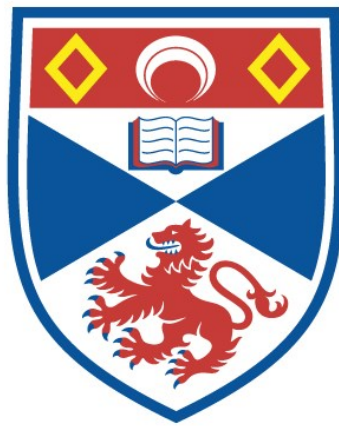


# **A late medieval confession manual - its author and context**

Heinz Peter King

A thesis submitted for the degree of PhD  
at the  
University of St Andrews



2018

Full metadata for this item is available in  
St Andrews Research Repository  
at:

<https://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/>

Identifier to use to cite or link to this thesis:

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.17630/10023-16416>

This item is protected by original copyright

**Candidate's declaration**

I, Heinz Peter King, do hereby certify that this thesis, submitted for the degree of PhD, which is approximately 40,000 words in length, has been written by me, and that it is the record of work carried out by me, or principally by myself in collaboration with others as acknowledged, and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for any degree.

I was admitted as a research student at the University of St Andrews in January 2014.

I confirm that no funding was received for this work.

Date

Signature of candidate

**Supervisor's declaration**

I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of PhD in the University of St Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

Date

Signature of supervisor

**Permission for publication**

In submitting this thesis to the University of St Andrews we understand that we are giving permission for it to be made available for use in accordance with the regulations of the University Library for the time being in force, subject to any copyright vested in

the work not being affected thereby. We also understand, unless exempt by an award of an embargo as requested below, that the title and the abstract will be published, and that a copy of the work may be made and supplied to any bona fide library or research worker, that this thesis will be electronically accessible for personal or research use and that the library has the right to migrate this thesis into new electronic forms as required to ensure continued access to the thesis.

I, Heinz Peter King, confirm that my thesis does not contain any third-party material that requires copyright clearance.

The following is an agreed request by candidate and supervisor regarding the publication of this thesis:

### **Printed copy**

Embargo on all of print copy for a period of 5 years on the following ground(s):

- Publication would preclude future publication

### **Supporting statement for printed embargo request**

I will not be able to publish this as a book if it has already been published in the University Library or online.

### **Electronic copy**

Embargo on all of electronic copy for a period of 5 years on the following ground(s):

- Publication would preclude future publication

### **Supporting statement for electronic embargo request**

It would not be possible to get a contract to publish this as a book if it were available online.

**Title and Abstract**

- I agree to the title and abstract being published.

Date

Signature of candidate

Date

Signature of supervisor

## **Underpinning Research Data or Digital Outputs**

### **Candidate's declaration**

I, Heinz Peter King, hereby certify that no requirements to deposit original research data or digital outputs apply to this thesis and that, where appropriate, secondary data used have been referenced in the full text of my thesis.

Date

Signature of candidate

## THESIS ABSTRACT

This thesis focuses on the *Summa Angelica de casibus conscientie* written by Angelo da Chivasso (d. 1495), first printed in 1486. Angelo belonged to the Observantine branch of the Franciscan Order and was its vicar general four times. Having documented Angelo's life and career, the thesis centres on the construction and purpose of his *Summa*. It assesses its originality within the tradition of confession manuals and the reasons for its popularity. It argues that the structure is very clear because Angelo intended it for the use of *simplices confessores*, by which he probably meant priests who did not have a university degree. He arranged his material alphabetically and in the longer sections, paragraphs were numbered, making cross-referencing easy. He included a list of authorities and explained the manner of quoting from them. Not all these features were original, but together they helped to make the *Summa* popular.

There are several noteworthy features of Angelo's *Summa*. The procedures described had been laid down in earlier manuals, including the need for more rigorous questions - *ad status* – relating to the profession of each penitent and where this might lead to sin. Angelo however diverged from some earlier authorities by warning about excessive rigour. Circumstances were to be taken into account, and where possible penitents to be given the benefit of the doubt.

The number of copies of Angelo's *Summa* printed throughout Western Christendom during his lifetime and following his death are a tribute to its importance. The period of fame however, was short. Martin Luther was a particularly virulent critic of the *Summa*, and the Catholic Church changed the method of hearing confessions, making much of it redundant, though it survived for some centuries more as a work of reference for confessors.

