

A RECALCITRANT EDITOR OF GILES OF ROME, JACOBUS OF SIENA, O.S.A.

When Jacobus of Siena (c.1495-c.1555) published his edition of the *Metaphysicales Quaestiones Aureae* along with two other treatises of Giles of Rome in 1552, he addressed a prefatory letter to Christopher of Padua, prior general of the Augustinian Order (1551-1569), in the hope that it would win favor for him.¹ Jacobus doubtlessly viewed his edition as an achievement in which he could take pride. During his lifetime he had already attained the status of *magister*, held the office of provincial in two provinces, and served as regent of studies at the *studium generale* in Perugia. Yet within a very short time he was denounced by the same prior general as "a crazy man, ungrateful son, deceitful religious, false Christian, and devoid of reason." Stripped of his status as a *magister* with all of the attendant privileges, Jacobus ended his days in a most unhappy state. The tragic story of his arriving at such a sad finale has previously lain buried in the registers of the priors general of the Order.²

Since the material in the registers tends to reflect problems that needed attention by the priors general, reliance on them as the main source

¹ The only known autograph of Jacobus is found in the original acts of the general chapter of Recanati of May 1547, which are preserved in the Archivio Generale Agostiniano in Rome, Cc. 37, f. 201r, where he signed as "Ego fr. Iacobus Senensis, Rheni et Suevi diffinitor." Since this article is composed in English, the form Jacobus will be used rather than Iacobus. Iacobus in the Vulgate is rendered by English James, Italian Giacomo.

² The registers of Giles of Viterbo, edited by Albericus de Meijer, O.S.A., those of Girolamo Seripando, edited by David Gutiérrez, O.S.A., and five of those of Christopher of Padua, edited by Arnulf Hartmann, O.S.A., have been published in the series *Fontes Historiae Ordinis Sancti Augustini*. The pertinent volumes are: *Aegidii Viterbiensis, O.S.A. Registrum Generalatus II: 1514-1518* (Rome, 1984); *Hieronymi Seripando O.S.A. Registrum Generalatus I: 1538-1540* (Rome, 1982); id. II: 1540-1542 (Rome, 1983); id. III: 1542-1544 (Rome, 1985); id. IV: 1544-1546 (Rome, 1986); id. V: 1546-1548 (Rome, 1988); id. VI: 1548-1551 (Rome, 1990); *Christophori Patavini, O.S.A. Registrum Generalatus I: 1551-1552* (Rome, 1985); id. II: 1552-1554 (Rome, 1989); id. III: 1554-1555 (Rome, 1992); id. IV: 1556-1557 (Rome, 1995); id. V: 1557-1558 (Rome, 1997). These works will be referred to as, e.g., AEGIDIUS, II, with item number, SERIPANDO, I, with page number and CHRISTOPHER, I, with item number. Consultation of the registers of Seripando has been much facilitated by the improved index in *Hieronymi Seripando, O.S.A. Registra Generalatus 1538-1551, Index Generalis*, ed. Albericus de Meijer, O.S.A. (Rome, 1996).

of information results in a rather negative portrait of the conditions of the Order in Italy in the first half of the sixteenth century, roughly, the lifetime of Jacobus. When Jacobus was still a young religious, Martin Luther began his revolt and was followed by many others. Since there were no mass defections in Italy, many members of the Order there did not immediately respond to the gravity of the situation of the Church by a thorough reform of their religious lives. One of the factors that retarded reform during this period was the ease with which dispensations could be obtained from the Roman Curia.³ Other factors were long-standing practices within the Order and privileges that individuals were unwilling to surrender. During his generalate (1538-1551) Jerome Seripando exerted mighty efforts to improve the quality of religious life. However, until the Church itself entered into a consistent process of reform, the efforts within an individual religious order would not prove fully effective.⁴ The Council of Trent did not take up the question of the reform of the religious until the twenty-fifth and last session in November and December 1563, several years after the death of Jacobus of Siena.

Nonetheless, Jacobus deserves to have his history related and his own composition, *Tractatus Locorum Methaphisicalium in Dictis Authoris Contradictionis Imaginem Conferentium*, which he published in the same volume as the three works of Giles, reexamined in a calmer climate than when Christopher of Padua dismissed it as shallow, inept, and showing little thought. Moreover, a brief study of Jacobus's contribution to Egidian scholarship is timely, as the Unione Accademica Nazionale, which has begun the process of preparing a critical text of the *opera omnia* of Giles of Rome, will examine the work of previous editors.⁵ The present article, then, provides background material for Jacobus and his edition and poses questions as well about his work for further study.

³ See the remarks of Hubert Jedin, *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient*, 4, 2 (Freiburg, Basel, Wien, 1975), 172-73. An example of curial permission is seen in the case of the other Jacobus Senensis, who obtained a brief to live outside the monastery. See Appendix I.

⁴ See the comment on Seripando by David Gutiérrez, O.S.A., *The Augustinians from the Protestant Reformation to the Peace of Westphalia 1518-1648*, translated by John J. Kelly, O.S.A. (Villanova, 1979), 61.

⁵ See *Aegidii Romani Opera Omnia* in the series *Corpus Philosophorum Medii Aevi* of the Unione Accademica Nazionale. The projected *prolegomena* alone involve 15 separate volumes in which the manuscript tradition and the printed editions will be listed in detail. The first part of the first volume, *Catalogo dei manoscritti: Città del Vaticano*, was published in Firenze, 1986.

STUDIES AND PROMOTION AS *MAGISTER*

Although at least two friars bearing the name Jacobus Senensis appear in the registers of the priors general of the sixteenth century, one can, for the most part, distinguish one from the other.⁶ The subject of the present article is first mentioned in the register of Giles of Viterbo (1507-18) as a formed student assigned to Florence in June 1514.⁷ At this time he could not have been less than eighteen years old.⁸ In July of the next year, he was stationed at Perugia.⁹ Two years later in 1517, the register notes that he was to be transferred to Padua if he could not be received at Perugia.¹⁰ However, he certainly went to Padua later since he was made *cursor* there on 5 March 1520.¹¹ He was advanced to *lector* at Bologna on 7 August 1523 with the proviso that he first complete the usual scholastic acts and be declared worthy by the regent.¹²

By May of 1526 he had become *baccalarius* and was appointed to serve as substitute discreet for the province of Cologne at the general

⁶ In this article only those passages of the registers of the priors general which clearly refer to Jacobus Senensis, the editor of Giles of Rome, will be employed. Another Jacobus Senensis, who did not have an academic degree, was older and outlived Jacobus the editor. He is described as "admodum senex" in November 1556 (CHRISTOPHER, IV, 956). See Appendix I.

⁷ AEGIDIUS, II, 49.

⁸ The "Ratisbon" Constitutions of the Order originally set the age for reception as a novice at fourteen: "nullus ... iunior quatuordecim annis." This provision was later changed to eleven: "dispensamus ut pueri annorum undecim recipi possit." Allowing for a year of novitiate, the earliest time for profession was twelve, but the newly professed was under the care of a religious until twenty: "usque ad vicesimum suae aetatis annum." See *Las primitivas Constituciones de los Agustinos*, ed. Ignacio Aramburu Cendoya, O.S.A. (Valladolid, 1966), 57-59 and 63. However, in 1507 the general chapter of Naples ordered that no one should be admitted to the Order before attaining his twelfth year: "nisi duodecim annum attigerit." In addition, no novice was to be released from the novitiate before age eighteen: "nisi decimum octavum aetatis annum impleverint." See *Analecta Augustiniana*, 9 (1921-22), 67.

⁹ AEGIDIUS, II, 427.

¹⁰ AEGIDIUS, II, 793.

¹¹ Archivio Generale Agostiniano, Dd. 13, *Registrum Ordinis Erem. Divi Augustini Vicario G. R.mo M. Gabrieli Veneto inceptum anno MDXVIII usque ad annum MDXX*, f. 127: "Fratrem Iacobum Senensem cursorem fecimus in gimnasio patavino."

¹² A.G.A., Dd. 14, *Registrum Ordinis Fratrum Eremitarum Sancti Augustini inceptum prima Ianuarii MDXXI sub Rm.o P. Generali Magistro Gabriele Veneto*, f. 132v: "Fratrem Iacobum Senensem lectorem sacrae theologiae fecimus in gymnasio nostro bononien[s]i cum solitis gratiis. Volentes tamen ut prius solitos scolasticos actus ibidem absolvat et regentis auspicio dignus declaretur quam lectoris aut munere aut nomine gaudeat."

chapter held at Treviso that year.¹³ At this time, the substitute representatives of provinces which failed to send one of their own religious were frequently chosen from among the *magistri*.¹⁴ It was a regular practice for the *magistri* to attend the general chapter during which they held disputations.¹⁵ The reason for the choice of Jacobus is not known.

In addition, the general was accustomed to confer scholastic promotions at the general chapters. The register of Gabriel of Venice (1519-1537) contains a detailed description of the scene at the 1526 chapter of Treviso. After the regular appointments had been made, some *magistri* came forward and asked that certain young friars who had not been able to fulfill all of the requirements be promoted with the hope of better results in the future. When the general reluctantly acceded to this request to please these *magistri*, other masters of theology, who considered themselves the equals of the former ones, came forward and made the same request for their students. The general relates how he was torn between not wanting to give offense to the second group and not wanting to lower the standards by promoting unworthy candidates. He finally decided to honor the request because of the need to supply new masters of theology to fill the ranks left vacant through death and assignments to other duties. Especially the *studium* at Siena, which had once enjoyed having a good number of excellent *magistri*, was now in great need of replacements. Accordingly, he advanced three bachelors of theology to the rank of *magister*. One of the three was Jacobus of Siena.¹⁶ Jacobus, presumably, then spent some time at Sant'Agostino in Siena in discharging his academic responsibilities.

¹³ A.G.A., Dd. 15, f. 81v, published in *Anal. August.*, 9 (1921-22), 43: "Provinciae Coloniae Discretus Ven. Bacchalarus fr. Jacobus Sen."

¹⁴ Cf. Gutiérrez, *The Augustinians 1518-1648*, 44, in reference to the appointment of Gabriel della Volta as president of the chapter of Venice 1519: "The pope gave him also the authority of supplying the votes of the absent capitulars. The president of the chapter could choose his own voters in conformity with a long-standing custom of the old religious orders." As of 1538 by reason of the decision of the Cardinal Protector, Nicholas Ridolfi, who was deputized to approve the acts of the chapter of Verona, the absent vocals at the chapter were to be supplied by those who were *magistri* for at least ten years. "Et preferantur seniores sanioresque ipsis in moribus, nec non numerus, praesertim diffinitorum suppleatur nonnisi ex eis, qui in dicto numero graviores probatioresque censentur." *Anal. August.*, 9 (1921-22), 53.

¹⁵ For example, at the chapter of Naples in 1539, the Order had 142 masters of theology in Italy, of whom 75 attended the chapter. SERIPANDO, I, p. 32. The *additiones* to the Ratisbon Constitutions allowed certain *magistri* to have a voice in the general and provincial chapters. Cf. Aramburu Cendoya, *Las primitivas Constituciones*, 121. But see the previous note.

