary entries, some parts scored through. The following names are mentioned: *Philippus*, *Franciscus*, *Iacobus*, *Gyrardus*, and the following titles *librarius*, *archipresbyter*, *infirmarius*, *supprior*. Most of these transactions are in the first person singular.

⁷¹ This last piece of information was supplied in a private correspondence by L. Boyle OP.

On f. 298 there are a title (partially erased), many sets of arabic numerals, some one-word distinctions, and a geometrical figure. On f. 298^v there are more records of money transactions in a similar hand. Philip is mentioned twice, also *Conventus Laudensis*. In the second quarter of the page there are six short items which seem to be theological notes.

On f. iii there are nine lines of text on a question: *Quod angelus non moveatur localiter* Below this is an erasure which ultraviolet light shows to be a sentence about angels. On f. iii^v there are about ten lines of text in about four different places. The traces of paste still present indicate that at an early binding stage this page was a pastedown.

- ² *Foliation, including all early and mistaken foliation:* as noted above, the foliation is 1–298; there is one instance of misnumbering, 17 and 17B, which are written in the manuscript.
- ³ *Materials:* ff. i and iv are modern paper, probably part of the early twentieth-century rebinding, while ff. ii, 1–298, iii are membrane. On the whole, the quality of the parchment is satisfactory. From f. 1 to f. 298 there are about twenty-nine uneven edges, about twenty-three holes, two splits, four tears, and five repairs. In materials this is one of the better Fishacre manuscripts. *Ink:* the ink used in these hands are many shades of brown, including brown-black, and faded black. The chief ink color is, however, brown. There are a few sections written in black ink, some of which are associated with changes of scribe at ff. 208–215^{vb}, 244^{va}–259^v, and 294^{vb}–296^b.
- ⁴ *Overall dimensions of the leaves:* these were taken as a one-in-twenty-five sample and are remarkably consistent with minimal variations around a standard measurement of 6¹³/₁₆ by 9¹⁴/₁₆ inches or 17.2 by 24.7 cms.
- ⁵ *Written space:* the manuscript is written in a two column to a page format. Within this manuscript there is considerable use of writing *above top line* as well as writing *below top line*. Most of Books I and II are written *above top line*. In Book III there is a change to *below top line* on f. 178. What there is of Book IV has much variation between the two writing practices. Of all the Fishacre manuscripts, this manuscript has the most significant portion written in the older and earlier thirteenth-century practice of writing *above top line*. This would point towards an early, probably mid-thirteenth-century, date for the writing of this manuscript. The writing block has comparatively considerable variation both in its width from 2¹/₈ to 2³/₈ inches or 5.4 to 5.9 cms., and in its length from 6⁵/₈ to 7⁷/₈ inches or 16.7 to 19.8 cms. These measurements have not been correlated with possible scribes. *Ruled space:* there is variety in the page ruling, most of which is done in lead. The general pattern is that which gives two side margins, a narrow central space, a top and bottom margin, and the two columnar writing blocks. The variants are: either one which has two columns ruled, but with an extra line on the outside of each column, giving a narrow margin on which most of the arabic numerals and

scholastic abbreviations are placed; or one without the extra outside line but with a central extra line. Within the first alternative some folios have either one or two extra parallel lines in the top margin (the parallel lines are often used for the Book and its number in the Commentary). *Ruled lines*: most lines are drawn very finely in lead. Some of the text summaries in distinction form, and most of the textual corrections, are written on narrow lines finely drawn in the margins. *Numbers of lines in columns*: the numbers of lines in the columns, again sampled at one-in-twenty-five, vary between 44 and 72, e.g. 72, 56, 49, 52, 57, 63, 61, 49, 44, 48, 54, 53. This extensive variation in number of lines probably reflects the lack of drawn lines in the first two books.

- ⁶ *Numbering of columns*: all columns are numbered in arabic numerals in Books I and II from f. 1 to f. 173^a. There are, however, some modifications and mistakes. It is interesting that, in numbers like 110, 111, 211, 311, 411, and 611, the ones are replaced with *i*'s; while in a few places columns are misnumbered, or numbering even omitted: e.g. f. 142 column numbers are 569 and 270, while f. 142^v column number 572 is left out, so that all subsequent columns are affected; on f. 170 column number 684 is omitted. In Book III column numbering is less consistent. From f. 173^b–182^b columns are numbered, as in the first two books, in ink. Then pencil-numbering is inserted, but sporadically, to f. 222; while from f. 222^v–294 there are no column numbers. Neither Book IV nor the two treatises have any column numbers. *Numbering of lines*: In Book I and II line-numbering in fives is found throughout, except on f. 84, which has only two numbers. Book III has line-numbering in fives to f. 177^v; thereafter to f. 222^v it is sporadic, while from f. 222^v to 259 there is none. Book IV has no line-numbering. The treatise on *De haeresibus* has line-numbering in fives, but the *Quaestio* on the Ascension has none.

⁷ *Quiring/Collation*

number	start	string	end	cue	notes
1 (9)	ii	4 ^v –5	8 ^v	none	f. ii is bound in with a cut-off between ff. 8 ^v and 9; beneath the library seal is an obscured 'i'
2 (8)	9	12 ^v –13	16 ^v	none	ii, all gathering numbers with abbreviation ^{us} are in pencil in the BM
3 (8)	17	19 ^v –20	23 ^v	none	iii
4 (8)	24	27 ^v –28	31 ^v	none	iiii
5 (8)	32	35 ^v –36	39 ^v	none	v
6 (8)	40	43 ^v –44	47 ^v	none	vi
7 (8)	48	51 ^v –52	55 ^v	none	vii
8 (8)	56	59 ^v –60	63 ^v	none	viii

9	(8)	64	67 ^v –68	71 ^v	none	ix
10	(8)	72	75 ^v –76	79 ^v	none	f. 72 has been damaged
11	(8)	80	83 ^v –84	87 ^v	none	xi
12	(8)	88	91 ^v –92	95 ^v	none	
13	(8)	96	99 ^v –100	103 ^v	none	
14	(8)	104	107 ^v –108	111 ^v	none	
15	(8)	112	115 ^v –116	119 ^v	none	
16	(8)	120	123 ^v –124	127 ^v	none	
17	(8)	128	131 ^v –132	135 ^v	none	
18	(8)	136	139 ^v –140	143 ^v	none	
19	(8)	144	147 ^v –148	151 ^v	none	
20	(8)	152	155 ^v –156	159 ^v	none	
21	(8)	160	163 ^v –164	167 ^v	none	
22	(8)	168	171 ^v –172	175 ^v	none	
23	(8)	176	179 ^v –180	183 ^v	cue cropped	
24	(8)	184	187 ^v –188	191 ^v	cue cropped	
25	(8)	192	195 ^v –196	199 ^v	none	
26	(8)	200	203 ^v –204	207 ^v	none	
27	(8)	208	211 ^v –212	215 ^v	none	some lead marks BM
28	(8)	216	219 ^v –220	223 ^v	none	
29	(8)	224	227 ^v –228	231 ^v	none	
30	(6)	232	234 ^v –235	237 ^v	<i>in cellam uinariam</i>	
31	(8)	238	241 ^v –242	245 ^v	none	
32	(8)	246	249 ^v –250	253 ^v	none	
33	(6)	254	256 ^v –257	259 ^v	none	
34	(8)	260	263 ^v –264	267 ^v	none	
35	(8)	268	271 ^v –272	275 ^v	none	
36	(12)	276	281 ^v –282	287 ^v	none	f. 286 ^v is blank; f. 287 seems to be stuck to f. 276 to make a bifolium
37	(2+8)	288	293 ^v –294	297 ^v	none	See NB below
38	(2)	298	298 ^v –iii	iii ^v		

NB In the above table BM means bottom margin.

The gatherings are remarkably homogeneous, at eight pages for most of the manuscript. Gatherings 36–38 pose problems. The ending of Book IV on f. 286 might suggest the end of a gathering except that the stringing of gathering 36 is clear. It would be helpful if gatherings 37 and 38 made one gathering, but the noted stringings are clear. In gathering 37 the stringing is in the wrong place for the gathering as it is described. Without forcing folios apart, however, it is difficult to see extra bifolia within the existing binding.

- ⁸ *Arrangement of sheets (hair and flesh sides)*: this seems to be standard throughout.
- ⁹ *Pricking*: the holes for the lines in the writing block remain uncropped on the outer edges of ff. 1–8, 168, 169, 176, 178, 182–184, 186, 203, 210–215, 276–286. There is evidence of cropping which has destroyed some marginalia, and also some of the scribal cues at the end of a gathering.
- ¹⁰ *Ruling*: see above.
- ¹¹ *Quire signatures and leaf signatures*: gatherings 1–9 have quire signatures written in lower case roman numerals in pencil.
- ¹² *Catchwords/Cues*: see table of gatherings.