## Acknowledgements

My heartfelt gratitude goes to my supervisor Prof. Frances Andrews. She always made me feel welcome when I came to see her. She corrected my mistakes, saved me from the pitfalls of rash judgements, and guided me along paths unfamiliar to me. I have learned an immense amount about medieval history from my meetings with her. She was also immensely generous in lending me books from her rich collection.

Nothing was too much trouble for Moira Thaddeus in the University Library. I should also like to thank her kind colleagues: Peter Glancy, Jill Kitson, and Rhona Miller.

My son Stephen deserves a special word of thanks. I belong to the pre-internet generation. He corresponded on my behalf with my supervisor, summoned rare manuscripts and printed books on to the screen for me, came to my rescue when I had made a muddle on my word-processor, and reset this thesis according to the standard requirements. He is the right hand of his ancient father.

Peter King.

St. Andrews, Ascension Day, 10 May 2018.

## ABBREVIATIONS

AM - Luke Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, 27 vols., Florence, Quarachi - Ad Claras Aquas 1933.

DDC - *Dictionnaire de Droit Canonique*, 7 vols., Paris, 1935 - 1965.

GKW - *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, 12 vols., Leipzig, 1926 - 2016, in progress.

RF - Regula Francisci: *François d'Assise - Écrits*, Paris 1981, deuxième Règle, 181 - 199 (Sources Chrétiennes No.285).

WA - Luther, Martin, *Werke*, Kritische Gesamtausgabe, Weimar 73 vols., 1883 - 2009 (Weimarer Ausgabe).

WA Br. - Luther, Martin, *Briefwechsel*, Weimar 18 vols., 1930 - 85 (Weimarer Ausgabe, Briefwechsel).

WA Tschr. - Luther, Martin, *Tischreden*, Weimar 6 vols., 1912 - 21





A NOTE ON CITATIONS FROM THE *SUMMA ANGELICA*.

The many 15th- and 16th-century editions of the *Summa Angelica* were printed in various formats. A folio reference is valid only for one particular edition. In this study, the alphabetical heading has been added in brackets and, where relevant, the paragraph number, e.g. f.52 (Confessio 6). In this way it should be possible to follow up a reference, whatever edition may be available. All footnote references to folios without a title are to the *Summa Angelica*.

'They stopped and refreshed at an hostel. I could make a chapter of this if I were like some writers, but I like to cram my measure tight down, you see, and give you a great deal for your money, and in a word they had some bread and cheese and ale up stairs...'

(W.M.Thackeray, *The Rose and the Ring*, chapter 14).

## Chapter 1: The Author

Angelo Carletti da Chivasso, author of the confession manual which is the subject of this thesis, was minister provincial of the observant Franciscans of the province of Genoa from 1462, and elected vicar general of the observant friars south of the Alps in 1472, 1478, 1484, and 1490. His *Summa Angelica de casibus conscientie* was first printed in 1486 and had been through 22 editions by 1500.<sup>1</sup> Surviving copies are very numerous and can be found in almost every major library in Europe and America. The *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* identifies 710 incunabula copies and at the end of each column for the period 1487 - 1492 there is a note '*Und zahlreiche andere*' ('and numerous others').<sup>2</sup> Another note explains that the lists for 1485 and 1498/9 are not complete either.<sup>3</sup> It would not be unreasonable to conclude therefore, that the surviving copies for the period before 1500 number over 1000. No one has attempted to locate all the copies printed during the 16th century.

The copy studied here is in St. Andrews University Library<sup>4</sup> and was printed, during his lifetime, in Strasburg in 1491.<sup>5</sup> In the early 16th century the book met with radical criticism in those parts of Europe which accepted the Reformation. It aroused the wrath of Martin Luther who had it publicly burned. After the reforms following the Council of Trent its use in the regions which remained Catholic was limited, but there is evidence that some bishops recommended it as a work of

---

<sup>1</sup>For details of the various editions before 1500 see *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* (GKW) 2, Leipzig 1926, 276 - 298.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.278 - 287.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid. 291, 293 - 4.

<sup>4</sup>Typ GS A91 FA

<sup>5</sup>Colophon f.353b.

reference at least until the middle of the 17th century.<sup>6</sup> It is an important source for understanding the discipline of oral confession as it was practised by the Catholic Church in the generation before the Reformation.