¹⁶ See A.G.A., Dd. 15, f. 83v, published in *Anal. August.*, 9 (1921-22), 259-60.

Thus far Jacobus's life appears to have proceeded smoothly, culminating in his achievement of the status of *magister*. This position opened the door not only to privileges within the Order but also to the assuming of offices of authority. It is quite clear from the registers of Seripando and Christopher of Padua that masters of theology were often chosen as provincials and were frequently employed by the generals as vicars or visitators in carrying out special assignments. From the following incidents, selected from the references to him in the registers, one can gain insight into Jacobus's character and his manner of relating as subject to superiors and as superior to subjects. The study of his personal history provides the context within which his final conflict with authority can be judged more equitably than if it were seen as an isolated incident.¹⁷

PROVINCIAL IN SICILY

The next mention of Magister Jacobus of Siena in the generals' registers occurs under the date of September 1537. Jacobus was in Sicily locked in a lengthy controversy with Magister Aloysius of Naro. The dispute had arisen over various financial matters, but the only one specified concerns the price of a horse.¹⁸ Despite the repeated interventions of the vicar general of the Order, Joannes Antonius of Chieti, and even in the face of possible action by the civil authorities, Aloysius was able to forestall the final resolution of the case for another two years.¹⁹ Finally at the time of the general chapter at Naples in 1539, the

¹⁷ Not all of the references to Jacobus in the register are treated in the present study. Some are too fragmentary to be useful here.

¹⁸ SERIPANDO, I, p. 63.

¹⁹ A.G.A., Dd. 17, *Registrum Ordinis Fratrum Heremitarum Sancti Augustini inceptum anno Domini MDXXXVII die XV Julii tempore vicariatus R. M. Io. Antonii Aprutii* (1537-38) scribente Magistro Cherubino de Cassia, f. 204 (6 September 1537): "Ven. Fratrem Raymundum de Caltabellocta iudicem delegatum in causa Mag. Jacobi Senen. constitutum per predecessorem nostrum confirmavimus cum praedicta auctoritate ei collata ac cum quibuscumque clausulis in ea concessis. Monuimus per easdem Magistrum Aloysium de Naro ut sententiam in eum latam pareat, et infra terminum decem dierum satisfaciatur, sub poena privationis provinciae et conventus ac omnium graduum quas habuerit, necnon et sub poena excommunicationis super quibus non possit dispensari nisi per duo Capitula Generalia. Adiecimus quod, durante contumacia et rebellione ipsius, Fr. Raymundus et Magister Jacobus simul et seorsum possint invocare auxilium brachii vice-regis, addentes appellationis terminum duorum mensium ante quas debeat dictus Mag. Aloysius coram nobis personaliter comparere si de aliquo se senserit aggravatum."

A.G.A., Dd. 17, f. 204r-v (25 September, 1537): "Eundem [Magistrum Fernandum Melithensem] non tantum provincialatus officii munere fungi sed ad omnia in melius reformanda nostrum visitatorem ac vicemgerentem instituimus sibiue tamquam ordinario

judges of causes decided definitively in favor of Jacobus.²⁰ As is evidenced from the registers of the generals, such disputes over horses and mules occurred often enough.²¹ The incident demonstrates both Jacobus's tenacity in pressing his claims to monies owed him and the difficulty the generals had in resolving such problems, themes that reoccur below.

Before the general chapter of Naples, Jacobus had been elected provincial of the province of Sicily and, as such, attended the chapter.²² Besides winning his case against Magister Aloysius, Jacobus received certain commissions. He was authorized to have recourse to the viceroy to bring under obedience all troublesome and rebellious friars. Expressly cited was a friar who owed a debt of fifty scudi in gold for a loan taken to get out of prison.²³ In the post-capitular acts, the new prior general, Girolamo Seripando, established a *studium* at Palermo and levied a tax on the houses of the province to pay for its upkeep.²⁴ Later in August 1540, the general limited the scope of the *studium* to the study of dialectic and philosophy.²⁵

iudici causam Magistri Iacobi Senensis et Magistri Aloysii de Naro penitus absolvendam ac decidendam denuo commisimus, iam revocando quam superioribus diebus cuidam fratri Raymundo fecimus facultatem ac dedimus commissionem."

A.G.A., Dd. 17, f. 205v: "Cum constat per tres latas sententias Magistrum Aloysium de Naro in causa existente inter ipsum et Magistrum Jacobum Senensem de principali reum esse, liberationem expensarum factarum extra regnum et ommisionem damnorum et interesse in preiudicium gravissimum dicti Magistri Jacobi, nunc denuo per arbitros factam et promulgatam, non amisimus. Propterea decrevimus ut is, quod causam damni dedit, et damna persolvere teneatur. Committentes Magistro Alexio de Fivizzano, vicario nostro in Sicilia, et tam de expensis factis intra regnum quam extra ac etiam de quibuscumque hac de causa occursis damnis, diligentem esset facturus inquisitionem et super expensis et huius damnis de principali persistentibus sententiis in robore suo, laturus esset finalem sententiam; ipsum vero M. Aloysium mox coactus ad satisfaciendum universum debitum sub quodam ab ipso assignando termino. Addentes poenas si, elapso termino, non satisfecerit aut de consensu partis rationes non dederit satisfaciendi, privationis omnium graduum, necnon activi et passivi vocis, et exilii conventus et provinciae. Quibus censuris neglectis et incuris, facultatem sibi fecimus habendi recursum ad brachium vice-regis."

²⁰ SERIPANDO, I, p. 63.

²¹ For example, at the same chapter Alexius of Fivizzano was ordered to pay twenty ducats for a mule that he had taken from the convent of Malta. SERIPANDO, I, p. 62.

²² SERIPANDO, I, pp. 37-40 include in the list of those at the chapter: "Provincia Siciliae: Definitor magr. Aloysius Narensis, Provincialis magr. Iacobus Senensis." On 26 May, the general confirmed the acts of the provincial chapter and the election of Jacobus. See SERIPANDO, I, p. 69.

²³ SERIPANDO, I, p. 70.

²⁴ SERIPANDO, I, p. 69.

²⁵ SERIPANDO, II, p. 42.

Shortly after the chapter, on 7 June 1539, Seripando ordered Jacobus under obedience to expel Alphonsus de Vitali, an apostate infamous for his low morals, from the convent of Palermo. Jacobus had forced him on the community as its procurator even though Alphonsus had not been absolved of his apostasy. On this occasion, and again on 23 June, Seripando admonished Jacobus about the duty of following the proper provisions of law in the exercise of his office.²⁶ Seripando also soon found Jacobus's handling of other problems in the province unsatisfactory. Too many questions that should have been settled by Jacobus as provincial were being referred to the prior general. Already on 21 August 1539, less than six months into Jacobus's provincialate, Seripando urged him to reform and pacify the province, saying that otherwise he would be forced to consider appointing someone else who would be more competent.²⁷

Still another instance of bad judgement shown by Jacobus in the conduct of his office is seen in the case of Peter of Caltabellotta. Peter was prior of the convent there but gave up the office in response to a promise of Raymundus of Caltabellotta to give a donation of capital assets to the community under the condition that Peter resign. However, Raymundus did not keep his part of the agreement and conducted himself in a scandalous manner. Peter then requested permission from Jacobus to present his case to the prior general, but Jacobus refused. When Seripando became aware of the situation, he appointed Magister Aloysius of Naro as visitator of the convent. On 5 September Seripando also wrote Jacobus to reprimand him for having ignored the definitions of the general chapter in the matter. In referring to the chapter Seripando probably had in mind the definition of the general chapter of Naples in 1539 concerning the need of superiors to issue testimonial letters to those who wished to go to Rome for a "just and urgent cause."²⁸ In his letter the general also repeated his warning to replace Jacobus as superior unless he showed improvement.²⁹

In a letter of 5 November 1539, Seripando prescribed that students were to complete at least two years at the *studium* at Palermo before going elsewhere to study. Seripando recommended that Jacobus exercise special care for the *studium* and the novices because if these two concerns were rightly attended to, other errors could be more easily pardoned.³⁰

²⁶ SERIPANDO, I, pp. 79 and 102-03.

²⁷ SERIPANDO, I, p. 112.

²⁸ SERIPANDO, I, 41 and *Anal. August.*, 9 (1921-22), 59: "Superiores autem Romam proficisci volentibus, iusta urgenteque causa, debebunt litteras eis concedere testimoniales, quo R.mum Patrem suis in negotiis emergentibus possint consulere."

²⁹ SERIPANDO, I, 127-28.

³⁰ SERIPANDO, I, p. 159.

Nonetheless, three days earlier on 2 November, Seripando had already appointed Magister Gaspar of Syracuse as visitator of the house at Messina.³¹ On 28 November, the prior general directed Gaspar to investigate charges that Jacobus had physically assaulted the prior and had unjustly tried to get money from the convent for the expenses of the general chapter.³² Jacobus must have written to Seripando at this point, because on 27 December the general responded that the situation at Messina was being addressed. As for Jacobus's concern that he was under attack by the general because of his mistakes in administering the province, Seripando noted that he only wished to see the directives of the general chapter put into practice in the province. If Jacobus complied with these, Seripando remarked, he had nothing to fear.³³

Despite his previous reassurance, Seripando decided in August 1540 to appoint Magister Angelus of Genazzano as his vicar in Sicily until the provincial chapter to be held at Pentecost 1541. Angelus had previously come to Sicily to settle some personal financial claims that Jacobus had not be able to resolve for him.³⁴ As he was unsure whether Angelus was willing to accept this office, the prior general sent him alternative letters. If he was not willing to accept the office, he should send the first letter to Jacobus; if willing, he should present the other in person. In the first letter, the general sent a case concerning a friar at Syracuse back to Jacobus with instructions to solve it himself. In response to Jacobus's complaint that the visitator at Messina, Gaspar of Syracuse, had extended his attentions to Syracuse as well, Seripando noted that he had already admonished Gaspar to cease interfering. The general also insisted that the provincial chapter not be delayed but be celebrated at the normal time. In the alternative letter, Seripando noted that he had received so many complaints about Jacobus that he found it necessary to send Angelus of Genazzano as his vicar for the province. This second letter also contained the general's demand that the provincial chapter be celebrated at Pentecost.³⁵ The absence of further correspondence directed to Jacobus during his provincialate may indicate that Angelus accepted the office. Finally, at the chapter in 1541 Magister Marianus of Palermo was elected provincial.³⁶

³¹ On Magister Gaspar of Syracuse see David Gutiérrez, O.S.A., "Patres ac Theologi Augustiniani Qui Concilio Tridentino Interfuerunt," *Anal. August.*, 21 (1948), 142-43.

³² SERIPANDO, I, pp. 158 and 177.

³³ SERIPANDO, I, p. 200.

³⁴ SERIPANDO, I, pp. 62, 112, 144-45, and 164.

³⁵ SERIPANDO, II, p. 41.

³⁶ SERIPANDO, II, p. 272.