Handwriting

- ¹ *Guide-letters for initials*: in Book IV, there are two spaces for initials, but only one guide-letter. Small paraps are also used, but do not seem to have the function of indicating the start of a distinction. The variety of usages noted here is interesting, and seems to have some link with the differences in hands. *Notes for rubrics or illustrations*: none.
- ² *Changes of scribe or rubricator in relation to contents and/or quiring*: there are changes of scribe for gatherings 27, 28, and 34.
- ³ *Texts of scribal signatures, mottoes, monograms etc.*: none.
- ⁴ *Titles: scripts, color etc.*: none.

Decoration and Illumination

- ¹ *Minor initials*: In Books I and II the initials are drawn in, about forty-nine in Book I and about forty-six in Book II. On the whole, they have the function of indicating the start of a new distinction of the *Sentences* Commentary. Book III has about twelve initials in all with two large and well-decorated ones on f. 173^b and f. 174^{vb}. Many of the other distinctions are indicated by paraps. *Line fillers etc.*: none.
- ² *Illuminated initials and borders*: none.
- ³ *Flourished initials*: a few have some spirals inside the curve. All initials are in black or brown ink. There are neither blue nor red colored initials, nor decoration in the alternative color. There are no patterns that can be identified. The black initials are similar to the first black initials in the early part of MS Laud Misc. 511,⁷² which were later overlain with blue initials flourished red. This practice of drawing initials in the same ink as the text indicates a mid-thirteenth-century date of execution. The initials in the *De haeresibus* are the same style as those of Hand 1.
- ⁴ *Historiated initials*: none.
- ⁵ *Miniatures*: none.

⁷² O'Carroll, *Preacher's Handbook*, 81–82.

Binding

- ¹ *Date and origin:* the present binding dates from 1922–1939, as the spine bears the arms of Pius XI.
- ² *Technique:* the binding is 10⁵/₁₆ inches or 26.25 cms. in length, 7⁶/₁₆ inches or 19 cms. in width, and 2 inches or 5 cms. in depth. The manuscript is bound on four sets of cord or thongs into very stiff cardboard boards covered with very dark green paper; but the spine and triangular corners on the outside covers are bound in shiny white leather. All Ottoboni manuscripts have a similar binding.
- ³ *Decoration:* the spine is divided by the raised stitching into five sections. In the top one is a small pink label printed with *Ottob. lat. 294*. In the next section the same number is stamped in large letters and numbers. Sections three and five have a similar pattern of stylized foliage, while section four is stamped with the arms of the pontiff of the time.

Opening words of the second leaf

The opening lines of the second leaf are part of a summary of the text in distinction form, but the first line of the text in the column is:

Cupientes. De penuria: id est paruitate scientie . . .

Further Comment

In many ways this manuscript fits with aspects of manuscript production in England, and with scholastic Oxford manuscripts in particular.

4 PROVENANCE⁷³

From the information about English scribal practices already noted in the description — column and line numbering in particular, the alternation of *above top line* and *below top line* style in copying, the use of Grosseteste's symbols, the function and style of the *arbores*, the use of arabic numerals in so many ways — and the fact that the text is composed by an English Dominican, it can be concluded that this manuscript was probably made in England.

Initially it seemed that this manuscript could be one of the Cervini manuscripts in the Ottoboni collection as found by Neil Ker⁷⁴ and H.M. Bannister.⁷⁵ The latter noted that

⁷³ We acknowledge with gratitude the help and advice of Père L.J. Bataillon OP and Leonard Boyle OP with respect to this section.

⁷⁴ N.R. Ker, "Cardinal Cervini's Manuscripts from the Cambridge Friars," in *Xenia Medii Aevi Historiam Illustrantia oblata Thomae Kaeppli OP* (Rome, 1978), 51–71.

⁷⁵ H.M. Bannister, "A Short Notice of some manuscripts of the Cambridge Friars, now in the Vatican Library," in *Collectanea Franciscana*, eds. A.G. Little, M.R. James, H.M. Bannister (Aberdeen, 1914), 124–41.

it is quite possible that some (manuscripts) have been omitted which might have provided material for the present study; hence the list must not be regarded as a complete one. It is simply a hand-list of the English MSS. in the Ottoboni collection, published as an incentive to further investigation.⁷⁶

Against this, however, is the nature of the annotations — in a medieval hand — on the penultimate folios, and especially those referring to purchases in imperial and Venetian currency, as well as to two north Italian place-names: Lodi, south-east of Milan, and Venice.

At this point the significance of the inscriptions on f. ii^v become important. In a humanist hand is the numbering of the manuscript as *CLxxiiij* and its owner as Marcus, Patriarch of Aquileia north-east of Venice.⁷⁷ Marco Barbo was a nephew of Pope Paul II, who was given ecclesiastical preferment early in life: Bishop of Treviso in 1455, Bishop of Vicenza in 1464, both suffragan dioceses of the Patriarchate of Aquileia. He became Patriarch himself in 1470. As he held plural benefices, he was able to indulge his passion for book-collecting. It was estimated that he owned at least five hundred manuscripts and books. This manuscript was purchased by him between 1470 and 1491, the year of his death. A century later it was in the possession of Duke Giovanni Angelo di Altemps.⁷⁸ Its whereabouts between Marco Barbo's and Giovanni Angelo's ownership is not clear. On the death of the Duke of Altemps, his library was sold by his heirs to Marcello Cervini for 13,000 scudi, in August 1611. This manuscript later became part of Cardinal Ottoboni's collection, which was purchased for the Vatican Library in 1740 by Benedict XIV.

There is no doubt that it has been part of the Vatican holdings since 1740, but the manuscript was definitely in Italian ownership from 1470. But the manuscript may well have been in Italy before 1470. Many of the annotations on ff. 297^v–iii^v are Italian in origin. The status of the coinage and many of the place-names are Italian; there is the phrase *Iste liber est conventus de Rietis fratrum praedicatorum*; on f. 297^v is a reference to a subprior of Venice, and on f. 298^v to the convent of Lodi.

But the annotations also give other evidence. There is the ownership of this manuscript by different libraries, as indicated by the scored-through arabic numeral *138*, which could be a primitive library reference, and by another possible library reference *Rex 42* on f. ii. On ff. 297^v–298^v there are several references to Philip

⁷⁶ Ibid., 124–25.

⁷⁷ C. Eubel, ed., *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi sive summorum pontificum, S.R.E. cardinalium, ecclesiarum antistitum series*. Vol. 2: *Ab anno 1431 usque ad annum 1503 perducta* (Münster, 1901), 14, 15, 103, 173, 193. Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, ed., *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 6:249–52.

⁷⁸ *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 2:550–51. See also Jeanne Bignami-Odier, *La Bibliothèque Vaticane de Sixte IV à Pie XI* (Vatican City State, 1973).

the librarian or keeper of books and to the variety of transactions of which he was part. There is a loan to a subprior of Venice, f. 297^v; and possibly to the convent of Lodi on f. 298^v. Both places had Dominican priories — the common name for which was *convent*. Dominican priories were enjoined by Humbert of Romans⁷⁹ to have a friar who was responsible for books. So this manuscript did not seem to remain in one place, but had strong library links and strong Dominican links. The most feasible interpretation of all these references is to conclude that this manuscript is an English Dominican manuscript, written in England in the mid-thirteenth century. It may have been given a number reference at that time. So the manuscript probably travelled to Italy, as so many Dominican manuscripts did travel, in a friar's sack. It may have been an English friar appointed as a student or a lector in another province. It may have been an Italian Dominican who had studied for some time in Oxford. It is probable that the manuscript left England sooner rather than later. It also seems to have belonged to a Dominican priory or priories in northern Italy for some considerable time. By the fifteenth century, in Dominican priories, the work of Thomas Aquinas was more important theologically than texts written by earlier theologians. When friars needed new books, they had no hesitation in selling books surplus to requirements. Probably this manuscript was sold at some point in the fifteenth century, and bought between 1470 and 1491 by Marco Barbo.

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⁷⁹ Humbertus de Romanis, *Opera de vita regulari*, ed. J.J. Berthier (Rome, 1888–89; repr. Turin, 1956), 2:263–66.

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1 HEADING

- ¹ *Pressmark*: formerly *Cod. Univ. 309*; currently: *Cod. 1514*.
- ² *Title*: *Lectura super Sententias*. *Language*: Latin.
- ³ *Date and origin*: second half of the thirteenth century, probably English.
- ⁴ *Provenance*: gift of *M. Stephanus de Enczesdorff* to the *Collegium Ducis*.
- ⁵ *Catalogue*:
- ^{5.1} Denis, Michael. *Codices manuscripti theologici Bibliothecae Palatinae Vindobonensis latini*. Vol. 1, part 2. Vienna, 1800, 1228–29.
- ^{5.2} Academia Caesarea Vindobonensis, ed. *Tabulae Codicum Manu Scriptorum prae-ter Graecos et Orientales In Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi Asservatorum*, Cod. 1–3500. Vienna 1864 (repr. Graz, 1965), 1:247.

