

**Univerzita Karlova v Praze
Filozofická fakulta**

*Ústav řeckých a latinských studií
Latinská medievistika a neolatinská studia*



Disertační práce

Francis of Meyronnes' *Tractatus de passione Domini*:
Critical edition and analysis

Školitel: doc. Mgr. Lucie Doležalová, M.A., Ph.D.

2015

Riccardo Burgazzi

Prohlášení:

Prohlašuji, že jsem disertační práci napsal samostatně s využitím pouze uvedených a řádně citovaných pramenů a literatury a že práce nebyla využita v rámci jiného vysokoškolského studia či k získání jiného nebo stejného titulu.

V Praze, dne

.....

Francis of Meyronnes

Francis of Meyronnes was a theologian and a sermonist. He was born in Meyronnes (Provence) probably before the year 1288. He was from the aristocratic family Bérard-Meyronnes, which was connected with Charles I of Anjou (1226-1285). Between 1304 and 1307, Francis studied at the University of Paris, where he attended the lectures of John Duns Scotus; later, he taught in several provincial *studia* in France and in Italy. From the year 1320, we find him again in Paris, where he wrote commentaries on Peter Lombard's *Sententiae* becoming master of theology in 1323. Francis of Meyronnes took part in several disputes: the most famous ones were with the Benedictine Pierre Roger and the Dominican John of Prato. Nevertheless, his great ability to teach is testified, on the one hand, by the epithets granted to him by his contemporaries: *Doctor Illuminatus*, *Doctor Acutus*, *Magister Abstractionum*. On the other, in posterity, he has been explicitly recognized among the most important disciples of John Duns Scotus and one of the greatest theologians of the University of Paris. In 1324, named Provincial Minister of Provence, he moved to Avignon, where he worked as a preacher and a counselor. He died in Piacenza in 1328.

Francis of Meyronnes wrote an impressive number of works on several topics. We could divide his writings into academic (or philosophical), political and devotional works. His major academic work is the commentary on the Sentences (preserved in more than 100 manuscripts). Among his political treatises, a prominent position is occupied by the *Determinatio paupertatis Christi et apostolorum*,¹ where Francis sided with the supporters of poverty, even if without any radical attitude. As for the devotional literature, he wrote a large number of sermons and treatises. An important published work of Francis in this field is the *Tractatus diffusus de conceptione beatae Mariae virginis* edited by Johannes Juric² and later analyzed by Heribert Rossmann,³ who considered that Meyronnes' works on ascetic and mystical topics close to the *devotio moderna* (i.e. an intimate and subjective religiosity).

Tractatus de Passione Domini

This brief introduction is intended to provide three essential pieces of information on this work: dating, recipient and purpose of the treatise. In this study we accept the dating proposed by Heribert Rossmann: 1318-20, when Francis was *Baccalarius Biblicus* in Paris.⁴ The reason for this dating is closely linked both to the typical order of academic careers at this time,⁵ and to the identification of

¹ Also *De dominio apostolorum* or *Quaestio de paupertate Christi*, see ROTH 1936, 240-2.

² See JURIC 1956.

³ See ROSSMANN 1972, 65-72.

⁴ See ROSSMANN 1972a, 43-4. Consequently, this work would seem to be the oldest example of the type *Historia Passionis*: see chapter Textual type, paragraph 1.

⁵ GRENDLER 2002 (.epub format): "The theological student was [...] required to attend lectures in theology in his order's *studia* for six years. Peter Lombard's Sentences and the Bible were the basic texts. After completing these studies and having reached the age of thirty, the candidate next spent three or more years lecturing on the Bible [...]. The lecturer was commonly called a *cursor*. At some point the *cursor* became a *baccalarius biblicus* (bachelor of the Bible), or simply *biblicus*, who was expected to deliver more detailed lectures with more extended exegetical and

the recipients as Meyronnes' brothers,⁶ as can be discerned in the prologue of the treatise: *Adtendite autem carissimi et audite ordinem passionis Domini nostri* (Dears, pay attention and listen to the order of our Lord's Passion).⁷

With regard to the purpose of the work, it is threefold. First, once again, because the writing of such a treatise was part of an academic career: in this sense, it would be considered as a biblical commentary.⁸ Second, for private meditation: the analysis of a passage proposing a long list of specific topics upon which a devotee can meditate⁹ seems to suggest that our work could have been meant to be read during the Holy Week for a personal meditation; however, it is the only direct reference for such use. Third, it could have been an instrument for helping his *carissimi* brothers in the composition of their own sermons and works. In this regard, his work presents a similar structure¹⁰ and several analyses and sources¹¹ which suggest its use as a practical instrument for preaching. In conclusion, none of these three functions can be excluded. On the one hand, because they are linked and complementary, on the other, because the evidence does not allow us to give a clear answer. Even the hypothesis about the dating, although it is very likely, cannot be founded on more solid bases than the speculative one which we have accepted.

