Michael J.P. Robson

The Network of Franciscan Schools in England: From the Local *scholae* to the *studia generalia*

Abstract: The Franciscans were among the leading theologians in England, and many of them were innovative scholars; they began to monopolise the teaching of theology in the 13th century. There was a demand for English lectors to serve in different provinces of the order, as the chronicles attest. Behind these gifted figures lay an extensive web of local and custodial or regional schools, reaching from Newcastle to Chichester and from Dunwich to Carmarthen. Each friary was a school, and it provided friars with both continuous education in theology and the intellectual tools to minister as preachers and confessors. The seven custodial schools were centres of a more specialised training and offered a stepping-stone to higher studies. The schools at Oxford and Cambridge were at the apex of the scholastic system and it was there that friars were prepared for the office of lector and for degrees in theology.

Bartholomew the Englishman, Adam Rufus, Adam Marsh, Thomas of York, Richard Rufus of Cornwall, Roger Bacon, John Pecham, and Roger Marston made notable contributions to the study of science, philosophy and theology. These friars were inspired to live according to the prophetic insights of Francis of Assisi and belonged to a scholarly tradition which stemmed from the incisive teaching of Robert Grosseteste. Following their confrères' example at Bologna and Paris, friars forged strong links with the schools and received rich dividends. Agnellus of Pisa, minister provincial, opened a school of theology at Oxford and appointed Grosseteste as its master. The foundation of the friary in Cambridge followed hard on the heels of the Oxonian school and it became one of the order's three *studia generalia*. The order developed a three-tier scholastic system with Paris at its apex. Its local schools equipped the friars with both continuous education and a theological curriculum. The seven custodial schools grounded friars in philosophy and theology, grooming them for higher studies. The *studia generalia* stood at the summit of the order's educational structure and trained friars for the office of lector, with a small number taking the baccalaureate and the doctorate. This study examines the birth of the school at Oxford; the circuit of local schools; the role of the custodial schools; the *studia generalia* of Paris, Oxford and Cambridge; and the circulation of ideas, texts and friars between the different schools.

Agnellus of Pisa, Robert Grosseteste, and the Oxford School

The friars imitated the life of the primitive Church through their evangelical poverty and humility. Within a short time, they multiplied in number.¹ Several members of the universities were drawn to their ranks. It was no longer thought necessary to flee the schools in order to give heed to the principles of the New Testament. The friars' wish to immerse themselves more fully in the life of the University of Bologna led them to relocate from the suburbs to a more central position in the city.² The same happened at Paris, where the friars moved from St-Denis to the *Jardin du Luxembourg*.³ Gregory of Naples, minister provincial of France, was a popular preacher within university circles.⁴ Jordan of Saxony, master of the Dominicans, targeted recruits from the universities and preached to students at Padua,⁵ Paris,⁶ and Oxford.⁷ In the Michaelmas term of 1229 he voiced his hopes of having a good catch at England's leading university.⁸ The Franciscans, too, looked to the universities for recruits, especially those who had studied logic, medicine, law and theology.⁹ The Dominicans and Franciscans were overwhelmed by the torrent of vocations. Recruitment from the Parisian schools was reflected in a sermon delivered by Master Eudes de Châteauroux on 18 March 1229 in which he observed that *plurimi scolares* were

---

1 *The Historia Occidentalis of Jacques de Vitry: A Critical Edition*, ed. John F. Hinnebusch, Spicilegium Friburgense 17 (Fribourg: University Press, 1972), c. 32, pp. 158–60.

2 See Michael F. Cusato, 'The House that Peter Built: Bologna and the Origins of the Clericalization of the Order of Friars Minor,' *Frate Francesco* 84 (2018), pp. 261–82.

3 Damien Vorreux, 'Un sermon de Philippe le Chancelier en faveur des Frères Mineurs de Vauvert 1er septembre 1228,' *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 68 (1975), pp. 3–22; *Fratris Thomae vulgo dicti de Eccleston, Tractatus de adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam*, ed. A.G. Little (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1951), p. 47; *John of Garland's De triumphis Ecclesie: A New Critical Edition with Introduction and Translation*, ed. and trans. Martin Hall (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019), pp. 298–99.

4 *Fratris Thomae vulgo dicti de Eccleston*, ed. Little, p. 29. See also Marie-Madeleine Davy, *Les sermons universitaires parisiens de 1230–1231: Contribution à l'histoire de la prédication médiévale* (Paris: Vrin, 1931), pp. 139–41, 349–60.

5 *Beati Iordani de Saxonia Epistolae*, ed. Angelo Walz (Rome: Apud Institutum Historicum Fratrum Praedicatorum, 1951), pp. 24–25, 69. Later he states that he had admitted 33 recruits, including *magistri*.

6 *Beati Iordani de Saxonia Epistolae*, ed. Walz, p. 46: 'Circa autem scholares satis prospere per Dei gratiam mihi successit quia ab Adventu Domini usque ad Pascha circiter quadraginta novitii ordinem intraverunt, quorum plures fuerunt magistri et alii convenienter litterati et de multis aliis spem bonam habemus.'

7 Davy, *Les sermons universitaires parisiens de 1230–1231*, pp. 1–19.

8 *Beati Iordani de Saxonia Epistolae*, ed. Walz, pp. 19–20: 'Apud studium Oxoniense, ubi ad praesens eram, largam spem bonae capturae Dominus nobis dedit.'

9 *Constitutiones Generales Ordinis Fratrum Minorum, I (Saeculum XIII)*, ed. Cesare Cenci and R. George Mailleux (Grottaferrata: Frati editori di Quaracchi, 2007), n. 41, p. 10.

entering the two mendicant orders.¹⁰ The band of nine Franciscan friars who stepped ashore at East Kent prioritized foundations at Oxbridge. Before the end of October 1224 they reached Oxford, where they resided in the parish of St Ebbe at a house owned by Robert le Mercer. During their first year in Oxford many proven bachelors and nobles became friars.¹¹ Masters, too, were well represented among those admitted, beginning with Walter of Burgh, Richard the Norman, Vincent of Coventry, Henry of Coventry, Adam Rufus, William of York and Adam Marsh.¹² By 1225 the order planted a community in Cambridge, settling close to the town's Guildhall. Curiously, the chronicler does not mention any recruits from this Roman market town in the Fens and pays little attention to its school, apart from his roll call of regent masters.¹³

Eccleston says nothing about the friars' first five years in Oxford. Because in the early days there were few priests in the order,¹⁴ the friars gave witness to the Gospel by their example and their ministry to the poor, the sick and the imprisoned; harmony was promoted in urban communities. The character of the order was, however, rapidly evolving from a group of laymen into a largely clerical body. Towards 1230 it was attracting more clerics and priests and was being drawn into the twin ministries of the pulpit and the confessional, creating the need for a solid theological formation and the appointment of a master of theology. Anthony of Padua's preaching in southern France and northern Italy recommended him to Francis of Assisi, who invited him to teach theology to his confrères within a spiritual framework.¹⁵ He was subsequently chosen as the patron saint of the Oxford *studium*.¹⁶ Did one of the first provincial chapters pass a resolution to open a school of theology at Oxford? It is unclear why Agnellus of Pisa did not appoint a friar such as Bartholomew, Haymo of Faversham or Ralph of Rheims to instruct their confrères. Instead the in-

---

10 Andre Callebaut, 'Le sermon historique d'Eudes de Châteauroux à Paris, le 18 mars 1229: Autour de l'origine de la grève universitaire et de l'enseignement des Mendicants,' *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 28 (1935), p. 111 in pp. 81–114.

11 *Fratrīs Thomae vulgo dicti de Eccleston*, ed. Little, pp. 9–10, 22. Andrew G. Little, *The Grey Friars in Oxford* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1892); Andrew G. Little, 'The Franciscan School at Oxford in the Thirteenth Century,' *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 19 (1926), pp. 803–74. See also Andrew G. Little and Franz Pelster, *Oxford Theology and Theologians c.A.D.1282–1302* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934); Maurice W. Sheehan, 'The Religious Orders 1220–1370,' in *The History of the University of Oxford: I. The Early Oxford Schools*, ed. Jeremy I. Catto (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), pp. 193–223.

12 *Fratrīs Thomae vulgo dicti de Eccleston*, ed. Little, pp. 15–18.

13 John R.H. Moorman, *The Grey Friars in Cambridge 1225–1538* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952); Damien R. Leader, *A History of the University of Cambridge: I. The University to 1546* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

14 Jacques Dalarun, 'Thome Celanensis Vita beati patris nostri Francisci (Vita brevior): Présentation et édition critique,' *Analecta Bollandiana* 133 (2015), no. 22, p. 44 in pp. 23–86.

15 *Francesco d'Assisi Scritti*, ed. Carlo Paolazzi, *Spicilegium Bonaventurianum* 36 (Grottaferrata: St Bonaventura Press, 2009), p. 170–71.

16 *Fr Rogeri Marston O.F.M. Quodlibeta quatuor*, ed. Girard J. Etzkorn and Ignatius C. Brady (Quaracchi: St Bonaventura Press, 1968), pp. 42*, 83.

vation was extended to Grosseteste, perhaps due to his stature as an accomplished scholar and his personal integrity, a combination which fuelled an attempt to secure his canonization in 1289. It is probable that Grosseteste worked closely with the friars about decisions regarding individuals' suitability for the office of preaching. Eccleston attests that the friars took enormous strides in their studies under the tutelage of their master, gathering materials for preaching. According to the statutes of the University of Paris, the master of theology was required to dispute, lecture and preach (*licenciam disputandi, legendi et predicandi*).¹⁷ The link between the pulpit and the schools was manifest in the appointment of lectors as preachers and confessors. The Oxford *studium* was one of the earliest in the order after Bologna,¹⁸ Magdeburg,¹⁹ Padua²⁰ and possibly Paris.²¹

Grosseteste's lectures to the friars coincided with a highly creative period. Between 1229 and 1235 he completed several commentaries and treatises²² and expanded his *Tabula* with the assistance of Adam Marsh.²³ His interest in the heritage of the Greek patristic world was growing and he began work on the translation and commentary of Greek texts.²⁴ He was dubbed as *unus de maioribus clericis de mundo* and was the second scholar after Burgundio of Pisa to translate John of Damascus' *De fide orthodoxa*, the *Testamenta patriarcharum XII* and many other books.²⁵ Traditional commentary is blended with the more thematic approach to theology in his

17 Heinrich Denifle and Émile Chatelain, *Chartularium universitatis parisiensis*, 4 vols (Paris: Delalain, 1889–97), vol. 2, n. 1185, p. 683.

18 *Vita del "Dialogus" e "Benignitas"*, ed. Vergilio Gamboso (Padua: EMP, 1986), c. 13, n. 2, pp. 496–97: 'Primus fuit lector in ordine qui rexit, et hoc apud Bononiam.'

19 Johannes Schlageter, 'Die Chronica des Bruders Jordan von Giano: Einführung und kritische Edition nach den bisher bekannten Handschriften,' *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 104 (2011), pp. 3–63, n. 54, p. 55.

20 *Vita prima o "Assidua"*, ed. Vergilio Gamboso (Padua: Edizioni Messaggero, 1981), c. 11, n. 7, pp. 332–35.

21 *Salimbene de Adam, Cronica a.1168–1287*, ed. Giuseppe Scalia, 2 vols (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998–99), vol. 1, p. 138.

22 James R. Ginther, 'The *Super Psalterium* in Context,' in *Editing Robert Grosseteste*, ed. Evelyn A. Mackie and Joseph Goering (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), pp. 38–39 and 48–49 in pp. 31–60; James R. Ginther, *Master of the Sacred Page: A Study of the Theology of Robert Grosseteste ca.1229/30–1235* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004). See also Richard W. Southern, *Robert Grosseteste: The Growth of an English Mind in Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986).

23 Philipp W. Rosemann, 'Robert Grosseteste's "Tabula",' in *Opera Roberti Grosseteste Lincolniensis*, ed. James McEvoy (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995), pp. 233–320.

24 See *Fr Rogeri Bacon, opera quaedam hactenus inedita*, ed. John S. Brewer (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1859), p. 434; *Roger Bacon, Compendium of the Study of Philosophy*, ed. and trans. Thomas S. Maloney (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), n. 87, pp. 86–87, testifies to Grosseteste's contacts with Greek texts and teachers available in some parts of Italy. Grosseteste's contacts with Magna Graecia started in Oxford and continued in Lincoln.

25 *Salimbene de Adam, Cronica*, ed. Scalia, vol. 1, pp. 352–53.

Expositio in epistolam Sancti Pauli ad Galatas.²⁶ The *Hexaëmeron* reflects his increasing command of Greek and raises questions concerning creation,²⁷ while the *De cessatione legalium* explores the contingency of the Incarnation.²⁸ The development of the reasons for the Incarnation became emblematic of the Franciscan school at both Oxford and Paris.²⁹ In addition to this question, Grosseteste promoted the feast of the conception of St Mary and its theological structure. William of Ware was the first to claim him as an advocate of the *concepcio sancte Mariae*, but he did not cite any of *Lincolniensis*' texts.³⁰ Similarly, both Alexander Nequam and Grosseteste are named as champions of this feast by William of Nottingham, the 39th regent master at Oxford.³¹ Thomas of Rossey points to Grosseteste's *Dicta* and a sermon which he gave on the conception of St Mary.³² These two questions attained a new sophistication in John Duns Scotus' account of the reasons for the Incarnation³³

26 Robert Grosseteste, 'Expositio in epistolam Sancti Pauli ad Galatas,' in *Opera Roberti Grosseteste Lincolniensis*, pp. 1–175.