2 CONTENTS

- ¹ *Contents*
- ^{1.1} ff. 1^a–178^a, Book I of Richard Fishacre's *Sentences* Commentary
At the very top is a cropped title.
Inc. Ro 11. O altitudo diuiciarum sapientie et scientie dei. Constat non est parum admirabilis illa sapientia quam admirans sic exclamat doctor gentium qui raptus usque ad 3^m celum ...
Exp. ... et ideo dico benedicta sit creatrix et gubernatrix omnium sancta et indiuidua trinitas et nunc et semper et per infinita seculorum secula. Amen.
- ^{1.2} ff. 179^a–309^b, Book II of Richard Fishacre's *Sentences* Commentary
Inc. Terribiliter magnificatus es, mirabilia opera tua et anima mea cognoscet nimis. Ps. In primo libro deus terribiliter magnus quoquo modo innotuit ubi actum est de magnitudine terribili sue essentie ...
Exp. ... subdita sit, quasi dicat semper sublimiori obediendum non semper inferiori et ita deo pre omnibus qui uetat uenialia. Explicit. (*Explicit* is added in a later hand in a dark brown ink).
- ² *Corrections*
- ^{2.1} ff. 1^a–178^a, Book I
There are very few corrections. There could be about forty corrections of words or phrases, but among those forty are five doubts. There are also about six insertions of text and three erasures with text written on top. Of the forty, about seventeen corrections were made by later annotators, of which twelve are found between

f. 141^b and f. 143^a. This could indicate a level of correction needed by the text, but not actually done.

2.2 ff. 179^a–309^b, Book II

The corrections here are very different. In a shorter book (130 folios as opposed to 178) there are at least 257 corrections of words and phrases and sixty-one insertions of text. Most of these are done either by the scribe or by a contemporary hand. A very small number of corrections is made by later annotators.

3 *Marginalia*

3.1 ff. 1^a–178^a, Book I

In Book I there is much organization of information in the first part, but from ff. 50 to 54 and 57^v to 62 there is nothing. From f. 63^a virtually to the end of Book I there is little contemporary work. There is some apparatus in the shape of sequences of arabic numerals and scholastic abbreviations, *g^a*, *Q*, *R^o*, *s^o*. There are a few geometrical figures. As in most Fishacre manuscripts, there are about twenty-seven summaries in distinction form, *arbores ramificatae*.⁸⁰ Spaces for some *arbores* are left. About thirty pages in Book I have pencil notes. Unlike some other Fishacre manuscripts, there are no authorities and only one *exemplum*. There are, however, many examples of *nota*: those in ink number about twenty-four. But there are at least 125 representing at least two hands. The rest of the marginalia are later annotations, numbering about forty-two and representing the work of at least three persons. These include questions, margin headings, and comments. This number does not include the many comments written in pencil. There are five Grosseteste indexing symbols, two of them linked with *arbores*, one a circle cut by a horizontal diameter, one pattern with a single usage, and two with several incidences. One is two dots with a little line in the middle and a tail, the other is two dots and a curly tail. There are two fingers/hands on f. 155^{va} and f. 158^{vb}.

3.2 ff. 179^a–309^b, Book II

The contents of the marginalia seem very different from those in Book I and are sporadic. Ff. 204–212, 217^v–221^v, 227–229^v, 243–245^v, 264–268, 269^v–271, 272^v–288, and the last folios have very little apparatus. But the marginalia are found more extensively than in Book I. Unlike Book I, there is only one sequence of arabic numerals. Scholastic abbreviations are more numerous: in ink, twenty up to f. 203^v, six up to f. 243, and one only thereafter; scholastic abbreviations in pencil are more numerous, twenty up to f. 203^v, thirty-five up to f. 243, and eighteen thereafter, but not continuous. Their incidence reflects the interest of the

⁸⁰ ff. 3^v, 6^v–7, 21 (whole page), 48^v, 54, 58^v, 61^v, 68^v, 70, 73^v, 77, 84^v–85, 88^v, 94, 94^v, 98, 100, 101, 104^v, 109^v, 112^v space, 113^v space, 116, 120^v, 123, 124^v, 129^v space, 132, 134, 138, 145^v space.

annotators or students using the manuscript. There are about sixteen *arbores*.⁸¹ It looks, however, as if there are not as many in Book II as in other Fishacre manuscripts. A few diagrams are found, one drawing of a bishop's head on f. 279^b, and also three fingers in ink, all by the same later hand, on ff. 263^a, 264^b, and 264^{va}. As in Book I, the same three annotators are found with about fifty items. These include a few corrections and many comments similar to Book I. There is, however, at least one other hand, which adds several portions of text at the end of the book (ff. 308–309^v) and a second very similar hand, which has written several pieces in the margin of f. 237^b. There are seven instances of *nota* in ink and at least 325 in pencil. In this book the pencil contributions are significant, involving at least sixty pages. The Grosseteste indexing symbols number about ten; several are the same usages of dots with tails as in Book I. Five others are linked with the *arbores*. It is worth noting that no proper use is made in either book of the narrow outside margins for inserting the scholastic abbreviations. It seems clear from the marginalia that this manuscript was used by many readers.

4 Hands

With the usual provisos of ink, nib, surface of membrane, and scribal mood as agents of differences in one person's writing, the following is suggested:

Book I	ff. 1–8 ^{vb}	Hand 1	there are two possible changes within this at ff. 112 and 149. The difference is the writing of the dividing paraph. But other similarities are so strong that this difference is simply noted
	ff. 9–178 ^a	Hand 2	
Book II	ff. 179 ^a –309 ^b	Hand 3	There are about five annotating hands; three are found in both books while the other two are responsible for the extra text in Book II

3 PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

Make-up of the MS

- ¹ *Number of leaves, including all end or added leaves:* I, II, 1–309. There are annotations on f. I, *Ad Coll ducis*, then a space and *Lectura et Compilatio bona super libros sententiarum*, followed very closely by a different hand with *quam felicitis recordationis*. Below this in a late fourteenth- to early fifteenth-century Middle European hand is written *Venerabilis olim M. Stephanus de Enczesdorff, licentiatus in Theologia, Canonicus Ecclesie Sancti stephani, dedit pro libraria magistrorum*; and below this in a large and different hand is *Ad Collegium Ducis*

⁸¹ ff. 179^v, 183, 188^v, 219^v, 222^v (different hand), 241, 250^v, 281, 285^v–286, 293^v, 295^v–296, 299, 299^v–300, 303^v, 306^v, 308^v.

etc. Below this in pencil is *1514*, and below this again *Der Einband wurde im Juni 1915 ausgebessert*. Towards the base of the page is a mauve stamp inscribed *k. k. Hofbibliothek*. There is no writing on ff. I^v, II or II^v. At the end of the manuscript there are three notes by at least two hands on f. 309^v: e.g. *Vtrum relatio in divinis sit substantia vel accidens . . .* and *Vtrum aliquod sit nomen deo et creature univocum . . .* These questions are in fact found in Book I of the Commentary at the places noted by the scribe (namely, dists. 26 and 46). Both these hands are very similar to some of the annotating hands. Then there is a round purple stamp with *National Bibliothek Wien* written on it, and below this another mauve stamp. On the back pastedown, which is damaged at this point, there are some inscriptions which indicate prices in florins and denarii.