Textual type

Francis of Meyronnes' *Tractatus de passione Domini* belongs to the "devotional literature" type of work. This umbrella-term contains indeed all those works that are religious, but not necessarily theological or liturgical. Naturally, those materials can be analyzed and studied according to their language and period: so, more precisely, our text belongs to the "Late medieval Latin devotional literature" type. Furthermore, it is possible to categorize them by their form and topic: so, our work is a Latin treatise on the passion of Christ. Yet, this brings to face another problem: in every European library that preserves manuscripts, there are several texts on the passion of Christ: for many of these works we have no certainties about authorship,¹² dating, and number of existing

theological commentary. However, no baccalaureate degree was conferred. "Bachelor" meant only that a student had attained a certain level of achievement."

⁶ BESTUL 1996, 8: "The primary, but not exclusive, audience of Latin devotional writing [...] was ecclesiastical, male, and monastic. There are many instances of devotional works written by monks addressed explicitly to other monks, as shown by the evidence of countless prefaces and prologues."

⁷ *Prologus*, 27.

⁸ See chapter Textual type, paragraph 1.

⁹ C.VIII, 160-80.

¹⁰ See the table presents in the chapter Structure and contents.

¹¹ See chapter Sources.

¹² BESTUL 1996, pp.13-4: "Matters of authorship and text are especially important in defining the characteristics of the Latin devotional prose. [...] The false attributions that accompany many medieval texts have often been taken to be merely naïve, random, and unsystematic. When the question is looked at more closely, the usual explanation is that the false attributions are made to elevate the authority of the text, to increase its audience and claims to authenticity by attaching to it the name of a prestigious author. In the case of the devotional texts, those authors were often the great Latin fathers."

copies. Moreover, the majority of these works are not only unpublished, but it have never even been read; therefore, there are paradoxically few works we can use for a textual comparison. Due to this situation, the aim of this chapter is to provide elements for a proper categorization of the *Tractatus de Passione Domini* within medieval devotional literature. So, we will primarily analyze the main features of Meyronnes' work both from a theological and from a literary point of view. Then, we will discuss Meyronnes' definition of "Passion". Finally, we will show which are the main authorial inputs present in the treatise.

From a theological point of view, the treatise written by Francis of Meyronnes could be considered both a *lectio* and a *disputatio*. To be precise, it mainly belongs to the genre of the "monograph" (i.e. a treatise on a single theological question), but it also shows characteristics of the "continuous commentary" and of the "summa".¹³ From a literary point of view, according to Tobias Kemper,¹⁴ the authors from the Late Middle Ages used to tell the Passion mainly in two ways: in form of "meditations" or in form of "narrative representations". Meyronnes' treatise belongs to this second typology, which allows the author to invent dialogues or to describe characters' emotions and thoughts, offering sometimes also his own point of view to the reader. Furthermore, Kemper affirms that this work, written around 1318-20, is the oldest known example of this type.¹⁵

Sources

Analysing the treatise on the Passion of Francis of Meyronnes enables us to detect a great number of quotations from authors considered *auctoritates*: some are explicitly quoted, others are not. However, it is not always possible to identify the works from which the Franciscan obtained his quotations. Therefore, this chapter presents the main sources used by the author and will offer a contextualization for each of them: namely, the Bible, the Ordinary Gloss, the *Historia Scholastica* of Peter Comestor, the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* and the vernacular tradition.

The main sources are, naturally, the Gospels. Namely, the passages concerned with the Passion, used in a synoptical way: Mt 26:1 – 27:66, Mk 14:3 – 15:46, Lk 21:37 – 23:56; Jn 11:47 – 19:42. The synoptic use consists of narrating the story of the Passion by recreating a precise chronology of the facts founded on the alternation of the gospels. One is not emphasized over the others, nor used as a model of comparison for the others.

Francis of Meyronnes often reports *auctoritates'* commentaries to the biblical verses: he probably resorted to compendia and florilegia (such as glosses, commentaries and *catenae*) which collected ancient authors' opinions on the evangelical verses. In particular, we can detect many

¹³ See DEL PUNTA–LUNA 1993, 335.

¹⁴ Cf. Kemper 2006, 57-58.

