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The Dissemination of Barthélemy Sicard's *Postilla super Danielelem*

Sylvain Piron

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The process through which a group of devout Franciscans and their lay followers in southern France gradually moved away from obedience to the Roman Church, were condemned as heretics in May 1318, and were then hunted down throughout lower Languedoc, is one of the best documented cases of collective heretication in medieval Europe.¹ The story of these Spiritual Franciscans and their Beguin followers could even serve as a model in helping historians to realize that heresy is neither just the projection of inquisitorial fantasies, nor the expression of a revolutionary will to break with ecclesiastical authority, but rather the result of a complex interaction between opposing forces whose conflicting views over what constitutes a legitimate Christian community gradually harden to the point of becoming entirely irreconcilable. Robert Lerner has made the crucial point that the Beguins are the first popular dissidents to make abundant use of writings.² These books or quires allowed them to engage in repeated collective readings of the key documents defining their beliefs and convictions, most of which were works by Peter John Olivi. Yet, as far as is known, none of the volumes that circulated in Languedoc at the time have been preserved. During the core of the repression period (1318-25), while about a hundred Beguins were burned at the stake, confiscated books and papers were probably also destroyed. The great mission that the Beguin Peire Trencavel set himself after his escape from the Wall (Carcassonne's inquisitorial prison) in 1323 was to save Olivi's written texts from destruction.³ While entrusting a number of these books to Johan Adzorit and Johan Rotgier, both secular priests in Béziers, [36] Trencavel was planning to meet

¹ Raoul Manselli, *Spirituali e beghini in Provenza* (Rome, 1959); David Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans: From*

² Robert E. Lerner, 'Writing and Resistance among Beguins of Languedoc and Catalonia', in *Heresy and Literacy, 1000-1530*, ed. Peter Biller and Anne Hudson (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 186-204.

³ Burnham, *So Great a Light*, pp. 171-2.

up with another companion in Auvergne.⁴ Sadly, the probability of one day recovering a leather bag containing Olivian manuscripts from the cellar of an isolated farm in Corrèze or Cantal is extremely low.⁵

Historians must rely instead on documents produced or kept by the persecutors, in the first place by the inquisitors of Carcassonne and Toulouse.⁶ The story of Olivi's doctrinal trials and eventual *post mortem* condemnation can be traced thanks to the annotations made by his censors in the books they studied, either at the time of the 1283 Paris commission that examined his controversial works, or when Bonagrazia of Bergamo wrote repeatedly in one volume from 1310 to 1325.⁷ At first, the papal administration was not instrumental in preserving those books. On the contrary, in the final days of the Council of Vienne, in order to make peace between the two Franciscan groups that had bitterly fought for about three years and had generated mutual accusations of heresy, Clement V requested that all documentation produced by both parties during the debates be destroyed—not only the polemical tracts composed by Bonagrazia and Ubertino of Casale, but also the precious handwritten rolls of Brother Leo that Ubertino had presented as evidence of the early Franciscan observance.⁸ In order to make up for such a loss, Raymond of Fronsac, procurator of the Franciscan order at the papal curia, presented John XXII with a summary of over a hundred documents tracing the long and complex history of this heresy, which he encouraged the pope to totally extirpate.⁹ Although this long and detailed inventory survives, no more than a handful of the documents themselves were actually copied as part of this dossier. It is reasonable to understand this list as representing a chronological classification of the actual documents held at that time by the procurator's office in Avignon. When the Franciscan officials in turn broke with the pope and fled to imperial Pisa in April 1328, their archives were seized by papal agents. The best indication that this library was then made

⁴ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France [hereafter BNF], MS Doat 27, fols 172v-175v.

⁵ I long fancied the notion that a group of Beguins who had emigrated to Auvergne might have secretly preserved the books and Olivi's cult up to modern times. But the only such community of Beguins I could trace, near Saint-Étienne, derives from a much later Jansenist dissidence. See Félix Regnault, 'Des béguins', *Bulletin de la Société d'anthropologie de Paris* 1 (1890), 662-80.

⁶ Paris, BNF, Doat 27 and 28. These registers, which deserve a good annotated edition, are also discussed in the essay by Louisa Burnham in the present volume.

⁷ Sylvain Piron, 'Censures et condamnation de Pierre de Jean Olivi: Enquête dans les marges du Vatican', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Age* 118/2 (2006), 313-73.

⁸ Piron, 'Censures et condamnation'.

⁹ *Sol ortus*, edited in Franz Ehrle, 'Des Ordensprocurator Raymund von Fronsac Actensammlung zur Geschichte der Spirituellen', *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters* 3 (1887), 1-32 (pp. 7-32).

available to papal supporters is provided by the Carmelite Guido Terreni. It [37] was certainly upon these shelves that he discovered a copy of his own treatise *De perfectione vitae* full of critical and insulting annotations by Bonagrazia, to which he promptly replied in an addition to his book.¹⁰

An inventory of the archives preserved at the papal palace under Innocent VI shows a number of boxes (*techa*) whose labels were connected to ‘rebels and heretics’, some of which gathered documents produced by the circle of Michele of Cesena in Pisa and later in Munich.¹¹ One of these boxes is described as containing ‘some useless writings from Narbonne’. The most likely origin for such a set of documents appears to be the seizure of various papers and parchments from the local convent in May 1318, when Olivi’s grave was destroyed and his ashes removed to Avignon. I have suggested elsewhere that at least a portion of this box was later taken to the Apostolic Library, bound together, and can now be identified with the codex Borghesianus 85, whose first quire contains the only preserved autograph by Peter John Olivi.¹² Yet many other manuscripts stemming from the intense scribal activity of the Spirituals were saved through another route.

The Beguins attributed a symbolic meaning to the number of the first four martyrs who were executed in Marseille in May 1318. Standing for the four directions of the cross, it was a sign that the poverty of Christ had been crucified again with them.¹³ Although it cannot be proven, I strongly suspect that the friars who were summoned to Avignon in April, then detained and interrogated, first by the Minister General Michele of Cesena and then by the Franciscan inquisitor for Provence Michel Lemoine, had decided in advance that only four of them would

¹⁰ Guido Terreni, *Contra fratrem Bonagraciam de Pergamo*, Avignon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 299, fols 77v-180r, see fol. 79r: ‘incidit in manus meas transcriptum dicti tractatus mei, quod repertum est inter libros apostatae, schismatici et utinam non sic, veri haeretici aut nimium suspecti, qui arrogantissime nomen Bonae gratiae sibi adscribit cum potius dici debeat Vana gratia atque fallax’ (‘there fell into my hands a copy of the said treatise of mine, which was found among the books of the apostate, schismatic and—would that this were not so!—real heretic or extremely suspect man, who most arrogantly ascribes to himself the name of Bonagrazia [Good Grace], while he should rather be called Vanagrazia [Vain Grace] and treacherous’). This addition to the *De perfectione vitae* is also found in Paris, BNF, lat. 4046, fols 122ra-155ra. See Alexander Fidora, ed., *Guido Terreni, O. Carm. (†1342): Studies and Texts* (Turnhout, 2015).

¹¹ Vatican City, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Instr. Misc. 5833, fol. 19v, edited in Valérie Theis, ‘Le gouvernement pontifical du Comtat Venaissin (1270-1350)’ (Ph.D. thesis, Université Lyon-II, 2005), pp. 999-1035.

¹² Sylvain Piron, ‘Autour d’un autographe (Borgh. 85, fols 1-11)’, *Oliviana* 2 (2006), on line at <http://journals.openedition.org/oliviana/40>.