- ² *Foliation, including all early and mistaken foliation*: all modern, no early folio or page numbering. I, II, 1–309.
- ³ *Materials*: all parchment, no paper. There are worm holes, ff. I–13 and 303–309, while on the edge of ff. 24–26 identical pieces are removed. Other holes are more usual: there are about thirteen large holes and about sixty-six small holes, some of them minute. Many of the holes are linked with the incidence of scar tissue. About seventy-two folios have uneven edges. These include cut corners, ill-cropped edges, and edges damaged by fall-out of scar tissue. There are about twenty-eight examples of wear, most of them associated with scar tissue. In a few places this is loose (see ff. 120^b and 282^b). There are about nineteen repairs, four tears, and five slits. On the whole the quality of the parchment is good, better than some of the other Fishacre manuscripts. *Ink*: ff. 1–8 are written in a brownish-black ink, as are most of the annotations on the front and end sheets. Ff. 9–309 are written in black ink, in varying shades.
- ⁴ *Overall dimensions of the leaves*: the folios were measured on a one-in-twenty-five sample. The length proves slightly more regular at 12 to 12¹/₈ inches or 30.1 to 30.7 cms. than the width which varies from 8 to 8⁵/₁₆ inches or 20.1 to 20.9 cms.⁸²
- ⁵ *Written space*: the whole manuscript is written *below top line* in two-column format. The writing block was measured in the same one-in-twenty-five sample. The width varied from 2 to 2¹/₄ inches or 5 to 5.6 cms.; and the length varied from 7⁶/₈ to 8¹/₄ inches or 19.5 to 20.8 cms. It is noticeable that rarely are the columns on the same page of equal width. *Ruled space*: there seem to be only two closely related patterns of the page lay-out; namely, six longitudinal lines making the two columns, a central margin, and two very narrow columns on the outer edges of the writing block. This pattern is used for ff. 1–8 of Book I and all of Book II, except for the last twenty or so folios, which have a mixture of the two patterns. The other pattern found in most of Book I, and sporadically at the end of Book II, adds a single line across the page at the base of the writing block. In a few cases

⁸² Because the binding is so tight, these dimensions are not precise.

the penultimate bottom line is also drawn across. *Numbers of lines in columns*: on a one-in-twenty-five sample, the line numbers include 42, 50, and 51 to a column, the most common number being 50.

- ⁶ *Numbering systems*: there is numbering of most of the distinctions in both books, but there is also some confusion. In Book I arabic and roman numerals are mixed up, sometimes using both systems for the same number, as a series shows: 2, 3, *quarta*, *quinta*, *v^{ta}*, *vi^{ta}*, *7^a*, *8^a*, *viii^a* (all in black ink); 9, *ix^a*, *10^a*, *11^a*, *xii* etc., 9–19 (all in red ink); two 19's both black, then 19–43 all red, but with a mixture of numbers. The use of color is not related to number-style. Book II shows a similar confusion: numbers 1–10, all in red, are either roman or arabic; but from f. 248 there is a change of numbering hand, using all arabic. The function of all this is the identification of the number of the distinction in the current folio. The red ones are found mostly off-center right in the top margin, or in the top right-hand corner of the recto side. The black ones are found in the very top corners of either recto or verso sides. *Columns and lines*: In Book I there is no numbering of either columns or lines. In Book II there is numbering of both columns and lines up to f. 247^b. The columns are consecutive — with no mistaken numbers — from 1–274. There are no column numberings from f. 247^{va} to f. 309. Initially, the line-numbering is less accurate: the scribe starts numbering in tens but thinking in fives: 10, 20, 25, 35, or 10, 20, 25, 30, 40. On f. 187, however, he inserts mistaken corrections, but finally on f. 188^v he succeeds with accuracy and numbers in tens the 50 lines to the column. This line-numbering stops at f. 247^b.

⁷ *Quiring/Collation*

number	start	string	end	cue	notes
1 (2)	i	i ^v –ii	ii ^v		
2 (12)	1	6 ^v –7	12 ^v	<i>deus lux est, et tenebre</i>	i in pencil
3 (12)	13	18 ^v –19	24 ^v	<i>et hec memoria omnem</i>	ii
4 (12)	25	30 ^v –31	36 ^v	<i>aut attauus</i>	iii
5 (11)	37	41 ^v –42	47 ^v	<i>sine numero</i>	iiii; see NB below
6 (12)	48	53 ^v –54	59 ^v	<i>quia tunc esset per eam</i>	v
7 (12)	60	65 ^v –66**	71 ^v	<i>recepte signate</i>	vi
8 (12)	72	77 ^v –78	83 ^v	<i>in se maius et minus</i>	vii
9 (12)	84	89 ^v –90*	95 ^v	<i>Ro. ultimo in fine</i>	viii
10 (12)	96	101 ^v –102	107 ^v	<i>intelligenda est significatio</i>	ix
11 (12)	108	113 ^v –114	119 ^v	<i>inuitata uocabula</i>	x

12 (12)	120	125 ^v –126	131 ^v	<i>de trinitate</i> <i>lib. 1.5 cap. 7</i>	xi
13 (11)	132	136 ^v –137	142 ^v	<i>albi est causa albi</i>	xii; see NB below
14 (6)	143	145 ^v –146	148 ^v	<i>Nunc ad propositum,</i> <i>dist. 38</i>	xiii
15 (12)	149	154 ^v –155	160 ^v	none	xiiii
16 (12)	161	166 ^v –167	172 ^v	none	xv
17 (6)	173	175 ^v –176	178 ^v		xvi
18 (12)	179	184 ^v –185	190 ^v	cue cropped	xvii; 1; in gatherings 18–27 numbers 1–10 in BM
19 (12)	191	196 ^v –197	202 ^v	none	xviii, 11
20 (12)	203	208 ^v –209	214 ^v	none	xix, 3
21 (12)	215	220 ^v –221	226 ^v	<i>opinionum magis</i>	xx, 4
22 (12)	227	232 ^v –233	238 ^v	<i>manere sicut</i>	xxi, 5
23 (12)	239	244 ^v –245	250 ^v	none	xxii, 6
24 (12)	251	256 ^v –257	262 ^v	<i>eos ergo eorum</i>	xxiii, 7
25 (12)	263	268 ^v –269	274 ^v	<i>atque in appetitus</i>	xxiiii, 8
26 (12)	275	280 ^v –281	286 ^v	none	xxv, 9
27 (12)	287	292 ^v –293	298 ^v	cue cropped	xxvi, 10
28 (11)	299	304 ^v –305	309 ^v		

NB In the above table * indicates that the string could not be seen; ** indicates that a fragment of string could be seen. BM means bottom margin.

Between f. 39^v and f. 40 the hair and flesh side do not match. On f. 40 there is a pastedown of a narrow edge of a missing folio.

Between f. 132^v and f. 133 is found a cut edge of an excised folio.

Between f. 299^v and f. 300 is a cropped folio; its edge is stuck down to f. 299^v.

From the sets of quire signatures it is clear that two different scribal practices are found in the making of this manuscript.

- ⁸ *Arrangement of sheets (hair and flesh sides)*: this seems to be standard throughout, except for ff. 39^v–40.
- ⁹ *Pricking*: there are many forms of pricking in Book I. Gatherings 2 and 6–17 have pricking top and bottom of the folio for the longitudinal lines; gatherings 3–5 have only the bottom holes, and few of the top ones. Outer edge pricking is found from gatherings 5–17, with five gatherings having a few cropped edges, namely gatherings 7, 10, 13, 15, 16. On ff. 80–82 there are double sets of holes. Exceptionally, this manuscript also has pricking observable on the inner edge. Gatherings 9 and 12–17 have these holes. Book II has only one kind of pricking, namely the holes on the top and bottom for drawing the longitudinal lines. Gatherings 18, 19, 21, 22, 24, 26–28 have both; while gatherings 20, 23, and 25 all have top holes, but only some of the holes at the bottom edge of the folios.

- 10 *Ruling*: see above. In this manuscript lead pencil is used and in a few places dry point.
- 11 *Quire signatures*: see table of gatherings. *Leaf signatures*: none.
- 12 *Catchwords/Cues*: see table of gatherings.

Handwriting

- 1 *Guide-letters for initials*: most of the initials are in place already, but the guide-letters remain totally in some cases and partially obliterated by the paint of the initial in others. There are about seventeen in Book I, mostly pencil; and about nine in Book II, mostly ink. The partly obliterated initials in Book I number about two, and in Book II about sixteen. *Notes for rubrics or illustrations*: none.
- 2 *Changes of scribe or rubricator in relation to contents and/or quiring*: change at the start of Book II. Rubrication in the text is crude, but is functional, either in indicating the start of a distinction, especially where historiated initials are missing, or in indicating the number of the current distinction. The rubricator is different from the scribe who flourished the initials.
- 3 *Texts of scribal signatures, mottoes, monograms etc.*: none.
- 4 *Titles: scripts, color etc.*: none.

Decoration and Illumination

- 1 *Minor initials*: about two. *Line fillers*: none.
- 2 *Illuminated initials*: two, the opening initial of each book. The first is a very decorated paraph of gold with fine pen drawn blue historiation. *Borders*: none.
- 3 *Flourished initials*: these initials are all blue flourished in red, which is an English practice. There are about thirty-eight in Book I and forty-two in Book II. Their function is mainly to indicate the start of a distinction. In two places, ff. 159^{va} and 290^{va}, where the flourisher omitted initials, a later annotator drew them in. In style many have some characteristic infillings of *O*, *D*, *C*, *H*, *P*, *E*, *U*, and *Q*, associated with the English/Oxford practice of the late thirteenth century.
- 4 *Historiated initials*: none.
- 5 *Miniatures*: none.

