
PICENUM SERAPHICUM

RIVISTA DI STUDI STORICI E FRANCESCANI

ANNO XXXVI (2022)

NUOVA SERIE



PROVINCIA PICENA "S. GIACOMO DELLA MARCA" DEI FRATI MINORI



eum edizioni università di macerata

PICENUM SERAPHICUM

RIVISTA DI STUDI STORICI E FRANCESCANI

Ente proprietario

Provincia Picena "San Giacomo della Marca" dei Frati Minori
via S. Francesco, 520,
60035 Jesi (AN)

in convenzione con

Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici-Lingue, Mediazione, Storia, Lettere, Filosofia
corso Cavour, 2
62100 Macerata

Consiglio scientifico

Felice Accrocca, Giuseppe Avarucci, Francesca Bartolacci, Monica Bocchetta, Rosa Marisa Borraccini, Giammario Borri, Giuseppe Buffon, David Burr, Alvaro Cacciotti, Alberto Cadili, Maela Carletti, Maria Ciotti, Mario Conetti, Jacques Dalarun, Maria Consiglia De Matteis, Carlo Dolcini, Kaspar Elm, Christoph Flüeler, György Galamb, Gábor Györiványi, Robert E. Lerner, Jean Claude Maire-Vigueur, Alfonso Marini, Enrico Menestò, Grado G. Merlo, Jürgen Miethke, Antal Molnár, Lauge O. Nielsen, Roberto Paciocco, Letizia Pellegrini, Luigi Pellegrini, Gian Luca Potestà, Leonardo Sileo, Andrea Tabarroni, Katherine Tachau, Giacomo Todeschini

Consiglio direttivo

Roberto Lambertini (direttore), Francesca Bartolacci (condirettrice), Monica Bocchetta, Maela Carletti, Pamela Galeazzi, p. Lorenzo Turchi

Comitato di Redazione

Nicoletta Biondi, p. Marco Buccolini, Laura Calvaresi, p. Ferdinando Campana, Agnese Contadini, Daniela Donninelli, p. Simone Giampieri, Roberto Lamponi, p. Gabriele Lazzarini, Costanza Lucchetti, Luca Marcelli, Gioele Marozzi, Chiara Melatini, p. Valentino Natalini, Annamaria Raia

Redazione

Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici-Lingue, Mediazione, Storia, Lettere, Filosofia
corso Cavour, 2
62100 Macerata
redazione.picenum@unimc.it

Direttore responsabile

p. Ferdinando Campana

Editore

eum edizioni università di macerata
Corso della Repubblica, 51 – 62100 Macerata
tel (39) 733 258 6081 fax (39) 733 258 6086
<http://eum.unimc.it>
info.ceum@unimc.it



eum edizioni università di macerata

Indice

3 Editoriale

Studi

I Sezione. In memoria di p. Bernardino Pulcinelli nel centenario della nascita

9 Maela Carletti
La doppia redazione della *Ordinem vestrum*. Dall'Archivio della Provincia delle Marche dei Frati Minori Conventuali

37 Anna Falcioni
Suor Chiara Feltria: una vocazione femminile nelle relazioni tra Osservanza francescana e politica ecclesiastica dei Signori di Urbino

II Sezione

73 Maria Grazia Moroni
Peste, carestia e cause secondo Procopio di Cesarea

101 William O. Duba
Fragments of Francesco d'Appignano's *Improbatio*

123 Francesco Pirani
Configurazioni del policentrismo marchigiano nel tardo medioevo

Note

157 Virginio Villani
L'insediamento francescano nell'alto Misa fra XIII e XIV secolo. I casi di Rocca Contrada (Arcevia) e Serra de' Conti

167 Chiara Melatini
Cronaca dell'incontro di studi *Protomartiri ed i Martiri francescani di Thane e Evangelizzatori francescani in Crimea tra Duecento e Trecento*, Tolentino, chiesa di San Catervo, 4 giugno 2022

- 173 Matteo Rotunno
Donne e uomini nel francescanesimo delle Marche
- 183 Nicoletta Biondi
“Laboratorio estivo di avviamento allo studio dei documenti pontifici”.
Terza edizione in presenza a Potenza Picena

Schede

- 189 Sara Ferrilli, «*Per raggio di stella*». *Cecco d'Ascoli e la cultura volgare tra Due e Trecento*, Longo Angelo Editore, Ravenna 2022, 398 pp. (L. Calvaresi); Giuseppe Fabiani, *Gli Ebrei e il Monte di Pietà in Ascoli*, Edizioni Librati, Ascoli Piceno 2021, 240 pp. (R. Lambertini); Letizia Pellegrini, *Intus ed Extra. Un formulario epistolare delle clarisse bolognesi (1463-1467)*, con una presentazione di Gabriella Zarri, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, Roma 2022, 150 pp. (R. Lambertini); *Il patrimonio storico-artistico e culturale dell'area picena dopo il sisma del 2016. Recupero, conoscenza, valorizzazione*. Atti del convegno di studio svoltosi in occasione della XXVIII edizione del Premio internazionale Ascoli Piceno (Ascoli Piceno, Palazzo dei Capitani, 22-23 marzo 2019), a cura di M. D'Attanasio, S. Maddalo, Istituto Storico italiano per il Medio Evo, Roma 2021, 396 pp. (M. Carletti).

Studi

II Sezione

Fragments of Francesco d'Appignano's *Improbatio*

William Duba

Abstract

A recent discovery of a manuscript fragment of Francesco d'Appignano's *Improbatio* provides the occasion to return to the text 30 years after Nazareno Mariani's *editio princeps*. The fragment provides an opportunity to understand more clearly the *Improbatio*, its diffusion in the fourteenth century, and Mariani's edition.

