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Studi

Francesco d'Appignano, *Lector* in Naples in 1321

Chris Schabel

Abstract

Il contributo presenta una testimonianza secondo la quale Francesco d'Appignano era *lector* presso il convento francescano di Napoli nel giugno 1321, senza che questo influisca necessariamente sulla datazione delle lezioni parigine di Francesco sulle Sentenze negli anni 1319-1320.

This brief paper presents evidence that Francesco d'Appignano was *lector* at the Franciscan convent in Naples in June 1321, but it determines that this new *datum* does not necessarily affect our dating of Francesco's Parisian lectures on the *Sententze* to 1319-1320.

Much of what we claim to know about the life of Francesco d'Appignano is still speculation. William Duba and I recently argued that at Paris and Oxford by 1300 lectures on the *Sentences* took only one academic year¹. While we had to shift Pierre Auriol's Parisian *Sentences* lectures to 1317-1318, instead of 1316-1318, at least we are now more comfortable with a one-year lecture for his successors Landolfo Caracciolo in 1318-1319, Francesco d'Appignano in 1319-1320, and François de Meyronnes in 1320-1321. For François we are on rather firm ground in placing him in the 1320-1321 academic year, due to his principal debates with the Benedictine Pierre Roger, the future Pope Clement VI². Indeed, in August 2018 Kirsty Schut alerted me to evidence that probably entails that Francesco was not even in Paris when François lectured on the *Sentences* in 1320-1321.

It has long been known that Luke Wadding put the Franciscan Francesco of Ascoli Piceno in the royal convent of San Lorenzo in Naples in the year 1321, claiming also

¹ W. Duba, C. Schabel, *Remigio, Auriol, Scotus, and the Myth of the Two-Year Sentences Lecture at Paris*, «Recherches de Théologie et Philosophie médiévales», 84 (2017), pp. 143-179; C. Schabel, *Ockham, the Principia of Holcot and Wodeham, and the Myth of the Two-Year Sentences Lecture at Oxford*, «Recherches de Théologie et Philosophie médiévales», 87 (2020), pp. 59-102.

² François de Meyronnes - Pierre Roger: *Disputatio (1320-1321)*, ed. J. Barbet, Paris 1961; W. Duba, C. Schabel, *The Rise of a New Genre of Scholastic Disputation: Principia on the Sentences, 1315-1350*, Turnhout, forthcoming.

that he was an advisor to King Robert the Wise³. Amadeus Teetaert added that Francesco was present at the Franciscan Chapter General in Perugia in late May and early June 1322⁴. William O. Duba pointed out, however, both that whatever documentation Wadding may have had is now lost after the burning of the Neapolitan archives in the Second World War and that Teetaert was mistaken in claiming that there is explicit evidence for Francesco's being in Perugia, since the document cited does not bear Francesco's signature or mention him by name, even if it is not unlikely that such a high-ranking academic as Francesco was there⁵.

The digitization of old texts provides more evidence, as Schut found. In his book on the famous writers of the city and Kingdom of Naples down to 1646, published in Naples in 1780, Bartolomeo Chioccarello relates that Prince Charles of Salerno, son of King Robert, assigned a case to some arbiters, among whom were

two theologians, namely the honorable man Friar Giovanni of Naples of the Order of Preachers, doctor of the sacred page, and the religious man Friar Francesco of Ascoli, *lector* of the place of San Lorenzo of the Friars Minor of Naples, as is [clear] from the royal letter dated Naples, 25 June 1321, Indiction 4, in the register of the illustrious Charles, letter C, folio 14⁶.