REGENT IN PERUGIA

The record is silent about Jacobus's whereabouts for the next year, but on 10 July 1542, Seripando appointed him regent at Perugia.³⁷ At the same time the prior general wrote to the provincial of the Le Marche province asking him to employ Jacobus for preaching assignments, and on 6 August, he confirmed Jacobus's assignment to preach at Siena during Lent.³⁸

At Perugia a situation soon developed that put Jacobus in conflict with the prior, Magister Marcus of Treviso. At the end of the 1542 summer season, the members of the *studium* were allowed to go to a suburban area for a day of relaxation. Some of them then spent the night outside the monastery without the permission of the prior. Very late in the night a few of them proceeded to the nearby convent of St. Catherine where they disturbed the nuns by throwing stones at the windows, shouting, and singing lascivious songs. Outraged by such disgraceful conduct, Seripando enjoined the prior on 5 September to conduct a thorough investigation including exacting testimony under oath in order to determine the guilty. In the meantime lectures were suspended.³⁹ On 20 September, Seripando sent another letter authorizing the resumption of studies.⁴⁰ At the same time he wrote Jacobus to reprove him for having openly opposed the prior and thereby having contributed to the collapse of discipline in the house.⁴¹ In a separate letter the prior was ordered to expel Jacobus if he continued to cause problems.⁴² Soon afterwards, without having obtained permission, Jacobus and two lectors traveled to Rome to see Seripando in person only to meet with a public reprimand and be ordered to return to Perugia on 18 October.⁴³ In acting as he did, Jacobus had violated the definition of the general chapter of Naples in

³⁷ SERIPANDO, II, p. 314.

³⁸ SERIPANDO, II, pp. 314 and 329.

³⁹ SERIPANDO, III, pp. 21-22.

⁴⁰ SERIPANDO, III, pp. 29-30.

⁴¹ SERIPANDO, III, p. 30: "numquam nos putasse tanta eum usurum levitate et inconstantia, ut publice priorem accusaret, iudicaretque ea quae sui fori non erant, et sic audaciam peccandi iuventuti subministraret."

⁴² SERIPANDO, III, p. 31.

⁴³ SERIPANDO, III, pp. 48-49. To the three Seripando applied the same term he used of Jacobus alone above: "maxima inconstantia usi." On Seripando's presence in Rome at this time, see David Gutiérrez, O.S.A., *Hieronymi Seripandi <<Diarium de vita sua>>* (Rome, 1963), 51-52. Seripando also ordered the prior to take possession of the goods of the three religious and to destroy the lectors' patents to preach.

1539 concerning trips to Rome.⁴⁴ On 10 November Seripando sent a letter exhorting the community at Perugia to observe regular life, obey the prior, and avoid factions. The regent, Jacobus, was again directed to attend to his own duties and not to interfere with those of the prior.⁴⁵

Notwithstanding this incident, Jacobus managed to recover some standing with Seripando. He was chosen as a substitute for an absent provincial at the general chapter at Rome in May 1543.⁴⁶ At the chapter Jacobus lost his position as regent at Perugia.⁴⁷ He was, however, named president of the next provincial chapter of the province of Siena.⁴⁸

PROVINCIAL OF SIENA

Despite his previous unsatisfactory performance in Sicily, Jacobus was elected provincial of the province of Siena and received the general's confirmation in that office on 19 June 1543. In the same dispatch, Seripando urged Jacobus to adhere faithfully to the tenor of the letters he had issued to the province at the end of the visitation he had made from 24 November to 9 December 1539. The prior general also expressed his displeasure that, in his capacity of president of the provincial chapter, Jacobus had allowed Leonardus of Capalbio to preach even though he was aware of the latter's previous contumacious conduct. Not long before, Leonardus, who had gone to Sicily without permission, had been imprisoned and expelled from that province by Seripando's orders.⁴⁹

Before receiving the general's letter confirming him in office, Jacobus had begun to act by removing from office the prior of the house at Colle di Val d'Elsa after only a single day's visit there. The prior, Raphael of Colle, had been appointed at the provincial chapter less than a month before but was accused of being overly familiar with a woman. Raphael appealed the decision. On 28 June the general wrote Jacobus to

⁴⁴ *Anal. August.*, 9 (1921-22), 59: "De illis praeterea, qui Romam petunt, illa cautio additur; ne quis ausit Romam se recipere absque litteris Provincialium causam referentibus, idque sub poena carceris." In his register cited in the previous note, Seripando refers only to the lack of permission of the prior.

⁴⁵ SERIPANDO, III, pp. 58-59.

⁴⁶ SERIPANDO, III, p. 132. Paul III named Seripando the president of the chapter (SERIPANDO, III, p. 129-30). As such, it was his decision to assign Jacobus to represent the absent provincial. Cf. note 14 above.

⁴⁷ SERIPANDO, III, p. 151.

⁴⁸ SERIPANDO, III, p. 162.

⁴⁹ SERIPANDO, III, pp. 182-83. Seripando's instructions to the province are found in SERIPANDO, I, pp. 192-93. For Leonardus see SERIPANDO, III, p. 105 (January 1543).

say that he would personally deal with the situation at Colle. On the next day, Seripando suspended the provincial's decree. In the register the general noted that Jacobus seemed to have acted more out of impulse than with due consideration. He may have been zealous, Seripando conceded, but it was not with "zeal according to wisdom."⁵⁰ On 5 August in company with Jacobus, Seripando visited the convent at Colle. The general urged all live together in peace and warned that he would remove the disobedient. He also laid down injunctions for Raphael to follow. If he refused to follow these directives, Jacobus was to remove him from office.⁵¹

The case did not end with the general's provisions. A few months later on the general's orders, issued on 18 October, Jacobus and the first definitor of the province, Magister Antonius of Siena, conducted another investigation concerning Raphael's compliance with Seripando's directives.⁵² After this visit to Colle, Jacobus made an unfavorable report, but the other visitor disagreed with him. On 24 November, Seripando then commissioned Magister Franciscus of Gambassi to conduct a still further investigation and to decide the matter once for all. In his instructions Seripando again made mention of the precipitous action of Jacobus before having received confirmation in office as provincial.⁵³ The register does not inform us of the decision made by Franciscus, but on 5 January 1544, Seripando commended him for having settled the case in a satisfactory manner.⁵⁴

Jacobus continued in office until Pentecost 1545 when he was succeeded by Magister Ioannes Augustinus of Siena.⁵⁵ Seripando directed the president of the chapter, Magister Aurelius of Castiglione Fiorentino, to compel Jacobus to settle two grievances held against him. During one of his visits to Colle di Val d'Elsa, Jacobus had demanded two scudi from the community in compensation for a theft committed against him. Jacobus was now to restore the money. The friars at Arezzo where Jacobus had given a course of Lenten sermons had also lodged a complaint against him.⁵⁶

⁵⁰ SERIPANDO, III, pp. 193-95. Note especially: "Qua in re, quae veluti impetu potius quam consilio facta notari potest, ... *zelus* quid inesse potuit, *sed non secundum scientiam*." Seripando is employing a reference to Rm. 10:2: "Aemulationem Dei habent sed non secundum scientiam."

⁵¹ SERIPANDO, III, p. 208.

⁵² SERIPANDO, III, p. 236

⁵³ SERIPANDO, III, p. 253-54. Seripando's remark about Jacobus reads: "initio officii sui—nondum a nobis confirmatus—ea tentarat quae in sua potestate non erant."

⁵⁴ SERIPANDO, III, p. 265.

⁵⁵ SERIPANDO, IV, p. 160.

⁵⁶ SERIPANDO, IV, pp. 119-20.

AT SANT'AGOSTINO IN SIENA 1545-1555

After the chapter, Jacobus returned to the convent of Sant'Agostino in Siena, where, as at Perugia, he quickly antagonized the prior, Magister Ioannes Baptista of Fermo. On 12 August 1545, in response to the prior's complaints that Jacobus had revealed secrets of the Order to lay people and rebelled against him, Seripando ordered the prior to expel Jacobus from the convent. To reverse this judgment, Jacobus had to appeal in person to the general at Trent. After he managed to convince Seripando that the charges were false, Seripando rebuked the prior in a letter of 28 August in which he also commanded him to provide Jacobus with quarters and a servant.⁵⁷ Apparently, Jacobus's services were not employed in the *studium*. On 16 November, Seripando approved Jacobus's taking two youths under his instruction and care.⁵⁸ A year later, on 9 November 1546, Seripando gave Jacobus a general permission to teach Sacred Scripture wherever he was needed.⁵⁹

At the general chapter celebrated at Recanati in May 1547, Jacobus was appointed the substitute definitor of the Rhine-Swabian province.⁶⁰ At the chapter also, Jacobus was named to serve as *socius* of the provincial of Siena, Magister Humbertus of Siena, who would hold the office from 1549-1551.⁶¹ Jacobus must have been on good terms with Humbertus, who was serving as prior of Sant'Agostino in Siena, for Humbertus soon wrote the general for permission to allow Jacobus to use the infirmary as an additional room.⁶² Unfortunately, community life was so marred by factions and conflicts that Seripando had to send a stern letter of rebuke to the friars and to appoint a visitator in June 1548. In the following September Seripando also visited the house himself.⁶³

In addition to the internal problems of the community, soldiers were quartered at Sant'Agostino around this time.⁶⁴ The city of Siena had a long history of internal turmoil because of the conflicts among parties of

⁵⁷ SERIPANDO, IV, pp. 207 and 214-15.

⁵⁸ SERIPANDO, IV, p. 242.

⁵⁹ SERIPANDO, V, p. 78.

⁶⁰ A.G.A., Cc. 37, f. 201, published in *Anal. August.*, 9 (1921-22), 154. See also SERIPANDO, V, p. 125.

⁶¹ SERIPANDO, V, p. 139.

⁶² SERIPANDO, V, p. 217. Not all of the rooms of the monastery were available to the friars, as will be seen below.

⁶³ SERIPANDO, V, pp. 310 and SERIPANDO, VI, p. 46 (Sept. 12, 1548).

⁶⁴ SERIPANDO, VI, pp. 90 (December 1548) and 148 (May 1549).

its citizens. Desiring to acquire Siena for his own family, Pope Clement VII had launched an attack, which was beaten back with the help of Charles V in 1526. The Emperor took the city under imperial protection and stationed Spanish troops there in 1531. Gradually, the protection became domination, which, in turn, led to revolts and the expulsion of the Spaniards in 1546 and 1552.⁶⁵ Because of its proximity to the Porta Tufi and the large size of the monastery, Sant'Agostino was a desirable location for quartering soldiers. The convent's suitability for this purpose is also evidenced by the fact that, after the city had been conquered by the forces supporting the imperial claim in 1555, troops would again be stationed at Sant'Agostino.⁶⁶

Some of the discord in the community may have reflected the political conflicts among the families of the friars. On 12 October 1549 Seripando sent a letter to the community regarding a serious abuse. Friars were going about the city at night, and some even wore secular clothing. In Seripando's view such activity led to the religious being held in contempt and constituted a "danger to the city" (*neque sine civitatis periculo*), perhaps a reference to suspected conspiratorial involvement of some of the friars. Seripando warned the friars that he had requested Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, the imperial governor from 1547 to 1552, to punish any friars who might be found outside the monastery late at night.⁶⁷

CHRISTOPHER OF PADUA'S VISITATION

On 16 May 1551 at the general chapter of Bologna, Christopher of Padua was elected prior general. Since Christopher had been procurator of the Order from 17 January 1547 and vicar of Seripando for some months before his election, he probably was aware of Jacobus's past difficulties.⁶⁸ Nonetheless, his first dealings with Jacobus went smoothly enough in as much as he named him to a commission in November 1551 to investigate

⁶⁵ See "Siena" in the *New Catholic Encyclopedia* and *Enciclopedia Italiana*.