Binding

- 1 *Date and origin*: the half-leather on wood binding is characteristic of this area of Europe. It is very similar to the binding practices of the contemporary Biblioteca Amploniana in Erfurt. It is very likely a fifteenth-century binding.
- 2 *Technique*: the front cover measures 8½ by 12¼ inches or 21.5 by 31 cms.; the back cover is marginally larger — 8½+ by 12¾ inches or 21.6 by 31.4 cms. The spine is about 2⅝ inches in width or 7 cms. The boards are made of wood with slightly bevelled edges, and are about half covered with originally white leather, now a pale yellowish-brown. The boards and leather were repaired in 1915. The

gatherings are sewn onto five thongs, which could be double. They do not seem to come to the outside of the board — perhaps they are carried in a channel and pegged down. The fixture cannot be felt. In earlier times the manuscript was chained. It also had clasps, two different fittings; probably a leather band was attached to the back cover and fitted on to a metal stud. The title on the front cover is very badly worn, with a few indications of letters — one long upright, four small ones, and a blob. On the spine is written *Comme*–, probably *Commentarium* with two unreadable lower lines.

³ *Decoration*: none.

Opening words of the second leaf

[*ex*] *quisiui eam a iuuentute mea et quesui sponsam ...*

Further Comment

This manuscript seems to be an English manuscript of the second half to fourth quarter of the thirteenth century. The hand is western European rather than central European. There are, however, specifically English characteristics in the manuscript: the use of arabic numerals in the line-numbering and the column numbering in Book II; and the nature of the historiated initials. They are all painted blue. Exclusive use of blue for the initial is an English, not a Parisian or French practice. The nature of the flourishing is also, according to the criteria made by Sonia Patterson, late thirteenth-century English. So we have an English copy of Books I and II of Fishacre's *Sentences* Commentary, which was probably written in the late thirteenth century rather than in the fourteenth century. This manuscript is not likely to have been made by the friars, as the quality of the parchment is too good; moreover, the text is in need of much correction — which friars are more likely to have done. Some of the *arbores*, especially in Book II, are missing. There are no pecia marks, but on the whole this is not an English stationers' practice. Some of the annotations made in later, fourteenth-century, hands demonstrate English usage, especially fingers and numbers used for scholastic analysis of arguments. Moreover, it was possibly made for sale. There are prices on the back pastedown. The book may have been bought and sold in England before it reached Vienna.

4 PROVENANCE

- ¹ This manuscript was given to the library of the Masters of the Collegium Ducis (one of the early colleges in the University of Vienna) by Master Stephen von Enczesdorff,⁸³ canon of St. Stephen's Cathedral. The annotations in Cod. 1514

⁸³ Enczesdorff is the name of a village near Vienna. In the records Stephen is called either "von Enczesdorff" or "von Grossenzersdorf".

do not have any date. In the back of this manuscript there is a damaged note, indicating prices in florins and denarii. So Cod. 1514 must have been bought at least once before it was given to the Collegium Ducis, but from the incomplete and damaged record it is not possible to say when or where the transactions took place.⁸⁴ The University of Vienna was founded in 1365 by Rudolf IV, and its theology faculty was begun in the 1380's. Master Stephen von Enczesdorff was not only active but a significant person in this enterprise.⁸⁵ He had received his university education in Prague, gaining his B.A. there in 1374, and, probably in 1377, his M.A. In 1385⁸⁶ he was recorded as the first on the list of Deans of the Faculty of Arts in Vienna. In 1391 and again in 1397 he was Rector of the University.⁸⁷ It would seem that he received his licentiate in Theology in 1395/96. He died in 1405. So at least one, possibly two, theological works by English Dominicans were owned in the late fourteenth century by Master Stephen.⁸⁸ Where he obtained the Fishacre Commentary remains unclear. Master Stephen von Enczesdorff is not found in any of Emden's list of masters at Oxford or Cambridge at that time. So it is likelier that the manuscript travelled from England, rather than that its Viennese owner travelled to England.

- ² *Later owner:* the library of the Collegium Ducis became part of the Library of the University of Vienna in the sixteenth century. In 1756 Empress Maria Theresa made the stocks of the old University Library part of the Imperial Library, where this manuscript was given the number *Univ. 309.* in the catalogue made by Michael Denis. Although the Imperial Library was a private library, public access, especially by scholars, was always possible. In the nineteenth century the shelf mark of this manuscript became *Cod. 1514.*

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⁸⁴ Another manuscript of the University library, Cod. 4398, a work by Thomas Bradwardine, an English Dominican, has an inscription, *M. Steph* (contraction) written in a hand very similar to but not identical with the record of Master Stephen von Enczesdorff's gift. Furthermore, Cod. 4398 has the year 1381 inserted by its scribe.

⁸⁵ Paul Uiblein, *Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Vindobonensis 1385–1416* (Graz, 1968), 563.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, XXI.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, XIX–XX. Cf. Denis, 1228–29.

⁸⁸ There was only one other Stephen, Stephanus de Lillis, in the list of the members of the faculty of Arts (sixty-seven masters, of whom Stephen von Grossenzersdorf was listed sixth, and 102 other names) in 1385.

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- Unterkircher, Franz. *Die datierten Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek bis zum Jahre 1400*. Katalog der datierten Handschriften in lateinischer Schrift in Österreich. Vol. 1. Vienna, 1969.

V. THE EDITION

As has been the sensible custom of all multi-volume texts published by the *Kommission für die Herausgabe ungedruckter Texte aus der mittelalterlichen Geisteswelt*, each editor or editors will be responsible for describing the manuscript situation with respect to his/her/their book.¹ Hence we will content ourselves here with a few general comments that will apply to all four books of Fishacre's Commentary and to the question of orthography.

Though not without important influences on subsequent thinkers, Fishacre's Commentary itself appears to have had a reasonably short shelf life. We might expect therefore that the manuscript copies were produced within a relatively brief time frame, probably a generation at most. Moreover, most, possibly all, of the extant manuscripts are products of English scriptoria. These two pieces of data help account for the fact that the text is relatively uniform and error free.

All the manuscripts, moreover, appear to derive from a single archetype, presumably Fishacre's autograph or dictation, since they share common mistakes and misreadings.² With but one exception, however, it cannot be established that any manuscript was copied from another extant manuscript. Only in the case of *S*, which was copied directly from *V*, can a manuscript be eliminated on this basis from consideration in establishing the text. It will be left to the individual editors to establish principles for the elimination of other manuscript witnesses.

Furthermore, no single manuscript or family of manuscripts contains a significant number of singular readings which are more likely to be *ipsissima verba auctoris* than the readings in the remainder of the manuscripts. Since therefore nearly all the readings peculiar to one manuscript or to a more or less random combination of manuscripts are deviations from the text to be established, a relatively small number of witnesses will be a sufficient base on which to reconstruct the text.

Lastly, since every manuscript has common errors with at least one other witness, no single manuscript is completely independent of all the others. Although families can be delineated, these groupings may change from book to book and even within the same book. The reason for this can be found in various clues that a version of the *pecia* system was already operative at the scriptorium or scriptoria

¹ Consider the fact that each book of the Commentary has a different set of witnesses: only *A*, *C*, *O*, and *R* are complete; *B* and *P* have the first three books; *N*, Books I and II; *S*, I to II, dist. 3; *V*, I to IV, dist. 8; *W*, I and II; *Cg*, fragments of III and IV; *Np*, IV (complete but for half of the final distinction); and *Lp*, IV, dists. 1–8.

² Some of these are corrected in *C* and *O*, a fact which makes them particularly valuable witnesses.

where the Fishacre manuscripts were produced.³ Thus, since the copy text would be changing, any family relationship would be hopelessly contaminated, and any attempt at constructing a *stemma codicum* that would obtain for the entire work would be a quixotic exercise.

For the rest, the editor or editors of the four books of the Fishacre Commentary must decide which manuscripts to read for his/her/their segment of text. Two external pieces of evidence, however, may be of some help in the dating of the manuscripts: line-numberings according to fives and *above top line* writing. The former device, which was designed to permit precise referrals to the text, first appeared in six manuscript copies of Fishacre's Commentary: *B*, *C*, *N*, *P*, *R* and *V*.⁴ The latter is a scribal practice first isolated by Neil Ker, which advances an additional clue in dating a manuscript: the shift in England during the thirteenth century from writing above the first ruled line of the page to writing below it.⁵ While the many exceptions urge caution, it is generally the case that from approximately the middle of the thirteenth century professional scribes wrote below the top line, leaving therefore the top line as a frame for the page of text. *Above top line* would thus be a feature of an earlier manuscript.