The structure of the thesis is as follows: chapter 1 brings together whatever is known of the author; chapter 2 describes the organisation and structure of Angelo's treatise and the influences upon it of earlier confession manuals; chapters 3 and 4 are about the interrogation of penitents in confession, the former concerned with their interior dispositions, the latter with their way of life; chapter 5 discusses Angelo's views of the Franciscan life as set forth by him in the manual; chapter 6 is concerned with his reputation and that of his book in the centuries following his death.

Some knowledge of the author's life and the influences upon him would no doubt throw light on the text. Unfortunately, although a considerable portion of his official correspondence survives, biographical material is sparse. Something can be learned from the lives written in the 17th and 18th centuries, although they need to be used with caution.<sup>7</sup> According to the Franciscan Martyrology, Angelo died in the Observant friary of Cuneo in Piedmont on 11 April 1495.<sup>8</sup> Because of his reputation for holiness he was not buried with his other brethren in the choir of the church, but in a special monument in one of the chapels.<sup>9</sup> His body was translated in 1520 and again in 1536. On each occasion it was found to be incorrupt. His cult was favoured by the dukes of Savoy, and his intercession was sought locally in times of plague and war.<sup>10</sup>

All this was put at risk by two decrees of Pope Urban VIII in 1625 and 1634. Cults which had not been expressly authorised by the Holy See through formal beatification or canonisation were

---

<sup>6</sup> See below ch.6 p. 108-109.

<sup>7</sup> See below pp. 9-10. A systematic study of the early modern lives can be found in G. Cannarsa, 'Vite antiche e nuove del beato Angelo Carletti da Chivasso', *Quaderni del Unitre* (Università della terza età di Chivasso), Chivasso 1995, 33 - 138.

<sup>8</sup> Arthur Münster, *Martyrologium franciscanum*, Lyon 1638, 160 - 161; AM 15, Florence 1933, 109; A. Sępinski, *Martyrologium Romano-Seraphicum*, Rome 1953, 96.

<sup>9</sup> G. Griseri, 'La fama e il culto di Angelo Carletti in età moderna', *Frate Angelo Carletti osservante nel V centenario della morte (1495 - 1995)*, ed. O. Capitani et al., Cuneo 1998, 199.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*, 201 - 294; 208 - 211. On the cult and miracles etc. Griseri quotes the early modern lives.

now strictly forbidden.<sup>11</sup> The public veneration of servants of God, even if popular, must have papal authorisation. In a case like that of Angelo however, beatification could take place retrospectively *per viam cultus*. It would be necessary to show that the servant of God had been venerated 'since time immemorial' (defined as at least 100 years before 1625) and that there had been miracles.<sup>12</sup> Candidates must have been dead for at least fifty years before they could be considered, and their writings and other documents would have to be examined by a curial official with the title of 'Promoter of the Faith'.<sup>13</sup> Already earlier in the 16th century the Popes had made a distinction between a 'sanctus' whose cult could be observed throughout the Universal Church, and a 'beatus' whose cult must be limited to a particular area or order. This distinction was made official in 1659.<sup>14</sup>

The 17th-century lives of Angelo were written to meet these new conditions. They were carefully analysed and each one summarised in some detail by Giuseppina Cannarsa in 1995.<sup>15</sup> The earliest was a eulogy preached by Paolo Brizio, (1597 - 1665), himself an Observant Franciscan and at that time guardian of the church where the holy man was buried. His eulogy was printed in 1626<sup>16</sup> - the year after Urban VIII's decree. A life by the Observant Franciscan Pasquale Codreto, compiled at the request of the city council of Cuneo, was published in 1664. It compared the virtues of Angelo with those of St. Francis and various other saints.<sup>17</sup> Another life written by the Franciscan Arcangelo da Salto, and published in the same year, depicted Angelo as the ideal friar minor.<sup>18</sup> In all these texts the emphasis was on miracles and heroic virtues.

In 1690 Cuneo was besieged by the French. The siege lasted only 17 days and was lifted at the approach of the feared warrior prince Eugene of Savoy (1663 - 1736), but it was widely believed

---

<sup>11</sup> S. Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity, and History in Tridentine Italy*, Cambridge 1995, 216. See also 'Causes de béatification et de canonisation', *Dictionnaire de Droit Canonique* 3, 11.