¹⁵ KEMPER 2006, 107: *Dennoch verdient wenigstens der "Tractatus de passione Domini" Beachtung. Sieht man nämlich von den "Meditationes passionis Christi" als Kurzfassung der "Meditationes vite Christi" des Johannes de Caulibus ab, so ist der Passionstraktat des Franciscus de Mayronis das früheste bislang bekannte Beispiel einer "Historia Passionis"*.

quotations deriving from the *Glossa Ordinaria*. In Meyronnes' *tractatus*, the word *glossa* appears 14 times.

Besides, Francis of Meyronnes is concerned with explaining some uncommon words. Naturally, etymologies in a medieval text could not come without references to Isidore of Seville (ca. 560 - ca. 636). However, according to a series of textual comparison, we could highlight how this source would seem to be mediated by another work: the *Historia Scholastica* of Peter Comestor († 1180).

When Francis describes the arrival of the archangel Michael in the garden of Gethsemane to comfort Jesus, he reports a dialogue between those characters. Now, the only biblical source which can be quoted is Luke 22:43:¹⁶ there are no other canonical texts reporting the contents of such a dialogue. Consequently, in order to verify whether the text was really an original invention of Francis of Meyronnes, it has been compared with several works which could have been his direct source. And a similar dialogue (with similar characteristics and between the same characters) has been found only in the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* (edited by Mary Stallings-Taney in 1997),¹⁷ a work written by a Tuscan Franciscan, which consists of meditative paraphrases of all the major events in Christ's life based both on canonical and apocryphal sources and preserved in more than two hundred manuscripts, many incunabula and early printed editions.

Two fundamental questions regarding this work are still open: the original language in which it was written and its date of composition. As for the first point, it is uncertain whether the work was originally written in Italian or Latin, but this problem will not be treated here. As for the second, the debate on the dating of the *MVC* is divided by two opinions. The first one, proposed by Sarah McNamer in 1990¹⁸, is 1338-64. The second one would place the work around the year 1300, according to the *terminus post quem* fixed by Edmund Colledge in 1976.¹⁹ This dating has recently been supported by Dávid Falvay and Péter Tóth in an exhaustive study published in 2014.²⁰

Now, the textual comparison on the commentary on Lk 23:43 between the *MVC* and Francis of Meyronnes' treatise could offer new material(s) for this debate. We would highlight that an attentive comparison have been especially undertaken for all the 25/30 detected cases of "equivalent/similar words" between the two works. The result is that none of the forms present in Meyronnes' treatise appear in Stallings-Taney's *apparatus criticus*. We would conclude that Francis of Meyronnes used the *MVC* as a source for his *Tractatus de Passione Domini*. In fact, although the possibility to find another common source cannot be rejected with certainty, it is not

¹⁶ Cf Lk 22:42-44: *Dicens Pater si vis transfer calicem istum a me verumtamen non mea voluntas sed tua fiat*. [43] *Apparuit autem illi angelus de caelo confortans eum et factus in agonia prolixius orabat*. [44] *Et factus est sudor eius sicut guttae sanguinis decurrentis in terram*. On the commentary tradition on Lk 22:43 and on the question "how could Christ be in need of consolation?", see TÓTH 2011, 109-114.

¹⁷ Cf. CCCM 153.

¹⁸ Her hypothesis was based on a better identification of a text present in third chapter of the *MVC*: the *Revelations of the Virgin* attributed to Saint Elisabeth. According to McNamer, this text would have not been linked to Elisabeth of Hungary (†1231), but to Elisabeth of Toss (†1338); see: MCNAMER 1990.

¹⁹ His hypothesis was based on the identification of the source for chapter 80 of the *MVC* with the *Liber specialis gratiae* by Mechthilde of Hackenburg, completed around 1299; see COLLEDGE 1976, 105-7.

²⁰ See TÓTH – FALVAY 2014.

supported by concrete evidence; while the possibility that Francis' work was used as a source for the *MVC* is very unlikely due to the low spread of the *Tractatus de passione Domini*. And this conclusion would add a contribution for dating the *MVC* around the year 1300.

Among the sources, we finally present a particular case, which is unique in the *Tractatus de passione Domini* written by Meyronnes: a proverb in a vernacular language. The fact is not only curious because of the presence of two lines belonging to another language within an entirely Latin context, but also because this vernacular is probably an Italian dialect. An Italian saying in a work written by a southern-French author and kept in a German manuscript: *Spisso cada sia siachi nosa quelchessesia*. Due to the fact that this sentence is meaning-less, after a contextualization and several analysis, we have provided a possible interpretation: *Spisso cada sia <chi è savio>, sia chi no sa quel che sse sia* ("Often falls both <who is wise>, and who doesn't know him[self]").