⁶⁶ For more information on conditions of the convent especially after 1555 see Karl Gersbach, O.S.A., "A Disturbance at Sant'Agostino, Siena, January 1565," in *Conventos Agostinos*, X Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Orden de San Agustín, (Madrid, 20-24 de octubre de 1997), ed. Rafael Lazcano, O.S.A. (Rome, 1988), 633-49.

⁶⁷ SERIPANDO, VI, p. 240. On Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, see Ericka Spivakovsky, *Son of the Alhambra, Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza 1504-1575* (Austin, Texas and London, 1970).

⁶⁸ See Gutiérrez, *The Augustinians 1518-1648*, 58-59.

the charge of heresy against Magister Michael Angelus of Scarlino.⁶⁹ A year later the general's attitude toward Jacobus changed when Jacobus presented him with a copy of his edition of *Metaphysicales Quaestiones Aureae* of Giles of Rome during a general visitation of Siena from 23 October to 2 November 1552.

In an attempt to win the good will of the recently elected prior general, Jacobus had included in the work a prefatory letter written in the effusive style of the time. In the heading of the letter, Christopher is called "most learned in letters" and "most worthy general." In the body of the letter, the general is cited as "most outstanding for piety, endowed with every virtue, fluent in every branch of study," and so forth. At the end, he is addressed as "most excellent father, chief model of the Christian religion and noble ornament of the Augustinian Order." In his eagerness to flatter the general, however, Jacobus was led to employ an infelicitous comparison intended to show the superiority of the addressee over his predecessors. Jacobus wrote: "that the Order, nearly desiccated and overshadowed, may at last flourish and shine again under such a great leader as you."⁷⁰ It was the words "nearly desiccated and overshadowed" (*ferme exsiccata atque obscura*) that gave offense to the general, in whose eyes they amounted to an insult to Seripando and the generals before him.⁷¹

Although Christopher of Padua was dissatisfied with many aspects of the book, such as the many typographical errors, he decided to limit his correction to the offensive prefatory letter. He told Jacobus to replace it with a shorter and more acceptable one at his own expense, but Jacobus refused. No amount of persuasion on the part of the general could change his mind. The imprudence that had appeared before at times in Jacobus's life now came into full play. We do not know his motivation, whether it was his anger at the general's rejection of his letter, the money he would have to spend to make the correction, or a combination of the two.⁷² Clearly, even aside from the issue of obedience to his superior, Jacobus acted very foolishly in not acceding to the general's wishes in the matter.

⁶⁹ CHRISTOPHER, I, 229.

⁷⁰ The complete text of Jacobus's prefatory letter is found in Appendix II.

⁷¹ See CHRISTOPHER, II, 107 for the decree of Christopher of Padua. In citing the offending phrase the general changes the wording to "religionem exsiccatam et obumbratam."

⁷² Noted above are several instances of Jacobus's pressing financial claims. To these can be added his claim for three scudi at the general chapter of Rome, 1543. See SERIPANDO, III, p. 158.

On his part, Christopher of Padua responded with severity. On 27 October, while still at Siena, he issued a letter containing a general prohibition forbidding the publication of any book, work, preface, or letter without his permission or that of the procurator of the Order. He explained that he was moved to issue this command because of the "hallucinations" (*deliramentis*) published by Jacobus of Siena, whose remarks dishonored his predecessors in general and Seripando in particular and made light of the laws and ordinances of the Order.⁷³ In rejecting the general's reasonable demand to replace the prefatory letter, Jacobus had shown himself to be not only disobedient but "a crazy man, ungrateful son, deceitful religious, false Christian, and devoid of reason." Jacobus's offensive phrase about the Order's condition proved his malice according to the general, who concluded by depriving Jacobus of "every grade and dignity."⁷⁴

A careful reading of the prefatory letter, however, leads to other conclusions than those reached by the general. Jacobus begins by noting the insufficiency of all creatures. Humans, each of whom begins existence with the mind as a *rasa tabula*, have a special need of help. So too the Order started in deepest want but was enriched by the labor of its learned men, whose works have now been neglected for too long. Jacobus bemoans the loss or unavailability of the works of nineteen Augustinian writers. The Order, he notes, was in danger of losing the fruits of learning that these men had labored to give it. He faults the leaders of the Order (*nostrae religionis optimates*) for having allowed matters to come to such a sorry state. Just as the Church needs to value the Scriptures, so too the Order needs to appreciate its intellectual treasures. In support of his argument, he cites Sirach 20: 29: "Hidden wisdom and unseen treasure — of what value is either?" It is, therefore, a source of joy that the Order now has a great leader able to restore it from its desiccated and overshadowed state.

One should note that in this prefatory letter Jacobus was writing only in a very narrow scholastic context when he faulted past leaders of

⁷³ CHRISTOPHER, II, 107: "Sumus adducti quoque quibusdam deliramentis, quae a fratre Iacobo Senensi impudenter conscripta et temere nunc nuper impressa sunt, quem nominare, vel ut verius dicatur inhonorare, tot ac tantos gravissimos ac reverendissimos patres, praedecessores nostros, vel et longe reverendum praecessorem nostrum nusquam satis laudatum virum eo indigniori modo tractare, quo dignior et praeclarior semper extitit et extat eorum fama."

⁷⁴ CHRISTOPHER, II, 107: "ut tanti esset hominis dementia, qui obedientiae religioni suae quondam et in hac parte nobis promissae stulte oblitus, posthabita ab eo pietate officiosi filii, quid viro christiano agendum esset non recordatus, immo in reprobum sensum inductus, se dementem hominem, ingratum filium, mendacem religiosum, fictum christianum, demum rationis expertem, nedum nobis sed et iis omnibus, qui haec ipsa sua gesta perpenderit, aperte declaravit."

the Order. Their specific failing according to him was to permit the neglect of the Order's intellectual heritage by not preserving and propagating the works of the Order's philosophers and theologians. Christopher of Padua appears to have understood Jacobus's remarks in a much wider context as a criticism of the whole life and condition of the Order. In his decree he cites Jacobus for making light of the laws, holy ordinances, and constitutions of the Order.⁷⁵

As a kind of postscript to his decree, Christopher of Padua issued a warning that those who detract others could expect even worse measures to be applied to them. He clearly intended Jacobus's case to serve as an example. One may wonder, however, whether the prior general's reaction is not best understood, at least in part, as another manifestation of a tendency of authorities in the intellectually tense atmosphere of the sixteenth century to suppress all criticism and dissent.

FINAL YEARS

The general's decree automatically removed all of the privileges that Jacobus had enjoyed as a *magister*. Among these was the loss of his personal servant, special funding, exemption from assistance at portions of the office in choir, attendance at general chapters, and any other special permissions that he had. In addition, he was no longer permitted to preach.⁷⁶ This loss of status only served to make Jacobus more defiant even to the point of complaining about the general in an insolent manner. Upon learning of Jacobus's insubordination, Christopher of Padua expressed his displeasure in letter of 23 November 1553 to the prior of Siena, Magister Paulus of Siena, and enjoined him to put Jacobus in prison if he should do anything bad or unfitting.⁷⁷

However, political events of larger dimensions than the internal workings of the Order were to determine the outcome. In July 1552 the Sienese had revolted against imperial authority. With the help of the French they drove out the 300 troops of the Spanish garrison and the 400

⁷⁵ CHRISTOPHER, II, 107: "Tantum, inquam, patrum sanctissimas leges et probatas ordinationes reprehendere seipsum parvi faciens minime erubuit," and "tot honoratorum et summopere laudatorum patrum, ... honorem et dignitatem improbe laceraverit et eorum sanctas constitutiones ... aut sacras canones saepe momorderit."

⁷⁶ A.G.A., Ff. 2 *Transumptum Epistolarum Christ. Patavin. 1551-1553*, ff. 159-60 contains a list of preachers with Jacobus's name crossed out.

⁷⁷ CHRISTOPHER, II, 822. On Paulus Senensis see Gutiérrez, "Patres ac Theologi," 158-59, and Gersbach, "A Disturbance at Sant'Agostino," 633-49.

supplied by the Duke of Florence.⁷⁸ Siena was soon engaged in a full-scale war with the imperial forces trying to retake the city. With the help of the Duke of Florence, Cosimo I, the imperials laid seige to the city from March 1554 to 17 April 1555, during which time starvation set in and the population was reduced to 8,000 persons.⁷⁹ The community at Sant'Agostino was also reduced from more than sixty friars before the war to a mere eighteen after the end of the war.⁸⁰ It is virtually certain that Jacobus died around this time, for from 10 August 1555 to the last reference on 11 January 1556 the register treats of arrangements made concerning the disposition of his books, room, and monies owed to him.⁸¹

A further indication of the disfavor into which Jacobus had fallen in the eyes of Christopher of Padua is seen in the general's continuing suspicions concerning him even after the presumed time of his death. On 10 August 1555, some months after the capitulation of the Sienese, the prior general ordered the prior of Sant'Agostino to send him a list of all of Jacobus's books, "including those that were under suspicion."⁸² Perhaps the general was trying to prevent possible problems for the Order by his vigilance against heresy. By this time Pope Paul IV had ascended the papal throne and inaugurated a campaign of reform characterized by harsh measures especially against those suspected of heresy.⁸³

To all intents and purposes, the condemnation of Jacobus of Siena by the prior general resulted in a *damnatio memoriae* for the man and his work within the Augustinian Order. None of the historians or bibliographers of the Order before Perini make any mention of him. Perini, who gives only brief biographical information based on the registers of the

⁷⁸ Spivakovski, *Mendoza*, 284-317. During his visit to Siena Christopher of Padua found himself briefly involved as peacemaker in the quarrels among the leaders of the city. See CHRISTOPHER, II, 94.

⁷⁹ *Enciclopedia Italiana*, "Siena."

⁸⁰ CHRISTOPHER, V, 324 (13 November 1557).

⁸¹ CHRISTOPHER, III, 1053, 1132, 1174, 1368, 1379 and CHRISTOPHER, IV, 39. Cf. Davide Perini, O.S.A., *Bibliographia Augustiniana cum notis biographicis: Scriptores Itali* (Firenze, 1929-37), 3, 186: "Videtur illum [Jacobum] non attigisse quinquagesimum quintum aetatis annum." As noted above, my estimate places Jacobus's age around sixty at the time of his death.

⁸² CHRISTOPHER, II, 1053 and 1174.