<sup>12</sup> Ditchfield, *Liturgy*, 216.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* 216 - 217.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* 218

<sup>15</sup> G. Cannarsa, 'Vite antiche e nuove', 33 - 138.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* 61 - 64.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* 64 - 76.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* 77 - 92.

that Angelo had miraculously intervened.<sup>19</sup> There was now overwhelming local support for a beatification *per viam cultus*. Domenico Truchi, bishop of Mondovì, began enquiries in 1694 and an edifying and miraculous dossier was forwarded to Rome four years later.<sup>20</sup> Some of the evidence came from Angelo's collateral descendants.<sup>21</sup> Proceedings were held up however, partly because three of the books attributed to Angelo could not be found - these were his sermons (*Prediche*), *Arca Fidei*, and *Epistola conceptionis Deiparae* - and because the municipality of Cuneo ran out of money.<sup>22</sup> The War of the Austrian Succession and another siege of Cuneo in 1744 delayed matters once again. A petition for the conclusion of the process, supported by the ruler of Savoy, was presented to Rome in 1746,<sup>23</sup> and Angelo was finally beatified by Pope Benedict XIV in 1753.<sup>24</sup>

It was in connection with the canonisation that the first systematic biography of Angelo was published. The *Vita del B. Angiolo Carletti da Chivasso* (1753) was written by Onorio Marentini, an Observant Franciscan of the province to which the *beatus* had once belonged.<sup>25</sup> The book was amply provided with footnotes. Marentini consulted archives then preserved at Chivasso and which have now disappeared,<sup>26</sup> for instance a 'manuscript history of Chivasso written in 1600 and kept in a private house'.<sup>27</sup> Papal bulls relating to Angelo were copied into the text.<sup>28</sup> Wadding was also used.<sup>29</sup> Marentini's *Vita* forms the basis of the article on Angelo in the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*.<sup>30</sup> Another biography of Angelo appeared in the same year as Marentini's.<sup>31</sup> The author,

---

<sup>19</sup> Giuseppe Griseri, 'La fama', 209 - 210. Sources for Angelo's posthumous miracles are the early modern lives discussed by Cannarsa. See also 'Il "Sommario" della causa di canonizzazione del beato Angelo Carletti da Chivasso, Roma 1708', *Archivium Franciscanum Historicum* 81 (1995), 367 - 370.

<sup>20</sup> Griseri 'La fama', 211.

<sup>21</sup> Cannarsa 'Vite antiche e nuove', 123 n.35.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. 125 n.52; Griseri 'La fama', 212.

<sup>23</sup> Griseri 'La fama', 222 - 223.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid. 224.

<sup>25</sup> Onorio Marentini, *Vita del beato Angiolo Carletti da Chivasso Osservante di S. Francesco, scritta da un sacerdote della Osservante Provincia di S. Tommaso Apostolo*, Turin 1753.

<sup>26</sup> Marentini *Vita*, 96, 124 n.44.

<sup>27</sup> Marentini *Vita* 3, note c.

<sup>28</sup> E.g. Ibid. 14 - 15, 27 - 28.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid. 29 notes a,b,c,d; 30 note a.

<sup>30</sup> S.Pezzella, 'CARLETTI, Angelo', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 20, Rome 1977, 136 - 138.

<sup>31</sup> *Vita del beato Angelo da Chivasso, Minore Osservante*, scritta dal P.F. Ermenegildo da Roma, Turin 1753.

Ermenegildo da Roma was, like Marentini, a Franciscan but belonged to a different branch of the Order. It is from him that 1411 as the year of Angelo's birth comes<sup>32</sup> but, as will be seen, this is unlikely. For the rest, Ermenegildo's book largely follows the hagiographic and sermonising pattern of the 17th-century Lives.<sup>33</sup>