27 Robert Grosseteste, *Hexaëmeron*, ed. Richard C. Dales and Servus Gieben (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982).

28 Robert Grosseteste, *De cessatione legalium*, ed. Richard C. Dales and Edward B. King (London: Oxford University Press, 1986).

29 Alexander of Hales, *Magistri Alexandri de Hales Quaestiones disputatae "Antequam esset frater"*, 3 vols (Quaracchi: Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1960), disputatio II, q. 15, m. 4, pp. 207–9; Alexander of Hales, *Doctoris irrefragabilis Alexandri de Hales Ordinis minorum Summa theologica (SH)*, 4 vols (Quaracchi: Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1924–48), Vol. III, In1, Tr1, Q3, C2 (n. 25), pp. 44–45; Odo Rigaldus, *III Sententiarum*, d. 21, ed. J.M. Bissen, 'De motivo incarnationis disquisitio historico-dogmatica,' *Antonianum* 7 (1932), p. 334 in pp. 314–36; *III Sententiarum*, d. 1, a. 2, q. 2, in Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia*, 10 vols (Quaracchi: Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1882–1902), vol. 3, pp. 21–28.

30 *Fr Gulielmi Guarrae, Fr Ioannis Duns Scoti, Fr Petri Aureoli Quaestiones disputatae de Immaculata Conceptione Beatae Mariae Virginis*, Bibliotheca Franciscana scholastica Medii Aevi, 3 (Quaracchi: Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1904), p. 6. See also Bissen, 'Question inédite de Guillaume de Ware, O.F.M., sur le motif de l'incarnation,' *Études Franciscaines* 46 (1934), pp. 218–22.

31 *Guilelmi de Nottingham O.F.M. (†1336) Quaestiones sex de eucharistiae sacramento disquisitio et textus critice editus*, ed. Josip Barbarić (Vincenza: LIEF, 1976), p. 14: 'Istius opinionis [pro immaculata conceptione] fertur fuisse Lincolniensis et Alexander Neckam, in finem vitae suae, et Ricardus de S. Victore, in quodam sermone de conceptione quem non vidi. Inveni tamen apud abbatiam de Waltham in quodam magno libro et in sermone autentico; nescio tamen cuius fuit. Apparent tamen bene esse verba Hugonis. Ibi enim vidi si scriptum.'

32 *Tractatus Quatuor de Immaculata Conceptione B. Mariae Virginis nempe Thomae de Rossey, Andree de Novo Castro, Petri de Candia et Francisci de Arimino*, Bibliotheca Franciscana scholastica Medii Aevi, 16 (Quaracchi: Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1954), p. 51. See also Servus Gieben, 'Robert Grosseteste and the Immaculate Conception with the Text of the Sermon, *Tota pulchra es*,' *Collectanea Franciscana* 28 (1958), pp. 211–17; Justus H. Hunter, *If Adam Had Not Sinned: The Reasons for the Incarnation From Anselm to Scotus* (Washington: Catholic University of Americas Press, 2020).

33 Scotus, *Ordinatio* III, d. 7, q. 3, in *Doctoris subtilis et mariani B. Ioannis Duns Scoti Opera* (Vatican City: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1950–), vol. 9, pp. 284–91. See also Allan B. Wolter, 'John Duns Scotus on the Primacy and Personality of Christ,' in *Franciscan Christology*, ed. Damian McElrath (New York: Franciscan Institute, 1997), pp. 139–53.

and the conception of St Mary.³⁴ Grosseteste, thus, pioneered two questions which came to characterize the Franciscan school. His authority prompted one Franciscan chronicler to record the English province's indebtedness towards its first master:

Lord Robert Grosseteste. The year of the Lord 1235, Master Robert Grosseteste was consecrated as bishop of Lincoln by St Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, at Reading. He died in 1253, a man truthful in his speech, just in his judgement and an exceptional doctor in both philosophy and sacred theology.³⁵

The fruit of Grosseteste's teaching was the graduation of lectors and their appointment to local and custodial schools from the middle of the 1230s. His innovative teaching inspired friars to explore the rich heritage of the Christian intellectual tradition in a stimulating theological forum.

Grosseteste was at the helm of the friars' school until his election as bishop of Lincoln on 25 March 1235, when he was succeeded by the first of three secular masters: Peter, who became a bishop in Scotland; Roger of Weasenham, archdeacon of Oxford, dean of Lincoln (1240–45) and bishop of Coventry and Lichfield (1245–56); Thomas of Waleys, the archdeacon of Lincoln from 1238 and bishop of St David's (1247–55).³⁶ Adam Marsh was the first friar to serve as regent master in theology c.1243.³⁷ His exceptional linguistic and theological skills were lauded by Roger Bacon, who associated him with the bishops of Lincoln and St David's.³⁸ He, too, was hailed as one of the greatest clerics in the world by Salimbene de Adam.³⁹ As a mark of the order's increasing scholastic renown Eccleston pithily re-

³⁴ *Ordinatio* III, d. 3, q. 1 (Vatican ed., pp. 169–91). See also *John Duns Scotus: Four Questions on Mary*, ed. and trans. Allan B. Wolter (Santa Barbara: Franciscan Institute, 1988), pp. 36–52. See also Mary B. Ingham, 'Fired France for Mary without Spot: John Duns Scotus on the Immaculate Conception,' in *Medieval Franciscan Approaches to the Virgin Mary: Mater Misericordiae Sanctissima et Dolorosa*, ed. Steven J. McMichael and Katherine Wisley Shelby (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 174–95.

³⁵ Michael J.P. Robson, 'Robert Grosseteste and the Franciscan School at Oxford (c.1229–1253),' *Antonianum* 95 (2020), pp. 345–82 and 'A Franciscan Contribution to the *De gestis Britonum* (1205–1279) and its Continuation to 1299,' *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 107 (2014), pp. 299–300 in pp. 265–313: 'Dominus Robertus Grosseteste. Anno domini 1235 magister Robertus Grosseteste consecratus est episcopus Lincolnensis a Sancto Edmundo Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, apud Redinges. Obiit autem anno domini 1253, vir utique in sermone verax, in iudicio iustus, in philosophia et in sacra theologia doctor precipuus.'

³⁶ *Fratris Thomae vulgo dicti de Eccleston*, ed. Little, pp. 48–49.

³⁷ *Chronicon de Lanercost M.CC.I. – M.CCC.XLVI.*, ed. Joseph Stevenson (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Print Co., 1839), p. 58; C. Hugh Lawrence, 'The Letters of Adam Marsh and the Franciscan School at Oxford,' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 42 (1991), pp. 218–38.

³⁸ See also *Fr Rogeri Bacon opera quaedam hactenus inedita*, ed. John S. Brewer (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1859), p. 88: 'Nam omnes sancti et philosophi Latini et poetae sciverunt de linguis alienis, et omnes sapientes antiqui, quorum multos vidimus durare usque ad nostrum tempus; ut dominum episcopum Lincolnensem, et sanctum David, et fratrem Adam, et multos viros.' See also p. 428.

³⁹ *Salimbene de Adam, Cronica*, ed. Scalia, vol. 1, p. 353.

marks that the gift of wisdom spread through the English province so that during the administration of William of Nottingham, minister provincial (1240–54), there were 30 lectors who taught solemnly with disputations and three or four who lectured without them. Students were also prepared in the universities to replace those who had vacated the lecture halls or died. These figures account for more than half the friaries at a time when foundations were still being made.⁴⁰ The chronicler mentions some unnamed lectors, such as the youth who was predicted to become a *lector egregius*.⁴¹

Eccleston reports that there were lectors at the capital city, the two universities, the cathedral cities of Canterbury and Hereford, the important trading centre of Bristol and the strategically located towns of Leicester and Oxford, the home of monasteries of the Augustinian canons. Schools of theology became a feature of the Franciscan conventual complex and they mushroomed from the 1240s,⁴² a growth reflected in the crown's payments for the construction of schools of theology at Gloucester by 2 August 1246,⁴³ Stamford by 10 July 1255⁴⁴ and Northampton by 26 June 1258.⁴⁵ The Dominican and Franciscan dominance in the realm of theology was acknowledged by Roger Bacon about 1272, when he confirms that both orders had established schools in all the main cities and towns during the previous 40 years.⁴⁶ Evidence seems to point to the provision of lectors for the main centres of population and then the smaller friaries by the later 13th century.⁴⁷ The surfeit of theologians was sufficient for the English province to countenance the appointment of three suc-

---

⁴⁰ *Fratris Thomae vulgo dicti de Eccleston*, ed. Little, pp. 48–50.

⁴¹ *Fratris Thomae vulgo dicti de Eccleston*, ed. Little, p. 88. See also Joanna Cannon, 'Panorama degli studia degli ordini mendicanti (Inghilterra),' in *Le scuole degli ordini mendicanti (secoli XIII–XIV) 11–14 ottobre 1976* (Todi: Presso l'Accademia tudertina, 1978), pp. 93–126, for details of schools and lectors.

⁴² *Liber Chronicarum sive Tribulationum Ordinis Minorum di Frate Angelo Clareno*, ed. Giovanni Boccali (Assisi: Porziuncula, 1998), iii, lines 5 and 20–23, pp. 332–33, 336–39; *Expositio super regulam Fratrum Minorum di Frate Angelo Clareno*, ed. Giovanni (Assisi: Porziuncula, 1994), lines 102–3, pp. 676–77: 'Nam eo tempore quo Fr Crescentius generalis minister [...] et secularium scientiarum in religione introducta sunt studia et Aristotelis male artes, tanquam male pestes Egiptiace (...).'

⁴³ *Close Rolls, A.D.1242–1247*, ed. H.C. Maxwell Lyte (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1916), p. 447.

⁴⁴ *Close Rolls, A.D.1254–1256*, ed. A.E. Stamp (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1931), p. 112.

⁴⁵ *Close Rolls, A.D.1256–1259*, ed. A.E. Stamp (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1932), p. 241.

⁴⁶ *Fr Rogeri Bacon Opera quaedam hactenus inedita*, ed. Brewer, p. 428; *Roger Bacon, Compendium of the Study of Philosophy*, ed. Maloney, n. 18, pp. 12–13.

⁴⁷ See also A.G. Little, 'Educational Organisation of the Mendicant Friars in England (Dominicans and Franciscans),' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, new series 8 (1894), pp. 49–70. Benvenuto Bughetti, 'Tabulae Capitulares Provinciae Tusciae O.M. (saec. XIV–XVIII),' *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 10 (1917), pp. 416–23, in pp. 413–97. A lector was assigned to every friary of the Tuscan province by the provincial chapter at Borgo San Lorenzo in 1394.

cessive lectors to teach at Christ Church cathedral priory in Canterbury between 1275 and 1314.⁴⁸

Friars were among the leading theologians of the 13th century. Alexander of Hales was the first friar to hold a chair of theology. He is credited with introducing the *Sentences* as a manual for teaching theology and with devising and then introducing divisions in the Lombard's text.⁴⁹ John Pecham was the first to lecture on *quodlibetal* questions in the faculty of theology at Oxford.⁵⁰ The order fostered various aids to study, including the indexing symbols devised by Grosseteste.⁵¹ Adam Marsh boasted to Geoffrey of Brie, minister provincial of France, that the resources for study in England were incomparable.⁵² Later projects sired by the Oxford school were the *Registrum Anglie* and *Tabula septem custodiarum*.⁵³ The libraries assembled by the friars drew gasps of admiration from bibliophiles such as Richard de Bury, bishop of Durham (1333–45),⁵⁴ and featured in the later polemical exchanges. By 1248 there was already a scholastic hierarchy with a well-trodden path from the local schools to the Parisian *studium*.⁵⁵ Matthew Paris narrates the establishment of the order's schools of theology in the seven custodies, where teaching was accompanied by disputations.⁵⁶ There was a principal *studium* in each custody opening the way to the *studia generalia* of Oxford and Cambridge.

---

48 *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, ed. William Stubbs, 2 vols (London: Longman & Co., 1879–80), vol. 2, p. 281; Michael J.P. Robson, 'Franciscan Lectors at Christ Church Cathedral Priory, Canterbury, 1275–1314,' *Archaeologia Cantiana* (Kent Archaeological Society) 112 (1993), pp. 261–81.

49 *Chronicon de Lanercost*, ed. Stevenson, p. 53. *The Kirkstall Abbey Chronicles*, ed. John Taylor (Leeds: Thoresby Society, 1952), p. 98: 'Primus ipse titulos questionum super 4 libros sentenciarum adiuuet. Et super eisdem titulis summam notabilem questionum in omnes libros sentenciarum initialiter pertractavit formamque determinandi in eisdem libris suis successoribus dereliquit.' Ignatius Brady, 'The Distinctions of Lombard's Book of *Sentences* and Alexander of Hales,' *Franciscan Studies* 25 (1965), pp. 90–92 in pp. 90–116, points out that the oldest copies of the Lombard's text have no divisions, apart from those inserted by a later hand. Alexander was quite familiar with the use of distinctions in the Lombard's text.

50 *Chronicon de Lanercost*, ed. Stevenson, pp. 100–1.

51 Richard W. Hunt, 'Manuscripts Containing the Indexing Symbols of Robert Grosseteste,' *Bodleian Library Record* 4 (1953), pp. 241–55.

52 *The Letters of Adam Marsh*, ed. C. Hugh Lawrence (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006–10), ii, pp. 518–19.

53 *Registrum Anglie de libris doctorum et auctorum veterum*, ed. Roger A.B. Mynors, Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse (London: British Academy, 1991).

54 *Philobiblon Ricardi de Bury*, ed. and trans. Ernest C. Thomas (Oxford: Blackwell, 1960), pp. 90–91.