⁸³ See Ludwig, Freiherr von Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, ed. R. F. Kerr, 14 (St. Louis, 1924), 176 concerning Paul IV: "His first streps in the direction of reform, in the summer of 1555, showed ... that he would, now that he was in possession of the supreme power, display the greatest rigor."

priors general, uses the work of Giuseppe Boffito as his source for the citation of Jacobus's work.⁸⁴

Despite the censure of the prior general, Jacobus's edition of Giles circulated. Boffito notes that there are exemplars in various libraries in Italy.⁸⁵ In addition to those cited by him, one can add the copies in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana and in the library of the Augustinianum in Rome. The reader's attention is now directed to a more detailed consideration of the publication.

JACOBUS'S EDITION OF *METAPHYSICALES QUAESTIONES AUREAE* OF GILES OF ROME

The title page of Jacobus's edition of Giles of Rome reads as follows:

*METAPHYSICALES / QVAESTIONES AVREAE / DOMINI AEGIDII
ROMANI BITHVRICENSIS ARCHIPRAESVLIS ORDINIS / Diui
Augustini, ab innumeris mendis dilutae, argumentis,
responsisque ac / annotationibus, nec non indice locuple-
tatae, per Magistrum Iacobum / Senensem eiusdem Augusti-
niana professionis in / germanum nitorem redactae. /*

*Eiusdem Aegidii de Coeli materiali compositione Contra
Averro. /*

*Eiusdem Aegidii de Intellectuum humanorum pluritate
Contra Averro. /*

*TRACTATVS LOCORVM / METAPHYSICALIVM DICTI AVCTORIS /
Contradictionis speciem mentientium eiusdem Magistri
Iacobi / Senensis Heremicolae trutina depromptus. /*

Venetijs Apud Octavium Scotum D. Ama Dei / MDLII

Jacobus's claim, not unusual in editions of this period, that he has corrected many errors is repeated in his dedication.⁸⁶ Unfortunately,

⁸⁴ Giuseppe Boffito, *Saggio di Bibliografia Egidiani*, (Firenze, 1911), 42.

⁸⁵ Boffito, *ibid.*: "Esemplare nella biblioteca Marucelliana, nella Nazionale fiorentina, ecc., nella romana, nell'Alessandrina, ecc."

⁸⁶ See the dedication to Cardinal Mignanelli: "iam ab innumeris erratis excussa."

Jacobus's edition, especially in the part composed by him, is somewhat spoiled by typographical errors, another source of irritation for Christopher of Padua.⁸⁷

Jacobus's redaction of the *Metaphysicales Quaestiones Aureae* was not the first. Several editions had preceded: Venice, 1499, per Petrum de quarengijs [!]; and Venice, 1501, per Simonem de Luere; and Venice, 1505. Bruni remarks that all the printed editions, including that of Jacobus, lack Giles's treatment of Aristotle's books 3, 5, 9, and 11.⁸⁸

The 1501 edition of Venice was edited by Joannes Baptista of Tolentino, O.S.A., who dedicated the work to Gratianus Ventura of Foligno, vicar general of the Order (1498-1501) and later prior general (1501-1504). Among his reasons for publishing the work, Joannes Baptista cites its usefulness for students.⁸⁹ While Jacobus may have been familiar with this edition, he employed at least one other source, edition or manuscript, in addition to it or instead of it for his own text, which presents some material not in the 1501 Venice edition.⁹⁰

Similarly, Giles's edition of *De Coeli Materiali Compositione contra Averroistas* was preceded by several others: Padua, 1493, per Hieronimum de durantis [!]; Venice, 1500, per Simonem de Luere; Venice, 1502, per Bonetum Locatellum; and Venice, 1503, per Bonetum Locatellum.⁹¹ Jacobus's edition of *De Intellectuum Humanorum Pluritate Contra Averroistas*, also known as *Tractatus de Plurificatione Intellectus Possibilis*, follows upon an edition of Padua, 1493, per Hieronimum de durantis [!] and another of Venice, 1500, per Simonem de Luere.⁹² These last two editions appear in the same volumes as the respective editions of *De Coeli Materiali Compositione*.

⁸⁷ CHRISTOPHER, II, 107: "opus totum exactissima castigatione indigere, quodque videre est, quam plurimis erroribus vel ab impressore, vel correctore, aut ab utroque commissis refertum sit."

⁸⁸ Gerardo Bruni, *Le opere di Egidio Romano* (Firenze, 1936), 56-57.

⁸⁹ On Joannes Baptista († c.1525) see Perini, 4, 13-14. In his letter of dedication, Joannes Baptista writes: "...mira et incredibili allectus iucunditate, tum ipsius dicendi lepore, tum etiam ipsorum aberrantium iuvenum profectu, ac nostre alme heremitice religionis decore...."

⁹⁰ For example, in the first question of the first book, Jacobus gives a paragraph beginning: "Praeterea felicitas est per se bonum sufficiens," which is not found in the 1501 Venice edition. I have not had the opportunity to examine the other early editions of the *Quaestiones*.

⁹¹ Bruni, 73. Whether the 1503 was merely a reprinting of the 1502 needs to be determined.

⁹² Bruni, 73-74.

It is clear that in the case of the treatises *De Coeli Materiali Compositione* and *De Pluritate Intellectuum*, Jacobus was reprinting these works to replace the Padua edition of 1493, which had been edited by Giles of Viterbo, later prior general of the Order (1507-18) and then cardinal.⁹³ Jacobus repeats word for word the assertion of Giles of Viterbo at the end of the work that he has published the two treatises because they were most useful for students and the texts were hard to find.⁹⁴

Giles of Viterbo in Padua, 1493

Habeto itaque, candide lector, tres has questiones clarissimi doc. Eg.; duas, scilicet, de celi materia et unam de possibili intellectu: quas ideo posuimus quoniam summam iuvenibus in eis utilitatem esse novimus et raram apud homines copiam videramus. F. Egidius Eremita Viterbiensis castigavit et dedit.

Jacobus in Venice, 1552

Habeto itaque, candide lector, tres has questiones clarissimi doc. Aegi.; duas, scilicet, de celi materia, et unam de possibili intellectu, quas ideo posuimus quoniam summam iuvenibus in eis utilitatem esse novimus et raram apud homines copiam videramus. Frater Iacobus Senensis castigavit et dedit.

In his prefatory letter, Jacobus also indicates that Christopher of Padua helped to sponsor his edition.⁹⁵ Jacobus's publication needs to be seen not just as an individual effort but as part of a larger project to revive Egidian studies within the Order. David Gutiérrez, O.S.A., points out that the general chapter of Naples in 1539 introduced a reform of studies by insisting that the texts of Aristotle be taught rather than those of John of Jandun († 1328) and Averroes (Ibd Rushd † 1198). Where possible, the teachings of Giles of Rome were to be followed and, where material from him was not available, the doctrine of St. Thomas Aquinas was to be adhered to. Gutiérrez notes that this was the first time that Order officially

⁹³ Giles of Viterbo also worked on an edition of the commentary of Giles of Rome on Aristotle's *Physics*, Padua, 1493. In his article on Giles of Viterbo in the *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, F.X. Martin, O.S.A., notes that these works were prepared while Giles was still a student at Padua.

⁹⁴ Egidio's notation is found on folio 7 verso and Jacobus's on folio 60 verso.

⁹⁵ See Jacobus's preface in Appendix II: "Paternitas Tua Reverendissima, dum Aegidij Doctoris nostri Methaphisicalia exquisita quesita, diu in numeris involuta erratis ut imprimerentur quam mox operam navavit, cuius dispositione en in lucem prodeunt."

adopted Aquinas as a guide.⁹⁶ The chapter's directive to replace the works of Averroes and John of Jandun with those of Giles and Thomas was intended to correct the tendency among philosophers in Italy at the time to revive the interpretation of the former pair against the new humanistic reading of Aristotle, especially in the area of psychology.⁹⁷ In ordering that the students read the text of Aristotle but follow the interpretation (*iuxta viam*) of Giles of Rome, the chapter affirmed the humanistic ideal of returning directly to the ancient sources while at the same time readopting Giles of Rome as the official *magister* of the Order, a position first taken by the general chapter of Florence in 1287.⁹⁸

In his visitation of the Order, Seripando actively promoted the program of studies adopted by the chapter.⁹⁹ Moreover, he showed interest in the publication of Giles's works. In writing to Magister Herennius of Naples on 28 November 1542, he urged him to bring with him the edition of the second and third books of Giles's commentary on the *Sentences*, which Herennius had edited.¹⁰⁰ Later on 21 July 1550, Seripando expressed his great delight in an edition of Giles's *Expositio in Librum de Causis* by Aegidius of Florence.¹⁰¹ Towards the end of his generalate, when he published the new constitutions in 1551, Seripando announced his intention of setting aside the money received from the sale of the book in a fund to promote the publication of Augustinian authors. In turn, when Christopher of Padua succeeded Seripando as general in May 1551, he began implementing Seripando's plan by gathering the works of Giles of Rome and assigning them to various editors in the Order.¹⁰²

⁹⁶ David Gutiérrez, O.S.A., "Los Estudios en la orden Agustiniana desde la edad media hasta la contemporánea," *Anal. August.*, 33 (1970), 106-07. The text of decree of the chapter reads: "Quantum vero ad studia reformanda pertinet, sancitur et definitur, ne placita Averrois et Iandoni penitus deinceps defendantur; sed textus aristotelicus in philosophia, in theologia vero textus Magistri sententiarum lectitentur et defensentur Omnes vero lectiones iuxta viam domini Aegidii nostri Romani legantur et disputentur, et ubi eius scripta deficiunt, ex divi Thomae Aquinatis doctrina conformi suppleatur."

⁹⁷ See Katherine Park and Eckhard Kessler, "The Concept of Psychology," in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. Charles B. Schmitt et al. (Cambridge, 1988), 462.

⁹⁸ See Gutiérrez, "Estudios," 79-80.

⁹⁹ Gutiérrez, "Estudios," 107-08.

¹⁰⁰ SERIPANDO, III, p. 69-70. Gutiérrez remarks (note 50, *ibid.*) that the work was not published.

¹⁰¹ SERIPANDO, VI, pp. 342-43. The edition was that of Venice, 1550, apud Iacobum Zoppinum. See Bruni, 68-69.

¹⁰² Under Christopher of Padua's direction a volume of Giles's treatises appeared in 1555 in Rome, "apud Antonium Bladum." In this work, *Primus Tomus Operum D. Aegidii Romani*, Christopher's letter of dedication to Cardinal Marcello Cervini, later

Even though Jacobus may have begun work on his edition of Giles earlier than 1551, his edition fitted very well into the scheme of studies proposed by the chapter and promoted by the generals. Giles's *Quaestiones Metaphysicales*, *De Coeli Materiali Compositione* and *De Intellectuum Humanorum Pluritate* form a trio chosen by Jacobus to supply texts for the study of select questions in metaphysics, physics, and psychology. Psychology was not considered a separate discipline until later, but Aristotle's *De anima* was read and discussed at the universities as a requirement for the bachelor of arts degree.¹⁰³ Of the texts chosen by Jacobus, two were considered anti-Averroist treatises as is shown in their titles. As some fifty years had elapsed since the previous editions, a new edition of the three works of Giles was in order.