A special problem for the Fishacre editors is posed by the schematic diagrams which accompany many of the distinctions and which outline the argument. Fishacre refers to these as *arbores ramificatae* and its branches as *rami* or *ramusculi*. They cannot readily be ignored since Fishacre not infrequently refers to them in the text, indicating that they were important to him. Therefore, the editors owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. Klaus Rodler, who has devised a way to print the *arbores*.

* * *

Orthography has become in recent years a vexed issue: does one owe it to the reader to standardize spellings according to norms developed for classical texts or does one faithfully follow the medieval spellings?⁶ Leaving aside the question as to whether there ever existed any widely accepted canon of orthography in the

³ Dr. Eichinger, for example, has discovered a passage in Book III where *B*, *R* and *V* change hands at precisely the same place in the text (for details, see the previous chapter). There are in addition several *pecia* markings in *C* (see Introduction to previous chapter).

⁴ See Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 20. The Rouses err in including *O*, which does not have line-numberings (ibid., n. 39). *P*, moreover, features line-numberings only for some random folia of the first and third books, the rest having been replaced by letters, the system in use in Paris.

⁵ Ker, "Change in Scribal Practice," 13–14.

⁶ For a recent exchange on the subject see R. Hissette, "Averrois ou mystice plutôt qu'Averrois ou mistice? À propos des graphies dans les éditions des textes scolastiques latins," *Bulletin de philosophie médiévale* 40 (1998), 77–90, and Long, "Scholastic Texts and Orthography: A Response to Roland Hissette," *Bulletin de philosophie médiévale* 41 (1999) [in press].

Middle Ages, the editors have opted to follow the tradition established by the *Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für die Herausgabe ungedruckter Texte aus der mittelalterlichen Geisteswelt*, namely to standardize.⁷ The strongest argument for the latter, apart from precedent, is the training of the vast majority of those who will consult this text, scholars who are not by profession Latinists or philologists and therefore whose principal interest will be less the language of the text than the content.

⁷ We follow the norms established by Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1879; repr. 1962), with the exception of *poena*, *poenitentia*, and their cognates.

APPENDIX

The following extracts from manuscript catalogues, describing a version, complete or incomplete, of the *Sentences* Commentary of Richard Fishacre, are reproduced below. It will be noted that these descriptions, dating from the late eighteenth to the late twentieth century, vary greatly in quality. Historiographically, these catalogues reflect the manuscript codicology of their times, and do not necessarily meet the more exacting requirements of later times. Moreover, concerning manuscript collections held in Britain, much has been discovered in recent decades about characteristics which can help to identify specifically English manuscripts. Such scholarship is not always reflected in the existing catalogue descriptions of a Fishacre manuscript. Hence, in not a few cases, our descriptions in chapter IV will differ with respect to dating and other codicological details from the following catalogue descriptions.

Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria lat. 1546 (B)

Frati, L. *Indice dei codici latini conservati nella R. Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna*. Florence, 1909, 350:

785 (1546).

‘Ricardus Anglicus. Super tres libros sententiarum Petri Lombardi’. | ‘Altitudo sapientie et scientie dei’ — ‘potius denunciatur absolutos’.

Membr., sec. XIV, mm. 280 × 200, a 2 col., di carte 513 n., leg. in perg., prov. dal conv. di S. Domenico.

Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College 329/410 (C)

James, M.R. *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Gonville and Caius College*. Vol. 1. Cambridge, 1907, 372:

329. C.M.A. 790

410. James I. 30

Vellum, 11³/₈ by 8¹/₂, ff. 523, double columns of 53, 44, 52 lines. Cent. xiii late, in several hands, some very good. 2 fo. *sed in infinitum*.

Old binding, skin over boards, clasps gone. Chainmark at middle top of first cover, label and bosses gone from second cover.

A xvith cent. note in the cover on Fishacre's date circa 1240 and reference to Bale, p. 295.

Collation: 1¹²–4¹² 5⁸ 6¹²–10¹² 11⁸ 12¹²–20¹² 21¹⁰ 22¹² 23⁸ (wants 7, 8 blank) 24¹²–35¹² 36¹⁴ 37¹⁰ 38¹²–45¹² (wants 12).

Contents:

Inc. summa fratris R(icardi) de fissacre super sententias f. 1

(R)o. xi. O altitudo diuiciarum sapientie et scientie dei.

There are 44 distinctions on the first book.

Those on book II begin on f. 122 *b* and are 44 in number.

Lib. III, f. 259, 40 distinctions.

Lib. IV, f. 352 *b*, 40 distinctions.

Ending f. 523 (524) *b*.

De mendacio illud ibidem. Quecunque dixi in hiis de tuo agnoscant et tu et tui si qua de meo et tu ignosce et tui. Amen (ter).

Cambridge, Trinity College O. 1. 30 (T)

James, M.R. *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge. A Descriptive Catalogue.* Vol. 3. Cambridge, 1907, 34–35:

1054. *Divisio Scientiarum* etc. O. 1. 30

Vellum, 77/8 × 6, ff. 29 + 18, 35 and 30 lines to a page. Cent. xiii, in two or more good hands.

Marked C. 67. No. 199.

The flyleaf is a bit of music-paper of cent. xvi, with five-line stave. English words (secular) and music.

Collation: 1¹² 2¹² 3⁸ (6–8 blank canc.) | 4⁸ (wants 7, 8) 5⁸ 6^{4(?)}.

Contents:

At the bottom of f. 1 in red is “Liber S. Marie de fontibus” (Fountains).

I. *Diuisio scienciarum: quod de (?) accidentibus ad theologiam oportet alias precognoscere* f. 1

O altitudo diuiciarum sapientie et sciencie dei Ro xi. Constat non est parum admirabilis illa sapientia.

Ends f. 29 *a*. *Quare anima post mortem est inuertibilis (?) immutabilis.*

Plures hic omitto rationes propter prolixitatem.

Expl. de secundo libro.

II. In a larger hand, without title or rubrics:

de ecclesiasticis officiis f. 30

(De) Ecclesiasticis ut tractarem officiis eorundemque misticam dulcedinem uobis exponerem.

Ends imperfectly on f. 35 *b*:

In vi^{ta} celebratur officium in.

III. 1. Beginning of an Exposition of a Gospel (1st Sun. in Advent) f. 36

(A)*pproinquans Ihesus iherosolimam id est ad uisionem superne pacis*. Sixteen lines only.

f. 36 *b* blank.

2. The same in a smaller hand which gradually enlarges.

It is followed by similar short expositions of other gospels.

Erunt signa.

Exiit edictum.

Initium Iohannis etc.

The 23rd and last is on f. 46 *b*

Turba que non habet quod manducet sumus nos.

Ending:

intelligimus refectionem scripture.

f. 47 is blank.

Chicago, University 156 (Cg)

Ricci, Seymour de, and W.J. Wilson. *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*. Vol. 1. New York, 1935, 572, no. 156:

(BV. 4240. P.9 = 734977 = 215223). Promptuarium homileticum, libri IV. Vel. (XIVth c.), 170 ff. (24 × 17 cm.). Imperfect at beginning. Possibly written in England (2 ff. at end are in a XVth c. English hand). English brown calf with a gilt border (ca. 1730).

XVIIIth c. bookplate of Edward Browne, A.M.; bookplate of the executors of Thomas Eyre (1792). — Obtained from Dobell, Cat. 48 (Oct. 1925), n. 15 (given by Miss Shirley Farr).

Liverpool, University F. 4. 18 (Lp)

Ker, N.R. *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*. Vol. 3. Oxford, 1983, 312–313:

F. 4. 18 W. Peraldus, *Summa de vitiis*; etc. s. xiii ex.

1. ff. 1–72 *Titulus incipit tractatus moralis de vii uiciis capitalibus. Tractatus iste continet ix partes. prima pars ... (summary of contents) ... (f. 3) Incipit summa de uiciis et post (sic for primo) de uicio gule Rubrica. Dicturi de*

uiciis incipiemus a uicio gule propter hoc ... loquamur esse aliquando penituit tacere uero nunquam. Explicit de lingua cristo gloria qui est benedictus deus in secula. Explicit summa de uiciis.

For manuscripts and printed editions see A. Dondaine, 'Guillaume Peyraut', *AFP* xviii (1948), 189, 193–7, *SOPMA* ii. 133–42 no. 1622, Bloomfield, no. 1628. For printed editions see also Goff, P. 84–90. Notes and corrections in English hands. f. 72^v blank.

2. ff. 73–96^v [*S*]ap. 6 *Quid est sapientia et quemadmodum facta sit referam ... et ideo minori quam habuit surrexisse* (ends abruptly).