The sparse information about Angelo's early life was brought together by Mgr. Mario Bessone in his 1950 biography of the *beatus*.<sup>34</sup> Alberto Lupano went through the same material for a commemorative volume published in 1995, but was obliged to admit that little new had been found.<sup>35</sup> Much, it seems, has to be based on inference. Angelo is presumed to have come from Chivasso in Piedmont, because in his letters he refers to himself as 'frater Angelus de Clavasio'. The name Carletus also frequently appears, especially in the titles of his books. The Carletti were rich merchants in Chivasso, particularly involved in the linen industry. In 1411 the family collectively made an endowment to the collegiate church of St.Peter in their town. In the document Pietro Carletti, the presumed father of Angelo, is described as under age and in tutelage.<sup>36</sup> This would make 1411 as the year of Angelo's birth impossible. Angelo wrote a short book on confession at the request of his brother (*frater germanus*) Bartholomew. In another document from Chivasso dated 1458 about the lease of a mill, Pietro Carletti is mentioned with his three sons Antonio, Cristoforo, and Bartolomeo. Marentini states that Angelo was given the name of Antonio in baptism, and that his parents were Pietro Carletti and Angiola.<sup>37</sup> To identify Angelo with the Antonio of the lease however, is difficult. If he was a layman in 1458, it seems unlikely that he could have risen to be a Franciscan minister provincial in 1462.<sup>38</sup> Two solutions can be suggested. One is that Pietro had four sons of whom one (baptismal name unknown) was already a Franciscan in 1458. In that case he would not have been mentioned in a document about property. The other possibility is that there

---

<sup>32</sup> Cannarsa 'Vite nuove ed antiche', 14, 111.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid. 109 - 119.

<sup>34</sup> M. Bessone, *Il beato Angelo Carletti da Chivasso*, Cuneo, 1950.

<sup>35</sup> Alberto Lupano, *Frate Angelo Carletti* Cuneo, 1996, 45 - 73.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid. 54 - 55.

<sup>37</sup> Marentini, *Vita* 3.

<sup>38</sup> See below p.12.

was another branch of the family in Chivasso to which the future friar Angelo and his brother Bartholomew belonged.

Like Ermengildo da Roma, Marentini states that Angelo was born in the year 1411 and adds that he became a Franciscan in 1444 at the age of 33. Since Pietro Carletti was under age in 1411 Angelo, if he was his son, cannot have been born in that year. As for becoming a friar at the age of 33, Christ was believed to have been crucified at that age. There was a symbolism in the idea of Angelo dying to the world at the same age as Christ had faced his death.

From his early years, Marentini tells us, the future friar Angelo was a man of prayer. He had a good education and went on to the university of Bologna where he gained a doctorate in civil and canon law, as well as in moral and speculative theology.<sup>39</sup> In fact Bessone has shown that there is no evidence that Angelo had studied in Bologna.<sup>40</sup> No Carletti occurs in any of the university's records.<sup>41</sup> It is possible that he was a student in Turin, where there was a small university which had its beginnings in the 14th century.<sup>42</sup> It is more likely that Angelo studied in Pavia. A number of students there during the 15th century came from Chivasso, and a Ludovicus Carletus obtained a doctorate in Pavia in 1435.<sup>43</sup> Wadding simply states that Angelo had doctorates in theology and canon law, but does not mention the university.<sup>44</sup> The fact that Angelo's university is not known is a considerable gap in our knowledge about him. It is clear from his *Summa* and other writings that canon law was his particular field, and that he was also a learned theologian. One would like to have known who his teachers were. A woodcut in red and black depicting him with a doctor's cap surrounded by his pupils first appears in an edition of the *Summa Angelica* printed in Lyons and dated 6 September 1495, some five months after his death.<sup>45</sup> The same woodcut appears in a number

---

<sup>39</sup> Marentini, *Vita*, 4 - 8.

<sup>40</sup> Bessone *Il beato Angelo*, 24.

<sup>41</sup> Cannarsa 'Vite antiche e nuove' following Bessone 94 - 95, 124 n.42; Lupano, *Frate Angelo Carletti*, 68 - 69.

<sup>42</sup> Lupano *Frate Angelo Carletti*, 68.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.* 69.

<sup>44</sup> AM 15, 109.

<sup>45</sup> GKW 2, 291.



of other editions,<sup>46</sup> including one dated 1516 in St. Andrews university library.<sup>47</sup> This is the only reliable near contemporary evidence that he had a university degree. Some of the questions in the *Summa* directed at masters and teachers show a certain knowledge of university life: Did the penitent give money for his *licentia docendi*?<sup>48</sup> Did he keep the oaths of the university? It was a mortal sin, he was reminded, to bestow a doctorate on someone unworthy. As for the election of a rector, according to some authorities (Angelo did not name them) it was a mortal sin to vote for an unsuitable candidate, but Angelo thought that this should not apply to a university of scholars.<sup>49</sup> One would like to know what experience had led him to make this judgement.