In 1993, Nazareno Mariani published Francesco d'Appignano's *Improbatio* and thereby began a new era in the study of this great fourteenth-century thinker¹. Combined with the institutional force of the Centro Studi f. Francesco d'Appignano, founded by Domenico Priori, and with the support of *Picenum Seraphicum*, Mariani's work set the tone for a renaissance in studies of the maverick thinker from Appignano and fostered a community of scholars.

The recent discovery of a fragment of the *Improbatio* provides an opportunity to advance our knowledge about the text, its diffusion in the fourteenth century, and Mariani's edition.

¹ Francesco d'Appignano, *Francisci de Esculo OFM Improbatio*, ed. Nazareno Mariani OFM, Grottaferrata 1993.

The Fragment

The codex Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, NAL 2317 was assembled in the early twentieth century from loose fragments at the library. As part of the research project *Retracing the Past* funded by the Stavros Niarchos Foundation, Dr. Laura Albiero studied a series of fragment volumes at the Bibliothèque nationale, including this one, and prepared them for publication on the *Fragmentarium* Digital Laboratory². She described the fragment that interests us here, NAL 2317, ff. 35-36, as a bifolium, 298 x 208 mm, with a single-column of text written in a fourteenth-century chancery hand. I subsequently identified the content as belonging to the *Improbatio* and containing text that corresponds to that found on pp. 430-449 (f. 35) and pp. 477-492 (f. 36) of Mariani's edition³.

The Original Manuscript

The fragment originally belonged to the same codex as that of a larger fragment discovered by Eva Luise Wittneben in the 1990s. In a groundbreaking study, Wittneben and Roberto Lambertini presented the manuscript Paris, BnF latin 4246, announcing the discovery of the fragment as well as material relating to Francesco d'Appignano's trial⁴. With respect to the *Improbatio*, they concluded⁵:

- The manuscript latin 4246 was part of the Bibliothèque Royale (and thus in its present state from before the French Revolution).
- On f. 1r appears the shelfmark 757 of the library of the French Minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert.

² The project summary is published on *Fragmentarium* <https://fragmentarium.ms/sub-projects/BnF_Albiro> (last consulted 20-09-2022).

³ The fragment has been published on *Fragmentarium* <<https://fragmentarium.ms/overview/F-v7po>> (last consulted 20-09-2022).

⁴ E. Wittneben, R. Lambertini, *Un teologo francescano alle strette*, «Picenum Seraphicum», n. s. 18 (1999), pp. 97-122.

⁵ *ibid.*, 97-112.