55 *Salimbene de Adam, Cronica*, ed. Scalia, vol. 1, p. 475. Benedict of Colle and Gerard of Prato studied at Pisa for many years before being sent to Toulouse in order to prepare themselves for study at Paris.

56 *Matthaei Parisiensis, monachi Sancti Albani, Historia Anglorum*, ed. Frederic Madden, 3 vols (London: Longman, Green, Reader & Dyer, 1866–69), vol. 2, p. 110.

Local Schools

The lector was one of the major officers in the friary⁵⁷ and he was frequently associated with the guardian.⁵⁸ The lector and guardian had their individual rooms in the general study houses, while the other friars slept in the dormitory.⁵⁹ The minister provincial, custos, guardian, lector, confessor, procurator, and preacher, and all the other friars wore a habit of common cloth without any distinction.⁶⁰ On occasion the lector was delegated to examine candidates for the offices of preaching and hearing confessions. Sometimes he presented friars for ordination and received commissions from the local bishop.⁶¹ The lector safeguarded the friars' orthodoxy⁶² and dispensed devotional and scholastic nourishment for the friars, depending upon their intellectual gifts. This took two principal forms.

First, the lector gave the community theological instruction and his lectures were framed to ensure that each friar remained theologically articulate, refreshed, and invigorated in his pastoral ministry. Just as the *fratres laici* had the Rule of St Francis expounded to them in the vernacular during visitations,⁶³ it is probable that some instruction in catechetics and devotional writings was tailored to their needs. The lectures were to be attended by each member of the community, with no exceptions on the grounds of seniority of profession or offices held, thereby providing an early form of continuous education for the friars. An insight into the content and continuity of such theological studies is offered by Salimbene de Adam, who, writing in 1284, reflects on his last 45 years as a friar:

[...] having studied grammar from the very cradle, I entered the order of the Friars Minor. And, from the very beginning, even in my novitiate in the convent at Fano in the March of Ancona,

---

57 *Constitutiones Generales Ordinis Fratrum Minorum (Saeculum XIII)*, ed. Cenci and Mailleux, ii, n. 3, p. 72. The office was mentioned along with the custodes, guardians, confessors, preachers, and procurators. See also vii, n. 9, p. 86: 'Officia ordinis intelligimus non solum praelationis, sed praedicationis, confessionis, lectionis, visitationis, diffinitionis et electionis ad capitulum pro discretise.'

58 Bughetti, 'Tabulae Capitulares Provinciae Tusciae O.M. (saec. XIV–XVIII),' pp. 416–23. The appointments made by the Tuscan provincial chapter listed the guardian, vicars and lectors.

59 *Constitutiones Generales Ordinis Fratrum Minorum (Saeculum XIII)*, ed. Cenci and Mailleux, iv, n. 16, p. 78.

60 *Constitutiones Generales Ordinis Fratrum Minorum (Saeculum XIII)*, ed. Cenci and Mailleux, ii, n. 3, p. 72.

61 Dorothy M. Owen, *Cambridge University Archives: A Classified List* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 19. The bishop of Ely appointed the lector at Cambridge in the summer of 1293 as one of the adjudicators in a dispute regarding property.

62 *Fasciculus Morum: A Fourteenth-Century Preacher's Handbook*, ed. Siegfried Wenzel (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1989), pp. 232–33, offers an example of the place taken by the lector at the death bed of a friar, whose faith was tested by demons.

63 *Constitutiones Generales Ordinis Fratrum Minorum (Saeculum XIII)*, ed. Cenci and Mailleux, vii, n. 21, p. 88.

I was assigned Brother Humile of Milan as my teacher in theology. And Brother Humile had studied under Brother Haymo [...]. And thus during my first year in the order, I was given lectures in Isaiah and Matthew, just as they are taught in the schools of theology, for Brother Humile had studied there. And since that time I have never ceased in my studies and I still attend lectures in the schools.⁶⁴

It is noteworthy that the order looked to the theological schools as the model for instruction and acted on the advice of friars from the schools. The order followed scholastic practices in having lectures from one book of the Old Testament and the other from the New Testament in a single year.⁶⁵

Secondly, the ordinands' studies started with the liberal arts and the sciences.⁶⁶ Knowledge of the *quadrivium* and the *trivium* was a prerequisite for admission to the order. Friars were sufficiently steeped in grammar or logic.⁶⁷ Schools devoted to the arts were established for the young friars by the ministers in the provinces.⁶⁸ It is not always easy to identify which schools specialised in the arts. Students had to be conversant with natural sciences and moral philosophy. There were divisions between the arts and the sciences. Law and philosophy were not to be taught by the same lector, according to the general constitutions of Strasbourg in 1282. The two sets of lec-

---

⁶⁴ Salimbene de Adam, *Cronica*, ed. Scalia, vol. 1, p. 424. *The Chronicle of Salimbene de Adam*, trans. Giuseppe Baglivi, Joseph L. Baird, and John R. Kane (Binghamton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1986), p. 274.

⁶⁵ See also Beryl Smalley, 'John Russel O.F.M.,' *Recherches de théologie et philosophie médiévales* 23 (1956), p. 284 in pp. 277–320. The 22nd regent master at Cambridge seems to have followed the customary practice of expounding one book from the Old Testament and another from the New [Testament] during the same academical year.

⁶⁶ For example, Cesare Cenci, 'Fra Francesco da Lendinara e la storia della Provincia di S. Antonio tra la fine del s. XIV e l'inizio del s.XV,' *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 55 (1962), p. 173, n. 75 in pp. 103–92. He entered the order at Lendinara in 1382 and was admitted to the novitiate the following year at the same friary. The novitiate lasted for three years, with his second year at Padua and a third at Lendinara, where he remained in 1386, perhaps his first year of studies. The following year he was assigned to the friary of Treviso. In 1388 he was at Bologna *pro studio arcium* before moving to Ferrara in 1389 to study logic; there were 28 students enrolled at that *studium*; his second year at Ferrara was devoted to the study of logic. In 1391 he was assigned to the school at Piacenza, where he studied philosophy and remained for a second year during which he was ordained to the priesthood. In 1393 he stayed at the same convent *pro magistro studii*. He was a bachelor at the friary of Cesena in 1394 and Forlì in 1395. Finally, in 1396 he graduated to the study of theology at Bologna. See also Roest, 'The Role of Lectors in the Religious Formation of Franciscan Friars, Nuns and Tertiaries,' in *Studio e studia: le scuole degli ordini mendicanti tra XIII e XIV secolo, Atti del XXIX Convegno internazionale, Assisi, 11–13 ottobre 2001* (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 2002), p. 94, n. 17 in pp. 83–115. He points out that Heinrich von Isny (†1288) was the *secundarius* lector in Cologne or Magdeburg before becoming lector in Basel and Mainz.

⁶⁷ *Constitutiones Generales Ordinis Fratrum Minorum (Saeculum XIII)*, ed. Cenci and Mailleux, i, n. 3, p. 70.

⁶⁸ *Constitutiones Generales Ordinis Fratrum Minorum (Saeculum XIII)*, ed. Cenci and Mailleux, n. 111, p. 58.

tures were not to be given by the same lector and at the same time.⁶⁹ The general constitutions of Milan in 1285 issued a similar ban regarding the teaching of law and physics in the schools of theology;⁷⁰ this was reiterated by the general chapter of Paris in 1292.⁷¹ Some friars excelled in teaching music and the liberal arts.⁷² The lectors' nomenclature varied from one school to another; the titles of *lector philosophiae*, *lector logicae* or *lector grammaticae* were employed. Bartholomew the Englishman,⁷³ Richard Rufus,⁷⁴ Roger Bacon,⁷⁵ John Pecham⁷⁶ and John Duns Scotus⁷⁷ were among the friars who commented on scientific and philosophical questions during the 13th century. Books on the sciences, philosophy and theology were prominent in the order's libraries.⁷⁸ In short, philosophy was propaedeutic to the study of theology.

⁶⁹ *Constitutiones Generales Ordinis Fratrum Minorum (Saeculum XIII)*, ed. Cenci and Mailleux, vi, n. 11d, p. 181.

⁷⁰ *Constitutiones Generales Ordinis Fratrum Minorum (Saeculum XIII)*, ed. Cenci and Mailleux, vi, n. 11d, p. 240.

⁷¹ *Constitutiones Generales Ordinis Fratrum Minorum (Saeculum XIII)*, ed. Cenci and Mailleux, vi, n. 11d, p. 315.

⁷² See Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 90, fol. 63v: 'Cuius operis finis primo erat pridie nonas Augusti anno domini M.CCC. quinquagesimo primo. Illo autem anno regens erat inter minores Oxon. frater Symon de Tunstude doctor sacre theologie qui in musica pollebat et eciam in septem liberalibus artibus.'

⁷³ For example Iolanda Ventura, 'Bartolomeo Anglico e la cultura filosofica e scientifica dei frati nel XIII secolo: aristotelismo e medicina nel *De proprietatibus rerum*,' in *I Francescani e le scienze: Atti del XXXIX Convegno internazionale Assisi, 6–8 ottobre 2011* (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 2012), pp. 51–140 and *Bartholomaeus Anglicus, De proprietatibus rerum, 6: Liber XVII*, ed. Iolanda Ventura (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007).

⁷⁴ For example, *Richard Rufus of Cornwall In Aristotelis De generatione et corruptione*, ed. Neil T. Lewis, Rega Wood and Jennifer Ottman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011) and *Richard Rufus of Cornwall In Physicam Aristotelis*, ed. Rega Wood (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

⁷⁵ For example, Jeremiah M.G. Hackett, 'Roger Bacon and Classification of the Sciences,' in *Roger Bacon and the Sciences: Commemorative Essays*, ed. Hackett (Leiden: Brill, 1997), and Hackett, 'Roger Bacon and the Moralization of Science: From *Perspectiva*, through *Scientia Experimentalis* to *Moralis Philosophia*,' in *I Francescani e le scienze*, pp. 371–92. See also *The Art and Science of Logic, Roger Bacon*, ed. Thomas S. Maloney (Toronto: PIMS, 2009).

⁷⁶ For example, Barnabas Hughes, 'De Numeris Mysticis by John Pecham: A Critical Edition,' *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 78 (1985), pp. 3–28 and 333–83. See also *John Pecham and the Science of Optics: Perspectiva Communis*, ed. David C. Lindberg (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1970), and *A Critical Edition and Translation, with Commentary of John Pecham's Tractatus De Sphaera*, ed. Bruce R. MacLaren and Girard J. Etzkorn (St Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute, 2015).

⁷⁷ For example, *Ioannis Duns Scoti Notabilia super Metaphysicam*, ed. Giorgio Pini (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), and *Ioannes Duns Scotus, Quaestiones super libros Metaphysicorum Aristotelis*, ed. R. Andrews, Girard J. Etzkorn, Gedeon Gal, R. Green, F. Kelley, G. Marcil, T. Noone and Rega Wood (St Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute, 1997).

⁷⁸ *Constitutiones Generales Ordinis Fratrum Minorum (Saeculum XIII)*, ed. Cenci and Mailleux, xv, n. 4, p. 315. Benedict XII's statutes instructed communities to obtain books on grammar, logic, philosophy, and theology.

From the last quarter of the 13th century the lector's teaching was grounded in a cursory reading of the Bible and the commentary on the *Sentences*,⁷⁹ one of the aids to theological study. Friars, too, produced companions to theological study, such as Bonaventure's *Breviloquium*. The four types of scholastic texts open to the theologian are explained by Bonaventure in his *Collationes in Hexaëmeron*:

Therefore there are four kinds of writings around which an order must be exercised. First are the books of the sacred Scriptures. In the Old Testament there are, according to Jerome, twenty-two books, and in the New Testament there are eight. Second are books of the original writings of the Saints. Third are the [books] of the sentences of the masters. Fourth are [the books] of the worldly teaching or philosophers.⁸⁰

Students were warned that the philosophers' teachings and the masters' manuals (*summae magistrorum*), which were drawn from patristic writings, were not free from error. The Fathers of the Church and the scriptures, however, enjoyed inerrancy. The latter, which contained the key to eternal life, should be considered in its allegorical, anagogical, literal, and tropological senses.⁸¹ The importance of biblical glosses is reflected in many of the books donated to the friars.

The friars' studies were fuelled and informed by their expanding collections of books which were derived from recruits, donations, volumes transcribed by members of the order, and the texts of deceased friars which passed to the conventual library. Eccleston saw many gifts of books to the London Greyfriars.⁸² Ralph of Maidstone, bishop of Hereford, gave his copy of the gloss on the gospels to the friary in Canterbury (British Library, MS Royal 3 C.iii) and Ralph of Corbridge, a former regent master in Paris and Oxford, donated his copy of the Pauline epistles (Lambeth Palace Library, MS 57) to the Lincoln Greyfriars, where he may have served as lector. Cambridge, Peterhouse Library, MS 89, was procured by Thomas of Whappelod with the help of friends by the licence of the minister provincial, Hugh of Hartlepool. One of the clerics who donated books to the friars was Richard Wich, bishop of Chichester (1244–53), who bequeathed biblical commentaries to the friaries of Canterbury, Chichester, Lewes, London, Winchelsea, and Winchester.⁸³ Already by the last quarter of the century lectors were accumulating small personal libraries. This was demonstrat-

⁷⁹ Michael Bihl, 'Statuta Provincialia Provinciarum Aquitaniae et Franciae (saec. XIII–XIV),' *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 7 (1914), VII, nn. 2–4, p. 493 in pp. 466–501.