¹³ Burnham, *So Great a Light*, p. 85. A fifth convict recanted at the last moment. This could be a sign that he was meant to be a substitute, in case one of the four had defected.

eventually suffer martyrdom. The most crucial objective for the group was to survive the current tribulations in order to achieve the final conversion of the whole world after the downfall of the Antichrist. As the Carcassonne inquisitor Jean of Beaune reports, the apostates [38] left a public statement, announcing that they would return after the death of John XXII to achieve a crushing victory over their adversaries.¹⁴ While Christ's advice was to flee to the mountains, they found it wiser to set sail across the sea, most of them heading to the kingdom of Naples. A chronicle produced by their distant successors in the last quarter of the fourteenth century in Tuscany traces the history of their group across the peninsula.¹⁵ Following Christ's good advice, they survived the plague by fleeing to the mountains and hiding in caves, and later settled in the March of Ancona. Up to that point, they had carried with them a portable library, of which we can catch a glimpse thanks to a remarkable anthology mainly based on its contents, now kept in Pesaro.¹⁶ Besides Olivi's complete works (distributed across perhaps twenty codices) and other rarities, this same library contained writings of a neglected, albeit crucial, author. By tracing their dissemination, I would like to provide new perspectives on the wider impact of the Spirituals in the fourteenth and fifteenth century.

Barthélemy Sicard, Olivi's Best Disciple

Although scholarship has not paid much attention to him up to now, Barthélemy Sicard was certainly the leading figure among the Languedoc Spirituals in the decade that followed Olivi's death in 1298.¹⁷ The Tuscan chronicle, based on a long oral tradition, describes him as his

¹⁴ Paris, BNF, Doat 37, fol. 63, edition in Étienne Baluze, *Miscellanea*, ed. J. D. Mansi, 4 vols (Lucca, 1761-64), II, 272. See Sylvain Piron, 'Un cahier de travail de l'inquisiteur Jean de Beaune', *Oliviana* 2 (2006), on line at <http://journals.openedition.org/oliviana/26>.

¹⁵ Felice Tocco, *Studia Franciscani* (Naples, 1909). On this chronicle, see Sylvain Piron, 'Le mouvement clandestin des dissidents franciscains au milieu du XIVe siècle', *Oliviana* 3 (2009), on line at <http://journals.openedition.org/oliviana/337>.

¹⁶ Sylvain Piron, 'La bibliothèque portative des fraticelles, 1. Le manuscrit de Pesaro', *Oliviana* 5 (2016), on line at <http://journals.openedition.org/oliviana/804>. Another group, settled in the Greek islands, carried with them a separate and similar library that ended up at the Candia convent before 1448 (Giorgio Hofmann, 'La biblioteca scientifica del monastero di San Francesco a Candia nel medio evo', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 8 [1942], 317-60).

¹⁷ Manselli, *Spirituali e beghini*, mentions him briefly, without discussing the *Postilla super Daniele*. I first introduced him in Piron, 'La critique de l'Église chez les Spirituels languedociens', in *L'Anticléricalisme en France méridionale, milieu XIIIe-début XIVe siècle*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 38 (Toulouse, 2003), pp. 77-109.

master's 'main disciple'.¹⁸ One of the manuscripts we shall study presents him more precisely as his 'companion and disciple' (*socius ac discipulus*), which could mean that he served as Olivi's teaching and editorial assistant in his final years in Narbonne.¹⁹ Whatever the case, he certainly acted as his main intellectual [39] heir. By 1309, when the Spirituals felt both desperate and confident enough to launch an appeal to Clement V, asking the pope to lift the ban on Olivi's books, allow the celebration of his feast, and alleviate their own repression, Barthélemy had been elected as a representative (*definitor*) of the province at the next general chapter. This qualification is the strongest sign we possess that, by that time, the group was supported by a large portion of the local Franciscans. Barthélemy certainly owed this status to the teaching positions he had held earlier. The Pesaro manuscript contains fragments of his lectures on the *Sentences*,²⁰ which he probably delivered at some point as the principal lector at the Montpellier *studium generale*. While he played a prominent part at the time of the appeal, he soon disappeared from sight after the summer of 1310. The rumor that most of the Spirituals' leaders were poisoned by their enemies at that date would be hard to prove, yet this suggestion as to his fate does not appear wholly unlikely.²¹

One of the few sure facts we know about Barthélemy is that he was residing in Béziers in the summer of 1303, presumably serving as a lector at the school of the local convent. The document that mentions this fact is worth pondering. Following a dramatic speech by William of Nogaret calling for the deposition of Pope Boniface VIII and the convocation of a general council, Philip the Fair's agents were seeking support across the kingdom of France. Usually meetings held in

¹⁸ Tocco, *Studii*, p. 515.

¹⁹ MS O (Sigla are explained below), fol. 88r: 'Bartholomeus Sycardi evangelice vite professor, socius ac discipulus quondam sanctissimi patris fratris P. Io.' ('Barthélemy Sicard, professor of the evangelical life, companion and disciple of the late most holy father Peter John'). If my suggestion is correct, his could be the second hand that appears on Olivi's autograph in Borgh. 85, which Fabio Troncarelli considers as formed according to a more conservative tradition. This of course has no implication as to his possible birth date. See Troncarelli, 'La chiave di David. Profezia e ragione in un manoscritto pseudogioachimita della Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma', *Frate Francesco* 69 (2003), 5-55, corrected in Piron, 'Autour d'un autographe'.

²⁰ Barthélemy Sicard, 'Extraits du commentaire des Sentences', *Oliviana* 5 (2016), on line at <http://journals.openedition.org/oliviana/895>.

²¹ Angelo Clareno, *Historia septem tribulationum Ordinis minorem*, ed. Orietta Rossini (Rome, 1999), p. 269. The Spirituals had secured an exemption from obedience to their superiors because, 'timebant prædicti ad nos evocati, ut dicebant, ex verisimilibus coniecturis sibi magna pericula imminere a prælatis et subditis ordinis prædicti' ('the aforesaid <friars> summoned to us were afraid, so they said, on the basis of plausible conjectures, that great dangers threatened them, coming from the prelates and subordinate figures of the aforesaid order'). Giovanni Giacinto Sbaraglia and Conrad Eubel, eds, *Bullarium Franciscanum*, 7 vols (Rome, 1759-1904; Eubel ed. vols 5-7, 1897-1904), V, 65-8, no. 158.

religious houses would result in a single document listing the names of all the friars or monks supporting Nogaret's appeal. Barthélemy's case is highly unusual. He issued instead a personal statement in a separate document.²² Giving his consent to the appeal, he was careful to state that he was acting despite the reverence and obedience he owed, by his [40] very Franciscan profession, to the Roman Church and any canonically elected pope. This subtle nuance does not imply that, by that time, and contrary to the position taken by Olivi in 1295, Barthélemy now considered Boniface's election to have been problematic. Instead, it rather suggests that he was awaiting some uncanonical election in the future. The theologian explained that he not only agreed with the arguments presented by the king, but also acted according to some other reasons that he would explain in due time (*ex aliis [causis] suo loco et tempore explicandis*). The same document also tells us that he was born in Montréal de l'Aude, twelve miles east of Carcassonne, just like Raymond Dejean, Olivi's nephew, who emerged as a crucial figure during the repression.²³

It is very tempting to connect this statement to the contents of the *Postilla super Danielelem*. This work is the only significant intellectual achievement produced among the Spirituals in the first decade of the fourteenth century. Rotgier admitted having read 'two or three quires of sermons and glosses on Daniel edited by friar Barthélemy Sicard', which certainly did not cover the totality of the work.²⁴ The author of the Tuscan chronicle was aware of 'l'aleghorie sopra Daniello', although it is not certain that he had a copy at hand.²⁵ Despite its fame within the movement, it is interesting to observe that the *Postilla* was scarcely known by the Spirituals' adversaries. Only Jacques Fournier shows awareness of it. Yet even he ascribes it to Olivi when quoting a crucial passage in his report against the *Lectura super Apocalipsim*, written while

²² Georges Picot, *Documents relatifs aux Etats généraux et assemblées réunis sous Philippe le Bel* (Paris, 1901), p. 322, dated 22 August 1303. Unfortunately, Barthélemy's personal seal, once appended to the document (Paris, Archives Nationales, J 481, no. 150) is now missing.