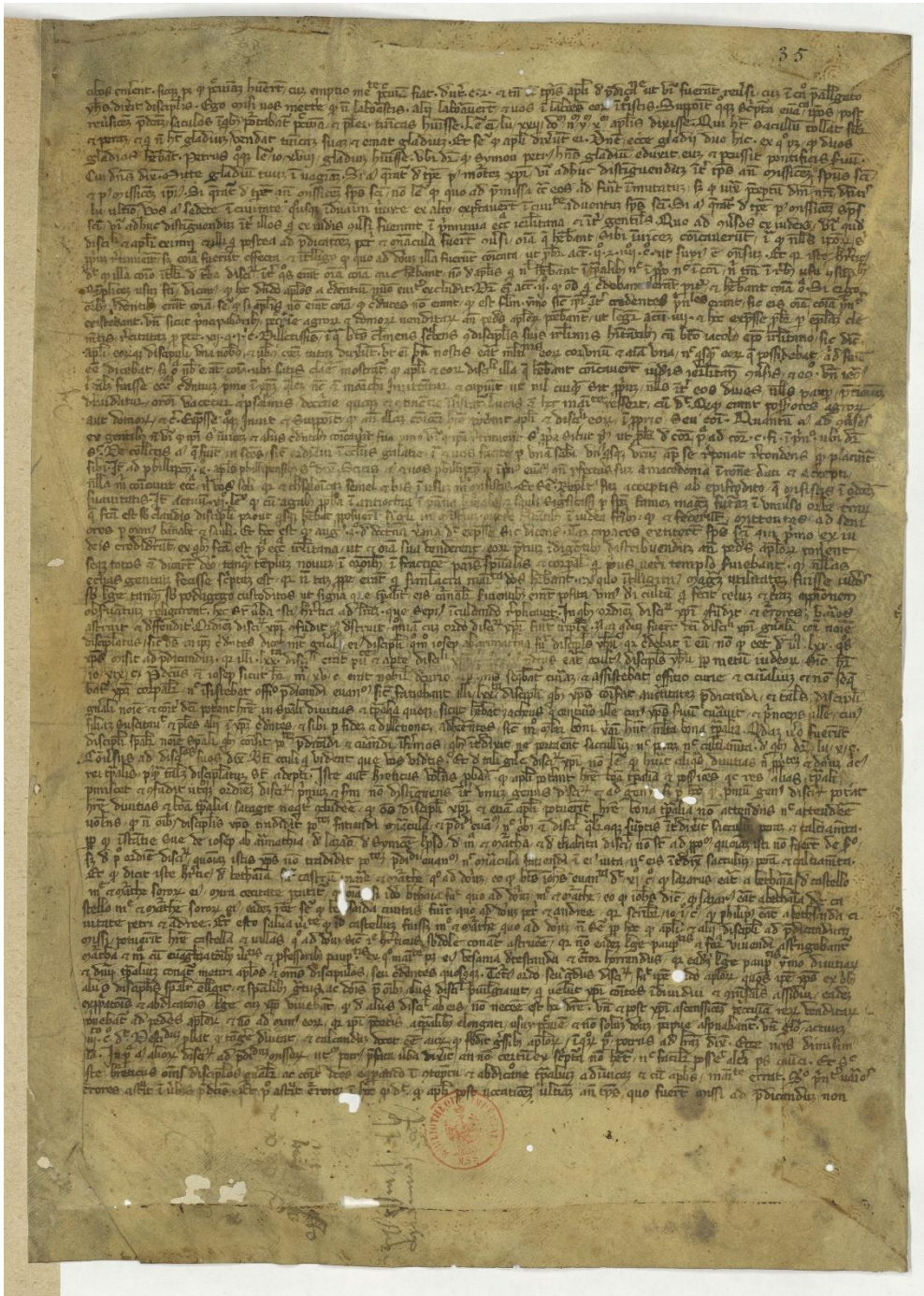


Fig. 1 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, NAL 2317, f. 35r (Image: Gallica/Public Domain)

- Étienne Baluze, Colbert's librarian, used some of the texts bound in this codex in his *Miscellaneorum liber primus*, published in 1678⁶.
- In his table of contents, Baluze lists some of the documents currently in this codex as coming from at least three, if not four, codices of the library of Colbert⁷.

Wittneben and Lambertini further provided a list of the contents of the manuscripts, with a bibliography for each entry. For the fragment from the *Improbatio* (ff. 8-19 in the codex), the authors noted that it corresponds to pp. 212-392 of the Mariani edition, and that it picks up immediately after the fragment contained in Città del Vaticano, B.A.V., Vat. lat. 14812, ff. 37-48⁸.

A comparison of the color digitization of NAL 2317⁹ with a grayscale retro-digitization of a microfilm of 4246¹⁰ and a black-and-white reproduction of Vat. lat. 14812¹¹ confirms that all three fragments are written in the same hand and come from the same manuscript. As near as can be judged given the divergent image quality, the script is identical, written in a single column. While Latin 4246 and the Vatican manuscript usually have between 57 and 59 lines per page, they do occasionally have more, with 62 lines on latin 4246, f. 14v and 63 on Vat. lat. 14812, f. 45r. The NAL 2317 fragment, however, has 62, 63, 65, and 63 lines on ff.

⁶ S. Baluze, *Miscellaneorum liber primus*, Paris 1678.

⁷ *ibid.*, unpaginated table of contents, first page: «Acta inquisitionis à Iohanne XXII. institutae adversus Petrum de Paulude ordinis Praedicatorum, cum responsionibus ejusdem. pag. 165. —*Ex veteri codice MS. bibliothecae Colbertinae.*» Second page: «Articuli probationum contra fratrem Vbertinum de Casali inductarum à fratre Bonagratia. pag. 293. —Responsio fratris Vbertini de Casali ordinis Minorum circa quaestionem de paupertate Christi et Apostolorum, facta coram Iohanne XXII. apud Avinionem in consistorio. pag. 307. —Examen j<u>dicialie Francisci Veneti asseclae Massili de Padua. pag. 311. —Examen giudiciale fratris Francisci de Esculo ordinis Minorum. pag. 315. —*Ex tribus antiquis codicibus MSS. bibliothecae Colbertinae.*» Wittneben, Lambertini *Un teologo*, point out that, while the *articuli* against Ubertino da Casale are in latin 4246, his *responsio* is not.

⁸ Wittneben, Lambertini, *Un teologo*, p. 100, n. 13.

⁹ Digitization available at: <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52513241j>> (last consulted 20-09-2022).

¹⁰ Digitization available at: <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10033561f>> (last consulted 20-09-2022).

¹¹ Digitization available at: <https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.14812> (last consulted 20-09-2022).

35r-36v, thus in the upper range of what is seen in the other codices, but with between 57 and 63 lines per page.

Reconstruction

The Vatican fragment and the one discovered by Wittneben are consecutive sexterns. As Wittneben and Lambertini observed, Paris, latin 4246, f. 8r begins with *similiter truncat*, the words that immediately follow where Vat. lat. 14812 stops. To this can be added that the catchword at the bottom of Vat. lat. 14812, f. 48v is indeed *similiter truncat*. Put together, the two sexterns witness roughly three-quarters of the *Improbatio* text.

The NAL 2317 fragment introduced here comes from the last gathering of the manuscript. It witnesses the text contained in Mariani's edition from p. 437, l. 3, *cibos emerent* to p. 449, l. 28-9, *ultimam vocationem* (f. 35r-v) and from p. 477, l. 11, *omnino delectum* to p. 492, l. 9, *aliis discipulis*.

In his edition (=M), Mariani made use of the three manuscript witnesses known to him:

L= Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 31 sin. 3, ff. 1ra-63vb¹².

V¹= Città del Vaticano, Vat. lat. 4857, ff. 1r-82v¹³.

V²= Città del Vaticano, Vat. lat. 14812, ff. 36r-47v.

¹² Mariani, Introduction to *Improbatio*, 28-30. In fact, Mariani there lists the foliation as ff. 23r-85v, which corresponds to an older foliation scheme. In the edition, however, Mariani uses later foliation. A digitization of the manuscript is available at <<http://mss.bmlonline.it/s.aspx?Id=AWOMrDqpI1A4r7GxMYJD&c=Collectio%20quaestionum%20de%20paupertate%20Christi#/book>> (last consulted 20-09-2022). There is also the "Identifier" IT:FI0100_Plutei_31sin.03 associated with either the manuscript or the digitization.

¹³ Digitization available at <https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.4857> (last consulted 20-09-2022).

For the sake of simplicity, I will use V to refer to Vat. lat. 4857 and, for the last witness, use:

P = Vat. lat. 14812, f. 36r-47v + Paris, BnF latin 4246, ff. 8r-19v + Paris, BnF NAL 2317, f. 35r-36v.