⁸⁰ *Works of St Bonaventure, Collationes on the Hexaëmeron: Conferences on the Six Days of Creation. The Illuminations of the Church, Translation, Introduction and Notes*, ed. Jay M. Hammond (St Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute, 2018), xix, n. 6, pp. 330–31.

⁸¹ *Collationes in Hexaëmeron*, in Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 5, coll. 19, nn. 7–15, pp. 421–22.

⁸² *Fratris Thomae vulgo dicti de Eccleston*, ed. Little, pp. 21–22.

⁸³ *English Episcopal Acta 22, Chichester 1215–1253*, ed. Philippa M. Hoskin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), n. 188, p. 158.

ed when the prior of Christ Church cathedral priory paid a messenger to transport the books of Ralph of Wodeheye from London to Canterbury in September 1281.⁸⁴

The episcopal registers of England and Wales for the 14th and 15th centuries show candidates moving seamlessly from one friary to another in the same custody during studies for the priesthood. This policy may have been enacted to give students a taste of life in various custodial friaries or exposure to a particular lector with his own theological specialization. Such movement was facilitated by the fact that the friars followed a common theological syllabus. For example, a provincial chapter prescribed which book of the *Sentences* was to be read in a particular year; the first book was the prescribed text for the Roman province in 1316.⁸⁵ Some of the lectors' names occur in the episcopal registers and comparable documentation.⁸⁶ For example, J., the lector at Doncaster, received an episcopal licence on 20 March 1290 to grant absolution; the permission was renewed on 27 March of the same year.⁸⁷ Nothing more is known of him. Various lectors are named in the correspondence of Adam Marsh, who comments on their qualities and gives a ringing endorsement of Walter of Maddely (Madeley):

I regard it as no small wonder that my dear brother Walter Madeley, who has continued until now to carry the burden of teaching divinity imposed upon him long since. [...] Yet he, as I hear, has gained this grace from heaven that he lectures beautifully, is acute in debate and in his writings (*in scriptis*) and his words is valuable and accepted by both the brethren and the seculars.⁸⁸

Warin of Erwelle lectured solemnly in different friaries,⁸⁹ although the extant sources reveal no details. In contrast, Thomas of Pavia was known to have lectured at Parma, Bologna, Ferrara, and Lucca. He was one of the lectors who either compiled preaching materials or composed homilies.⁹⁰ The movement of lectors from the local schools to the universities is reflected in Walter of Ravenham, who had served as lec-

⁸⁴ Lambeth Palace Library, MS 242, fol. 46r.

⁸⁵ A.G. Little, 'Constitutiones provinciae Romanae, anni 1316,' *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 18 (1925), p. 367, c. 4, n. 9 in pp. 356–73: 'Ordinamus quod lectores uniformiter Libros Sententiarum legant, ita quod anno isto legatur primus.'

⁸⁶ Michael J.P. Robson, 'The Franciscan Lectors of the English Province in the 13th Century,' in "*Non enim fuerat Evangelii surdus auditor...*" (1 Celano 22): *Essays in Honor of Michael W. Blastic, O.F.M. on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday*, ed. Michael F. Cusato and Steven J. McMichael (Leiden: Brill, 2020), pp. 167–200.

⁸⁷ *The Register of John Le Romeyn, lord archbishop of York 1286–1296*, ed. William Brown, 2 vols (Durham: Andrews & Co., 1913–17), vol. 1, n. 251, p. 97.

⁸⁸ *The Letters of Adam Marsh*, ed. Lawrence, ii, pp. 478–79; see also pp. 536–37, where he offers a similar commendation of Walter of Ravenham.

⁸⁹ *Fratris Thomae vulgo dicti de Eccleston*, ed. Little, pp. 97–98.

⁹⁰ See *Salimbene de Adam, Cronica*, ed. Scalia, vol. 2, p. 648. See also *Le Pergamene del convento di S Francesco in Lucca (secc.XII–XIX)* (Rome: Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali, 1993), p. 110.

tor of the friars of Hereford in the 1250s.⁹¹ He became the 10th regent master at Cambridge.⁹² Walter of Knulle, a friar from the custody of Bristol, was the lector at the Hereford Greyfriars between 1275 and 1282. Afterward he was recalled to the Oxford Greyfriars, where he became the 19th regent master c.1288/89,⁹³ and then the 23rd at Cambridge c.1293/95.⁹⁴ John of Letheringset, the 14th regent master at Cambridge, was active in the custody of Cambridge and his views on the Knights Templar were cited by Thomas, the guardian of Babwell.⁹⁵

The financial implications of the order's educational policies make an occasional appearance in the extant sources. Local communities were responsible for making adequate provision for lectors in the form of books and writing materials. Some of them, however, cut corners and neglected to provide the lector with suitable amenities. Adam Marsh took up the case of Hugh of Lewknor, who had been appointed as a lector of an unnamed community. It is clear that inadequate preparation had been made for him. Adam advised William of Nottingham that, if proper arrangements could not be made, Hugh should be released from the appointment.⁹⁶ Walter Maddeley also broached his working conditions with Adam, who expostulated that Walter had not been provided with a *socius* and took issue with such 'strict parsimony'. As a result of these conditions, Walter was exhausting his vital spirit by the fervor of his studies and wearing himself out by writing night and day with his own hand, whereas his predecessors had been provided with great volumes and supportive associates. The minister provincial was entreated to rectify this matter for the sake of Walter's students.⁹⁷ The minister provincial was also concerned about the provision of a suitable *socius* to assist the lector in the preparation of teaching materials.⁹⁸

Gregory of Bosellis, the lector at Leicester, was declared to be a suitable deputy for Adam Marsh at Oxford, demonstrating the ease with which some lectors passed from lecturing in the local schools to the *studia generalia*.⁹⁹ The fact that the lectors' ranks included authors is a further sign of the quality of the education available in the local schools, the forum in which the vast majority of friars were educated. The standard of theological instruction there was sufficient to prepare friars for the min-

⁹¹ *The Letters of Adam Marsh*, ed. Lawrence, ii, pp. 536–37.

⁹² *Fratrīs Thomae vulgo dicti de Eccleston*, ed. Little, p. 58.

⁹³ *Fratrīs Thomae vulgo dicti de Eccleston*, ed. Little, p. 53.

⁹⁴ *Fratrīs Thomae vulgo dicti de Eccleston*, ed. Little, p. 59.

⁹⁵ *The Proceedings Against the Templars in the British Isles*, ed. Helen J. Nicholson, 2 vols (Farnham: Routledge, 2011), vol. 1, pp. 184–85, vol. 2, p. 194.

⁹⁶ *The Letters of Adam Marsh*, ed. Lawrence, ii, pp. 482–83.

⁹⁷ *The Letters of Adam Marsh*, ed. Lawrence, ii, pp. 478–79.

⁹⁸ *The Letters of Adam Marsh*, ed. Lawrence, ii, pp. 470–71. Adam recommended Thomas Bacon (Bacun), a friar of Nottingham, as a suitable *socius* for Richard Rufus in early 1253.

⁹⁹ *Fratrīs Thomae vulgo dicti de Eccleston*, ed. Little, p. 49; *The Letters of Adam Marsh*, ed. Lawrence, ii, pp. 358–59. Adam announced that there was no one available to undertake his teaching in the event of his being absent other than Gregory of Bosellis.

istry of preaching and hearing confessions. Although the vast majority of the friars did not taste a higher form of theological studies, they were thoroughly prepared for the priesthood and its duties; they were the Franciscan equivalent to what Fr Leonard Boyle, O.P., called the *fratres communes* among the Dominicans.¹⁰⁰ The fact that Franciscan lectors published materials is a further indication of the intellectual climate. Lectors in these schools made recommendations about which friars should be appointed to the custodial schools and the *studia generalia*.

Custodial Schools

The custodial school of London was one of the first to receive a lector, Vincent of Coventry, who later became the first regent master at Cambridge.¹⁰¹ About 1250 the friars of Norwich unsuccessfully lobbied for the appointment of Eustace of Normanville as their next lector.¹⁰² Mindful of the type of education available in the custodial schools, Adam Marsh urged William of Nottingham to send A. of Hereford, his admirable *socius*, to study at London. He predicted that, if A. were to be left to make progress with his studies, he would soon be ready for the office of preaching and the instruction of the secular clergy. His opinion was that his *socius* was as well qualified as some of those already lecturing,¹⁰³ demonstrating the intellectual calibre of some friars selected for the office of *socius*. The way in which the custos took up educational issues is illustrated in a letter of Robert of Thornham, custos of Cambridge, c.1250.¹⁰⁴ Custodial schools served various pastoral needs for the order, such as forms of leadership within the local church. Guardians were sometimes delegated to discharge canonical duties by the bishop and required additional canonical knowledge.¹⁰⁵ For instance, from the later 13th century some friars served as episcopal penitentiaries, an office which required an additional study of moral theology

---

100 See also Leonard Boyle, 'Notes on the Education of the *Fratres communes* in the Dominican Order in the Thirteenth Century,' in *Xenia Medii Aevi Historiam Illustrantia oblata Thomae Kaeppli O.P.*, ed. Raymund Creytens and Pius Künzle, 2 vols (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1978), vol. 1, pp. 253–57 in pp. 249–67. See also M. Michèle Mulchahey, 'The Role of the Conventual *Schola* in Early Dominican Education,' in *Studio e studia: le scuole degli ordini mendicanti tra XIII e XIV secolo*, pp. 117–50.

101 *Fratris Thomae vulgo dicti de Eccleston*, ed. Little, pp. 49, 58.

102 *The Letters of Adam Marsh*, ed. Lawrence, pp. 420–21, 424–25.

103 *The Letters of Adam Marsh*, ed. Lawrence, ii, pp. 412–15. Charles L. Kingsford, *The Grey Friars of London: Their History with the Register of their Convent and an Appendix of Documents* (Aberdeen: The University Press, 1915), pp. 21–23.

104 *The Letters of Adam Marsh*, ed. Lawrence, ii, pp. 534–35.

105 *Registrum epistolarum fratris Johannis Peckham archiepiscopi Cantuariensis*, ed. Charles T. Martin, 3 vols (London: Longman & Co., 1882–85), vol. 3, p. 1029. On 22 April 1282 J., the guardian of London, was appointed as one of commissaries to assist the executors of Walter Merton, bishop of Rochester, in finalizing their account.

and canon law. These friars kept records of the cases in which they had acted and some summaries were entered into episcopal registers.

One feature of the custodial school was the quality of its instruction in the arts. It enjoyed an exceptional reputation at an early stage. At an unknown date, but certainly before 1253, the order decided not to enrol friars in the faculty of arts at the universities. It is probable that this decision was taken by a chapter, provincial or general, at an unknown date; the same policy obtained in the Parisian school and again the date and circumstances in which the decision were taken are shrouded in mystery. The strategy placed the order in a quandary at the beginning of 1253, when Thomas of York was nominated to succeed Eustace of Normanville as the regent master. The first three masters, Adam Marsh, Ralph of Corbridge and Eustace of Normanville, had all lectured in the faculty of arts at Paris or Oxford and were eligible to proceed to the faculty of theology. Oxford University pointed out that Thomas of York did not meet their requirements because he had not ruled in the arts. The substance of the debates between the university and the order was reported by Adam Marsh between January and March 1253. The impasse was resolved by the university issuing a grace whereby Thomas was dispensed on the grounds of his thorough preparation for the office of regent master. The qualities of the new regent master were acknowledged:

It was enacted by the chancellor and masters of the University of Oxford, with the blessed assent of all – blessed be the divine name – that our very dear brother Thomas of York should be raised to a chair of a regent master to give the main lectures on Holy Scripture, on account of his distinguished conduct, his intellectual gifts, and his proven learning which commend him to many and great persons.¹⁰⁶

This implicitly endorsed the thoroughness of the training in the arts which Thomas had already undertaken in the order's schools prior to his move to Oxford, where he had spent the previous eight years preparing himself for the office of regent master. A further sign of the imperceptible gap between the standards in the custodial schools and the universities is that friars expounded the same texts in the two centres.

Another function of the custodial school was the preparation of students for the *studium generale* at Paris. The general constitutions of Narbonne in 1260 required such friars to spend two or three years after their novitiate in a school of their province or one nearby; the requirements applied to the other schools of Oxford and Cambridge.¹⁰⁷ Study at the custodial school came to satisfy this requirement. For instance, John Duns Scotus was unusual because some of the academic exercises normally associated with the custodial school took place at Oxford. Timothy

---

¹⁰⁶ *The Letters of Adam Marsh*, ed. Lawrence, ii, pp. 444–55, 464–71.

¹⁰⁷ *Constitutiones Generales Ordinis Fratrum Minorum (Saeculum XIII)*, ed. Cenci and Mailleux, vi, n. 12, p. 315.