Jacobus dedicated the volume to Cardinal Fabio Mignanelli, who was appointed as *legatus a latere* to Siena on 13 August 1552 in an attempt to bring peace to the troubled political situation.¹⁰⁴ Since Jacobus does not refer to this last office in his dedication, but only to Mignanelli's elevation to the cardinalate in November 1551, Jacobus apparently based his choice of Mignanelli on their previous acquaintance when they were both at Bologna in 1542-43 rather than on the cardinal's role as mediator.

In the dedication Jacobus praises the ancients who first laid down the paths of study in the arts and sciences. He cites a passage from Aristotle's *Metaphysics* II (993b10-15) concerning the lyre players, Timotheus and Phrynis as examples of persons who successively enriched the art of music. A comparison with the so called "Anonymous Translation" shows that Jacobus was familiar with a Latin version of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* though not necessarily the one cited here.¹⁰⁵

Marcellus II, explains the background.

¹⁰³ Park and Kessler, *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, 455-56.

¹⁰⁴ Mignanelli was of Sienese origin. Bishop of Lucera in Apulia 1540-53, he was named governor of Bologna in 1541, nuncio at Venice in 1543, representative at the Diet of Worms in 1544. He was promoted to the college of cardinals on 20 November 1551 and appointed bishop of Grosseto in 1553. He died in Rome 10 August 1557. See *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevii*, III, ed. G. Gulik and C. Eubel, 36, 222, and 246. In his dedication Jacobus refers to some of these positions.

¹⁰⁵ See *Metaphysica*, ed. G. Vuillemin-Diem in *Aristoteles Latinus* 25, 2 (Leiden, 1976), 36. Phrynis (second half of fifth century B.C.) was an outstanding master of the lyre and the teacher of Timotheus (c.450-c.360 B.C.), who was the chief representative of the "new music." See "Phrynis" and "Timotheus," 4, in *Der Kleine Pauly*, ed. K. Ziegler and W. Sontheimer (Stuttgart, 1964).

Jacobus

Non solum hiis dicere gratiam iustum est quorum aliquis opinionibus communicaverit, set et hiis qui adhuc superficialiter aliquid enuntiarunt; nam habitum nostrum praeexercitati sunt. Si enim Thimotheus non fuisset, multam melodiam non haberemus; si autem non Phrines, Thimotheus non fuisset.

Anonymous Translation

Non solum autem hiis dicere gratiam iustum est quorum aliquis opinionibus communicatus est, sed et hiis superficialiter enuntiantibus; et enim hii conferunt aliquid; nam habitum nostrum preinstruxerunt; nam si Thimotheus non fuisset, multam melodiam non haberemus; et si non Phrinis, Thimotheus non fuisset.

Later, after citing the accomplishments of Cardinal Mignanelli in extravagant language, he asks that his gift be received by the cardinal in the way Artaxerxes II was willing to accept small gifts with no less pleasure than great ones.¹⁰⁶

JACOBUS'S *TRACTATUS LOCORUM METAPHYSICALIUM*

Along with the edition of the three works of Giles, Jacobus published his own treatise, which he describes as taken from his own balance (*trutina*). The purpose of the work as a help to students is set forth in the title placed at the head of the work: *Tractatus Locorum Methaphysicalium in Dictis Auctoris Contradictionis Imaginem Conferentium a Magistro Iacobo Senensi Ordinis Divi Augustini pro Iunioribus Depromptus* [corrected from the edition's "De Promptivis"]. Jacobus's treatise serves as an illustration of the material and method employed in the classes that he taught to young Augustinians.

In the work Jacobus reviews each of the *quaestiones* in the *Metaphysicales Quaestiones* of Giles of Rome for all eight books printed in the edition.¹⁰⁷ His inquiry is based on apparent contradictions between the positions adopted by Giles in different places within the

¹⁰⁶ "Proinde voluminis parvitas ad V.D.R. magnitudinem tute ingreditur, que ferme secundus Arthaxerses, non minus humanum atque Regium, parva a parvis hilariter suscepisse quam prompte magnos magna tribuisse censebit." The remark is based on the statement in Plutarch's life of Artaxerxes II, chapter 4, that there was nothing given to him so small which he did not accept willingly. Jacobus may have found this reference in a book of exempla.

¹⁰⁷ As noted above, the printed edition of Jacobus and his predecessors do not contain Giles's treatment of books 3, 5, 9, and 11.

Metaphysicales Quaestiones or between statements expressed in that work and statements found in other works of Giles. His treatment follows a basic pattern. (1) He summarizes the position adopted by Giles in the particular *quaestio* under consideration and sometimes provides a summary of the argumentation supporting the opinion or even, on occasion, arguments against it. (2) He then presents the statement or statements in Giles's writings which appear to contradict the enunciated position. (3) Finally, he offers his solution to the dilemma by making a distinction, or offering an explanation, which may be drawn from Giles himself or from another author, especially St. Thomas Aquinas. Even a superficial reading of the text reveals a tendency to show the agreement between Giles and St. Thomas, e.g. *est haec etiam responsio S. Tho.* Jacobus's language for indicating the three steps tends to be formulaic. Some examples are (1) *quaestionis 5 summa est*, or *circa quaestionem 4 cuius videtur summa*; (2) *oppositum tamen sensisse videtur* or *oppositum tamen habere videtur*; (3) *solvitur per ipsum* or *solvitur quoniam*.

In the *quaestio* in medieval scholasticism, such as is seen in the *Summa theologiae* of Thomas Aquinas, a position was stated and then followed by proofs for it with objections that were answered. Jacobus's work differs from the usual treatment in that the apparently opposed opinion is derived from Giles of Rome himself. As a model for his approach, Jacobus had the work of Marco Antonio Zimara, *Solutiones Contradictionum in Dictis Averrois*, the first edition of which appeared at Venice in 1508.¹⁰⁸ Zimara's method consists in exposing the apparent contradiction, e.g., *secunda contradictio ibidem est ista*, and offering a solution, e.g., *sed ad hoc solventes dicimus quod*. There can be no doubt about Jacobus's familiarity with Zimara since he refers to him in several places.

In his *Tractatus* Jacobus displays a broad knowledge of the works of both Giles and St. Thomas. From Giles he cites material from *Super de anima*, *Super physicam*, *Super libros Sententiarum*, and *Quodlibeta*. In the works of St. Thomas, he refers to passages in *Summa theologiae*, *Summa contra gentiles*, *Scripta super libros Sententiarum*, *In XII libros Metaphysicorum expositio*, *Expositio super librum Boethii de Trinitate*, and *Quaes-*

¹⁰⁸ Zimara (1460-1523) was noted for his commentaries on Aristotle. Until recently, he has been considered an orthodox Averroist. His *Tabula Dilucidationum in Dictis Aristotelis et Averrois* (Venice, 1537) became the standard indices for the two authors. The *solutiones* were gathered together in the posthumous edition of Venice, 1550: *Contradictionum solutiones in dictis Aristotelis et Averrois: quae sparsim ac mendose variis in libris legebantur, in unum collectae et castigatae*. See the references to him in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*.

tiones de quolibet. In addition to his use of the works of Giles and Thomas, Jacobus employs texts of St. Augustine, Scotus, St. Albert the Great, and Marco Antonio Zimara. References to non-scholastic commentators on Aristotle, such as Averroes and Themistius († c. 390 A.D.) are also found. Like Zimara, Jacobus does not present quotations in the text, but the authors' positions are stated clearly in summary form accompanied by the citation of the location of the text. e.g., *S. Tho. p.par.q.79.ar.2*.

Such an ample command of authorities on Jacobus's part leads to at least a *prima facie* supposition that his treatise is not without merit. It lies beyond the scope of this paper to analyze Jacobus's use of sources and lines of argumentation in detail. Yet such a study is needed in order to make an adequate evaluation of the *Tractatus*, since one can hardly rely on the hasty judgment passed on it by Christopher of Padua.¹⁰⁹

Villanova (PA)

Karl A. GERSBACH, O.S.A.

¹⁰⁹ CHRISTOPHER, II, 107: "levitatem et ineptiam in quibusdam componendis parum pensitatis elucidationibus iisque incudendis"

APPENDIX I

The Other Jacobus Senensis

In the registers of the priors general of this period, references are found to a Frater Jacobus Senensis, other than the main subject of the present article. The assumption followed here is that there is only one such other Jacobus Senensis during this period. For the sake of clarity he will be designated Jacobus Senensis II.

The first reference occurs in the register of Egidius of Viterbo where on 8 December 1517, Jacobus Senensis II was given the faculty to preach during Lent. Since Jacobus of Siena I was still a student at this time, it is highly unlikely that the reference applies to him.¹ The next mention occurs almost twenty-six years later, when on 11 November 1543 Seripando wrote to Magister Cherubinus of Cascia, the provincial of Umbria, requesting documents pertaining to a dispute between Cherubinus and Sant'Agostino at Siena concerning Frater Jacobus Senensis II.²

Jacobus II obtained a brief from the Roman Curia which allowed him to remain outside of the Order. On 15 February 1545 he presented it to Seripando as proof of the legitimacy of his absence and was assigned to live in the convent at Tivoli, where he was to serve as chaplain to a confraternity.³ Five years later on 30 August 1550, he obtained the prior general's permission to live outside the Order in order to provide for his aged mother.⁴

From the register of Christopher of Padua, we learn that Jacobus II was held in the Picena Province and accused of crimes that merited a sentence on 26 June 1556 to undergo imprisonment with a two or three month diet of bread and water and then to be expelled from the province.⁵ On 2 August 1556, Christopher of Padua wrote the provincial of the Roman province asking him to station Jacobus II in one of the houses of that province. At this point the register refers to him as "Frater Jacobus Senensis seu Firmanus."⁶ He could not be sent back to Siena at this time because the community there was in dire straits after the siege.⁷ On 6 November 1556 the general wrote to the prior of Aquapendente, a convent of the Roman province, telling him to keep Jacobus II since he was

¹ AEGIDIUS, II, 959.

² SERIPANDO, III, p. 251. On Magister Cherubinus of Cascia see Gutiérrez, "Patres ac Theologi," 124-26.

³ SERIPANDO, IV, p. 107.

⁴ SERIPANDO, VI, 361.

⁵ CHRISTOPHER, IV, 590.

⁶ CHRISTOPHER, IV, 690.

⁷ See Gersbach, "A Disturbance at Siena," 636-38.

exceedingly old (*admodum senex*). At the behest of the provincial, the prior had told him to leave but without indicating any new location to which he could go.⁸ Finally on 26 June 1557, the general directed the prior of Aquapendente to send Jacobus II back to his own province.⁹

On 10 February 1559, Christopher of Padua wrote to the prior of Orvieto to satisfy the claims of Jacobus II against the convent.¹⁰ It appears that Jacobus II was stationed at Sant'Agostino at this time, for we find two references, dated 21 May 1560 and 24 June 1561, granting concessions to him because of his age and weakness.¹¹ A final reference of 22 April 1564 indicates that Jacobus II was appointed confessor to the nuns of the convent of St. Nicholas in Siena.¹²

APPENDIX II

Prefatory Letter to Christopher of Padua from Jacobus of Siena

Reverendissimo in Christo literarum omnium consultissimo,
Totius eremitarum ordinis Sancti Augustini Generali dignissimo,
Magistro Christophoro Patavino,
Frater Iacobus Senensis Augustinianus, Theologorum postremus.