The extent of the survival of P can be determined by comparing the length of its text and gaps against the other manuscripts, LV, and Mariani's edition.

Parallels between fragments of P, the foliation of L and V, and Mariani's pagination

Fragment Part	L (ff.)	V (ff.)	Mariani (pp.)
Vat.lat. 14812, 37r-48v	1ra-22vb	1r-28v	47-212
12 leaves	~87 columns	~55 sides	~166 pages
latin 4246, 8r-19v	22vb-46va	28v-60r	212-392
12 leaves	~95 columns	~63 sides	~181 pages
<i>Missing Text Before</i>	46va-52rb	60r-68r	392-436
	~20 columns	~16 sides	~45 pages
NAL 2317, f. 35r-v	52rb-54vb	68r-70v	436-449
1 leaf	~8 columns	~5 sides	~14 pages
<i>Missing Text Inside</i>	54vb-58rb	70v-75v	449-477
	~14 columns	~10 sides	~29 pages
NAL 2316, f. 36r-v	58rb-60va	75v-78v	477-492
1 leaf	~9 columns	~6 sides	~16 pages
<i>Missing Text After</i>	60va-63vb	78v-82v	492-512
	~13 columns	~8 sides	~21 pages

To every leaf of the fragmented codex corresponds, on average, 7.7 columns of L, 5.0 sides of V and 14.5 pages of M. Solving for the missing text before the NAL 2317 fragment, within it (between f. 35v and 36r) and after it, we get:

Gap in text	L (7.7 col. per leaf)	V (5.0 sides per leaf)	M (14.5 pp. per leaf)	Missing Leaves
Before	$20/7.7 = 2.6$	$16/5 = 3.2$	$45/14.5 = 3.1$	3
Within	$8/7.7 = 1.8$	$10/5 = 2.0$	$29/14.5 = 2.0$	2
After	$13/7.7 = 1.7$	$8/5 = 1.6$	$21/14.5 = 1.4$	<2

The text between the end of the fragment contained in latin 4246 and the beginning of the text in NAL 2317, f. 35r, would have been carried by three leaves of the manuscript; the gap between f. 35v and 36r corresponds to two leaves, and the length from the end of 36v to the end of the *Improbatio* text would be just under two leaves.

Therefore, the bifolium in NAL 2317 was the second-innermost, and had three bifolia outside of it. Reconstructing the original codex of P, after the two sexterns preserved in Vat. lat. 14812 and latin 4246, there followed a quintern, and the explicit to the *Improbatio* would have appeared on the verso of the second-to-last leaf.

Indications of Provenance

The three fragments all appear in fragment volumes, two from the twentieth century and one from the eighteenth. Vat. lat. 14812 was assembled in the summer of 1970 from fragments held at the Vatican¹⁴. As noted above, NAL 2317 was put together in the early twentieth century at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris from loose fragments kept there. Finally, as Wittneben and Lambertini also showed above, latin

¹⁴ J. Ruyschaert, *Les Décrétales du Ps.-Isidore du Vat. lat. 630. Péripiéties vaticanes d'un manuscrit de Jean Jouffroy, consulté par Bernardino Carvajal*, «Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae» 1 (1987), pp. 111-115, at p. 115, states that the Prefect Giovanni Mercati gathered in a closet binding waste fragments; roughly eight years after Mercati's death, in 1965, the librarians began working with the material, and, over a 20-month period in 1970-1971, they assembled some 21 fragment volumes, including this one. Cf. A. Maier, *Eine unbeachtete Quaestio aus dem Visio-Streit unter Johann XXII.*, «Archivum Fratrum Historicum» 63 (1970), pp. 280-318, reprinted in eadem, *Ausgehendes Mittelalter. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Geistesgeschichte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, v. III, Rome 1977, pp. 505-542, at p. 513, n. 22, «Der Vat. lat. 14812 ist ein Miszellenband, der im Sommer 1970 aus einer Reihe verschiedenartiger Fragmente, die bisher im Vatikanischen Archiv waren, zusammengebunden worden ist.» B. Bazán, *Siger de Brabant: écrits delogique, de morale, et de physique*, Louvain-Paris, 1974, p. 7, n. 1, refers to a letter from Ruyschaert according to which the first gathering (ff. 1-8), containing sophismata, was held in the Archivio Secreto Vaticano and bound in the codex at the suggestion of Auguste Pelzer. Since Fernand van Steenberghen cited the ff. 1-8 fragment in 1931 as being in the A.S.V., the contents of the fragment volume were not exclusively binding waste; in any case, the *Improbatio* fragment (ff. 36-47) shows no sign of reuse.

4246 was in the Bibliothèque Royale, it bears the shelfmark from Colbert's library, and Baluze in 1678 published some of its contents, but claiming that they came from at least three books.

The discovery of the NAL 2317 fragment suggests that Colbert may have had the whole book, or at least the last two quires. The leaves would have been rebound later, and some of the fragments further diminished. This would explain why Baluze referred to more than one book in citing the material. Nevertheless, we cannot exclude some kind of reuse; in comparison with the other two parts, the margins of NAL 2317 have been heavily trimmed.