Richard Fishacre, O.P., on bk. 4 of the Sentences of Peter Lombard. Stegmüller, *Sent.*, no. 718, iv. No breaks in the text. No signs of use. The last words are in the discussion of *nec minus tribuit* towards the end of Dist. 14 (*PL* cxc. 871/4 up). In the copy in Oriel College, Oxford, 43 they occur at f. 381^{vb}/10.

ff. ii + 96 + ii. 333 × 228 mm. Written space 245 × 142 mm and (art. 2) 160 mm. 2 cols. 71–7 lines. Collation: 1–6¹⁰ 7¹² 8–9¹⁰ 10 three (ff. 94–6). Initials of art. 1: (i) f. 1, 7-line, blue on decorated pink and gold ground; (ii) 2-line, blue with red ornament. A 4-line space for *S* on f. 73 not filled and initials outside the written space on ff. 75^v, 83 not supplied. 'Bound by W. Pratt', s. xix ex.: perhaps long without a cover, since ff. 1, 96^v show signs of exposure. *Secundo folio sit nequam.*

Written in England. '29/3/95' and '£20', f. 1. University of Liverpool book-plate, the space for donor's name blank.

London, British Library Royal 10. B. vii (R)

Warner, Sir George F., and Julius P. Gilson, eds. *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*. Vol. 1. London, 1921, 313:

10 B. vii. Commentary on the Sententiae of Petrus Lombardus by the Dominican Richard Fishacre (d. 1248), who is said to have been the first of his order to write upon the Sentences. Other copies are at Oxford (Oriel Coll. 43, Balliol Coll. 57). A tabula at the end, arranged by alphabetical order of vowels only, differs apparently from that in Oriel Coll. MS. 31. Preface to lib. i beg. *Ro. ii. O altitudo diuiciarum, &c.: Constat, non est parum admirabilis; text, Cupientes: hec pars prohemialis diuiditur primo.*

Vellum; ff. 409. 11¼ in. × 8¼ in. XIII cent. Double columns, in several small hands. Sec. fol. *omnis creature*. On f. 1 b is a note (*circ.* 1300) *Iste fuit Fishaker fratris Galfridi de Willingham et est sub custodia prioris*, referring probably to S. Mary Overy, Southwark, the inscription of which (*circ.* 1400), *Liber beate Marie Ouerey*, is on f. 408 b (cf. f. 1). The words *custodia prioris*

are erased and in a 15th cent. hand is substituted *de trinitate Cantebriggie*, i.e. Trinity Hall, Cambridge. On f. 1 b is also the 15th cent. note *Istum librum ligari fecit frater Willelmus Redymer sacre sciencie venerabilis professor*. On f. 409 are notes of pledging, *Caucio doctoris Ricardi Burghhull exposita ciste Trinitatis xxi. Marcii a.d. 1449, et habet unum supplementum, scilicet crateram argenteam cum flore columbino in fundo pro . . .*, and *Caucio magistri Iohannis Herryson exposita ciste sancti Iohannis ix. die mensis Augusti a.d. 1454 pro vi. s. viii. d.*

Cat. of 1666, f. 17; CMA. 8222.

London, Lambeth Palace 116 (L)

James, M.R., and C. Jenkins. *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace*. Part 2. Cambridge, 1931, 189–192¹:

1. *De nominibus hebraicis* f. 1
2. *Brito super prologos Biblie* f. 31
3. *Lectio generalis in Theologia que inc. Speculum sine macula* f. 98
4. *Expositio magni prologi Biblie que inc. Frater ambrosius* f. 102^b
5. *Lectio generalis in theologia que inc. Lex domini immaculata* f. 118
6. *Lectio in primum librum sententiarum* f. 123
7. *Lectio in 2^{um} librum sent.* f. 126
8. *Lectio in 3^{um} lib. sent.* f. 126^b
9. *Lectio in 4^{um} lib. sent.* f. 127^b
- A late note: *quod 7 artes liberales comparantur 7 planetis* f. 130
10. *Joh. Bromyard Tractatus Juris Civilis et Canonici* f. 132

Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale VII. C. 19 (Np)

Handwritten catalogue in nine volumes. Vol. 7, P–Q, 596:

Quaestiones Incerti in lib. III et IV Sententiarum. Membr. in fol.

¹ As the Fishacre contribution to this manuscript runs from f. 123 to f. 130^b, the major contents of the manuscript are noted here from the above catalogue in summary title only.

Oxford, Balliol College 57 (A)

Mynors, R.A.B. *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College, Oxford*. Oxford, 1963, 39–40:

57 RICARDUS FISHACRE 51; 280.C.9

13th cent. 352 ff. $12 \times 8\frac{1}{4}$ in. 2 cols. of 55–70 lines. Collation: 2 leaves, i–v¹² vi¹⁶ | vii–xii¹² | xiii–xviii¹² | xix¹⁰ xx–xxix¹². Catchwords, and some pencil signatures. Several good hands, with small flourished capitals in red and blue. 2^o fo. *magnitudine*.

3–352. [Ricardus Fishacre OP, *Lectura super Sententias*] Ro. 11. *O altitudo diviciarum* etc. *Constat non est parum admirabilis divina sapiencia — si qua de meo et tu cognosce tui. amen amen amen.*

Stegmüller, *Sent.* no. 718; Emden ii. 685. Book ii begins on 79, iii 151, iv 223. 78 is blank; 222 covered with early pencil notes, among them draft expositions of Ps. lxxvi. 19 and Isa. xxxv. 2; 352^v likewise. There are gaps in the text on 331^v and 332^v; on 276 a contemporary note: *non plus correctum* (?).

T. James gives as the contents '1. *Fishacre* super sententias. 2. Tractatus *Anonymi* de Sacramento'; Langbaine suggests that the second art. is only part 4 of Fishacre's work, but there may be some confusion with MS 299.

1 and 2 are fly-leaves. On 1 are two notes of pledging: (a) *Caucio cum 4 supplementis* 2^o fo. *primi* 'terminaretur' 2^o fo. *secundi* 'patet quod' 2^o fo. *tercii* 'edificavit' 2^o fo. *quarti* 'nobilior'; (b) *Caucio fratris Johannis de S...* (several names) *exposita in cista ... xix die mensis febr. A. D. mcccclxx ... <et habet> 4 supplementa* 2^o fo. *primi* 'terminaretur' (?) 2^o fo. *secundi* ... 2^o fo. *tercii* 'edificavit' 2^o fo. *quarti* 'nobilior' ... *et iacet pro ...*. Belonged then or later to the Benedictines (?) of Chester: on 2^v is an early 15th-cent. title (the latter half erased) *Fisshacre super sentencias cum Johanne Damasceno de fide orthodoxa; vii loco*; in the same hand as their title and pressmark in Oxford BL Bodley 373 (2751) [— information of Neil Ker]. The erased inscription across the foot of 3 has proved illegible. It was in Oxford in the mid 15th cent., for on 1 is *JD* in monogram, followed perhaps by *6 marcis* — the mark of the university stationer John Doll. On 2^v is *Liber domus de Balliolo in Oxon' / ex dono Willelmi Gray Eliensis episcopi*.

Oxford, New College E. 112 (N)

Coxe, H.O. *Catalogus Codicum MSS. qui in Collegiis Aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adservantur*. Vol. 1. Oxford, 1852, New College, 40:

Codex membranaceus, in 4to minori, ff. 7 et 317, sec. xiii. exeuntis, binis columnis exaratus; olim Thomae Cranley, archiep. Dublinensis.

1. Anonymi cujusdam in Sententiarum librum primum lectura, praevia praefatione. fol. 1. Incip. praef. *Ro. xi. O altitudo diviciarum sapientie, etc. Constat non est parum admirabilis illa sapientia quam admirans.*

Incip. lect. *Cupientes aliquid, etc. Hec pars prohemialis dividitur primo in decem partes vel decem causas; hujus autem partis divisionem.*

Desin. *et ideo dico benedicta sit creatrix et gubernatrix omnium sancta et individua Trinitas et nunc et semper per infinita secula Amen.*

In calce, *Explicit liber tertius.*

Sequitur tabula materiarum alphabetica.

2. Ejusdem forsitan auctoris in Sententiarum librum secundum lectura, cum tabula posthabita. fol. 169.

Incip. *Terribiliter magnificatus es mirabilia, etc. In primo libro Deus terribiliter magnus quoquo modo.*

Desin. *quia pro amore Dei amati non debeo facere id pro quo certus sum perdere Deum.*

[...]