Verbum quippe Divinum, Reverendissime Pater, illud in dies comprobatur, nullam umquam creaturam sibi satis fuisse, ut nedum terrestres, sed nec coelestis absque coelesti, nec spiritualis spirituali dissocia adhuc propria moliri opera inveniat, quanto magis inops homo quoad corporalia mundum nudus ingrediens, quoad spiritualia, tamquam rasam tabulam cuiusvis expertem figure, intellectum possibilem in sui primordio concreatum accipiens, omnium bonorum indiguus, ope non egebit aliena? Nostra sane Eremitarum Religio, sicut et caetera, in sui ortus exordio, et temporalium et doctrine est paupertatem experta, atqui illam ad gloriam, hanc ad in gloriam sibi existimavit. Verum ad doctrine procul pellendam pauperiem, patrum nostrorum plurimum labor insudavit, lucubrationes

⁸ CHRISTOPHER, IV, 956.

⁹ CHRISTOPHER, V, 37.

¹⁰ A.G.A., Dd. 28, f. 372r. I am indebted to Fr. Arnulf Hartmann, O.S.A., for allowing me to use the as yet unpublished parts of his transcription of the register of Christopher of Padua.

¹¹ A.G.A., Dd. 29, ff. 91 and 180.

¹² A.G.A., Dd. 29, f. 280v.

diversas edendo; nos segnes, ignavi, diuturneque, ut dicunt, leme^a merito diiudicamur, dum eas nec in nostrum nec in proximorum obsequium esse satagimus. En Aegidij, nostre Religionis^b luminis, complura pulverulescunt opuscula, ut de caractere,^c de bona fortuna, de ecclesiastica potestate, de laudibus divine sapientie, super cantica canticorum, in Epistolas ad Roma[nos] et ad Corinthios, in 3 senten[tias] exivia^d a patre.¹ Delitescit Iacobus de Viterbio super senten[tias], et quodlibet[a]^e 4, de regimine Christiano.² Augusti[nus] de Ancona in omnes Epistolas Pauli et canonicas, in actus Apostolorum, in Apocalip[sim].³ Albertus Patavus in Penthateucum, in omnes Epistolas Pauli.⁴ Henricus de Vrinaria de perfectione hominis, de incarnatione, de quadruplici instinctu, super Ethicam omnibus celebrior, 6^f quodlibet[a].⁵ Hermanus in 4 sententiarum, de 4 sensibus sacre scrip[turae], Encheridion Christianum, de in claustrum anime, de 5 sensibus; super Ethicam, super Genesi[m].⁶ Simon Cassianus de doctrina Christiana, in Simbolum, de disciplina spirituali.⁷ Bartholome[us] Urbinas, milleloquium super Augusti[no], opus mirandum, de bello spirituali.⁸ Petrus Picens in 4 senten[tias], in omnia opera Salomonis.⁹ Augusti[nus] de Roma in omnes Epistolas Pauli, in Apocalip[sim], in Ethi[cam], de sponsa Christi Ecclesia, de perfectione iustitie, de peccato originali.¹⁰ Iohannes Dathus de divinis attributis, de potentiis anime, de Trinita contra Faustum.¹¹ Honofrius Archiepiscopus Florentinus super 4 Evangelistas, super actus Apostolicos.¹² Mitto Micha[e]lem Massanum, Gerardum Senensem, Gerardum Bergomensem, Iacobum Toletanum, Andream^g Mediolanensem, Dionisium Burgensem, Hilarium Comensem, qui suis voluminibus Religionis fuissent decori.¹³

Quamobrem non intensius nobis se offert admirandum quam condolendum quod nostre religionis optimates per quamplures annorum transactas orbitas, alia sibi ob oculos statuentes in tot tantorumque illustrium virorum luculentissimis voluminibus conniverint. Porro sicuti sanctissima orthodoxa atque catholica Christiana Religio ferme in lustris cubaret, si quo minus Apostolorum, Evangelistarum, Prophetarum, Doctorumque complurium scripturis illustraretur, unde fidelium mentes vitalia ac salvifica exhaurirent ientacula, sic spetiales sub ipsa fideliter militantes Religiones in neglectum caederent, ni spetialium suorum preclarium virorum decorarentur. Nam sicut ridiculus ac pannosus merito

^a Lemae, -arum, the form given in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, is taken from Greek ἡ λημη, which signifies an effusion of material from the eyes.

^b Corrected from religionie.

^c Corrected from carectere.

^d Exivia appears to be a neologism with the meaning here of works that have gone astray from the author.

^e Corrected here and below from quolibet[a].

^f The numeral "6" is taken here to modify the following *Quodlibeta*.

^g Corrected from Audream.

quispiam censebitur, qui etsi revera locuples, divitiis tamen terra suffossis minime potitur, sic quevis Religio quotislibet scientificis Doctoribus scientiam exarantibus praefulserit, dum horum opera invisa occuluntur, omnibus totos dies contemptibilis^h perserverat, neque enim in ventum protulit Ecclesiast[icus] XX: Sapientia invisa et thesaurus absconditus, que utilitas in utrisque?ⁱ Opportune igitur ac tempestive Altissimus, sapientium sapientiam perdens ac prudentium prudentiam reprobans,^j P[aternitatem] T[uam] Reverendissimam, omni religiositate praestantissimam, omni virtute praeditam, omni disciplinarum genere faecundissimam, mundana conculcantem, mundi sapientiam pessundantem, super coeremitarum caulam accomodum ac pervigilem praefectum constituit, qui, tamquam mundo emortuus, seculi perfunctorias dignitates^k aspernatus, uti verus Christi assecla, humilitatem toto pectore amplexus, tantummodo sibi crediti gregis ornamentum ac salutem spectabit. Non est igitur quod quis demiretur si tantum ac talem pastorem eremicolae oves adeptae, et montes exultant ut arietes, et colles sicut agni,^l quandoquidem caeteris posthabitis insigniis, iam nunc sub columbae spetie, divinae humanaeque pacis praesage, de spiritali vita commonefacti, bonorum operum in religione faecunditatem, paterni tui animi lenitatem,^m in nobis filiis tuis sinceram contemplabimur dilectionem, sicque quas spiritus primitias assecuti detinentes, abba pater iugiter ingemiscemus,ⁿ quo fiet ut pacifico ordine directa religio ferme exiccata atque obscura, te tali ac tanto duce quandoque refloret et corruscet, quod facile eucontinget dum ipsius religionis accensae lucernae non ultra sub modio negligentur, verum candelabris superponantur, ut indigenis, advenis, ac convenis lumen inpartiant.^o Maximam aequidem in eius Generalatus primordio, de sui ovilis celsitudine curam habere prae se tulit P[aternitas] T[ua] Reverendissima, dum Aegidij Doctoris nostri Methaphisicalia exquisita quesita, diu in numeris involuta erratis, ut

^h Corrected from contentibilis.

ⁱ Cf. Vulgate: Eccl. 20:32: "Sapientia absconsa et thesaurus invisus: quae utilitas in utrisque?"

^j Cf. Vulgate: 1 Corin. 1:19: "Scriptum est enim: Perdam sapientiam sapientium, et prudentiam prudentium reprobabo."

^k Corrected from dignitates.

^l Cf. Vulgate: Ps. 113:4 & 6: "Montes exultastis sicut arietes et colles sicut agni ovium."

^m Corrected from lenitatem.

ⁿ Cf. Vulgate: Rom. 8:15: "Non enim accepistis spiritum servitutis interim in timore, sed accepistis spiritum adoptionis filiorum in quo clamamus: Abba (Pater)." Also Rom. 8: 22-23: "Scimus enim quod omnis creatura ingemiscit et parturit usque adhuc. Non solum autem illa, sed et nos ipsi primitias spiritus habentes: et ipsi intra nos gemimus adoptionem filiorum Dei expectantes."

^o Cf. Vulgate: Matt. 5:15-16: "Neque accendunt lucernam et ponunt eam sub modio, sed super candelabrum, ut luceat omnibus, qui in domo sunt. Sic luceat lux vestra coram hominibus ut videant opera vestra bona, et glorificent patrem vestrum, qui in caelis est."

imprimerentur, quam mox operam navavit, cuius dispositione en in lucem prodeunt. Caepit autem providentia sua ab imis, artem aemulata ac naturam, hinc non ab re tota Eremitarum professio, de qua sic derepente benemerita est, singulos in dies maiora suscipere confidit, pro cuius iccirco vitae incolumnitatem^p ac longaevitatem^q sedulo Altissimum obsecramus. Vale, pater Optime, Christianae Religionis praecipuum paradigma et Augustinianae Decus Augustum.

Bibliographical Notes to the Prefatory Letter

For the most part, the following notes are limited to identifying the authors and works cited in the prefatory letter by providing initial bibliographical entries concerning manuscript sources and first editions, especially pre-1551 ones, for the specific works cited by Jacobus. In addition to specialized studies, the following sources have been consulted.

- 1) Johannes Felix Ossinger, O.S.A., *Bibliotheca Augustiniana* (Ingolstadii et Augustae Vindelicorum, 1768; reprinted Torino, 1963).
- 2) Davide Perini, O.S.A., *Bibliographia Augustiniana cum notis biographicis: Scriptores Italiani* (Firenze, 1929-37), published in four parts, each with its own page numbering. Both Ossinger and Perini are outdated, but sometimes still useful.
- 3) Adolar Zumkeller, O.S.A., *Manuskripte von Werken der Autoren des Augustiner-Eremitenordens in mitteleuropäischen Bibliotheken* (Würzburg, 1966).

¹ Giles of Rome (Aegidius Romanus) († 1316), chosen by the Order as the leader of the Augustinian school of philosophy and theology. For a listing of his works, editions, and manuscripts, see Gerardo Bruni, *Le opere di Egidio Romano* (Firenze, 1936). The Unione Accademica Nazionale has undertaken the preparation of a critical edition of *Aegidii Romani Opera Omnia*. See note 5 in the main section above. The researcher needs to consult these volumes as they appear.

- 1) *De charactere*, first edition Rome, apud Antonium Bladum, 1555 (Bruni, 118).
- 2) *Expositio in Aristotelis librum de bona fortuna*, Venice, 1496; Venice, 1525; and Venice, apud Octavianum Scotum, 1551 (Bruni, 54-56).
- 3) *Tractatus de ecclesiastica potestate*, not published until Firenze, 1908 (Bruni, 136).

^p Corrected from incolumnitatem.

^q Corrected from longaevitatem.