It is not clear where Colbert acquired P or parts of it. Given that the other material bound in the volume relates to early fourteenth-century ecclesiastical investigations and controversies, Avignon seems an obvious choice. The 1369 catalogue of the Papal Library at Avignon lists a copy of an «*Improbatio Francisci de Marchia*» in the luxurious *Chambre du cerf-volant*¹⁵. That book, apparently bound with the *appellationes* of Louis of Bavaria and Michael of Cesena, was among those that, during the schism, moved with the antipope Benedict XIII to Peñíscola¹⁶. In 1429, Benedict's successor renounced his claims to the papacy. As part of the agreement, the papal documents were returned to Rome, but the books went to the envoy, the Cardinal Pierre de Foix, who in 1457 used them for the library of the Collège de Foix that he founded at the University of Toulouse. Over two centuries later, Colbert took possession of the remaining books, and in the eighteenth century, they entered the Bibliothèque Royale.¹⁷

Most likely, the catalogues refer to an *Improbatio* other than P. As Maier notes, the full title is *improbatio Francisci de Marchia cuiusdam dicti in sermone domini Johannis pape, scilicet <quod> Christus homo ut homo non regnabit*

¹⁵ M. Faucon, *La librairie des papes d'Avignon. Sa formation, sa composition, ses catalogues (1316-1420) d'après les registres de comptes et d'inventaires des archives vaticanes*, Paris 1887, v. 2, p. 31; subsequently it appeared in the study of the pope, M.-H. Jullien de Pommerol, J. Monfrin, *La Bibliothèque Pontificale à Avignon et à Peñíscola pendant le grand schisme d'occident et sa dispersion. Inventaires et concordances*, Rome 1991, p. 139, no. 39.

¹⁶ Pommerol, Monfrin, *La Bibliothèque Pontificale*, p. 316, no. 6; Faucon, *La librairie des papes d'Avignon.*, v. 2, pp. 121-122, no. 701.

¹⁷ L. Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, t. I, Paris 1868, pp. 493-508.

post finale iudicium. The *Improbatio* that we are discussing is against *Quia vir reprobus*, from ca. 1330. Anneliese Maier observes that the catalogue refers to a claim that John XXII first made in a sermon on 5 January 1332, namely that the human nature of Christ does not reign after the Last Judgment; on 2 February, he added that Christ as divine person would continue to reign. On this basis, Maier hypothesizes that the *Improbatio* named in the Avignon catalogue is therefore a different *Improbatio* from the one that has been seen until now. Moreover, Latin 4246 has, over each of the works it contains, titles written in a seventeenth-century hand. In the pieces that Baluze publishes in his 1678 *Miscellaneorum liber primus*, the titles he gives to the works match those seventeenth-century titles; thus the leaves gathered in the codex likely existed in Colbert's library at that date. The transfer of the Foix library, on the other hand, did not happen until 1680.

In any case, Colbert, working through Baluze and his agents, was one of the most prolific library-builders of the seventeenth century, acquiring books and fragments using the full array of techniques available to a powerful minister in the royal administration of Louis XIV. When the book was fragmented, whether before or after Colbert's acquisition, remains a mystery; both cases are possible¹⁸. Perhaps, as more of the fragments conserved in the libraries of the world, especially Paris and the Vatican, come to light, this mystery can be resolved.

Witness to the Text

In their article announcing the discovery of the sexternion in Latin 4246, Wittneben and Lambertini announced that they intended to publish a study on how this discovery affects our knowledge of the textual tradition of the *Improbatio*¹⁹. While a full philological analysis will still have to wait, the NAL 2317 fragment provides an opportunity to

¹⁸ For a case study of involving Colbert and Baluze's collecting pieces of dismembered manuscripts, see P. Chambert-Protat, *A Seventeenth-Century Treasure Hunter in the Rubble of a Ninth-Century Library. Gathering Fragments and the History of Libraries*, «Fragmentology» 1 (2018), pp. 65-81.

¹⁹ Wittneben, Lambertini, *Un teologo*, p. 100, n. 13.

gain some insights into the relation between P and LV, especially since digital surrogates of all three witnesses are now available. Comparing a transcription of the text of P to Mariani's edition and the other two manuscript witnesses provided a few hints about the relation between the texts, as well as Mariani's editorial method. A table in the appendix lists and classifies all the non-orthographical accidents in the three manuscripts and editions.

For at least the span of 6,747 words covered by the NAL 2317 bifolium, the quality of all three witnesses is excellent. The collation revealed four major textual perturbations, all apparently the result of *omissiones per homeoteleuton*: one of 20 words in PV and three of 29, 31, and 23 words in V alone. It does not appear that V is directly descended from P, as on p. 438, l. 15 (=438.15) there appears to be a case where a single passage witnessed by L appears in two incompatible haplographies in P and V:

L: Ut probatur de Corinthiis, prima Ad Corinthios, capitulo finali, in principio

P: Ut probatur prima Ad Corinthios, capitulo finali, in principio

V: Ut probatur de Corinthiis, capitulo finali

The context makes it clear that the reference is not just to Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians, but specifically concerning the Corinthians as discussed in Paul's First Epistle. The reading given by L appears to be original, and then simplified by P and V to remove the apparent repetition.

With only three witnesses, any accident involves one manuscript's reading diverging from the other two; the results have to be handled with care. A rough assessment of the quality of the manuscripts reveals that, among accidents qualified as "simple", i.e., three witnesses and two readings, L has 23 unique readings, P has 9, and V presents 32. For what M classifies as omissions or additions, that is, cases where one witness either has or does not have a word found in the other two²⁰, excluding the cases of *ε*. (see below), which Mariani documents

²⁰ In the table, omissions and additions are relative to the text of M and therefore have the same value for establishing such a text.

throughout, L has 13 such perturbations unique to it, P has 2, and V counts 30.