²³ Burr, *Spiritual Franciscans*, pp. 215-21.

²⁴ Manselli, *Spirituali e beghini*, p. 308.

²⁵ Tocco, *Studii*, p. 516: 'Anchora fu suo discepolo frate Bartolomeo Sichardi del qual se dice che fe' l'aleghorie sopra Daniello' ('Another of his disciples was friar Barthélemy Sicard, about whom it is said that he made the allegories on Daniel'). The uncertainty expressed ('se dice') may refer either to the authorship of the *Postilla*, or to its very existence.

Fournier was still bishop of Pamiers.²⁶ This could be a sign that he had access at that time to a batch of confiscated texts, all of which he attributed to Olivi.

The *Postilla* is a massive work. Its length can be estimated at roughly 115,000 words, nearly two-thirds the length of the *Lectura super Apocalipsim*. Following the prescription of the General Chapter of Lyon (1299), the name of Olivi is never explicitly mentioned, and open references to his most controversial concepts are avoided. Likewise, Joachim of Fiore is not referred to, nor is any Joachite exegetical tool expressly used. Yet the exposition of Daniel's prophecies is clearly set within an Olivian framework. In a final dedication to the Virgin, Barthélemy explains that this was his first properly edited work. Besides his *Sentences* commentary, it is probably the only thing he wrote. The [41] closing formula by which he submits the *Postilla* to the correction of the pope may not have been a purely rhetorical gesture, since Barthélemy had various opportunities to approach Clement V in 1309-10. Yet given the busy political agenda of those years, it is doubtful that the pontiff had even a cursory look at it or submitted it to any doctrinal control. Being itself an original text, it was relevant neither to the commission that studied the orthodoxy of Olivi's works, nor to the one that discussed the observance of the Franciscan rule within the order.

Barthélemy's approach follows the standard procedures of university exegesis. In each chapter, after a *divisio textus* that clarifies the structure of the chapter under review, a literal explanation is followed by a number of questions, meant to elucidate historical or doctrinal issues. A second hermeneutical level, often just as long as the literal comments, is presented as 'allegories'. As the testimonies mentioned above reveal, this level is what appealed most to the Beguins. Finally, a third level is devoted to 'moral' lessons that can be drawn from the stories of Daniel.

So far, medieval exegesis on the Book of Daniel has failed to spark much study,²⁷ but we can compare Sicard's work with a related endeavor. Jean Michel (*Johannes Michaelis*), another

²⁶ Avignon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 1087, fol. 221va-b. Cf. Sylvain Piron, 'Un avis retrouvé de Jacques Fournier', *Médiévales* 54 (2008), 113-34. An English translation of this article is due to appear as "Recovering a Theological Advice by Jacques Fournier", in *Pope Benedict XII (1334-1342). The Guardian of Orthodoxy*, ed. Irene Bueno (Amsterdam, 2018).

²⁷ Mark Zier, 'Nicholas of Lyra on the Book of Daniel', in *Nicholas of Lyra: The Senses of Scripture*, ed. Philip D. W. Krey and Lesley Smith (Leiden, 2000), pp. 173-93, fails to provide a wider overview. Yet the field is promising. See for example Robert E. Lerner, 'Pertransibunt Plurimi: Reading Daniel to Transgress Authority', in *Knowledge*,

totally forgotten Franciscan theologian, commented on the Book of Daniel in Montpellier around 1292-95.²⁸ In a cultural milieu imbued with Joachite expectations, Sicard's allegorical reading of a prophetic text necessarily implied entering into the discussion of contemporary and near-future events. By contrast, Jean Michel carefully avoided such an approach, being content with a historical and moral explanation.

As would be expected, Barthélemy 'applies' the text to the modern Church. Daniel is not only taken as a typological representation of Christ. He stands as well for Francis and his true followers in an allegorical prefiguration of the tribulations of the contemporary Church, held in a Babylonian captivity. Even more poignantly, Barthélemy offers a third level of application of the prophecies to 'any religious order', by which he means the internal conflicts of the Franciscan order. Reading his current situation into the biblical text, he presents Daniel and his companions as an archetype for 'spiritual [42] men' suffering at the hands of corrupted prelates.²⁹ Likewise, Susanna can stand for evangelical truth assaulted by depraved elders.³⁰ Barthélemy goes even further than Olivi in his criticism of the pernicious effect of Parisian philosophy, identifying the four beasts of chapter seven as Aristotle, Averroës, Peter Lombard, and Thomas Aquinas.³¹ His

Discipline and Power in the Middle Ages. Essays in Honour of David Luscombe, ed. Joseph Canning, Edmund J. King and Martial Staub (Leiden, 2011), pp. 7-28.

²⁸ Sylvain Piron, 'Les *studia* franciscains de Provence et d'Aquitaine (1275-1335)', in *Philosophy and Theology in the Studia of the Religious Orders and at the Papal and Royal Courts*, ed. Kent Emery, Jr., William J. Courtenay, and Stephen M. Metzger (Leiden, 2012), pp. 303-58. Owing to a gross misattribution, his commentary on Daniel has been printed in Thomas de Aquino, *Opera omnia*, t. 23: *Opuscula alia dubia* (Parma, 1869), pp. 134-94. This edition should be corrected, using Paris, BNF, lat. 366, fols 66ra-89rb.

²⁹ F, fol. 48rb: 'Allegorice Daniel tenet hic typum virorum spiritualium [...] captivos a spiritu libertatis et ligatos ac subiugatos multis miseriis ex spirituali et universali captivitate babylonica que communiter in ecclesia superhabundat' ('Allegorically here Daniel upholds the archetype of spiritual men [...] captives from the spirit of liberty and bound and subject to many miseries because of the spiritual and universal Babylonian captivity that generally abounds in the Church').

³⁰ F, fol. 73vb: 'Allegorice autem factum hec mysteriando, in Babylonia huius confusionis in qua periclitamur et captivi tenemur, Susanna ista sancta fidelis et casta, nobilis et pulchra, tenet typum veritatis evangelice quam substinet viri perfecti simplices et puri Christo per votum professionis et alte sanctitatis affecti et desponsati. Senes vero dierum malorum inveterati sunt qui ea que carnis sunt sapientes, habentes tamen auctoritatem et exteriorem preminentiam senectutis' ('The matter <works> allegorically by explaining the mysteries of these things: in the Babylon of this confusion, in which we are jeopardized and held captive, this holy, faithful and chaste Susanna, noble and beautiful, upholds the archetype of the evangelical truth that perfect, simple, and pure men sustain, <men who are> attached and pledged to Christ through the vow of profession and of high holiness. "The elders, indeed, grown old in evil days" [Daniel 13:52] are wise in those things that are of the flesh, men who have, however, the authority and exterior preeminence of old age').