In fol. 3* scriptum est, manu antiqua, *Petrus Lombardus composuit sententias, Petrus Commestor historias. Epitaphium suum, Vere Petrus eram, hoc epitaphium suum ipse composuit apud Sanctum Victorem.*

In marginis fol. 1. ora superiori, *Liber Thome Cranle, archiepiscopi Dublinensis, quem emit apud Cestriam de fratre Ricardo Torbok, anno Domini m.cccc. viij. Henrici quarti nono et sue consecrationis xj, mensis Julii die secundo;* et in ora inferiori, *Liber custodis et sociorum collegii beate Marie de Wynton in Oxon. ex dono venerabilis patris Thome Cranle, archiepiscopi Dublin., quondam scholaris, deinde socii, ac demum custodis collegii predicti, qui petit humiliter suffragiis predictorum custodis sociorum et aliorum inibi divina celebrantium adjuvari apud misericordissimum Deum.*

Oxford, Oriel College 31 (Og)

Coxe, H.O. *Catalogus Codicum MSS. qui in Collegiis Aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adservantur*. Vol. 1. Oxford, 1852, Oriel College, 10–11²:

Codex membranaceus, in folio majori, ff. 315, sec. xiv., binis columnis haud una manu exaratus; ex dono, quoad partem priorem, Thomae Gascoigne, com. Ebor. nati 1403, quoad secundam, Johannis Ingolnieles, “prec. viij. s.”

1. Henrici de Gandavo, sive Goëthalis, Quodlibetorum liber; imperf. fol 1 b.
2. Johannis Andreae Bononiensis Opus Hieronymianum. fol. 227.
3. Brevis compilatio edita a Sancto Thoma de Aquino ord. Praed. de fide sive de Christiana religione. fol. 266.
4. Ejusdem expositio Symboli. fol. 294.
5. Tractatus ejusdem de decem preceptis. f. 298 b.
6. [Ejusdem] expositio orationis Dominicae. f. 303.
7. Tabula Fyssakyr [Ric. Fishacre] fratris Praedicatoris super 4 libros sententiarum; et est liber istius tabule Oxonie inter fratres Predicatores; [sic manu Tho. Gascoigne.] fol. 306.

Inc. *Amor; Utrum Pater et Filius*.

In margine inferiori notatur, *Hunc domui librum Gascon. studii dat ad usum*.

8. Index capitum operis superioris Thomae de Aquino de fide. fol. 315.

In calce codicis, *Codex accomodatus magistro Thome Wykis, secundo folio ‘mencio facta’*.

Oxford, Oriel College 43 (O)

Coxe, H.O. *Catalogus Codicum MSS. qui in Collegiis Aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adservantur*. Vol. 1. Oxford, 1852, Oriel College, 16:

Codex membranaceus, in folio minori, ff. 520, sec. xiv. ineuntis, binis columnis optime exaratus; ex dono Johannis Martill, 1430.

Ricardi Fishacre, ord. Praed. super quatuor libros Sententiarum commentarius, cum prologo.

Incip. prol. *Rom. xi. O altitudo divitiarum; Constat non parum admirabilis illa*.

Incip. comment. *Veteris ac nove; Et dicitur hoc vetus secundum Ysidor*.

Desin. *Si qua de meo, et tu ignosce et tui; Amen, Amen, Amen*.

Ad calcem habetur index alphabeticus copiosus; necnon ad finem tertii libri, sed manu recentiori.

² As the Fishacre contribution to this manuscript runs from f. 307 to f. 315, the major contents of the manuscript are noted here from the above catalogue in summary title only.

In initio codicis legitur; *Fishacre super 1, 3 et 4* [sic] *Sententiarum*. *Qui fuit primus qui scripsit super sententias de ordine suo in Anglia, et jacet Oxonie inter fratres Predicatores; Et constat iste liber collegio Sancte Marie, vocato Oryell, ex dono magistri Johannis Martill, magistri 7 artium liberalium et quondam socii ejusdem collegii, anno Christi 1430; quod Gascoygne.*

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 15754 (P)

Delisle, Léopold. *Inventaire des manuscrits de la Sorbonne, conservés à la Bibliothèque Impériale sous les numéros 15176–16718 du fonds latin*. Paris, 1870, 24:

Commentaire de Richard de Fitsacre sur les Sentences. xiii s.

Delisle, Léopold. *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*. Vol. 3. Paris, 1881, 27 no. 47:

Scripta supra primum, secundum, tercium Sentenciarum, ex legato magistri G. de Abbatisvilla. Incipit in 2^o fol. *quod numerositas*, in pen. *enciam*. Precium viii l. (Ms. latin 15754.)

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 16389 (S)

Delisle, Léopold. *Inventaire des manuscrits de la Sorbonne, conservés à la Bibliothèque Impériale sous les numéros 15176–16718 du fonds latin*. Paris, 1870, 57:

Richard de Fitsacre sur les Sentences. xiii s.

Delisle, Léopold. *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*. Vol. 3. Paris, 1881, 26 no. 41:

Opus Richardi de Fizacre, anglici, super primum Sentenciarum et super duas vel tres distinctiones. Incipit in 2^o fol. *credendo*, pen. *in majore*. precium xl sol. (Ms. latin 16389.)

Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Vaticana Ottob. lat. 294 (V)

Inventarium Codicum Manuscriptorum Latinorum Bibliothecae Vaticanae Ottoboniana, Pars 1, no. 294:

<i>In Sententiarum libros quatuor Commentarius</i>	<i>O altitudo</i>	1
<i>Quaedam super Sacramenta</i>	<i>Quid sit</i>	260
<i>In S. Augustini librum de Haeresibus Adnotationes</i>	<i>Legi Augustinum</i>	287
<i>De Christi in caelum Ascensione Quaestio</i>	<i>Quesitum fuit</i>	294
<i>Cod. ex Memb. 4. C. S. 296</i>		

Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek lat. 1514 (W)

Denis, Michael. *Codices manuscripti theologici Bibliothecae Palatinae Vindobonensis latini*. Vol. 1, part 2. Vienna, 1800, 1228–29:

DXXXV (U. 309)

Codex membraneus lat. Sec. XIV. Folior. 309. f. per duas columnas nitide exaratus, coloribus distinctus et a M. Stephano de Enczesdorff T. L. et ad S. Stephani Canonico, qui jam a. 1391. et 97. Studiorum Universitati prae-fuit, donatus ad Collegium Ducis continet, ut eadem Nota praeferet, Lecturam et Compilacionem bonam super libros sententiarum, sed ultra secundum non procedit. Prooemium L. I. incipit Chor. II. O. altitudo diuiciarum sapientie &c. Commentarius ipse: Cupientes. Hec pars prohemialis diuiditur primo in partes quatuor seu quatuor causas &c. Fol. 179. orditur Prooemium L. II. sic: Terribiliter magnificatus es &c. et Commentarius: Creationem omnium rerum &c. In hoc secundo libro (ut) dictum est agit magister de creaturis. cuius distinctionem in modum arboris ramificate sic depingo. Atque non hic tantum, sed pluribus locis Schemata synoptica concinne facta ad margines inferiores videntur. Autorem e tanta Commentatorum turba discernere nec facile, nec adeo operae pretium foret; antiquioribus tamen adnumerandus est.

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[Univ. 309.] m. XIV. 309. f. *Lectura et compilacio bona super libros (I. et II.) sententiarum*. Denis II, DXXXV.

ABBREVIATIONS

AFP	<i>Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum</i> (Rome)
AHDL	<i>Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge</i> (Paris)
BRUO	A.B. Emden, <i>A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500</i> , 3 vols. (Oxford 1957–1959)
CUP	<i>Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis</i> , edd. H. Denifle and E. Chatelain, 4 vols. (Paris 1889–1897)
DLB	<i>Dictionary of Literary Biography</i> , vol. 115, <i>Medieval Philosophers</i> (Detroit 1992)
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i> , 22 vols. (London 1908–1909)
DTC	<i>Dictionnaire de théologie catholique</i> (Paris)
EEFP	William A. Hinnebusch, <i>The Early English Friars Preachers</i> (Rome 1951)
FS	<i>Franciscan Studies</i> (St. Bonaventure NY)
HLW	Richard Sharpe, <i>A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540</i> (Turnhout, Belgium, 1997)
LTK	<i>Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche</i> (Freiburg)
MOFPH	<i>Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum historica</i> (Rome)
MS	<i>Mediaeval Studies</i> (Toronto)
NB	<i>New Blackfriars</i>
NCE	<i>New Catholic Encyclopedia</i> , 15 vols. (New York 1967)
NS	<i>New Scholasticism</i> (Washington DC)
RNSP	<i>Revue neo-scholastique de philosophie</i> (Louvain)
RSPT	<i>Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques</i> (Le Saulchoir, France)
RTAM	<i>Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale</i> (Louvain)
RTPM	<i>Recherches de théologie et philosophie médiévales</i> (Leuven)
SOP	J. Quétif and J. Echard, <i>Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Recensiti</i> , vol. 1 (Paris 1719)
SOPMA	Thomas Kaeppli, <i>Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi</i> (Rome 1980)
TMS	<i>The Modern Schoolman</i> (St. Louis MO)
ZKT	<i>Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie</i> (Innsbruck)

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