A handful of simple accidents suggest a genealogical relation, providing a reading that is not easily duplicated by scribal error nor corrected, many with one reading clearly preferable, and the other likely due to error:

Table 1: Genealogically significant variants

page.line	text	text witnesses	variant	var. witness
437.16	principaliores	L	principales	PV
440.02	scribitur	L	habetur	PV
446.01	nonum	L	nomen	PV
477.19	simplici	PV	speciali	L
478.13	accipit	PV	recipit	L
479.17	asserit	LP	astruit	V
480.09	preceptum	LP	mandatum	V
484.17	pronomine	LP	nomine	V
486.01	complectitur	LP	plectitur	V
486.02	comodamus	LP	prestamus	V
491.14	plenius	L	planius	PV
492.01	explicaturi	LP	testificaturi	V

P has so few unique accidents that none of them can be securely judged genealogically significant. The only cases where two manuscripts share obvious errors is PV against L; LP do not share any mistakes of significance. Given that PV also share a 20-word homeoteleutic omission, the evidence weighs towards PV being more closely related to each other than to L.

Other findings explain Mariani's editorial method. The edition is quite faithful, with only twelve, mostly minor, mistakes in the text (only one of which is a trivial typographical error) and two superfluous interventions. In choosing between the manuscripts L and V, M generally follows L. Francesco frequently cites the Vulgate, and in all the cases where his witnesses disagree, M follows the reading available in printed editions of those works, sometimes silently correcting to match the Vulgate text (e.g., 443.08), and maximizing the amount of text cited, even where it appears questionable (e.g., 445.17, where the passage ends with *etc.*, but M follows V in continuing the citation afterwards), or goes directly against the author's sense (487.18). This habit extends to other quoted sources, sometimes reproducing the source quote without noting the

variants (e.g., 446.01 gets *novum* from the edition of Jerome, and does not even list the variants of his manuscripts (*nonum* for L and *nomen* for V).

M tends towards an inclusive editing style. Sometimes, this causes trouble, as on 483.07, where M adds *tuum* after *Qui petit a te, da ei* (Mt. 5,42) mistaking an annotation for a marginal correction in L (f. 59rb). In fact, the text continues, «dicendum quod ‘tuum’ est equivocum et commune ad ‘tuum’ quo ad dominium et ‘tuum’ quo ad usum.» The marginal notation has *tuum* and lines drawing going to two points, one above, one below the line (as with a *divisio*). Clearly this is not an addition, but a marginal annotation pointing to the two senses of *tuum* being discussed.

M's apparatus follows this pattern. I found only seven cases of shortcomings with the critical apparatus, and quite a few of these were due to M's idiosyncratic habit of only providing the *sigla* for cases where reference to L was needed. Generally, M takes care to note the smallest perturbations of the text. Most notably, in the manuscripts, quite often a *c* appears as part of a biblical citation, after the number of a chapter (e.g., *Actuum XI c.*). In expanding this abbreviation, Mariani's edition appears to make a distinction: in the rare cases that the *c* has a superscript *o* above it, he expands it as *capitulo*; usually, it does not, and so he expands it as *capite*²¹. To avoid confusion and a philological debate on whether Francesco intended to call biblical chapters *capita*, we cite the cases below as *c*.

Conclusion

The discovery of the fragment in Paris, BnF NAL 2317 confirms Wittneben and Mariani's hypothesis for the importance of P as a witness to Francesco d'Appignano's *Improbatio*. It is an excellent witness to the text, and researchers working on the *Improbatio* should take it into account, alongside Mariani's edition. In this sense, the discovery testifies to the changing role of editions in scholarship; while M was produced as

²¹ This can be seen on 447.06-07, based on L, f. 54r, where L has *Marci III c. et Luce VI c.*, and M expands *capite...capitulo*.

the authoritative version of the *Improbatio* — and it has fulfilled this role admirably for a generation — the growth of digital libraries allows us to use it as a means to accede to the witnesses themselves, to return to the sources where specific textual or doctrinal issues leave the reader with questions. At same time, the digitization of manuscript sources brings hope for the future. The original codex of P did not survive the eighteenth century, and likely was broken well before then. Yet fragments of it continue to be found, and, as we delve into the closets, drawers, and volumes of the libraries and archives of the world, we can hope to find more such fragments, not just the four missing bifolia from P, but perhaps even parts of texts unknown to modern scholarship.

Appendix

The reading in bold is the one Mariani selects for the edition. Novel readings in M are indicated in the Notes column.

Types:

simple: L, P, or V has a different reading than the other two

complex: L, P and V have different readings

editorial: M diverges from LPV

om.: Witnesses lack reading found in M

add.: Witnesses have reading found in M

inv.: Witnesses differ on word order

Additional abbreviations: *sed inv.*: Word order inverted with signs

a.c./p.c.: *ante correctionem/post correctionem*

Vulgate = the accident occurs in a citation of the Vulgate, and M follows the Vulgate reading.

p., l.	Type	L	P	V	Notes
436.06	complex	discipulis dixerit	dixerit discipulis <i>sed</i> <i>inv.</i>	dixerit	
436.15	inv.	gladii duo	gladii duo <i>sed</i> <i>inv.</i>	gladii duo	duo gladii (Vulgate)
436.18	simple	eum	eum	illum	Vulgate
437.02-3	inv.	proprium sibi	sibi proprium	sibi proprium	
437.03	complex	communia fuerunt effecta	omnia fuerunt effecta communia	communia fuerint effecta	communi a fuerant effecta
437.05	add.		c.	c.	
437.08	om.	nec	nec		
437.11	om.		c.		
437.12	inv.	communia omnia	communia omnia	omnia communia	Vulgate
437.13	om.			omnia	
437.16s	simple	principaliores	principales	principales	
437.20	add.			c.	
437.20	om.			causa	Decretum citation
437.24	inv.	erat multitudinis eorum	erat multitudinis eorum	multitudinis eorum erat	Vulgate
437.25	om.	aut nostrum de hiis			
437.26	add.			et illis	Vulgate
438.01	om.		et	et	
438.03	inv.	talem fuisse	talem fuisse	fuisse talem	
438.05	simple	cupiunt	cupiunt	capiunt	
438.08	simple	hoc	hec	hoc	
438.11	inv.	discipuli eorum	discipuli eorum	eorum discipuli	
438.15	complex	de corinthiis prima ad	prima ad corinthios	de corinthiis	P and V are independent