³¹ F, fol. 37va: 'Quatuor autem capita huius bestie sunt Aristotelis paganus, Averrois sarracenus, et duo alii catholici, quorum unus inter magistros in theologia optinet principatum, et alius qui inter magistros illos qui

most spectacular assertion features in the discussion of numbers provided in book twelve. In a debate with Arnau of Vilanova, Barthélemy considers 1335, counting days to mean years, as marking the date of the future final conversion of the world to Christ's gospel, eleven years after the fall of the Antichrist. His views were crucial in helping the visionary Beguin Prous Boneta and her friends to decide that John XXII's bull *Cum inter nonnullos* of December 1323 marked the end of the Church of the second age.³²

The Diffusion of the Postilla super Danielelem

Although a detailed presentation of Barthélemy Sicard's neglected biblical commentary would be valuable, my purpose in the rest of this essay is [43] rather to trace its wide diffusion, as part of a reflection on the circulation of prohibited texts within the Franciscan dissident movement. I am currently aware of six manuscripts containing all or large parts of the *Postilla*. This number is strikingly high for a lengthy scholastic work produced by an obscure character as the expression of a repressed group that was soon to be condemned and heavily persecuted. I shall present in turn these six witnesses and their historical contexts, following what I consider to be their chronological order of composition. I should make clear that I am offering here provisional results, based on the transcription of about one third of the *Postilla*. All six witnesses have been collated for one short portion of the text (the final sections of chapter two). This limited collation has been sufficient to establish some distinctive features, but certainly not to offer a definitive stemma of the textual tradition. Likewise, much more work would be needed in order to provide a full codicological description of all the manuscripts.³³ What follows therefore only lays the groundwork for future research.

scripserunt moderno tempore tam in expositione Aristotelis quam in multis theologicis apud quosdam summum habet primatum' ('The four heads of this beast, however, are Aristotle the pagan, Averroës the Saracen, and two others, catholics, one of whom dominates among masters in theology, and the other of whom—according to some—holds the highest position among those who have written in modern times both in the exposition of Aristotle and on many theological <topics>').

³² Piron, 'Critique de l'Église', pp. 88-90.

³³ I wish to acknowledge the precious aid of Sara Bischetti, who provided expert paleographical advice based on reproductions of all the manuscript witnesses, and a first-hand examination of V. I should also make clear that I have no intention of producing a full critical edition of this work in the near future.

1. The first witness is remarkably early. A is a tiny volume just four inches high (100x75 mm) comprising 140 parchment folios, now kept at the Ambrosiana Library in Milan, under the shelf mark M 20 Sup. The first quires of the codex contain the second book of Isidore of Seville's *De sapientia*, copied in two columns by a professional hand. After two blank pages filled in afterward with additional contents, on a new quire begins a substantial section of the *Postilla* (fols 39r-63v) that has not been previously identified as such. It starts with the allegorical comments on chapter two and breaks off in the middle of a sentence within the moral interpretation of chapter six. This abrupt ending obviously follows the scribe's exemplar, since this copy stops on the third line of a page. Without any sign of separation, it is immediately followed by a long series of anonymous exegetical notes that runs until the end of the volume. Since the final page of the manuscript is totally filled in, it is difficult to judge whether the volume was intended to end at that point, or whether one or more further quires have been lost, in which an index of the contents might have been placed. The single hand responsible for the *Postilla* appears again in the following section (fols 96v-99v), among three other hands that recur in turn. Within a one-column page layout, the size of the characters tends to vary. A distinctive paleographical fact is the use (by two of the four hands) of a transversal line across the tironian abbreviation for *et*, which excludes an Italian origin. Based on a comparison with dated manuscripts, it [44] seems reasonable to suggest a composition within the first two decades of the fourteenth century, possibly in southern France.³⁴

The long set of exegetical notes would itself require a much more detailed study. They mainly present brief expositions on numerous 'figures', based on biblical passages. They can discuss either metaphors (e.g. *figura de arbore*, 'figure about a tree'), or doctrinal or moral issues. Their organization does not appear to follow any clear order. Despite their placement directly after the *Postilla*, they bear no family resemblance to Sicard or Olivi, nor do they display a distinctive Franciscan tone. This could be an original work, putting to use or developing earlier exegetical materials. What seems clear is that these notes were prepared for the purpose of preaching. As a confirmation, the final pages present a few *exempla*. The production of this codex can therefore

³⁴ Charles Samaran, Robert Marichal, et al., *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date ou de copiste*, 7 vols (Paris, 1959-84), VI, pl. 38 (Montpellier, 1311), seems the closest to the hand that copied the *Postilla*. The on-line Ambrosiana catalog offers a dating range of '1296-1325'. See <http://ambrosiana.comperio.it/opac/detail/view/ambro:catalog:77722>.

be located within the context of a theological school, witnessing the process by which biblical scholarship was turned into preaching material.

As far as the text of the *Postilla* is concerned, **A** can be singled out for its numerous original variants that are often simple scribal errors. The copyist was working from a strongly abbreviated model, as shown by a most telling example. He was unable to develop the initials ‘b. f.’ into the words ‘beati Francisci’, understanding them instead as ‘beneficantur’. Yet this mistake is not sufficient to exclude a Franciscan origin. It is noticeable that the final pages of the Isidore section bear an invocation to ‘Maria, Ihesus, Franciscus’. The most likely hypothesis is therefore that the codex was prepared within a Franciscan convent equipped with a middle- or high-level school.

We can therefore offer the following initial proposal: At a very early date, presumably before the break of 1317-18, the *Postilla* reached a group of friars who were both scholars and preachers. It is hard to deduce their ‘political’ orientation from the apparently mainstream style of their preaching materials. The bare facts of a manuscript description are not sufficient to prove that Barthélemy Sicard’s allegories were used to expose the corruption of high clergy in this specific case. Yet it is clear, from Routgier’s description, that the ‘glosses’ were perceived by the Beguins as ‘sermons’, and must have been put to that use in some way. Thanks to this tiny codex, we can better appreciate the role played by Barthélemy in forming a tightly knit supporting group for the Spirituals among the lay audience of lower Languedoc. He not only provided a clearer timetable for the future than Olivi had ever proffered, but through his repeated critiques of corrupted prelates and ambitious friars and his defense of the true followers of evangelical poverty, he also helped to create a much wider public sphere, beyond the more restricted network [45] of those who were attracted by spiritual teachings produced by Olivi for the laity in his final years in Narbonne.³⁵

2. The second witness has long been known. While drawing up his remarkable catalog of the Laurenziana Library in Florence, Angelo Maria Bandini had no difficulty in identifying the author whose work occupies the Santa Croce codex Plut. 8 dext. 9 (F), since Barthélemy Sicard’s name appears in full in the *explicit*. The colophon that follows shows that the copy was finished

³⁵ Antonio Montefusco, ‘Per l’edizione degli opuscula di Pierre de Jean Olivi: Sul corpus e la cronologia’, *Oliviana* 4 (2012), on line at <http://journals.openedition.org/oliviana/555>.

on 25 October 1358. The note of possession on the first page makes it clear that this volume was produced by fra Tedaldo della Casa, who kept it in his cell for almost half a century and eventually transmitted it to his convent's library in 1406, together with about forty other books.³⁶ Barthélemy Hauréau took early note of this volume, but it otherwise attracted little attention.³⁷ This copy of the *Postilla*, the first to have been identified, will probably remain the central witness for any future edition. Produced by a highly competent scribe, it provides the most stable text among the three copies that convey the whole book.