Noone maintains that Scotus moved from Oxford to Paris for the lectorate programme in 1286 and then returned to England four years later, when he was ordained priest and lectured on the *Sentences* in the 1290s.¹⁰⁸ His *Collationes Oxonienses* belong to that decade.¹⁰⁹

There is evidence that the lecturers of the custodial schools were generally former regent masters in theology, who had returned to their native provinces or custodies. Adam of Lincoln was regent master at Oxford c.1293 and minister provincial before he returned to the custody of York to lecture. He was the lector at York on 1 July 1311, when he attended the trial of the Templars. Also present was Thomas of Pontefract, the 55th regent master at Oxford, who may have been a second lector at York.¹¹⁰ Thomas Rondel, the 27th regent at Oxford c.1298, was the master of theology at the London Greyfriars, when he heard evidence against the Knights Templar in London between 23 October and 15 November 1309.¹¹¹ Peter Sutton was the 36th master at Oxford and heard evidence against the Templars on 30 March 1311 at St Martin's Ludgate.¹¹² Custodial schools enjoyed a greater level of staffing than the local schools. The daily round of teaching on physics, law, moral philosophy, systematic theology, canon law, the scriptures could not be shouldered by a solitary lector. The presence of a second lector became the norm for such schools. Peter of John Olivi, for instance, was appointed as lector at the custodial school of Santa Croce in 1287, where he was joined by Ubertino da Casale, both of whom had spent a considerable amount of time at Paris.¹¹³ There are later references to the institution of the office of *lector principalis*, which implies at least one other master or bachelor of theology.¹¹⁴ Bert Roest maintains that in some instances, there was a *lector principalis*

108 Timothy B. Noone, 'Duns Scotus and the Franciscan Educational Model,' in *John Duns Scotus, Philosopher: Proceedings of 'The Quadruple Congress' on John Duns Scotus*, ed. Oleg V. Bychkov and Mary B. Ingham (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2010), p. 136 in pp. 129–38.

109 *Collationes Oxonienses Iohannis Duns Scoti*, ed. Guido Alliney and Marina Fedeli (Florence: SIS-MEL, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2016). See also Stephen D. Dumont, 'William Ware, Richard of Conington and the *Collationes Oxonienses* of John Duns Scotus,' in *John Duns Scotus: Metaphysics and Ethics*, ed. Ludger Honnefelder, Rega Wood et Mechthild Dreyer (Leiden: Brill, 1996), pp. 59–85.

110 *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church II. A.D.1205–1313*, ed. F. Maurice Powicke and Christopher R. Cheney, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), vol. 2, pp. 1323, 1329. *Fratris Thomae vulgo dicti de Eccleston*, ed. Little, pp. 54–55.

111 *Fratris Thomae vulgo dicti de Eccleston*, ed. Little, p. 54. *The Proceedings Against the Templars in the British Isles*, ed. Nicholson, vol. 1, pp. 21, 28, 32, 37, 40, 44, 48, 58, 66, 73, 93, 97; vol. 2, pp. 23, 28, 30, 34, 38, 41, 44, 47, 52, 56, 62, 67–68, 84, 88.

112 *Fratris Thomae vulgo dicti de Eccleston*, ed. Little, p. 55. Kingsford, *The Grey Friars of London*, p. 22, maintains that Thomas Rondel, Peter of Sutton and Thomas of St Dunstan, former regent masters at Oxford, were lecturers at London. See also, *The Proceedings Against the Templars in the British Isles*, ed. Nicholson, vol. 1, p. 243; vol. 2, p. 270.

113 David Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans: From Protest to Persecution in the Century after Saint Francis* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), pp. 47, 62.

114 Celestine Piana, *Chartularium Studii Bononiensis S. Francisci (saec. XIII–XVI)* (Florence: Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1970), n. 71, pp. 52*, 43.

and a *secundarius* and *tercianus*, although some of these positions were filled by senior students.¹¹⁵ The lector was also assisted by bachelors of theology who were undertaking some prescribed teaching. There is later evidence that a second lector was appointed; elsewhere there were bachelors and cursors of theology.¹¹⁶

The statutes of Benedict XII, promulgated on 28 November 1336, codified many practices whose roots lay in the previous century and they identified the seven regional schools of the English province, showing that the custodies of Oxford and Cambridge located their principal schools at Stamford and Norwich respectively. They offer a glimpse of the level of the theological syllabus: bachelors were obliged to lecture at the University of Paris, unless they had already taught the four books of the *Sentences* with the recommended texts of the doctors in another approved school.¹¹⁷ This requirement resulted in bachelors composing more than one commentary on the Lombard's text: one for delivery at a custodial school and another for the *studium generale*.¹¹⁸ Russell L. Friedman explains that it became customary for theologians to compile commentaries on the *Sentences* or different versions of their commentaries, having either lectured on the *Sentences* on various occasions or having taken various opportunities to rework the materials employed in the lectures. William of Ware, for instance, lectured on the *Sentences* at Oxford c.1295 and later at Paris. In addition, he may have commented on the text for a third time.¹¹⁹ Friars distinguished between a theologian's readings of the *Sentences*, referring to Scotus' *Lectura Oxoniensis*¹²⁰ and his *Lectura Parisius*.¹²¹

The custodial school constituted a more taxing forum for the study of philosophy and theology and prepared students for special roles. William J. Courtenay explains the excellence of the philosophical and theological education offered by these regional schools:

---

115 Bert Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education (c.1210–1517)* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 79–80.

116 *A Calendar of the Register of Richard Scrope, Archbishop of York, 1398–1405*, ed. Robert N. Swanson, 2 vols (York: University of York, 1981, 1985), vol. 2, n. 729, p. 12. On 30 August 1398, the archbishop licensed two lectors at the York Greyfriars and three cursors.

117 *Constitutiones Generales Ordinis Fratrum Minorum (Saeculum XIII)*, ed. Cenci and Mailleux, ix, n. 14, p. 311. The 21 approved centres of study were at Rouen, Rheims, Metz, Bruges, London, York, Norwich, Newcastle, Stamford, Coventry, Exeter, Bordeaux, Narbonne, Marseille, Asti, Oradea, Prague, Pisa, Erfurt, Rimini, and Todi.

118 William J. Courtenay, 'Early Scotists at Paris: A Reconsideration,' *Franciscan Studies* 69 (2011), p. 177 in pp. 175–229.

119 Russell L. Friedman, 'The *Sentences* Commentary, 1250–1320, General Trends, The Impact of the Religious Orders, and the Test Case of Predestination,' in *Mediaeval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard, Volume 1. Current Research*, ed. Gillian R. Evans (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 42 and 63 in pp. 41–128. See also *Adam of Wodeham, Lectura secunda in librum primum Sententiarum*, ed. Rega Wood and Gedeon Gál, 3 vols (St Bonaventure, NY: St Bonaventure University, 1990), vol. 1, pp. 8*, 32*, 33*. He compiled a *Lectura Londoniensis*, a *Lectura Norwicensis* and a *Lectura Oxoniensis* in 1332.

120 William of Alnwick: *Questions on Science and Theology*, ed. Francesco Fiorentino, trans. John Scott (Münster: Aschendorff, 2020), pp. 710–11.

121 William of Alnwick: *Questions on Science and Theology*, ed. Fiorentino, pp. 700–1.

The custodial schools of the Franciscans held a place of importance only slightly less than that of the university convents. The full range of scholastic exercises were offered and some of the most talented Franciscans in the first half of the 14th century wrote major works in that environment. The custodial school of London could claim the impressive list of names: William of Ockham, Walter Chatton, Adam Wodeham, but Norwich at various times had Wodeham, Ralph Pigaz and Haverel [...].¹²²

The custody of York also sent a stream of admirable scholars to Oxford in the closing quarter of the 13th century, including Ralph of Toft, Thomas of Barnby, Adam of Lincoln, William of Gainsborough, Adam of Howden, Philip of Bridlington, Robert of Beverley, Thomas of Pontefract, and William of Shirburn. They all subsequently served as regent masters at Oxford and some of them may have resumed their teaching in the local and custodial schools.¹²³ Two of them subsequently became ministers provincial and one lectured at the papal court from 1300. There was a strong partnership between the custodial school of Norwich and the *studium generale* at Cambridge with friars moving in both directions.¹²⁴ Despite the fact that Courtenay was writing about the 14th century, the procedures for the scholars were already in place during the previous century.

The appeal of the custodial schools drew friars from other provinces of the order to England, beginning with Nicholas of Carbio who arrived in the 1230s. He subsequently became the chaplain, confessor and biographer of Innocent IV and bishop of Assisi in 1250.¹²⁵ William of Nottingham was exhorted to appoint N. de Amilyeres (Anilers), a friar from the province of France, to Oxford, Cambridge or London for one or two years. The friar had been intending to study in France for up to two years.¹²⁶ The volume of friars from other provinces studying had so increased by the end of the century that the minister provincial consulted the general chapter of Paris in 1292 about securing help to accommodate them during the summer. The chapter determined that during the long vacation the foreign students at Oxford should be distributed between Oxford, Cambridge and London in proportion to the number of foreign students already there.¹²⁷ In the middle of the 14th century the custodial school of Norwich attracted a future pope, Peter Philargi, who became Nicholas V.¹²⁸

---

122 William J. Courtenay, *Schools and Scholars in Fourteenth-Century England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), p. 67. He suggests that the stability of the schools combined with the order's practice of appointing their best scholars to those schools before, after and sometimes during their university teaching gave the custodial schools a prominence the *studia particularia* of the Dominicans do not appear to have enjoyed.

123 Michael J.P. Robson, 'Franciscan Bachelors and Masters of Theology in the Custody of York (1250–1350),' *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 111 (2016), pp. 5–33.

124 Courtenay, *Schools and Scholars in Fourteenth-Century England*, pp. 107–9.

125 *Fratrīs Thomae vulgo dicti de Eccleston*, ed. Little, p. 88.

126 *The Letters of Adam Marsh*, ed. Lawrence, ii, pp. 414–17 and 518–19.

127 Franz Ehrle, *Memorialia ministro Anglie*, in 'Die ältesten Redaktionen der Generalkonstitutionen des Franziskaner Ordens,' *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchen-Geschichte des Mittelalters* 6 (1892), p. 63 in pp. 1–138: 'Memoriale ministro Anglie. Ut tempore vacationis maioris onus conventus Oxonie ali-

Books belonged to the local friary, the custody or the province and were to be confined to those jurisdictions. The custodial books were mentioned by Benedict XII.¹²⁹ John Moorman observes that there were three distinct libraries at Cambridge: first, the friary library; secondly, the students' library; and thirdly, the custodial library. A 14th-century manuscript of Thomas Aquinas (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley, MS 355) belonged to the custody of Cambridge.¹³⁰ Custodial schools also attracted the loan or donation of manuscripts. Roger de Thoriz, archdeacon and later dean of Exeter, granted the use of his manuscripts to the Blackfriars and Greyfriars of the cathedral city on 2 February 1267 due to the *inaestimabilis fructus* of their ministry for the salvation of souls.¹³¹ Ownership of these fourteen volumes of biblical and patristic texts was retained by the archdeacon at whose death they were to pass to the dean and chapter of the cathedral city. The Greyfriars appear to have been given a degree of priority in the use of the manuscripts, as William de Tukebire, guardian of the Exeter Greyfriars indicates, when he quotes the original grant in full. The memorandum was inserted at the end of the register of Walter Bronescombe, bishop of Exeter.¹³²

Courtenay remarks that the area bounded by the precincts of Norwich cathedral and the city's Dominican and Franciscan friaries was its 'educational district' and affirms that the conditions for some theological exchanges existed, noting that the Carmelites and Austin Friars also had their *studia particularia* in the cathedral city.¹³³ There is no extant English equivalent to Marina Soriani Innocenti's *Simone da Cascina Introduzione, edizione e commento* in which she explains that some Franciscans

---

qualiter relevetur, ordinat generale capitulum, quod studentes ibidem de provinciis inter ipsam Oxoniensem et Londonensem et Canteb[rigiensem] conventus pro tertia parte, connumeratis aliis studentibus extraneis, qui in prefatis Londonensi et Cantebrugiensi conventibus fuerint, ad ministri provincialis arbitrium dividantur.' See also Little, 'The Franciscan School at Oxford in the Thirteenth Century,' pp. 817–18; *Constitutiones Generales Ordinis Fratrum Minorum (Saeculum XIII)*, ed. Cenci and Mailleux, p. 364.

128 See *Continuatio Eulogii: The Continuation of the Eulogium Historiarum*, ed. Christopher Given-Wilson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 148–49.

129 *Constitutiones Generales Ordinis Fratrum Minorum (Saeculum XIII)*, ed. Cenci and Mailleux, xi, n. 10, p. 316.

130 Moorman, *The Grey Friars in Cambridge, 1225–1538*, pp. 56–57. Oxford, Balliol College, MS 214 was entrusted to Fr Thomas Wyndeale at the custodial chapter of 1390.

131 *Registrum Johannis de Pontissara episcopi Wyntoniensis. A.D.MCCLXXXII–MCCCIV*, ed. C. Deedes, 2 vols (London: Canterbury and York Society, 1915–24), p. 222, offers a variant from his own diocesan statutes: 'Et quoniam ipsorum fratrum [Predicatorum et Minorum] predicatio et sancta conversacio noscuntur in ecclesia Dei fructum non modicum produxisse, cum per nostram transierint diocesim ubique eos reverenter hospicio recipi precipimus et honeste.'

132 *The Registers of Walter Bronescombe (A.D.1257–1280), and Peter Quivil (A.D.1280–1291), Bishops of Exeter, with some Records of the Episcopate of Bishop Thomas de Bytton (A.D.1292–1307), also the Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV A.D.1291 (Diocese of Exeter)*, ed. F.C. Hingeston-Randolph (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1889), pp. 79–80.

133 Courtenay, *Schools and Scholars in Fourteenth-Century England*, p. 107.

were enrolled at the Dominican *studium* of Santa Caterina in Pisa during the 15th century.¹³⁴

The *studia generalia* of Paris, Oxford and Cambridge

The new universities and the friars emerged almost simultaneously and grew side by side, nurturing each other in a reciprocal relationship, although there were growing pains in the partnership, as attested by the disputes at Bologna, Paris, Oxford and Cambridge. The friars brought their exceptional skills in presenting the Gospel to the student communities and contributed to the teaching of theology. In return, the universities provided them with ample recruits in the form of masters, bachelors and students, many of whom went on to play a prominent role in its life, filling many of the major offices, such as minister general and minister provincial. A sign of the new direction of the order was the election of Haymo of Faversham as minister general in 1240, the first former Parisian *magister* to hold this office. Thereafter most of his successors and a procession of ministers provincial were equally drawn from the schools, much to the dismay of Ubertino da Casale and his fellow reformers.