		corinthios			witnesses
438.15	om.	in principio	in principio		
438.15	inv.	sic dicitur	dicitur sic	dicitur sic	
438.16	simple	in	in	inter	
438.19	add.			c.	
438.22	simple	thessalonica m	thessalonicam	thessalonicas	Vulgate
438.25	add.			c.	
438.29	inv.	habitantibus in iudea fratribus	habitantibus in iudea fratribus	fratribus in iudea habitantibus	Vulgate
439.01	om.			libro	
439.02	om.	dicens	dicens		
439.06	inv.	dicarunt deo	dicarunt deo	deo dicarunt	
439.20	simple	ipsum	ipsum	christum	
439.22	complex	Ihesu p.c.]Christi a.c.	Yesu	Christi	Christi Iesu
439.23, 24;440. 06	simple	LXX	LXX	LXXII	
440.01	inv.	occultus discipulus	occultus discipulus	discipulus occultus	Vulgate
440.02s	simple	scribitur	habetur	habetur	
440.06	add.		faciebant	faciebant	after <i>sicut</i> . Not in M's apparatus
440.06	om.	discipuli	discipuli		
440.13	om.	Christi			Not in M's apparatus
440.20	simple	sacculum	sacculum	sacculos	Vulgate
440.23	simple	habuerint	habuerit	habuerit	
440.30	simple	discipulorum et aliud genus	discipulorum et aliud genus	et aliud discipulorum	
441.03	complex	interdixerat	interdixerit	interdix(it)	
441.08	inv.	istis christus	istis christus	christus istis	
441.11	complex	quod bethania	de bethania	de bethania quod	
441.13	editorial	Marthe	Marthe	Marthe	M omits
441.14- 16	om. (hom.)	mira cecitate ... sororum eius	mira cecitate ... sororum eius		29 words
441.19- 21	om. (hom.)	Nec magis evangelista ... Petri et Andree			20 words
441.24	simple	iste	ille	iste	
442.20	inv.	verbis	verbis predictis	predictis verbis	

		predictis			
443.01	om.		sibi	sibi	
443.02s	simple	eius	eius	suam	
443.08	simple/editorial	fecit Christo	Christo fecisse	Christo fecisse	fecisse Christo
443.08-09	inv.	convivium magnum	convivium magnum	magnum convivium	Vulgate
443.10	om.	forma	forma		
443.16	simple	specialiter	speciali	Speciali	
443.17	inv.	venit iesus	venit iesus	iesus venit	
443.19	complex	non	nullo	nullo modo	
443.21	simple	quoad	quod ad	quoad	
443.22	inv.	verba ista	ista verba	ista verba	
443.25	inv.	ista verba	ista verba	verba ista	
444.03	simple	retibus	retibus	omnibus	Vulgate
444.19	simple	retibus	retibus	omnibus	Vulgate
444.20	om.	non (mg.)			M notes marginal addition in L, but not absence in V
444.27	inv.	secundum glossam ad propria non sunt reversi	secundum glossam ad propria non sunt reversi	ad propria non sunt reversi secundum glossam	
445.01	om.	c.	c.		
445.05	simple	quia	quia	qui	
445.05	simple	reliquerit	reliquerat	reliquerat	
445.08	inv.	nichil sibi tunc	nichil sibi tunc	tunc sibi nichil	
445.11	editorial	publicani	publicani	publicani	plubicani
445.17	om.			hominum	
445.18	om.	dicit sic		dicit sic	
445.20	simple	angulis	angelis	angelis	
446.01s	simple	nonum	nomen	nomen	novum M has no apparatus entries
446.02	inv.	gloriatur se	gloriatur se	se gloriatur	
446.06	simple	retibus	retibus	omnibus	Vulgate
446.11	inv	debemus pensare	debemus pensare	pensare debemus	
447.02	simple	exceptis	exceptis	excepto	
447.02	simple	dimiserint	dimiserint	dimiserunt	
447.03	simple	dimiserunt	dimiserint	dimiserint	
447.06	simple/edito	dimiserunt	dimiserint	dimiserint	apparatus

	rial				has lemma and variant reversed
447.06-07	om.	c.	c.		
447.11	simple	dimiserunt	dimiserint	dimiserint	
447.12	inv.	inhibitum in speciali	inhibitum in speciali	in speciali inhibitum	
447.25	simple	quoad	quod ad	quoad	
448.02	om.		etiam	etiam	
448.04	simple/ editorial	quod ad	quoad	quod ad	quoad (no apparatus)
449.01	simple	fuerunt	fuerint	Fuerin	
449.08	simple	dictum	demum	dictum	
449.15	simple	reliquisse	dereliquisse	dereliquisse	
449.15	om.	pro Domino	pro Domino		
449.22	simple	signa nobis oriantur	signa nobis oriantur	suboriantur	
477.12	simple	litigent	litigent	litigarent	
477.13, 14 (x2)	add.			c.	
477.18	inv.	abdicerunt et dominium	abdicerunt et dominium	et dominicum abdicerunt	
477.19s	simple	speciali	simplici	simplici	
478.03	add.			c.	
478.13s	simple	recipit	accipit	accipit	
478.15	inv.	datum fuisse	datum fuisse	fuisse datum	
478.26	Add		c.	c.	
479.04	simple	VI	V	VI	
479.04	om.	c.	c.		
479.11	simple	quia	quoniam	quoniam	
479.14s	simple	aparet	patet	patet	
479.17s	simple	asserit	asserit	astruit	
479.18	om.	in monte	in monte		
479.25	simple	igitur	ergo	ergo	
480.02	add.			factus	
480.02	add.			c.	
480.08	om.	in monte	in monte		
480.09s	simple	preceptum	preceptum	mandatum	
480.12	om.	non	non		
480.17	om.	c.	c.		
480.18	add.		c.	c.	
481.05	Editorial	consequenter	consequenter	consequenter	consequenti (error in M)
481.14	simple	dei	dei	diei	
481.17	editorial	turbis	turbis	turbis	turbe (M)