Tedaldo della Casa is so interesting that he deserves a full monograph on his own. He has long been known by literary scholars as a remarkable copyist and corrector of Petrarch's autograph volumes, as well as of a number of works by Boccaccio and Benvenuto of Imola.³⁸ Immersed in the literary circles of Florence in the second half of the fourteenth century, he was a close friend of Filippo Villani, who entrusted to him many books, including his own autograph of the *Commedia*.³⁹ In his later years, Tedaldo took part in the humanist circle that gathered around Peter of Candia, soon to be the short-lived pope Alexander V. The latest date that features in any of Tedaldo's manuscripts is 1410, when he gave to the library a further volume containing some recent humanist translations, among which was a translation of the Letter of pseudo-Aristeas that Angelo Scarperia had dedicated to him.⁴⁰ Still very much alert and open to new cultural trends, Tedaldo must have been at least eighty by then, if we accept as a rough estimate that he began copying [46] theological volumes for his own use around the age of twenty-eight. His elegant writing, *textualis* with some cursive tendencies, as well as his habit of drawing elongated letters over the first line, suggest a professional formation in a grammar school, which

³⁶ In addition to those forty volumes, Tedaldo gave some books at earlier or later dates, and had a life-long use of others. All in all, he must have kept over fifty codices at a time in his cell.

³⁷ Barthélemy Hauréau, 'Barthélemi Sicard, frère mineur', *Histoire littéraire de la France* 28 (1881), 469-70. Friedrich Stegmüller, *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi*, 8 vols (Madrid, 1950-80), I, 31; VI, 487; VIII, 337, noted four of the codices, under various attributions.

³⁸ Francesco Sarri, 'Frate Tedaldo della Casa e le sue trascrizioni petrarchesche', in *Convegno petrarchesco tenuto in Arezzo nei giorni 11-13 ottobre 1931. Supplemento agli 'Annali della Cattedra Petrarchesca'* (Arezzo, 1936), pp. 40-82.

³⁹ Plut. 26 sin. 1, Plut. 30 sin. 3, and Plut. 23 dext. 7 were also given to him by Villani. Plut. 9 dext. 6, belonging to Villani, was indexed by Tedaldo and given to the library.

⁴⁰ Plut. 25 sin. 9. See Pascale Hemeryck, 'Les traductions latines du Charon de Lucien au quinzième siècle', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome* 84 (1972), 129-200 (pp. 144-5).

comes as no surprise for the son of a notary from the Mugello valley.⁴¹ For the time being, I can identify at least twenty-seven autograph volumes, among which Olivi is the second most represented author after Petrarch.⁴²

This intense scribal activity is highly unusual among Franciscans. It results from both technical competence and a wide range of cultural interests. Besides his connection with Petrarch and Villani, from a young age Tedaldo displayed an interest in the classics and their modern commentators, such as Nicholas Trevet. Besides the codices that he totally or partially copied himself and those that were given to him, thirty-four more bear the indication *ad usum*, while he annotated or composed a table of contents for a further twenty-six, as far as one can judge from Bandini's catalogue and subsequent research. A global view of these nearly one hundred volumes shows a distribution over most disciplines except logic and medicine. The many tables of contents that he drew up for patristic and exegetical volumes or collections of sermons suggest a professional approach to book indexing that went far beyond his personal interests. Although we have no explicit indication, it is probable that he served for some time, and maybe a long time, as the librarian of the convent.⁴³

In his wonderful study of the Franciscans' presence in the Florentine contado, Charles de la Roncière showed that convents were distributed along major roads, every twenty or twenty-five kilometers, to serve as stopping-places for traveling friars.⁴⁴ In Mugello, a convent 'in the woods' (*Bosco ai frati*) was created as a stop on the road from Florence to Bologna. This is where, in October 1357, Tedaldo completed his first copy, which happens to be of Olivi's *Lectura super Johannem* and *Lectura super Lamentationes Ieremie*. The second volume he copied, in the following year, was none other than Sicard's [47] *Postilla*. This choice was hardly random. Only three years after Innocent VI had launched a severe attack against Franciscan

⁴¹ His possessor's note in Plut. 24 sin. 9 reveals the name of his father (Octaviano) and his birthplace (Pulicciano, near Borgo San Lorenzo), while Plut. 21 dext. 2 is said to have been returned after his death to the convent of Borgo, presumably because this was his initial attachment.

⁴² This figure excludes a number of codices that have been lost and would deserve further discussion. Francesco Mattesini, 'La biblioteca di S. Croce e Fra Tedaldo della Casa', *Studi Francescani* 57 (1960), 254-316, counted only eleven autographs. Besides those from Santa Croce, I also consider Cesena, Biblioteca Piana, 3. 163 (Olivi); Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ashburnham 839 (Benvenuto of Imola); Paris, BNF, lat. 6342 (Cicero); Vatican City, Vat. lat. 4519 (Petrarch).

⁴³ We only know that he served once as a provincial minister in 1380. The claim that he also acted as an inquisitor remains unconfirmed.

⁴⁴ Charles de la Roncière, 'L'influence des franciscains dans la campagne de Florence au XIV^e siècle (1280-1360)', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome* 87 (1975), 27-103 (pp. 50-2).

‘apostates’ and a General Chapter had renewed the prohibition of Olivi’s works within the order, Tedaldo was demonstrating a distinctive interest in these currents.⁴⁵ The very fact that he had access to this material is in itself of considerable historical significance.

At this point, it is necessary to look more broadly at the situation in the mid fourteenth century. As Tognetti showed, the word *fraticelli* could convey many different meanings, ranging from an affectionate name given to any type of friar, to a pejorative designation applied by their enemies to different groups pursuing evangelical perfection outside of obedience to the order’s prelates and the Avignon papacy.⁴⁶ This pursuit could be achieved through a wide variety of means, including living under the habit of Augustinian Hermits. Yet one organized group displayed a clearer identity, shaped by the knowledge and memory of Olivi’s actual teachings. It may be useful to retain in this case the designation of ‘Spirituals’, in order to stress their continuity with the Narbonne group, and the fact that they kept with them, as I claim, the actual library of the Narbonne convent. Thanks to John of Rupescissa, we know of a meeting held in 1352 near Sora, on the border between Latium and Campania, meant to bring together different groups.⁴⁷ Following the repression, some settled in Calabria, while others migrated north. Florence was a focal point for missionary activity and a friendly place for them while the city was at war with the papacy from 1375 until 1378, although the contacts made by Tedaldo would suggest that their activity in Tuscany had begun much earlier. It is crucial to consider the location of the convent ‘in the woods’ on the road going to and from Florence. The loan of books implies not just simple contact, but establishing trust and friendship with some vagrant dissidents who either regularly passed through the valley or may even have resided nearby.

This relationship was maintained for many years. In 1365, Tedaldo had an opportunity to obtain and copy the highly controversial and explicitly condemned *Lectura super Apocalipsim*. As Paolo Vian has remarked, the colophon conveys the date of Olivi’s death following the calendar used in Languedoc, which certainly indicates that Tedaldo’s copy was made from an

⁴⁵ Sylvain Piron, ‘Le mouvement clandestin des dissidents franciscains au milieu du XIVe siècle’, *Oliviana* 3 (2009), on line at <http://journals.openedition.org/oliviana/337>, § 19-28. Marvin B. Becker, ‘Heresy in Medieval and Renaissance Florence: A Comment’, *Past and Present* 62 (1974), 153-61 (p. 159), notes a Florentine document from 1354.

⁴⁶ Giampaolo Tognetti, ‘I fraticelli, il principio di povertà e i secolari’, *Bullettino dell’Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo e Archivio Muratoriano* 90 (1982-83), 77-145.