The minister general was responsible for the provision of lectors, as three examples involving English friars illustrate: first, Simon became lector at Magdeburg in 1228 at the instigation of John Parenti;¹³⁵ secondly, Elias of Cortona sent Adam of York and Philip of Wales to lecture at Lyon in the 1230s;¹³⁶ thirdly, Ralph of Corbridge, a regent master of theology at Paris, was appointed to the Oxford *studium* in 1244 while still a novice at the behest of the minister general.¹³⁷ The minister general had a particular interest in the welfare of the Parisian school, the premier school in the order, whose students were drawn from all provinces.¹³⁸ John of Parma's efforts on behalf of the school during his general visitation of the English province are well documented. He encouraged lectors to return to the schools and applied pressure on William of Nottingham to release some seasoned theologians to spend time at Paris

¹³⁴ *Simone da Cascina, Actus scolastici: introduzione, edizione e commento*, ed. Marina Soriani Innocenti (Pisa: Biblioteca di memorie Domenicane, 2020), pp. 233–36, 237–40, 241–45, 246–49, 250.

¹³⁵ Schlager, 'Die Chronica des Bruders Jordan von Giano,' n. 54, p. 55.

¹³⁶ *Fratris Thomae vulgo dicti de Eccleston*, ed. Little, p. 49. See also Philipp W. Rosemann, 'Robert Grosseteste's Tabula,' in *Robert Grosseteste: New Perspectives on his Thought and Scholarship*, ed. James McEvoy (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995), pp. 334–36 in pp. 321–55.

¹³⁷ *Fratris Thomae vulgo dicti de Eccleston*, ed. Little, p. 50.

¹³⁸ William J. Courtenay, 'The Parisian Franciscan Community in 1303,' *Franciscan Studies* 53 (1993), pp. 155–73, and Courtenay, 'Early Scotists at Paris,' for a list of friars resident at Paris on 25 June 1303, when there were between 169 or 171 friars in residence. See also Lydia Schumacher, *Early Franciscan Theology: Between Authority and Innovation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).

for specified periods, perhaps to assist with teaching and tutorials.¹³⁹ William of Nottingham was advised to keep John of Weston and Walter Maddely in England, but to permit other unnamed friars to go Paris.¹⁴⁰

One of those who eventually crossed the channel was Richard Rufus of Cornwall in 1253, but the seeds of his departure were sown five years earlier.¹⁴¹ Reflecting the spirit of Francis's letter to Anthony of Padua, the spiritual dimension of the friars' studies is reflected in the sacred names and the pious invocations inscribed in the margins of manuscripts.¹⁴² The Parisian *studium* was conditioned by the general constitutions of Narbonne, which stated that friars should normally spend at least four years there. Each province of the order was entitled to have two students there without any special provision¹⁴³ and it was required to supply students with books, whose number was to be determined by the minister provincial and the provincial chapter. Friars were admonished not to divert alms earmarked for books to other purposes; they were not permitted to acquire expensive volumes made for them (*libri curiosi*). On their return from Paris they were obliged to give an account of all expenses and they should not accept or keep any books without the permission of the minister provincial. The antecedents of the general statutes can be foreshadowed in the practices of the order recorded in chronicles and collections of letters.¹⁴⁴

The general constitutions of 1292 distinguished between friars studying for the lectorate and those reading for degrees (*sive ad bacalariatum, lectoratum, magisterium*).¹⁴⁵ This legislation is echoed by the constitutions of the general chapter of Assisi

---

139 Neslihan Şenocak, 'The Franciscan *studium generale*: A New Interpretation,' in *Philosophy and Theology in the Studia of the Religious Orders and at Papal and Royal Courts*, ed. Kent Emery Jr., William J. Courtenay, and Stephen M. Metzger (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), p. 235 in pp. 221–36.

140 *The Letters of Adam Marsh*, ed. Lawrence, ii, pp. 478–79: 'Studio Parisiensi in presenti necessitatis urgentia providentes.'

141 *The Letters of Adam Marsh*, ed. Lawrence, ii, pp. 438–39, 484–85.

142 D.H. Pouillon, 'Le manuscrit d'Assise, Bibl.Comm.196,' *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 12 (1940), pp. 329–58. Folios 67r, 113r and 118r of the manuscript invoke the sacred names of *Maria*, *Ihesus* and *Johannes*. Folio 79r: *Sancta Maria. Ihesus bone miserere mei. Inter mulierum (sic) Iohanne non surrexit maior*. Folio 103v has the invocation: *Ihesus sit amor meus*.

143 *Constitutiones Generales Ordinis Fratrum Minorum (Saeculum XIII)*, ed. Cenci and Mailleux, vi, nn. 13, 14, 19, pp. 83–84. The friars sent to Paris should be able students in robust health, eloquent, and of good reputation. They should not be contentious, but meek (*mites*) and peaceful (*pacifici*) among their confrères.

144 *Constitutiones Generales Ordinis Fratrum Minorum (Saeculum XIII)*, ed. Cenci and Mailleux, vi, nn. 19–20, 23, p. 84. For example, *The Letters of Adam Marsh*, ed. Lawrence, ii, pp. 486–87. Adam recommended that the Bible formerly used by the late P. of Worcester should be entrusted to Thomas of Docking. See also pp. 470–71. William of Nottingham was urged to provide Richard Rufus with the assistance of a suitable lector, who would supply him with the texts necessary for his studies at Paris in 1253.

145 *Constitutiones Generales Ordinis Fratrum Minorum (Saeculum XIII)*, ed. Cenci and Mailleux, vi, n. 20b, p. 317.

in 1316 (*sive ad lectoriam, bachalariam, magisterium*)¹⁴⁶ and it is corroborated by the provincial statutes of Umbria at the beginning of the 14th century, employing the term *pro lectore* to distinguish the lectorate programme from the baccalaureate and the doctorate.¹⁴⁷ Courtenay explains that there were two distinct communities of students at *le grand couvent des Cordeliers de Paris*; each group of friars studied theology. The larger constituency followed the lectorate course inside the friary, while the smaller group studied within the framework of the University of Paris for a degree in theology and were subject to the university's statutes.¹⁴⁸

The first cohort consisted of friars enrolled for the lectorate, that is, they were schooled for the office of lector, a course which lasted approximately four years. This was the programme destined for the majority of the friars, who were not members of the University of Paris; they may have numbered as many as one hundred. Their studies were conducted inside the friary school and they did not study for a degree. They probably heard the lectures of the bachelor who was commenting on the *Sentences*. Courtenay maintains that such students were generally in their third decade. The general chapter of Paris in 1292 ordained that, on the completion of his lectorate programme, the new graduate should obtain a testimonial letter from the lector and the guardian of the *studium generale* before returning to his province.¹⁴⁹ Accordingly, these friars returned to the country and custody of their origin and began their lectures in the local schools.¹⁵⁰ Some of these friars had already qualified as lectors before they were ordained to the priesthood. John Duns Scotus completed the lectorate programme at Paris c.1290 before he was ordained to the priesthood at Northampton on 17 March 1291.¹⁵¹ Some newly qualified lectors stayed on at the *studium generale*, perhaps as part of a special project. Gerard of Borgo San

---

146 *Constitutiones Generales Ordinis Fratrum Minorum (Saeculum XIII)*, ed. Cenci and Mailleux, vi, n. 28, p. 83.

147 See also Cesare Cenci, 'Constitutiones Provinciales Provinciae Umbriae anni 1316,' *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 56 (1963), p. 27, vi, n. 8 in pp. 12–39. The chapter distinguished between friars attending Paris '*pro lectoribus theologie*' and others. Cesare Cenci, 'Ordinazioni dei capitoli provinciali umbri dal 1300 al 1305,' *Collectanea Franciscana* 55 (1985), p. 21, vi, n. 20 in pp. 5–31: 'Item provideatur cuilibet fratri studenti Parisius pro lectore.'

148 William J. Courtenay, 'The Instructional Programme of the Mendicant Convents at Paris in the Early Fourteenth Century,' in *The Medieval Church: Universities, Heresy, and the Religious Life. Essays in Honour of Gordon Leff*, ed. Peter Biller and Barrie Dobson (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999), pp. 77–92.

149 *Constitutiones Generales Ordinis Fratrum Minorum (Saeculum XIII)*, ed. Cenci and Mailleux, vi, n. 20f, p. 318. See also Cenci, 'Constitutiones Provinciales Provinciae Umbriae anni 1316,' p. 28, vi, n. 12.

150 Courtenay, 'Early Scotists at Paris: A Reconsideration,' pp. 176–78.

151 *The Rolls and Register of Bishop Oliver Sutton, 1280–1299*, ed. Rosalind M.T. Hill, 8 vols (Hereford: Hereford Times; Lincoln: Lincoln Record Society; Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1948–86), vol. 7, p. 13.

Donnino was a lector by the early 1250s, remaining at Paris in that office.¹⁵² Henry of Wodestone styled himself as a *lector Oxoniensis* in 1261 when he was lecturing.¹⁵³

Secondly, after some years of teaching in the local and custodial schools, a small cohort of lectors was selected to return to Paris for the baccalaureate and the doctorate. These friars had cut their teeth as lectors in their native provinces and were designated to read the *Sentences* at Paris; as formed bachelors they participated in disputations. This category consisted of approximately 5% of the students for the lectorate and they amounted to fewer than ten friars at Paris.¹⁵⁴ These friars were in their fourth decade or older. Some of them had already lectured on the *Sentences* at one or more of the order's schools before returning to Paris. Those who incepted in theology generally had a short regency of one year. The role of the minister general in the appointment of friars is demonstrated by John Murro, minister general, who selected John Duns Scotus as the *sententiarius* in 1302. Because England had two universities, it rarely presented friars to read the *Sentences* and incept at Paris. Notable exceptions were William of Milton (Melitona), John of Wales, John Pecham, and William de la Mare. Courtenay's comment about the age of those preparing for a degree in theology is confirmed by William Shirburn, who was ordained priest on 17 March 1291. He became the 38th regent master at Oxford c.1311 aged approximately 45.¹⁵⁵

Regulations regarding friars at Paris applied equally to the other general study houses,¹⁵⁶ that is, the schools at Oxford and Cambridge. The Oxford school quickly attracted friars from other provinces with some support from John of Parma. Two friars from Upper Germany were sent to study the scriptures in England, probably at Oxford, c.1250.¹⁵⁷ About the same time arrangements were made for N. de Amilyeres, a friar from the province of France, to continue his studies in England, subject to the agreement of the minister general and the minister provincial of France. Adam Marsh recommended that this friar spend two years in England.¹⁵⁸ In the later 13th century a number of provinces began to legislate for dispatching students to Oxford. For example, the province of Aquitaine was entitled to send students there.¹⁵⁹

152 Salimbene de Adam, *Cronica*, ed. Scalia, vol. 1, p. 358.

153 Robert J. Mokry, 'The "Summa de sacramentis" of Henry Wodestone, O. Min. A Critical Edition,' *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 94 (2001), p. 83 in pp. 3–84.

154 William J. Courtenay, 'Scotus at Paris: Some Reconsiderations,' in *The Opera Theologica of John Duns Scotus: Proceedings of 'The Quadruple Congress' on John Duns Scotus*, part 2, ed. Richard Cross (Münster: Aschendorff, 2012), p. 13, n. 30 in pp. 1–19.

155 *The Rolls and Register of Bishop Oliver Sutton, 1280–1299*, ed. Hill, vol. 7, p. 13. *Fratris Thomae vulgo dicti de Eccleston*, ed. Little, p. 59.

156 *Constitutiones Generales Ordinis Fratrum Minorum (Saeculum XIII)*, ed. Cenci and Mailleux, vi, no.16, p. 83.

157 *The Letters of Adam Marsh*, ed. Lawrence, ii, pp. 410–11.

158 *The Letters of Adam Marsh*, ed. Lawrence, ii, pp. 414–17.

159 André Callebaut, 'Acta capituli generalis Mediolani celebrati an. 1285,' *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 22 (1929), p. 290 in pp. 273–91.

A glimpse of the lectorate programme at Oxford is afforded by the inquiry into the cult of Thomas Cantilupe, bishop of Hereford (1275–82), which was held at the cathedral city on 29–31 August 1307. First, Walter of Risbury, then aged 66, testified that he had frequently seen Cantilupe in the schools and elsewhere and had conversed with him, when he was the chancellor of Oxford University. He himself had been a scholar (*in dicto autem studio Oxon' dictus testis dixit se fuisse scolarem*), when Cantilupe was studying canon law. During Cantilupe's episcopate he had been present in the diocese of Hereford, apart from a short time which he had spent as guardian of the Gloucester Greyfriars.¹⁶⁰ Secondly, Robert of Herton, then aged 63, gave evidence that he had seen Cantilupe at Oxford, but he had little personal knowledge of him. He had lived in the friaries of Hereford, Oxford, Gloucester, Dorchester, Bridgwater and Southampton, perhaps as a lector.¹⁶¹ Thirdly, Walter of Knulle, then aged 60, swore that he had frequently seen Cantilupe in the schools (*in scolis et in pluribus aliis locis*), when he was a student c.1267 (*tunc scholaris Oxon'*). He served as lector at Hereford throughout Cantilupe's tenure as bishop.¹⁶² The ages of these three friars verify Courtenay's observation that the graduates from the lectorate programme were generally in their twenties. Timothy B. Noone suggests that about 1280, when John Duns Scotus arrived at Oxford, there were about 70 or 75 friars there, that is, about half the size of the Parisian community.¹⁶³ On occasion, friars in the schools received alms from the Oxford Colleges.¹⁶⁴

Shafts of light on the *studia generalia* of Oxford and Cambridge are provided by groups of *quaestiones disputatae* in Assisi, Biblioteca comunale, MSS 158 and 196. The first of these have been analysed by Frs François M. Henquin, OFM, and Franz Pelster, SJ, charting the scholastic activities of a group of theologians from the secular clergy and friars of all four mendicant orders. There were questions debated in the Franciscan school at Cambridge by Hugh Brisingham, John of Letheringset, Thomas of Bungay, Robert of Worsted, and Bartholomew of Stalam between 1277 and 1281. Among their confrères named in questions at Oxford between 1284 and 1291 were Roger Marston, Alan Wakerfeld, Nicholas Ockham, John of Pershore, Wal-

160 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS 4015, fols. 81r, 82r: 'In dicto autem studio Oxon' dictus testis dixit se fuisse scolarem.'