First, could this be Wadding's ultimate source? Francesco scholars have cited the Quaracchi reprint of Wadding's *Annales Minorum* from 1931, volume 6, page 432, at the end of paragraph 40 for the year 1321. But in the original Lyon printing of 1636, volume 3, which Wadding signs from the Franciscan college or convent of St Isidore in Rome at Christmas 1634, there is nothing on Francesco for the year 1321 at the end of paragraph 40 on page 267. Then in the 1733 Rome reprint of that section, volume 6, page 374, the passage is inserted at the end of paragraph 40 in quotation marks with this marginal note: «Additio Patris Lucae Wadding. Frater Franciscus Asculanus». In the first volume of the reprint, Rome 1731, the editor of the second edition, Joseph Maria

³ L. Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, Quaracchi 1931, vol. 6, p. 423, no. 40: «Floruisse hoc tempore in regio Coenobio sancti Laurentii Neapoli litteris et virtute, Regique fuisse a consiliis Franciscum Asculanum Picenum Minorum, scripturae inde transmissae testantur»; also cited by N. Schneider, *Die Kosmologie des Franciscus de Marchia: Texte, Quellen, und Untersuchungen zur Naturphilosophie des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Leiden 1991, p. 15.

⁴ A. Teetaert, *Pignano (François de)*, in *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* 12.2, Paris 1935, cols. 2104–2109, at col. 2105; cf. Schneider, *Die Kosmologie des Franciscus de Marchia* cit., p. 16.

⁵ W.O. Duba, *Francesco d'Appignano tra Parigi e Avignone*, in *Atti del 4^o Convegno Internazionale su Francesco d'Appignano*, ed. D. Priori, Appignano del Tronto 2008, pp. 93–108; also T. Suarez-Nani and W.O. Duba, *Introduction*, in *Francesco de Marchia, Reportatio ILA (Quaestiones in secundum librum Sententiarum) qq. 1–12*, ed. T. Suarez-Nani, W. Duba, E. Babey, and G.J. Eitzkorn, Leuven 2008, pp. xiv–xv.

⁶ Bartolomeo Chioccarello, *De illustribus scriptoribus qui in civitate et regno Neapolis ab orbe condito ad annum vsque 1646 floruerunt*, vol. 1, Neapoli 1780, p. 342a, based on a now-lost document from the Angevin Registers: «Carolus Salerni Princeps, Roberti regis filius, ac Generalis Vicarius causam magni momenti vertentem inter filios ac nepotes magni illius Bartolomei de Capua super successione Feudorum ac bonorum divisione, comittit aliquibus proceribus ac Iurisconsultis ac duobus Theologis, nempe honorabili viro Fratri Joanni de Neapoli Ordinis Praedicatorum, sacrae pagine doctori, et religioso viro Fratri Francisco de Exculo, Lectori loci Sancti Laurentii Ordinis Minorum de Neapoli, prout ex Regiis literis sub datum Neapoli, die 25 Junii 1321, Indictione 4. In Registro Caroli III. 1320. Litera C. fol. 14. Tandem hunc credimus esse Fratrem illum Joannem de Neapoli dictum de S. Gregorio ordinis Praedicatorum, cui Parisiis studenti Carolus II Siciliae Rex anno 1309 pecuniam subministrabat».

Fonseca of Evora, writes in his note to the erudite reader that he inserted into their proper places many things that had been overlooked by Wadding and then added and relegated to the notes of many volumes⁷. Sure enough, in the seventh volume of Wadding's original *Annales Minorum*, which appeared in Lyon on 1 October 1648, on page 471 in the section on additions to volume III («Additiones ad Tomum III») we find our note on Francesco with instructions for where it should be added. Thus Wadding learned this information between 1634 and 1648.