⁴⁷ Piron, ‘Le mouvement clandestin’.

exemplar brought from southern France.⁴⁸ This date appears in the same [48] form in the narrative of Olivi's death, copied by Tedaldo's hand amidst a large collection of documents on Franciscan themes that are predominantly Olivian, and which includes a number of rarities, such as Ubertino's defenses of Olivi during the Council of Vienne.⁴⁹ This narrative, the *Transitus sancti Patris*, was considered by Bernard Gui as a central item of Olivi's veneration in Narbonne. It is not found in the Pesaro manuscript, but that compilation presents instead an even more explicit prayer addressed to the holy father.⁵⁰ These telling details can be considered as proof that Tedaldo had access in the 1360s to volumes that had been taken from Narbonne to Naples in 1318. Although the match is not perfect, it is worth noting that rare works by Joachim appear on both sides. The Pesaro anthology conveys the *Confessio fidei*, while Tedaldo obtained a copy of the *De articulis fidei*.⁵¹ Ludovico of Nerli brought from Paris a partial copy of Ockham's *Dialogus* that he used while serving as inquisitor for Tuscany. Tedaldo was able to complete this copy, perhaps thanks to his clandestine connections.⁵² His circle included not only the dissidents themselves, but also a ring of lay sympathizers. It is telling that they turned to Tedaldo in difficult times. In 1383, while the *fraticelli* had fallen out of favor in Florence, and again in 1390, one year after the execution of their leader Michele of Calci, two Florentine notaries made in turn the same gesture of donating their copies of Joachim's *Concordia* to the Franciscan librarian.⁵³ These donations demonstrate that for half a century Tedaldo's private library served as a repository of controversial texts. During most of this period, the librarian acted as an interface between the Franciscan order and the dissidents, as well as their lay audience and literary circles in the city.

Tedaldo's long-standing interest in Olivi is shown by a note he appended to the copy he obtained of the *Lectura super Mattheum* and *Lectura super Lucam*, providing in a 'senescent'

⁴⁸ Paolo Vian, 'I codici fiorentini e romano della "Lectura super Apocalipsim" di Pietro di Giovanni Olivi (con un codice di Tedaldo della Casa ritrovato)', *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 83 (1990), 463-89.

⁴⁹ Albanus Heysse, 'Descriptio codicis Bibliothecae Laurentianae Florentinae S. Crucis plut. 31 sin. cod. 3', *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 11 (1918), 251-69. Neither Bandini nor Heysse noticed that most of the volume is in Tedaldo's hand.

⁵⁰ Sylvain Piron, 'Oratio ad venerabilem patrem Petrum Iohannis', *Oliviana* 5 (2016), on line at <http://journals.openedition.org/oliviana/822>.

⁵¹ Joachim Abbas Florentis, *De articulis fidei ad fratrem Iohannem: Confessio fidei*, ed. Valeria De Fraja (Rome, 2012).

⁵² The Pesaro manuscript shows that the Spirituals had a copy of the *Dialogus*.

⁵³ Plut. 8 dext. 10, given by Ser Domenico Allegri, and Plut. 28 dext. 11, donated by Ser Naddo de Lanciano.

handwriting a bibliographical list of his works.⁵⁴ His consistent attitude toward the Languedoc theologian is best understood by observing how he omitted from his autograph copies two passages that had been explicitly condemned.⁵⁵ The notion that the fifth wound of Christ [49] was inflicted before his death, suggested in the *Super Johannem*, had been rejected by the Council of Vienne. The reference to a ‘commutation of pontificate’ in the prologue to the *Lectura super Apocalipsim* was the first article of its condemnation by John XXII, maybe the only one Tedaldo was aware of. In both cases, the librarian acted according to what Ubertino had considered should result from any fair doctrinal examination: accepting Olivi’s works as orthodox as a whole, while allowing that a few errors had to be corrected. In so doing, Tedaldo was anticipating what would become the predominant attitude among Observant Franciscans in the second half of the fifteenth century, following the advice of Pope Sixtus IV to read Olivi carefully, ‘taking the thorns off the rose’.⁵⁶

3. The third witness provides a later view into the Spirituals’ movement. The codex Vat. lat. 11433 (V) entered the Vatican Library as a gift from Pius X and contains no possession mark that would allow us to trace its earlier history. This small volume (184x133 mm), made of paper with some parchment leaves on the inside or at the center of quires, was produced in the mid fourteenth century, probably in Italy, by two professional scribes working in a Franciscan context, as the colophon reveals.⁵⁷ The *Postilla* is present in full. The text displays a number of original variants that are often additions of one or more words to what is found in F. The *Postilla* is supplemented by extracts from Olivi’s three different biblical commentaries, presented as *Aliqua misteria P. Jo.*⁵⁸ In itself, this indication is proof that the copy was not made from an

⁵⁴ Angelo Maria Bandini, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae*, 8 vols (1767-78), IV, 107, on Plut. 10 dext. 4: ‘In fine legitur in manu fr. Thedaldi iam senescentis ...’ (‘At the end it is read, in the hand of the now aging friar Tedaldo ...’).

⁵⁵ Alberto Forni and Paolo Vian, ‘Ubertino da Casale, Tedaldo della Casa e Ambrogio Massari da Cori. A proposito di un brano omesso e tagliato nel prologo della *Lectura super Apocalipsim* di Pietro Giovanni Olivi’, in *La lettera e lo spirito. Studi di cultura e vita religiosa (secc. XII-XV) per Edith Pásztor*, ed. Marco Bartoli, Letizia Pellegrini, and Daniele Solvi (Milan and Rome, 2016), pp. 129-56.

⁵⁶ Roberto Rusconi, ‘La tradizione manoscritta delle opere degli Spirituali nelle biblioteche dei predicatori e dei conventi dell'Osservanza’, *Picenum Seraphicum* 12 (1975), 63-157.

⁵⁷ V, fol. 101v: ‘finito libro referatur Gratia Christo Yesu Maria Francisce’ (‘the book being finished, may thanks be given to Christ Jesus, Mary, and Francis’).

⁵⁸ The extract originates from the commentaries on Genesis, about the serpent (David Flood, ed., *Peter of John Olivi on Genesis* [St Bonaventure, NY, 2007], p. 170), Noah (ibid., p. 222), Abraham (ibid., p. 264), Enoch (ibid., pp.

isolated exemplar, but rather produced in a milieu in which Olivi's writings were abundant. The presence of numerous editorial variants indicates that V may be one step away from the Narbonne original, but it still belongs to the same world.

Most important for a contextual approach to this codex are a series of remarkable glosses in red ink. A rubric placed in the right margin of the first page reports the name of the author in an abbreviated form.⁵⁹ As the [50] text continues, the reader shares Sicard's invitation to identify with Daniel and his friends. In addition to many occasions when the word *nota* draws attention to various issues, we find comments such as *Impugnator paupertatis non est verus et religiosus prelatus* (fol. 8v, 'An impugner of poverty is not a true and religious prelate'), *Nota pro isto tempore et dole* (fol. 54v, 'Note on account of this time and mourn'), or *Nota qui sunt veri filii ecclesie romane* (fol. 85v, 'Note who are the true sons of the Roman Church') placed alongside various evocations of the persecution of the true followers of evangelical poverty. The same sort of context elicits empathic lamentations such as *Heu spirituales* (fol. 52r, 'Alas for the Spirituals!') or *Heu fratres de observantia* (fol. 81v, 'Alas for the Friars of the Observance!'). The latter formulation is remarkable, since the Tuscan Chronicle was claiming this designation for the Spirituals themselves, rejecting its use by friars stemming from the Community (those who eventually colonized the word) as ridiculous.⁶⁰ The use of the first person clearly betrays a sense of belonging to that group: *Scismatici reputamur* (fol. 91r, 'We are reputed schismatics').