161 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS 4015, fol. 83v.

162 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS 4015, fols. 76rv, 78v.

163 Timothy B. Noone, 'Duns Scotus and the Franciscan Educational Model,' in *John Duns Scotus, Philosopher: Proceedings of "The Quadruple Congress" on John Duns Scotus*, part 1, ed. Mary B. Ingham and Oleg Bychkov, Archa Verbi, Subsidia 3 (Münster: Aschendorff, 2010), pp. 135–36 in pp. 129–38.

164 See also *The Early Rolls of Merton College Oxford with an Appendix of Thirteenth-Century Oxford Charters*, ed. John R.L. Highfield (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), p. 219. Nicholas of Ockham received 42 shillings from Merton College on the occasion of his inception in 1286.

ter Knull, Hugh of Hartlepool, John Pershore, John of Berwick, Adam of Lincoln, Thomas Rondel, and Philip of Bridlington.¹⁶⁵

The second manuscript records contemporary exercises in theology debated by John of Berwick, John of Pershore, Nicholas of Ockham, Thomas of Bungay, Hugh of Hartlepool, Adam of Lincoln, Philip of Bridlington, and John Bassett.¹⁶⁶ Another group of friars at Oxford in the 1290s emerges in the *quaestiones* debated between 1300 and 1302 and contained in Worcester Cathedral Priory, MS Q.99, including John Basset, Robert of Beverley, Richard of Conington, John Duns Scotus, and Adam of Howden.¹⁶⁷ William of Nottingham's *Commentary on the Sentences* (Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College Library, MS 300/514) contains numerous *marginalia* concerning the views of the leading figures of the mendicant world, with particular attention to the Oxonian school. Academic sermons preached by Franciscan masters and bachelors at Oxford between 1290 and 1293 are contained in Oxford, New College, MS 92, and Worcester Cathedral Library, MS Q.46. Among the preachers in this period were Nicholas of Ockham, Adam of Howden, Hugh of Hartlepool, John of Berwick, Adam of Lincoln, and William of Gainsborough.¹⁶⁸

The regent masters of the three universities are known to posterity and many of their writings have survived and been edited. There is less information on the different layers of instruction conducted below the level of the regent masters. John of Parma lectured cursorily on the *Sentences* at Paris before 1247, but he did not become a regent master.¹⁶⁹ Richard Rufus commented on the same textbook at Oxford in 1250 and again three years later at Paris as a bachelor.¹⁷⁰ Thomas Rondel read the *Sentences* in Paris before returning to Oxford.¹⁷¹ Similarly, William of Ware lectured on the *Sentences* at Oxford and may have read the same text at Paris. John Duns Scotus was his pupil at Oxford, according to Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana cod. C.78, fol.1r.¹⁷²

165 See Little, 'The Friars and the Foundation of the Faculty of Theology in the University of Cambridge,' in *Mélanges Mandonnet: études d'histoire littéraire et doctrinale du moyen âge*, vol. 2 (Paris: Vrin, 1930), p. 401 in pp. 389–401; François M. Henquinet, 'Descriptio codicis 158 Assisii in Biblioteca comunale,' *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 24 (1931), p. 254 in pp. 91–108 and 215–54; Palémon Glorieux, 'Le manuscrit d'Assise, Bibl. Comm. 158,' *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 8 (1936), pp. 289–90 in pp. 282–95; and Little and Pelster, *Oxford Theology and Theologians c.A.D.1282–1302*, p. 3 in pp. 3–72.

166 Pouillon, 'Le manuscrit d'Assise, Bibl.Comm.196.'

167 Little and Pelster, *Oxford Theology and Theologians c.A.D.1282–1302*, pp. 219–362.

168 Little and Pelster, *Oxford Theology and Theologians c.A.D.1282–1302*, p. 174 in pp. 149–215.

169 *Fratris Thomae vulgo dicti de Eccleston*, ed. Little, p. 73. See also *Salimbene de Adam, Cronica*, ed. Scalia, vol. 1, p. 456.

170 *Fratris Thomae vulgo dicti de Eccleston*, ed. Little, p. 51.

171 *Fratris Thomae vulgo dicti de Eccleston*, ed. Little, pp. 51, 58. Little, *The Grey Friars in Oxford*, p. 162.

172 Stephen F. Brown, 'Reflections on Franciscan Sources for Duns Scotus's Philosophical Commentaries,' in *John Duns Scotus, Philosopher: Proceedings of "The Quadruple Congress" on John Duns Scotus*, part 1, p. 7, n. 33 in pp. 1–11: 'Guilielmus Varro, Scotti praeceptor in quattuor libros sententiarum.' See also Russell L. Friedman, 'The *Sentences* Commentary,' pp. 63, 76.

William of Ware and Robert Cowton were, according to Prosper of Reggio Emilia, active in Paris, but they were not licensed and did not incept.¹⁷³ A solitary witness to the different strata of tuition is an inscription on the flyleaf of a copy of the Bible. Peter Swynesfeld filled the office of tutor at Oxford and Paris.¹⁷⁴ Salimbene de Adam refers to the lectors' *repetitor* at Fano and Lyon; in the latter case the *repetitor* assisted the lector in the examination of candidates for the office of preaching.¹⁷⁵

The Circulation of Friars, Ideas and Texts between the *studia generalia*

While monks cultivated virtue and sanctity within the liturgical rhythm of the canonical hours and the discipline of the cloister, friars knew no such seclusion. The friars' vocation was to take the Gospel wherever people were. They were appointed to a particular friary, but their ministry was not circumscribed by its precincts, the town, the deanery, the archdeaconry or the diocese or an ecclesiastical province. For apostolic purposes, friars were itinerant and accompanied by a *socius*; unnecessary roaming was proscribed and the friars brusquely dismissed the charge that they were gyrovagues. Their urban ministry went hand-in-hand with an apostolate to the towns, villages and hamlets at some distance from their friary. This necessitated a friar's absence from the friary for weeks at a time as he visited all the parishes in a deanery and their outlying chapels, finding lodgings where they could. Friars were a familiar sight on the roads and rivers of western Europe as they went about their preaching tours and carried messages between friaries on legitimate business. The minister provincial normally resided at the London Greyfriars, but he and his team of advisers and assistants were away for protracted periods as they visited all 59 friaries in the province. In addition, there was an annual provincial chapter and every triennium a general chapter was held routinely north and south of the Alps. At the general chapter of Genoa in 1244 Peter of Tewkesbury obtained copies of two recent bulls by Innocent IV relating to the mendicants, leaving them at Lyon to be collected by Adam Marsh and John of Stamford for delivery to William of Nottingham.¹⁷⁶ William of Nottingham and Gregory Bosellis with John of Kethene, an English friar who was min-

¹⁷³ William J. Courtenay, 'Reflections on Vat.Lat. 1086 and Prosper of Reggio Emilia O.E.S.A.,' in *Theological Quodlibeta in the Middle Ages*, ed. Christopher Schabel (Leiden: Brill, 2006–7), vol. 2, pp. 348, 356, 357 in pp. 345–57.

¹⁷⁴ Neil R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, 2nd ed. (London: Royal Historical Society, 1964), p. 315. Hatfield House, Marquess of Salisbury, MS 309: 'Quod filius suus Fr Gaufridus sibimetipsi fecit fieri, set fratri Petro de Swinefeld assignavit qui tutor suus Oxoniis fuit, postmodum Parisius specialissimus amicus, postremo in fratrum minorum ordine minister tocius Anglie.'

¹⁷⁵ Salimbene de Adam, *Cronica*, ed. Scalia, vol. 1, pp. 61, 475.

¹⁷⁶ *The Letters of Adam Marsh*, ed. Lawrence, ii, pp. 514–15.

ister provincial of Ireland, stood united against the general chapter of Genoa in 1251, eventually persuading the capitulars to be guided by Gregory IX's *Quo elongati* rather than the more permissive terms of Innocent IV's *Ordinem vestrum*.¹⁷⁷ Letters were also a means of communicating information and news. On 18 January 1280 Robert Cross, minister provincial, announced to the unnamed custos of London that the minister general had enclosed a letter from Matthew Rossi Orsini, the cardinal deacon of Santa Maria in Porticu and protector of the order, regarding the implications of Nicholas III's *Exiit qui seminat* which was written at Soriano on 14 August 1279. Henceforth the bishops of England and Scotland would be required to appoint procurators to assess the value of the order's moveable goods.¹⁷⁸

English lectors were found in Germany, France and Italy. Bartholomew, widely known as *Bartholomaeus Anglicus*, was appointed as the lector at Magdeburg in 1231. He was the author of the much copied *De proprietatibus rerum* and was hailed as a great cleric.¹⁷⁹ There was an Anglo-Saxon flavor to the theological formation of Salimbene de Adam. Two of his lectors were English, Sanson at Parma in 1239/40 and Stephen at Genoa in 1248/49.¹⁸⁰ In addition, Humile of Milan who taught him at Fano in 1238/39 had studied under Haymo of Faversham at Bologna, as already indicated in the second section. Walter was one of the English friars who studied abroad, when John of Parma was his lector at Naples.¹⁸¹ The movement of friars from one *studium* to another and one province to another was replicated at the *studia generalia*. William of Poitiers, the second regent master at Cambridge, was undoubtedly appointed at the behest of the minister general. After the first council of Lyon there was speculation that Adam Marsh might replace either John of La Rochelle or Alexander of Hales.¹⁸² William of Milton (Melitona), the fourth regent master at Paris, was appointed to Cambridge, where he became the fifth regent master before returning to Paris in response to Alexander IV's *de fontibus paradisi* of 7 October 1255 to complete Alexander of Hales' *Summa Theologica*.¹⁸³

---

177 *Fratris Thomae vulgo dicti de Eccleston*, ed. Little, p. 42.

178 See *Registerum Joahnnis de Pontissara*, ed. Deedes, vol. 1, pp. 254–57. The minister provincial was then at Exeter.

179 Schlageter, 'Die Chronica des Bruders Jordan von Giano,' nn. 58–60, pp. 56–58.

180 Salimbene de Adam, *Cronica*, ed. Scalia, vol. 1, pp. 151, 477, 480.

181 Salimbene de Adam, *Cronica*, ed. Scalia, vol. 2, p. 830. See Piana, *Chartularium Studii Bononiensis S. Francisci (saec. XIII–XVI)*, p. 4, where John was described as the third lector. No date was given before 1247. Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education*, p. 50, claims that John was the lector at Naples between 1240 and 1245.

182 *Epistolae Roberti Grosseteste episcopi quondam Lincolnensis*, ed. Henry R. Luard (London: Longman & Co., 1861), p. 335.

183 *Guillelmi de Melitona questiones de sacramentis*, ed. Gedeon Gál and Celestino Piana, 2 vols (Florence: Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1961), vol. 1, p. 12* for a summary of discussions in favor of the date 7 October 1255 rather than 28 July 1256.

John of Wales was the sixth regent master at Oxford and then Paris. William de la Mare lectured at both Oxford and Paris, where he was the regent master.¹⁸⁴ Roger Marston sampled life at all three *studia generalia*. He was a student at Paris in the early 1270s, when he witnessed an inception in the presence of Gerard of Abbeville, Thomas Aquinas, John Pecham and 24 masters¹⁸⁵ before resuming his studies at Oxford. He later served as regent master at the two English universities. Such friars generally remained in office for no more than one or two years before giving way to a younger colleague and either returning to their own province or custody or entering the order's administration; they were frequently elected as minister provincial.¹⁸⁶ John Pecham joined the order at Oxford, incepted at Paris and succeeded Eustace of Arras as regent master there. He then returned to Oxford before his election as minister provincial and his appointment as *lector sacri palatii* from 1277 to 1279.¹⁸⁷ Internal evidence indicates that his *quodlibeta* were debated at three locations. The first and second *quodlibeta* seem to belong to Lent and Advent 1270 in Paris. The third points to Oxford, when he was the regent master. The fourth took place at the papal court in Rome and was known as the *quodlibetum Romanum*.¹⁸⁸

The image of the peripatetic friar carrying his books in a satchel is evoked by Matthew Paris.¹⁸⁹ This process facilitated the cross-fertilization of ideas through the various provinces of the order. Stephen, an English friar, and his *socius* en route for Rome met Salimbene de Adam at Beaucaire in the late summer of 1248. The chronicler, itching for news about the Oxford school, remarked that the lector carried the best writings, including a copy of Adam Marsh's *Lectura super Genesim*, which Stephen read to the chronicler.¹⁹⁰ English friars routinely carried the writings of their confrères as they moved from school to another and made copies of texts available in different schools of theology. This transmission of texts in a cosmopolitan community is exemplified by the correspondence of Adam Marsh, who displays

184 Hans Kraml, 'The *Quodlibet* of William de la Mare,' in *Theological Quodlibeta in the Middle Ages*, vol. 1, p. 153 in pp. 151–70.