Bartolomeo Chioccarello seems to have died in 1646 or 1647, and his work remained in manuscript until its publication in 1780⁸. Around the time of Chioccarello's death, the work was submitted to Cardinal Ascanio Filomarino, who served as archbishop of Naples from 1641 until his own death in 1666, nine years after Wadding's death in 1657. The unpublished text of Chioccarello's book remained in the library of Filomarino's family, the Della Torre dukes. Filomarino served on the papal conclaves of 1644 and 1655, in both of which Wadding received votes. The last approbation of the text in volume 7 of Wadding's *Annales Minorum* is dated 29 May 1647, so it is most likely that Chioccarello was indeed Wadding's source, somehow or other, perhaps via Cardinal Filomarino, even if Wadding confused Robert the Wise with his son Charles. After a stay in his lands in Provence in 1309-1310, King Robert also spent most of the years 1319-1324 based in Provence and near the papal palace in Avignon⁹, which explains why it was his son Charles who authored the document assigning Francesco and the almost equally renowned Dominican theologian Giovanni of Naples to the court case in 1321¹⁰.

Chioccarello provides enough information for us to determine that Francesco was most likely *lector* at the Franciscan convent in Naples during the 1320-1321 academic year. If Francesco did lecture on the *Sentences* at Paris in 1319-1320, then he seems to have been called away immediately afterwards and perhaps only fulfilled his other Parisian obligations after the 1322 Chapter General in Perugia, becoming doctor by 1325 or so. This seems to have happened to one of the attendees in Perugia, Master Hugo de Novocastro, who had lectured on the *Sentences* in Paris in the mid-1310s only to have to depart and return to serve as regent master in 1320-1321 and perhaps 1321-1322¹¹.

⁷ «Denique, cum multa ab auctore initio praetermissa, deinde addita, et ad multorum tomorum calcem reiecta suis locis inserui...».

⁸ A. Casella, *Chioccarello, Bartolomeo*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (from now DBI) 25 (1981): <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/bartolomeo-chioccarello_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/>, last accessed 28 July 2020.

⁹ J.-P. Boyer, *Roberto d'Angiò, re di Sicilia-Napoli*, in DBI 87 (2017): <[¹⁰ K.J. Schut, *A Dominican Master of Theology in Context: John of Naples and Intellectual Life Beyond Paris, ca. 1300-1350*, PhD dissertation, University of Toronto 2019.](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/roberto-d-angio-re-di-sicilia-napoli_(Dizionario-Biografico)/>, last accessed 28 July 2020.</p>
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¹¹ R.E. Lerner, *Antichrist Goes to the University: The De victoria Christi contra Antichristum of Hugo de Novocastro, OFM (1315/1319)*, in *Crossing Boundaries at Medieval Universities*, ed. S.E. Young, Leiden 2011, pp. 277-316. W.O. Duba and I are presently working on *The Questions on the Sentences of Hugo de Novocastro, OFM*.

What is the evidence for Francesco's lecturing on the *Sentences* at Paris in 1319-1320? None of the manuscripts of Francesco's *Scriptum* for book I is dated, but one manuscript of the *Reportatio*, Naples, Biblioteca nazionale VII.C.27, f. 126va, clearly has 1320 in the colophon¹²: «Explicit lectura fratris Francisci de Marchia super primum, secundum reportationem factam sub eo tempore quo legit *Sententias* Parisius, anno Domini MCCCXX». On the other hand, Vatican City, BAV, Chigi. lat. B VII 113, f. 235vb, has this colophon for book IV: «Explicit reportatio quarti libri *Sententiarum* sub magistro Fransischo de Marchia Anchonita ordinis minorum facta per fratrem G de <Rubione> anno domini 1323». The Naples colophon is the only one explicitly referring to when Francesco read the *Sentences* at Paris. The other colophons for book IV, one of which assigns that book to Paris, do not date the lectures, but variously call Francesco «friar» or «master» or even «doctor of sacred theology», and one even says that the text was *editus* by Master Francesco, allowing Suarez-Nani and Duba to interpret the 1323 colophon as the date of the redaction and not the lectures¹³.