					misreads L against V)
481.19	inv.	sermonem illum tunc	tunc sermonem illum	tunc sermonem illum	
481.21	om.	sermonem	sermonem		
481.22	om./editorial		esse	esse	M ascribes omission to V, not L
481.23	inv.	capere turbas	capere turbas	turbas capere	
481.26	editorial	Matheus	Matheus	Matheus	M reads V as <i>Marcus</i>
482.03-07	om. (hom.)	Item ... factum	Item ... factum		31 words in V
482.04	editorial	hec	hec	Ø	hoc (error in M)
482.08	inv.	suscipiant pacem	suscipiant pacem	pacem suscipiant	
482.11	simple	probabilius	probalius	probabilius	
482.12	simple	pretermissa	pretermissa	pretermiserat	
482.13	om.	ita	Ita		
482.21	inv.	error immo tertius	error immo tertius	immo tertius error	
483.06	om.			Loco	
483.07-09	om. (hom.)	Et ellevatis oculis... Matheus dicit (23 words)	Et ellevatis oculis... Matheus dicit (23 words)		V omits 23 words
483.16	editorial				M adds tuum on the basis of a marginal annotation
483.17	om.	ad	ad		
483.19	om.			vos	Vulgate
483.22	inv.	pressuram se	pressuram se	se pressuram	Vulgate
483.23	om.		tamen	tamen	
484.01	om.	Et			Vulgate. No mention in apparatus
484.04	om.	ea	ea		
484.17se	simple	pronomine	pronomine	nomine	
484.23	simple	mutuum	meum	meum	
485.02	simple	fuit effectum	fuit effectum	factum	
485.04	iter	rei	rei rei	rei	

485.28	add.			c.	
485.30	add.			c.	
486.01s	simple	complectitur	complectitur	plectitur	
486.02s	simple	comodamus	comodamus	prestamus	
486.03	om.			c.	
486.03	simple	dederis	dederitis	dederitis	Vulgate
486.04	om.	sic	sic		
486.06	editor	spat. vac.	spat. vac.	spat. vac.	VI (M supplies the missing Biblical chapter)
486.07	add.		est	est	Follows Glossa ordinaria
486.10	add.			c.	
486.13	simple	mutuum et comodatum	mutuum et comodatum	comodatum et ad mutuum	M has incorrect lemma
486.15	add.			c.	
486.17	editorial				<quod> (superfluous)
486.19	simple	et	etiam	et	
487.03	simple	id	illud	illud	Apparatus does not note variant
487.03	add.			c.	
487.03	om.	inquit	Inquit		
487.05	inv.	non audierit ecclesiam	non audierit ecclesiam	ecclesiam non audierit	
487.09	inv.	predicta mathei	predicta mathei	mathei predicta	
487.17	simple	hedificat	hedificat	hedificavit	Vulgate
487.18	om.	mea			
488.12	add.			c.	
488.13	om.			omnino	Vulgate
488.14	om.		mg.?	iniuriam	Vulgate; P has signs of a marginal addition, but the margin has been trimmed.
488.20	simple	renuntiaverunt	renuntiaverant	renuntiaverant	

488.21	simple	communicaverunt	communicaverant	communicaverant	
488.21	add.			c.	
488.25	simple	placuerit	placuerit	placet	Vulgate
489.02	simple	abdicaerunt	abdicaerunt	abdicaerint	Apparatus gives <i>abdicaerant</i> for V
489.04	inv.	ad fidem conversis	conversis ad fidem	conversis ad fidem	
489.08	om.	et	et		Vulgate
489.08	simple	contempnere	contendere	contendere	Vulgate
489.10	om.	dicit	Dicit		
489.12	om.	sed	sed		
489.14	editorial				<causa>
489.15	add.			c.	
490.05	inv.	precepta predicta	precepta predicta	predicta precepta	
491.01	om.			c.	
491.02-03	inv.	catholicorum doctorum	catholicorum doctorum	doctorum catholicorum	
491.04	om.		Electi		Mariani lists LV as omitting, but he doesn't have any other witnesses(!)
491.05	om.			c.	Apparatus lists V as having the omission.
491.06	simple	ante	ante	alia	
491.06	iter.	illa	illa illa	illa	
491.08	add.			c.	
491.13	om.			scilicet	
491.14s	simple	plenius	planus	planus	variant not recorded
491.17	om./editorial	et ordo beatitudinum numerus etiam	et ordo beatitudinum numerus	et ordo beatitudinum numerus	M has text: etiam et ordo beatitudinum numerus
491.29	complex	eo quod essent ipsi	eo quod essent ipsum	quam erant	Not in Apparatus
492.01	simple	explicaturi	explicaturi	testificaturi	
492.06	om.	que dicta	que dicta		

492.09	inv.	specialiter distincti	distincti specialiter	distincti specialiter	
--------	------	--	--------------------------	--------------------------	--