Two further notes provide more precise indications as to the dating of these interventions. In a discussion of Daniel 11:41, Sicard remarks that in achieving a final victory in the apocalyptical wars, the Northern King will spare a number of people, such as Edom and Moab, who are not among the children of Israel, but are their relatives, descending from Esau or Lot. Applying this prophecy to the Church, Sicard explains that they stand for 'those saints who shall always remain with Christ, and will not flee from the tribulation',⁶¹ in front of which statement the annotator

199-203), on Isaiah (David Flood and Gedeon Gal, eds, *Peter of John Olivi on the Bible: Principia quinque in Sacram Scripturam: Postilla in Isaiam et in I ad Corinthios* [St Bonaventure, NY, 1997], p. 211), and on the Lamentations of Jeremiah (Marco Bartoli, ed., *La caduta di Gerusalemme: Il commento al libro delle Lamentazioni di Pietro di Giovanni Olivi* [Rome, 1991], p. 94).

⁵⁹ V, fol. 2r: I understand it as 'B<artholomei> Si<cardi> / p<re>cl<ari> / d<oc>tor<is> / sac<re> / pa<gine>' ('of Barthélemy Sicard, distinguished doctor of the sacred page').

⁶⁰ Tocco, *Studii*, p. 518.

⁶¹ V, fol. 81v: 'Notandum autem quod nullus filiorum Israel nominatur hic, sed affines eorum, qui scilicet ex Esau descendunt et ex Loth. Et ideo si infra ecclesiam hic accipias filii Israel, intelligendi sunt illi sancti qui semper manebunt cum Christo, qui utique non effugient tribulationem illius' ('It is to be noted that none of the sons of Israel

writes: *Heu frater Pa. de Flo. affinis noster* (fol. 81v, ‘Alas for friar Pa. of Florence our relative’). This reference is obviously to one Paul of Florence who was remembered during a trial in 1455 as having been a leader of the Spirituals in the early fifteenth century.⁶² A number of contemporary events allow us to place his leadership between that of Francesco of Terni, in charge at the time of another trial in Lucca in 1411, and that of Gabriel, under whose leadership there are records of a bell being melted in 1419.⁶³ The lament (*heu*) may deplore Paul’s recent [51] demise, while the relationship implied (*affinis noster*) is probably of a spiritual nature, simply echoing a word used by Sicard.

A further indication confirms that the annotations were produced during this interval. Commenting on Daniel 5:29, Sicard explains why Daniel allows himself to be dressed in purple as a commander and receive a golden necklace after having successfully deciphered a mysterious inscription, even though he had stressed earlier that he would decline the reward. He eventually accepted it, writes Sicard, for God’s glory and the solace of his people. The annotator comments in a combination of vernacular and Latin: *Nol faccia Clemente papa primo questo [...] ymo fec<it> de facto G<re>g<orius> I2us* (‘Pope Clement I did not do it [on his own], but Gregory XII actually did it’). This reference is to Clement I, the first pope who was forced to renounce the papacy, setting a model for the abdication of Gregory XII in 1415 that ended the Great Schism. In the context of the story of Daniel, this note implies that Gregory had accepted the charge against his will. It is striking that the annotator makes a typological application of biblical prophecies to historical events, exactly along the lines of Sicard’s hermeneutics. This justification of papal choices may suggest that the annotator was himself connected in some way to the pontiff who had settled back in Rome. Added on the first page by a contemporary hand, the letter of Lentulus to the Roman Senate is said to have been found ‘in the Annals of Rome’, which may be a sign that the action took place in Rome itself.

It is rare, and very gratifying, to come across such an expressive reader who is able to present openly his feelings toward a dissident movement that was almost destroyed at that time. The way

is named here, but their relatives, those, that is, who are descended from Esau and Lot. And therefore if you accept “the sons of Israel” as being within the church, they are to be understood as those saints who will always remain with Christ, and will not flee from the tribulation’).

⁶² Mariano D’Alatri, ‘Il processo di Foligno contro quattro abitanti di Visso seguaci dei fraticelli’, *Picenum Seraphicum* 12 (1975), 223-61. Another Paul of Florence was active in the 1350s according to the Chronicle, but it seems clear that he cannot be the same person.

⁶³ On all this, see Piron, ‘Le mouvement clandestin’, § 44-8.

in which he does this is even more remarkable. Using red ink and writing in large characters, he is in a sense using the margins of the *Postilla* to compose a funeral eulogy for the Spirituals. The openness with which he does so shows that he did not fear being discovered. This means that he owned the book personally and was not a member of a religious community. Step by step, a number of deductions have allowed us to sketch a fairly precise profile. Once a member or at least a very close supporter of the Spirituals, and perhaps personally acquainted with Paul of Florence, he had found a safe position within the papal curia under Gregory XII. His annotations to Sicard's *Postilla* during the interregnum of 1415-17 show that if the movement had by then been widely decimated, its ideals were not yet forgotten.

4. Bernardino of Siena's interest in the writings of the Spirituals has long been known. Besides compiling, or having his secretaries compile for him, anthologies of Olivian works, he cherished his own copy of Ubertino's *Arbor vitae Christi crucifixi*, which he kept close at hand until his final days at L'Aquila in 1440. Yet the presence of Sicard's *Postilla* among his books has been overlooked until now. When Dionisio Pacetti drew up the inventory of Bernardino's personal library, he had no way of identifying the item contained in Siena, [53] Biblioteca Comunale, U.V.6, fols 345r-394r (S).⁶⁴ Bandini's catalogue was of no use, since this copy lacks the prologue, the exposition of Jerome's prologue, and the literal comments of chapter one. It does not even bear a proper title. The rubric found on the facing page refers to the discussion of Susanna's story in chapter thirteen, which is altogether missing from this copy, and may have made up a now-lost quire.⁶⁵ The text found in S is an abbreviation that only includes the allegories and moral commentaries, except for parts of the literal explanation of the wars described in chapter eleven.

Bernardino was not very impressed by the *Postilla*. He corrected the first pages but left very few notes on it, mainly to signal some moral explanations. Yet this text cannot be said to have

⁶⁴ Dionisio Pacetti, 'I codici autografi di S. Bernardino da Siena della Vaticana e della Comunale di Siena', *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 27 (1934), 224-58, 565-84; 28 (1935), 253-72, 500-16; 29 (1936), 215-41, 501-38; Rosanna De Piero, 'Lo scriptorium di san Bernardino nel Convento dell'Osservanza a Siena', in *In margine al Progetto Codex. Aspetti di produzione e conservazione del patrimonio manoscritto in Toscana*, ed. Gabriella Pomaro (Pisa, 2014), pp. 29-105.

⁶⁵ Since the catchword 'queritur' ('it is asked') at the bottom of fol. 344v does not match the initial word of fol. 345r, the rubric found above, 'De prophetia Susanne et de capitulo' ('On the prophecy of Susanna and on the chapter'), may refer to the contents of a missing quire.

been included by mistake in this pocket volume. **S** is a famous codex whose first folios convey the alternative *reportatio* of Bonaventura's *Collationes in Hexaemeron*, edited by Ferdinand Delorme in 1934. It also contains Olivi's *De contractibus* and a substantial collection of his short spiritual treatises addressed to the laity. According to Dionisio Pacetti, this book is quite an early one in the constitution of Bernardino's library. Together with the autograph collection of mainly Olivian materials that now forms Siena U.V.5, **S** was composed before 1424, maybe even before 1417.⁶⁶ If both volumes are considered together, they raise the question of how and where Bernardino had access to so many prohibited documents. The unfolding of events that we have been following so far leads to a very simple suggestion. A group of Spirituals who had control of what was left of the Narbonne library, or at least one derived from it, must have been caught somewhere in Tuscany in the second decade of the fifteenth century, and their books confiscated. This event could be the one that caused the downfall of Paul of Florence, who is remembered as having led the movement for only a year. A much more detailed study of the Spirituals' works in Bernardino's library would be needed in order to substantiate this hypothesis. Yet it should be noted that it was usual for Observants who destroyed a nest of *fraticelli* to confiscate and preserve their books, as John of Capestrano did for a set of codices still preserved in his home convent. As the vicar of the Observants friars in Tuscany and Umbria, Bernardino would have been in a position to access the portable library of the Spirituals if it had been seized [53] by an inquisitor. Besides identifying exactly where and when such a seizure could have occurred, we would love to know what became of these volumes afterward.⁶⁷

5. The most unexpected witness comes from Moravia. This codex **O**, currently in the possession of the Olomouc Metropolitan Archive (Knihovna Metropolitní Kapituly, 291), is written by a single hand, certainly that of a Czech active in the early fifteenth century.⁶⁸ The

⁶⁶ Dionisio Pacetti, 'La libreria di San Bernardino da Siena e le sue vicende attraverso cinque secoli', *Studi Francescani* 62 (1965), 3-43.