It is often the case that colophons record the date when the entire lecture series ended, even if the lectures on book I had ended in what was still the previous year in Paris. Since François de Meyronnes was the Franciscan *Sententiarius* in 1320-1321, we have read the colophon as dating Francesco's lectures to 1319-1320. Taken together, the colophons to book IV in Chigi and Prague, Metropolitni Kapituly 531 (C 99), f. 262vb, which are close in the stemma, imply that Francesco was in Paris in 1323 when, along with his reporter Guillem Rubio, he polished and published the text.¹⁴ The next secure documentary evidence for Francesco places him as master of theology and *lector* at the Franciscan convent in Avignon on 13 April 1328¹⁵, suggesting that he served in that capacity there at least during the 1327-1328 academic year, but nothing else can be inferred with any certainty.

Unfortunately, the very manuscript that gives us the explicit evidence that Francesco lectured on the *Sentences* at Paris in 1319-1320, Naples VII.C.27, also undermines both our relative and our absolute dating, on account of its marginal citations as recorded by Nazareno Mariani in his edition of the *Reportatio in primum*. In question 1 of distinction 24¹⁶, the Naples manuscript has a marginal reference to *Opinio Francisci de Mayronis*, which entails either that Francesco lectured at Paris after François and hence after 1320-1321, or that Francesco is here citing a pre-Parisian lecture series of François, or that Francesco's *Reportatio in primum* was put into final form after François' Parisian lectures of 1320-1321. Moreover, in the question for distinctions 12-13¹⁷, Naples reads in the margin *Responsio magistri Landulfi*, which does reinforce our belief that Francesco read

¹² For the colophons, see R.L. Friedman and C. Schabel, *Francis of Marchia's Commentary on the Sentences: Question List and State of Research*, «Mediaeval Studies», 63 (2001), pp. 31-106, at pp. 72-73, 85, 92, 98, and 106.

¹³ Suarez-Nani and Duba, *Introduction*, pp. xiii-xiv.

¹⁴ Friedman, Schabel, *Francis of Marchia's Commentary on the Sentences*, p. 106.

¹⁵ Nicolaus Minorita, *Chronica*, ed. G. Gál and D. Flood, St. Bonaventure, NY, 1996, p. 189.

¹⁶ Franciscus de Marchia sive de Esculo, *Commentarius in IV libros Sententiarum Petri Lombardi*, vol. III. *Distinctiones primi libri ab undecima ad vigesimam octavam*, ed. N. Mariani, I, d. 24, q. 1, a. 1, Grottaferrata (Roma) 2007, p. 423, apparatus fontium for l. 4.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, I, dd. 12-13, q. un., a. 2, ed. Mariani, p. 58, apparatus fontium for l. 188.

after Landolfo, but it also entails either that Landolfo was made master immediately after his Parisian lectures of 1318-1319, or that Francesco read later than we suppose and hence after François, or, again, that Francesco's *Reportatio in primum* was redacted well after the lectures themselves.

There is some further weak support for the 1319-1320 date for Francesco's Paris lectures, as opposed to 1322-1323 or 1323-1324, in the use of Francesco's *Sentences* questions in those of the Franciscan Aufredo Gonteri Brito¹⁸. In the version dated Barcelona 1322, Aufredo does not appear to have employed Francesco, but in the version dated Paris 1325, Aufredo copies much from Francesco. Only book I carries the 1325 date, but in what seems to be the book II counterpart, in another manuscript, Aufredo writes that he included the *dicta* of Masters Francesco de Marchia and François de Meyronnes. We know for certain that François was master by 1325, but if Francesco was master as well, it is doubtful that he had finished lecturing on the *Sentences* as recently as 1323 or 1324, unless he had royal or papal backing. Still, more proof for 1319-1320 would be nice, especially since the conference on which this issue is based supposedly celebrated the 700th anniversary of Francesco's *Sentences* lectures.

¹⁸ W.O. Duba, R.L. Friedman, C. Schabel, *Henry of Harclay and Aufredo Gonteri Brito*, in *Mediaeval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*, vol. II, ed. P.W. Rosemann, Leiden 2010, pp. 263-368, at pp. 289-305.