Structure and Contents

The *Tractatus de passione Domini* consists of a prologue and eight chapters called *consideraciones* or *partes principals*. Francis then divides each *consideracio* into sub-topics, which he calls *capitula*. We could further divide these *capitula* into smaller "sections" or "narrative frameworks". Even if this division is not authorial, it could be useful for readers who are looking for specific passages of Meyronnes' work. This chapter provides a detailed table of contents.

Description of the manuscript

The present edition is based on a manuscript kept in the Bavarian State Library and it is part of the *clm* collection (*codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*), which contains around 15.000 codices from various monastic libraries. It is a miscellaneous paper codex probably composed in Tyrol or Bavaria in the second half of the fifteenth century (i.e. hundred and fifty years after Meyronnes' death) and bound in the Augustinian monastery of Munich of Bavaria. It contains 3 works: the *Mariale* (1r–113v) of Iacobus de Voragine (1230 - 1298), the *Sermones de festis totius annis* (114r–139v) of Dimaldutus de Forlivio († 1336) and Francisus de Mayronis' *Tractatus de passione Domini* (140r-160v). Every work presents different features respect the others: there are indeed three different hands, three different watermarks and every work is written on its own quires.

Critical Edition

The edition of this text has been undertaken according to the main guidelines of the *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis*.²¹ The edition is followed by a Scripture Index and a Names Index.

²¹ http://www.corpuschristianorum.org/series/pdf/Corpus_Guidelines.pdf, 11-13.

Selected Biography

BESTUL 1996: Bestul, Thomas Howard, *Texts of the Passion. Latin Devotional Literature and Medieval Society*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996.

CCCM 153: IOHANNES DE CAULIBUS, *Meditaciones vite Christi olim s. Bonaventurae attributae*, ed. STALLINGS-TANEY, Mary C., CCCM 153, 1997.

COLLEDGE 1976: Colledge, Edmund, “*Dominus cuidam devotae suae: A Source for Pseudo-Bonaventure*”, in *Franciscan Studies*, 36, Allegany, 1976, pp. 105-7.

DEL PUNTA – LUNA 1993: Del Punta, Francesco – Luna, Concetta, “La teologia scolastica,” in *Lo spazio letterario del Medioevo*, 1. *Il Medioevo latino, vol. I / tomo II, La produzione del testo*, Roma, Salerno Editrice, 1993, pp. 323-353.

GRENDLER 2002: Grendler, Paul F., *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance*, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Univeristy Press, 2002 [epub version: <<https://books.google.cz/books?id=UcmTz4j-XIIC&pg>>].

JURIC 1956: Juric, Johannes, “De redactione inedita sermonis «Absit» Francisci de Mayronis in festo Conceptionis B. M. V.,” in *Studi francescani*, 53, Firenze, 1956, pp. 3-54.

KEMPER 2006: Kemper, Tobias A., *Die Kreuzigung Christi. Motivgeschichtliche Studien zu lateinischen und deutschen Passionstraktaten des Spätmittelalters*, Tübingen, Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2006.

MCNAMER 1990: McNamer, Sarah, “Further Evidence for the Date of the Pseudo-Bonaventuran *Meditationes Vitae Christi*,” in *Franciscan Studies*, 50, Allegany, Franciscan Institute Publications, 1990, pp. 235-261.

ROSSMANN 1972: _____, *Die Hierarchie der Welt: Gestalt und System des Franz von Meyronnes OFM mit besonderer Berücksichtigung seiner Schöpfungslehre*, Werl in Westfalen, Dietrich Coelde, 1972.

ROSSMANN 1972a: _____, “Die Quodlibeta und verschiedene sonstige Schriften des Franz von Mayronis,” in *Franziskanische Studien*, 54, Werl in Westfalen, 1972, pp. 1-76.

ROTH 1936: Roth, Bartholomäus, *Franz von Mayronis O.F.M.: sein Leben, seine Werke, seine Lehre vom Formalunterschied in Gott*, Werl in Westfalen, Franziskus-Druckerei, 1936.

TÓTH 2011: Tóth, Péter, “Way Out of the Tunnel? Three Hundred Years of Research on the Apocrypha: A Preliminary Approach,” in DOLEŽALOVÁ, Lucie – VISI, Tamás (eds.), *Retelling the Bible: Literary, Historical, and Social Contexts*, Bern, Peter Lang, 2011, pp. 87-115.

TÓTH – FALVAY 2014: Tóth, Peter – Falvay, Dávid, “New light on the Date and Authorship of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*,” in KELLY, Stephen – PERRY, Ryan (eds.), *Devotional Culture in Late Medieval England and Europe: Diverse Imaginations of Christ’s Life*, MCS 31, Turnhout, Brepols, 2014, pp. 17-104.