185 *Fr Rogeri Marston O.F.M., Quaestiones Disputatae de emanatione aeterna, de statu naturae lapsae et de anima* (Florence: Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1932), pp. 116–17.

186 See William J. Courtenay, 'Academic Formation and Careers of Mendicant Friars: A Regional Approach,' in *Studio e studia: le scuole degli ordini mendicanti tra XIII e XIV secolo*, pp. 197–217.

187 *Fratri Thome vulgo dicti de Eccleston*, ed. Little, p. 53.

188 John Pecham, *Quodlibeta Quatuor*, ed. Ferdinand M. Delorme and Girard J. Etzkorn (Grottaferrata: Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1989), pp. 21*–25*; Etzkorn, 'Franciscan *Quodlibeta*, 1270–1285 John Pecham, Matthew of Aquasparta,' in *Theological Quodlibeta in the Middle Ages*, vol. 1, pp. 136–41 in pp. 135–49.

189 *Matthaei Parisiensis, monachi Sancti Albani, Historia Anglorum*, ed. Madden, vol. 2, p. 110: 'Libros continue suos, videlicet Bibliotecas, in forulis a collo dependentes bajulantes.' One of the items recovered by a recent archaeological excavation at the Oxford Greyfriars was a leather book satchel.

190 *Salimbene de Adam, Cronica*, ed. Scalia, vol. 1, p. 454.

an unflagging zeal for collecting new materials and information from friars and clerics from different provinces.¹⁹¹

Adam's copy of Richard of St Victor's *De Trinitate* was forwarded to Paris to be collated against the Parisian exemplar.¹⁹² His correspondents included Eudes Rigaud, archbishop of Rouen, Hugh of Digne, the Provençal mystic and Joachite, Geoffrey of Brie, minister provincial of France, John of Parma, and Bonaventure, successive ministers general, Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, during his stay in Gascony, the minister of the Trinitarian Friars in Paris, Thomas Gallus, the abbot of Sant Andrea at Vercelli, and the unnamed custodian of the Cordeliers of Paris. Adam sent to Grosseteste letters by Louis IX, king of France, and Eudes of Chateauroux, cardinal bishop of Frascati, regarding the disaster of Egypt and the fate which had befallen the Holy Land¹⁹³ and he reminded Grosseteste to return some documents to be restored to William of Nottingham.¹⁹⁴ In the summer of 1251 he notified Grosseteste that a trustworthy friar had brought him an account of the damage perpetrated by the Pastoureaux against the Parisian clergy.¹⁹⁵ He arranged for Friar Laurence to send the quires of the prophetic mother (Hildegard of Bingen) to Thomas of York, who was then at London. He also promised to let him have headings distinguishing the *summae* of the booklet.¹⁹⁶

The passage of texts between Oxford and the Mediterranean world was a salient feature of Adam's correspondence. There was a scholastic triangle uniting Oxford, Vercelli and Lincoln. In a letter to Thomas Gallus in 1242/43 Adam explained the movement of texts in both directions:

I am sending you, as you command, the commentaries on *The Angelic Hierarchies*, etc. Your fatherly kindness, of which I have much experience, gives me confidence to make a request. Wherefore I earnestly entreat you to allow me to have, as soon as you conveniently can, both the commentaries on *The Mystical Theology*, which you have recently produced, and the *Questions* that you are at present engaged with on *The Divine Names* – you were willing to inform me of both the former and the latter by letter.¹⁹⁷

Another friend of Grosseteste and Adam was Hugh of Digne, a reformer of the order, who sent two friars, Arnulph and Arnold, to his friends at Oxford and Lincoln in the

---

191 *The Letters of Adam Marsh*, ed. Lawrence, ii, pp. 564–65. He asked Warin of Ashwell, the eleventh lecturer to the friars at Cambridge, to send him a copy of his treatise, *A new light has appeared to the Jews*, which had been written during a provincial chapter at London.

192 *The Letters of Adam Marsh*, ed. Lawrence, ii, pp. 484–85.

193 *The Letters of Adam Marsh*, ed. Lawrence, i, pp. 52–55. See also pp. 348–49. Adam sends Simon de Montfort copies of papal letters addressed to the archbishop of Canterbury regarding the Holy Land and the depopulation of the region of Antioch.

194 *The Letters of Adam Marsh*, ed. Lawrence, i, pp. 44–45.

195 *The Letters of Adam Marsh*, ed. Lawrence, i, pp. 56–57, 76–77.

196 *The Letters of Adam Marsh*, ed. Lawrence, ii, pp. 542–43.

197 *The Letters of Adam Marsh*, ed. Lawrence, i, pp. 220–21.

late summer of 1250.¹⁹⁸ A copy of Grosseteste's translation with a commentary on the *Nicomachean Ethics* was transcribed for Hugh. In 1252 Adam arranged to have the volume transported to Hugh and requested Grosseteste to deliver the text to the London Greyfriars for collection by Master Peter, the rector of Wimbledon and the physician of the queen.¹⁹⁹ Grosseteste was informed that a friar from beyond the Alps had recently brought various extracts from the writings of Joachim of Fiore, the Calabrian abbot and prophet.²⁰⁰ Copies of significant letters (*cartulae*) were sent from Genoa and London to Adam.²⁰¹

The influence of Alexander of Hales among early Franciscan theologians ran deep and he was celebrated as the *doctor antiquus*.²⁰² His writings were consulted at Oxford shortly after his death in 1245. Rega Wood maintains that Richard Fishacre and Richard Rufus were influenced by him and they probably knew his *Summa Theologica*. She also draws attention to Rufus' quotation of Richard of St Victor via Alexander of Hales' *Glossa in quatuor libros Sententiarum* which was probably derived from an English manuscript, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 347.²⁰³ Several 13th-century manuscripts of Alexander's *Glossa in quatuor libros Sententiarum*, *Summa Theologica* and *Quaestiones disputatae* were in the library of the Sacro Convento in Assisi (MSS 103, 104, 138, 105, 108, 138, 182, 186, 189) as well as his scriptural commentaries.²⁰⁴ In 1287 Matthew of Aquasparta, a former regent master at Paris and Bologna, divided his books between the libraries of San Fortunato at Todi and the Sacro Convento in Assisi. The former received the *Tertius Alexandri* [31a], the *Secundus fratris Alexandri* [43a], the latter *Primus frater Alexandri* [24b] and the *Quartus fratris Alexandri* [33b].²⁰⁵ His writings also circulated outside the order and they were known by Robert Kilwardby, the Dominican, who lectured on the *Sentences* at Oxford c.1255.²⁰⁶ Alexander's name occurs in probate materials at an early stage. Roger of Thoritz on 2 February 1267 made a collection of books available to the Dominicans and Franciscans of Exeter, including Alexander of Hales' commentary on the *Senten-*

198 *The Letters of Adam Marsh*, ed. Lawrence, i, pp. 138–39. *Salimbene de Adam, Cronica*, ed. Scalia, vol. 1, pp. 352–53, where Grosseteste and Adam were deemed to be the special friends of Hugh.

199 *The Letters of Adam Marsh*, ed. Lawrence, i, pp. 62–63, 64–65.

200 *The Letters of Adam Marsh*, ed. Lawrence, i, pp. 118–19.

201 *The Letters of Adam Marsh*, ed. Lawrence, i, pp. 78–79.

202 Eric Doyle, O.F.M., 'A Bibliographical List by William Woodford, O.F.M.,' *Franciscan Studies* 35 (1975), p. 101 in pp. 93–106.

203 Rega Wood, 'Early Oxford Theology,' in *Mediaeval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard, Volume 1. Current Research*, ed. Evans, p. 314, n. 100 in pp. 289–343. The text cites Hugh of St Victor, but this is corrected to Richard in the critical edition. See also pp. 319, 326.

204 Cesare Cenci, *Bibliotheca Manuscripta ad Sacrum Conventum*, 2 vols (Assisi: Casa editrice Franciscana, 1981), vol. 2, p. 769.

205 Enrico Menestò, *I manoscritti medievali della biblioteca del convento Franciscano di San Fortunato di Todi* (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 2009) pp. 69–73.

206 Wood, 'Early Oxford Theology,' p. 290, n. 6, p. 295.

ces.²⁰⁷ Among the manuscripts left by Master Gerard of Abbeville was a copy of the *Glossa in quatuor libros Sententiarum* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, cod.-lat.16406). The Franciscan school of theology was, according to John Pecham, shaped by the teaching of Alexander of Hales and Bonaventure.²⁰⁸

Richard Rufus' lectures on the *Sentences* at Paris were, according to Rega Wood, based on the teaching of Bonaventure, preserving as much of his thought as possible.²⁰⁹ He grounded his students in the *Sentences* of Master Peter Lombard and the writings of Bonaventure of Bagnoregio. He was, according to Dr Peter Raedts, 'bridging the gap between the Paris and Oxford tradition.' He and Bonaventure had been members of the same community in Paris for three years and, on his return to Oxford, Richard compiled an abbreviation of the latter's commentary on the *Sentences* (Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale, MS 176).²¹⁰ John of Wales, too, was conversant with the writings of the Seraphic Doctor, as his commentary in *Ioannem*, *Collationes super Ioannem* and his *Collationes super Mattaeum* attest; his commentary in *Ioannem* includes Bonaventuran texts produced between 1254 and 1257.²¹¹ He introduced Henry of Wodestone to the writings of Bonaventure. Fr Robert J. Mokry, OFM, observes that Wodestone's *Summa de sacramentis*, which was completed in 1261 at Oxford, was highly derivative; direct quotations and summaries from the Seraphic Doctor's commentary on the *Sentences* and the *Breviloquium* account for about 48% of the text.²¹² Thus, within four years of the date of the earliest known manuscript of the *Breviloquium* (Bibliothèque Municipale de Troyes, MS 1891)²¹³ the text was being employed and quoted at Oxford. Wodestone's *Summa de sacramentis* is, thus, an early witness to the transmission of the Bonaventuran treatise in England. Cambridge, Pembroke College Library, MS 265, contains a copy of John of La Rochelle's brief exposition of the *Pater noster* and Bonaventure's *Itinerarium mentis in Deum*, which later passed to the college library. It is one of the datable manuscripts in Cambridge. The title of the treatise affirms that Bonaventure composed it while he was the minister general. This particular copy was transcribed after his resignation as minister general, that is, between 22 May and 15 July 1274, when he was a cardinal bishop.²¹⁴ Hereford Cathedral

²⁰⁷ *The Registers of Walter Brouncombe (A.D.1257–1280)*, ed. Hingeston-Randolph, p. 79.

²⁰⁸ *Registrum epistolarum fratris Johannis Peckham*, ed. Martin, vol. 3, p. 901.

²⁰⁹ Wood, 'Early Oxford Theology,' p. 319.

²¹⁰ Peter Raedts, *Richard Rufus of Cornwall and the Tradition of Oxford Theology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), pp. 9, 41–63.

²¹¹ See Jenny Swanson, *John of Wales: A Study of the Works and Ideas of a Thirteenth-Century Friar* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 12–13.

²¹² Mokry, 'The *Summa de sacramentis* of Henry Wodestone, OMin. A Critical Edition,' pp. 6–8.

²¹³ Jacques G. Bougerol, *Les Manuscrits franciscains de la Bibliothèque de Troyes* (Grottaferrata: Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1982), pp. 7*-8*, 261–62.

²¹⁴ Michael J.P. Robson, 'An Early and Datable Copy of Bonaventure's *Itinerarium mentis in Deum* (Cambridge, Pembroke College Library, MS. 265),' *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 113 (2020), p. 65 in pp. 55–80: 'Itinerarium mentis in Deum, editum a fratre Bonaventura, tunc VII ministro generali ordinis fratrum minorum, nunc cardinali Sabinens', sancte Romane ecclesie.'

Library, MS P.III.3, a late 13th-century miscellaneous text, contains the *Itinerarium mentis in Deum* and *De triplici via* on folios 189r-208r. The manuscript was also described as ‘presumably from a friary in south-eastern England.’ The two Bonaventuran treatises are preceded by two sermons by Eustace of Arras, a former regent master in Paris.²¹⁵

Conclusion

Agnellus of Pisa’s decision to appoint Robert Grosseteste as the master of the friars’ school at Oxford was a stroke of brilliance, connecting them with a figure of towering intellectual stature, whose pastoral antennae were finely attuned to the mendicant vision. Lectors were trained to teach theology to the friars and a threefold structure of schools evolved by the later 1240s. While the local schools groomed friars for the ministry of preaching and hearing confessions, custodial *studia* had a wider brief and, among other things, they trained friars for the *studia generalia* and specialized apostolates. The order’s schools at Oxford and Cambridge prepared friars for the office of lector and instructed candidates for the baccalaureate and the doctorate. Although England was deemed to be remote from Assisi and Rome, the Oxford and Cambridge Greyfriars were far from insular. New insights, ideas and texts flowed between the leading schools and were reinforced by the transfer of friars from one school to another, creating a rich cosmopolitan community of philosophers and theologians who drew on materials beyond the English Channel and the Alps.

---

²¹⁵ Mynors and Rodney M. Thomson with a contribution on bindings by Michael Gullick, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Hereford Cathedral Library* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1993), pp. 81–82.