- 4) *Tractatus de laudibus divinae sapientiae*, first edition Padua, 1553, then Rome, apud Antonium Bladum, 1555 (Bruni, 121-22).
- 5) *Expositio super Cantica canticorum*, first edition Rome, apud Antonium Bladum, 1555 (Bruni, 113).
- 6) *Expositio in Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos*, Rome, apud Antonium Bladum, 1555 (Bruni, 112).
- 7) *Expositio super Epistolas Pauli ad Corinthios*, not edited (Bruni, 112-13).
- 8) *Commentarius in Primum Sententiarum*, Venice, 1492; Venice, 1502; Venice, 1521 (Bruni, 113-15); *Commentarius in Secundum Sententiarum*, Venice, 1482 and Basil, 1513 (Bruni, 115-16); *Commentarius in tertium Sententiarum*, not published until Rome, 1623 (Bruni, 116).

² James of Viterbo († 1308). See David Gutiérrez, O.S.A., *De B. Iacobi Viterbiensis, O.E.S.A., vita, operibus, et doctrina theologica* (Rome, 1939).

1) *Lectura super quatuor Libros Sententiarum* (Gutiérrez, 26).

2) *Quodlibeta quatuor* (Gutiérrez, 30-34). The *Quodlibeta quatuor* have been edited by Eelcko Ypma, O.S.A., *Jacobi de Viterbo O.E.S.A. Disputatio Prima de Quodlibet* (Würzburg, 1968); *Secunda* (Rome, 1969); *Tertia* (Rome, 1973); *Quarta* (Rome, 1975).

3) *De regimine Christiano ad Bonifatium VIII, libri duo*. Gutiérrez (35-36) cites the first edition as Rome, 1914.

³ Augustine of Ancona, referred to at times as Augustinus Triumphus. See Blasius Ministeri, O.S.A., "De Augustini de Ancona, O.E.S.A. († 1328), vita et operibus," *Analecta Augustiniana* 22 (1952), 7-56 and 148-262.

1) Jacobus refers to "in omnes Epistolas Pauli et canonicas." Ministeri (196-200) lists the individual commentaries and extant manuscripts. See also Zumkeller (*Manuskripte*, nn. 124-25).

2) Ministeri also lists *Postilla (lectura) in Epistolas canonicas* (193-96) as well as *Glossa ex glossis Sanctorum in Epistolas canonicas* (192-93). See also Zumkeller, (*Manuskripte*, n. 123).

3) Jacobus's "in actus Apostolorum" is cited as *Glossa ex glossis sanctorum in Actus Apostolorum* (Ministeri, 189-91).

4) *Glossa ex glossis sanctorum in Apocalypsim*, Ministeri (191-92) and Zumkeller (*Manuskripte*, n. 122).

⁴ Albert of Padua († 1328 or 1323).

1) Ossinger (669) cites a manuscript preserved at the Augustinian convent at Padua for *Expositio in Genesim, in Leviticum, in Deuteronomium, in Exodum, et Numeros*. Perini (3, 71) repeats Ossinger, but gives no extant manuscripts. However, see Fridericus Stegmüller, *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi*, vols. 1-7

(Madrid, 1940-61) and vols. 8-9 (supplement) (Madrid, 1976-77), nn. 1064.1 - 1064.7 in supplement.

2) *In omnes Epistolas D. Pauli lib. 14* Ossinger (669) and Perini (3, 71) cite no extant manuscripts or editions.

⁵ Henry of Friemar, the Elder (Henricus de Frimaria). Zumkeller (*Manuskripte*, p. 125) points out that there are two authors by this name: the elder († 1340) and the younger († 1354). The only work that can be attributed with certainty to the younger is a commentary on the Sentences. See also Zumkeller's articles on "Heinrich von Friemar" in *Lexikon des Mittelalters* (München and Zürich, 1977 ff.). Ossinger and earlier authors do not distinguish the two.

1) *Liber de perfectione interioris hominis* (Ossinger, 953).

2) *Liber de Incarnatione Verbi*, for which Zumkeller (*Manuskripte*, n. 306) cites four manuscripts.

3) *Liber de quatuor instinctibus*, Zumkeller (*Manuskripte*, nn. 307) cites a first edition of Venice, 1498, followed by Hagenau, 1513, and Paris, 1514. Latin version with the middle high German translation found in *Der Traktat Heinrichs von Friemar über die Unterscheidung der Geister*, ed. Robert Warnock and Adolar Zumkeller, OSA. (Würzburg, 1977).

4) *Commentaria in decem libros Ethicorum Aristotelis* (Zumkeller, *Manuskripte*, n. 302 and Ossinger, 953).

5) On Jacobus's "Quodlibeta," see Ossinger (954) *Quodlibeta tria, duo Parisiis disputata*, with no manuscripts cited for the work. Joseph Pamphilus, who wrote some 30 years after Jacobus, mentions only "*Quodlibetta duo*" in his *Chronica Ordinis Fratrum Eremitarum Sancti Augustini* (Rome, 1581), f. 41r. Zumkeller (*Manuskripte*, nn. 328-28b) cites three works *Quodlibet primum*; *Abbreviatio Quodlibeti XIV Godfridi de Fontibus*; and *Quodlibet aliud*. The last he considers dubious.

⁶ Herman of Schildesche († 1357). For a modern treatment of Herman, see Adolar Zumkeller, O.S.A., *Schriftum und Lehre des Hermann von Schildesche* (Würzburg, 1959).

1) *Liber super primo Sententiarum*, lost according to Zumkeller (*Hermannus*, 6).

2) *Compendium de quatuor sensibus Scripturae* (Zumkeller, *Hermannus*, 23-40).

3) The identification of Jacobus's reference to *Encheridion Christianum* is problematic; *Tractatus de decem preceptis et de duodecim consiliis* seems likely (Zumkeller, *Hermannus*, 98-99).

4) *Clastrum animae* (Zumkeller, *Hermannus*, 67-78).

5) *De quinque sensibus*, no manuscripts according to Zumkeller (*Hermannus*, 100).

6) Zumkeller (*Hermannus*, 147) maintains that *In Ethica Aristotelis libri decem* is falsely assigned to Hermannus.

7) Jacobus's "super Genesim" could refer to either *Opus sex dierum duplex* or to *Postilla super Genesim*. No manuscripts found for either one according to Zumkeller (*Hermannus*, 67 and 100).

⁷ Simon Fidati of Cascia († 1348). See Nicola Mattioli, O.S.A., *Il Beato Simone Fidati da Cascia ... e i suoi scritti* (Rome, 1898). Jacobus of Siena cites two of Fidati's Italian works under Latin titles.

1) *De doctrina Christiana, Capitoli di dottrina Cristiana* (Perini 2, 64).

2) *In Simbolum, Espositione de Credo in Dio* (Perini, 2, 64). (Stegmüller, n. 7644).

3) *De disciplina spiritualium lib. I* (Perini, 2, 65-66).

⁸ Bartholomew of Urbino († 1350).

1) *D. P. Aurelii Augustini Milleloquium Veritatis*. Zumkeller (*Manuskripte*, p. 88) cites the first edition as Lyons, 1555.

2) Jacobus's mention of *De bello spirituali* probably refers to *De re bellica spirituali per comparationem temporalis partes III*, but there also exists *Opus de pugna spirituali* (Perini, 1, 204). Zumkeller (*Manuskripte*, n. 174) lists this latter as doubtful.

⁹ Peter of Brunniquello (Petrus Picens, Petrus de Brunniquello seu de Rupe Maura) († 1328).

1) Ossinger (164) cites *Tabula supra Magistrum Sententiarum* with a manuscript at the convent of Regensburg. Zumkeller (*Manuskripte*, n. 750) cites *Tabula brevis et utilis super quatuor libros Sententiarum*, but considers the work of doubtful attribution.

2) Ossinger (164) cites *Comment. in Proverbia*, *Comment. in Ecclesiasten*, and *Comment. in Cantica Canticorum* with no manuscripts.

¹⁰ Augustine Favaroni of Rome († 1443). See Salesius Friemel, O.S.A., *Die theologische Prinzipienlehre des Augustinus Favaroni von Rom O.E.S.A. († 1443)*, (Würzburg, 1950).

1) Perini (2, 51) lists commentaries on the epistles *ad Romanos*; *ad Galatas*; *ad Ephesios*; *ad Philippenses*; *ad Colossenses*; *prima ad Corinthios*. See Stegmüller, *Repertorium*, nn. 1499-1505, 1. The commentary on *ad Philippenses* has been edited by Gonzalo Díaz, O.S.A., in *Estudios sobre la baja edad media*, (El Escorial, 1977), 1-142.

2) *Lectura super Apocalypsim*. See Stegmüller (*Repertorium*, nn. 1506-07).

- 3) *Commentum Magistri Augustini de Roma ... super primo Ethicorum Aristotelis; Commentum eiusdem super secundo Ethicorum Aristotelis* (Perini 2, 51-52).
- 4) *Tractatus de sacramento unitatis Christi et Ecclesiae, sive de Christo integro*, edited by A. Piolanti (Città del Vaticano, 1971).
- 5) *De perfecta iustitia militantis Ecclesiae in presenti*, edited by Gonzalo Díaz, O.S.A., in *Un tratado inédito sobre la santidad de la Iglesia de Agustín Favaroni († 1443)* (El Escorial, 1959).
- 6) *De peccato originali liber I* (Perini, 2, 51).

¹¹ Joannes Dathus (*floruit* 1460). See Ossinger (288-90) and Perini (2, 9) for the following works:

- 1) *Liber de attributis divinis*; Ossinger cites a manuscript at Regensburg.
- 2) *Liber de potentiis animae*.
- 3) *Libri S. P. Augustini contra Faustum, Crescentium et de Trinitate in conclusiones redacti*.

¹² Onofrius Stecchetti de Visdomini of Florence († 1403).

- 1) *Libri IV expositionis super quatuor evangelia*.
- 2) *Expositio seu Commentaria in Acta Apostolorum*.

For both of these see Perini (3, 211) and Ossinger (871-72). No manuscripts.

¹³ For the remaining names given by Jacobus, see the following references.

- a) Michael de Massa († 1337), Ossinger (567-68), Perini (2, 191-92) and Zumkeller (*Manuskripte*, nn. 690-99).
- b) Gerardus de Senis († 1336), Ossinger (827-29), Perini (3, 187-89) and Zumkeller (*Manuskripte*, nn. 255-60).
- c) Gerardus Bergomensis († 1355), Ossinger under "Carrara Gerardus" (208-09) Perini (1, 202-03) and Stegmüller (n. 2459).
- d) Iacob Tolentanus, possibly the lector and prior at Tolentino mentioned in *Iuliani de Salem, O.S.A. Registrum Generalatus 1451-1459*, ed. Daniela Gionta (Rome, 1994), n. 584 and n. 600.
- e) Andreas de Mediolano, probably the one who was author of *Commenta in Genesim* († after 1540). See Ossinger (573) and Perini (2, 201). See also *Anal. Aug.* 7 (1917-18), 435, permission to receive the *magistralia insignia* in 1494. However, there were also two earlier friars with the same name. See *Anal. Aug.* 5 (1913-14), 123-26, documents from 1358; and *Anal. Aug.* 6 (1915-16), 339, document from 1432.
- f) Dionysius de Burgo S. Sepulchri († 1342), Perini (2, 26-28) and Zumkeller (*Manuskripte*, nn. 233-34a).
- g) Hilarius Comensis, unidentified.