⁶⁷ The five Olivian manuscripts present in the fifteenth-century inventory of the Franciscan convent in Siena (later destroyed by fire) were biblical commentaries that do not match the contents to which Bernardino had access. Kenneth W. Humphreys, *The Library of the Franciscans of Siena in the Late Fifteenth Century* (Amsterdam, 1978), pp. 75, 156.

⁶⁸ It bears striking resemblance, but is not identical, to the handwriting of Olomouc 280, written in 1426 by the ex-chanter of Kutna Hora, who took refuge in Olomouc fleeing the Hussite wars. I am grateful to Pavlína Cermanová for indicating to me that some texts in Czech found on the initial and final flyleaves of **O** pertain to pre-Hussite theology (such as Matthias of Janov or Jacobellus de Missa).

Postilla begins at the same point as *S* and also focuses mainly on allegories and morals. Yet it does not cover exactly the same portions and includes, for instance, the apocalyptic timetable and the story of Susanna.⁶⁹ Both copies must therefore share a common ancestor that conveyed the contents of both abbreviations. Here, the *Postilla* is presented in detail, introducing both its author and its ultimate source of inspiration: ‘Frater Bartholomeus Sycardi evangelice vite professor, socius ac discipulus quondam sanctissimi patris fratris Petri Iohannis, eterne sapientie illuminatus, exponens Daniele prophetam super presens capitulum sic dicit’ (‘Friar Barthélemy Sicard, professor of the evangelical life and formerly companion and disciple of the most holy father, Brother Peter John, enlightened by eternal wisdom, expounding the prophet Daniel on the present chapter says thus’). Strangely, the copyist understood this rubric as an initial sentence introducing a quotation, since he concludes that the *Postilla* is the recent work of an anonymous Franciscan.⁷⁰ Yet, when reproducing the extracts of Olivi that follow, he does not fail to call him *sanctissimus Petrus Iohannes de Narbona*.⁷¹ His confusion over the authorship reveals that the copyist was not himself a member of the movement. Yet the presence of Olivian texts indicates that the exemplar he used was conceived in such an environment.

It might seem startling to find Sicard in Moravia in the early fifteenth century, but the texts which surround the *Postilla* in this codex can explain its appearance there without the need to resort to exotic hypotheses. The [54] initial item in the volume is an anonymous contemporary lecture on the first book of the *Sentences*, delivered in Paris in 1420. The final item, following the *Postilla*, is the only extant copy of the French Franciscan Petrus ad Boves’s (Pierre-aux-Boeufs’s) lecture on Exodus, completed in 1419.⁷² The combination of the three items may at first seem strange, but it makes perfect sense. A Czech Franciscan who studied in Paris in those years must have collected in this volume a fine copy of notes on the classes he attended, and inserted in between a remarkable document, the *Postilla*, that had somehow passed through his hands. The presence of Sicard’s text in Paris in 1419 might also seem surprising, but it is much easier to account for than its reception in Moravia. The most relevant contextual element would

⁶⁹ *O*, fols 116rb-vb, 122rb-125ra.

⁷⁰ *O*, fol. 127vb: ‘Explicit expositio Danielis prophete a quodam innominato fratre minore nove edita et conscripta’ (‘Here ends the exposition of the prophet Daniel by a certain unnamed friar minor, recently published and written’).

⁷¹ *O*, fol. 128ra-vb. The extracts are taken from the *Tractatus de usu paupere*, *Lectura super Epistolas canonicas*, and *Lectura super Epistolam ad Romanos*.

⁷² Hervé Martin, ‘Un prédicateur franciscain du XV^e siècle, Pierre-aux-Bœufs, et les réalités de son temps’, *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France* 70 (1984), 107-26.

be to note that, only a few years earlier, the French Observants were making use of Ubertino of Casale's defense of the strict observance.⁷³ Tedaldo had obtained both these tracts and Sicard's *Postilla* decades earlier through his connection with some clandestine Spirituals in Tuscany. It seems reasonable to suggest that when these groups were finally crushed, at least one member succeeded in escaping Italy, found refuge in Paris, and was able to circulate there some of the materials he had been able to bring with him. Far from the regions where *fraticelli* were actively pursued, the largest convent in the order was a clever and safe hiding place.

6. Our final trip takes us to Bavaria. Munich Clm. 3813, fols 143ra-295va (**M**) presents the whole *Postilla*, under the mistaken name of 'Albertinus', following Aquinas's *Quodlibeta*.⁷⁴ On the basis of the sample studied, **M** is extremely close to **V**. Yet, owing to some omissions in **V**, it cannot have been directly copied from it. This misattribution to 'Albertinus' suggests that the copyist was confronted with an abbreviated form, much like what is found in **V**,⁷⁵ and could not develop it correctly. Why was this volume produced in 1467, perhaps in northern Italy, then kept in the Augsburg cathedral? This time, we have no clues as to an answer. This very fact shows that the *Postilla* could still be read and copied outside of the dissident movement, which by that time had truly died out. In the second half of the fifteenth century, Sicard's text could appeal to many different types of readers, eager to share an expression of discontent with the Church hierarchy and an assertion of the need for reform. [55]

Conclusion

In a time of intense tribulations, Peire Trencavel had been anxious in 1323 to save Peter John Olivi's manuscripts from destruction. Thanks to generations of diligent followers, acting out of varied motives, over 150 such codices have been preserved. Barthélemy Sicard's *Postilla super Danielelem* was an important extension of the textual corpus through which the Spirituals and their followers understood their mission. Observing one by one the different occurrences of

⁷³ Livarius Oligier, 'De relatione inter Observantium querimonias Constantienses (1415) et Ubertini Casalensis quoddam scriptum', *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 9 (1916), 3-41.

⁷⁴ Hermann Hauke, 'München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Katalog der Handschriften aus dem Dominikanerkloster und Domstift in Augsburg Vorläufige Beschreibung', 2007, on line at <http://bilder.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/hs/projekt-Muenchen-Augsburg-pdfs/Clm%203813.pdf>.

⁷⁵ See n. 59 above.

this work has offered a new way of probing into the complex history of this band of literate dissidents and their multiple ramifications. My goal in this essay has been to test the hypothesis that the rescue of the Narbonne convent's library by the Spirituals in 1318 and the preservation of this library in the Italian peninsula across the fourteenth century was the crucial action that allowed for such a wide diffusion of Sicard's *Postilla*. I suspected that this work, produced shortly before the pillage of the convent and the destruction of the movement in Languedoc, could hardly have survived without such an operation. The test has proven positive. Four of the six witnesses (**F**, **V**, **S**, and **O**) bear direct or indirect traces of connections with a wider collection of Olivian texts. A later copy (**M**) derives from a copy produced in the same quarters. Without such a collective textual survival, the *Postilla* would only have been transmitted in a partial and anonymous copy (**A**) that might have languished for decades more before attracting any attention.