Whatever his age, wherever he had studied, Angelo enters history in 1462, when a papal bull addresses him as vicar provincial of the Observantine friars of Genoa.<sup>50</sup> It is possible that he was already a renowned preacher. At some time his sermons were collected into a book and circulated. The book had an Italian title and we must assume that the sermons were in that language also, but it could no longer be found when the papal commission made enquiries about Angelo's sanctity in 1698.<sup>51</sup> A manuscript collection of his sermons, possibly the same text as the one of which the commission of 1698 had not been able to find a copy, was still preserved in Cuneo in Marentini's time.<sup>52</sup>

In 1467 the Observantine Chapter General sent Angelo and friar Peter of Naples to reorganise the huge Observant province of Austria, which included Poland and Bohemia. There had been friction between German and Polish friars. The accession to the Bohemian throne of George Podiebrad, the 'heretic king' who had been excommunicated, caused further difficulties. After

---

<sup>46</sup> Ibid. 292 - 293, 297.

<sup>47</sup> St Andrews University Library, MS. GHF 33.f(1).

<sup>48</sup> *Summa Angelica* f. 178

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Text in Marentini, *Vita* 27 - 28.

<sup>51</sup> See above p.8.

<sup>52</sup> Marentini, *Vita* 24.

discussion with the local friars it was decided to divide the area into three provinces - Austria, Poland, and Bohemia.<sup>53</sup>

In 1472 Angelo was elected vicar general of the Observants south of the Alps. He was reelected three more times, in 1478, 1484, and 1490.<sup>54</sup> He won golden opinions. In 1484, according to Wadding, he petitioned Sixtus IV for the privilege of not having to be reelected, but the pope refused to agree because of the outcry from the friars.<sup>55</sup> 'For nearly twenty years', wrote Girolamo Torielli, in his admittedly flattering introductory epistle to Angelo's *Summa Angelica*, 'You have directed the family of all the Cisalpine brethren by word and example. By your efforts and sagacity many of the Holy See's most difficult and dangerous problems have been brought to a happy conclusion'.<sup>56</sup> Angelo's election four times no doubt speaks for itself.

In the register of the Observantine vicars general written up by their secretaries, Angelo gives an impression of brisk efficiency.<sup>57</sup> Observantine vicars general held office for three years. A page-count of the register's printed edition strikingly illustrates Angelo's curt style as compared to that of his colleagues:

Mark of Bologna 1469 - 1472, 21 pages<sup>58</sup>

Angelo, 1472 - 1475, 7 pages.<sup>59</sup>

Peter of Naples, 1475 - 1478, 101 pages.<sup>60</sup>

Angelo, 1478 - 1481, 19 pages.<sup>61</sup>

Peter of Naples, 1481 - 1484, 244 pages.<sup>62</sup>

---

<sup>53</sup> Luigi Pellegrini, 'Una missione delicata nell' Europa centro-orientale: la riorganizzazione della provincia osservante di Austria', *Frate Angelo Carletti*, 75 - 95.

<sup>54</sup> H. Holzapfel, *Handbuch der Geschichte des Franziskanerordens*, Freiburg-in-Breisgau 1909, 695.

<sup>55</sup> AM 14, 439.

<sup>56</sup> *Annis fere vicenis digne et laudabiliter talem ac tantam fratrum omnium cismontanorum familiam direxeris verbo pariter et exemplo, necnon in pluribus sedis apostolice arduis periclitantibus causis sollicitudine ac ingenii tui sublimissimo apice ad optatum finem deducitis.* *Summa Angelica* f.2 (Epistola F. Hieron. Torielli).

<sup>57</sup> *Regestum Observantiae Cismontanae* ed. C. Schmitt (Analecta Franciscana 12), Grottaferrata 1983.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.* 144 - 165.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.* 166 - 173.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.* 174 - 275.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.* 276 - 295.

Angelo 1484 - 1487, 14 pages.<sup>63</sup>

The register does not go further than 1488.

By giving the text of many of his decisions Peter of Naples revealed a great deal about himself and the problems of the Observantines at this time. Angelo undoubtedly had the records of his predecessors available, but kept to his own terse style. Most of his decisions were summarised in one or two lines. Such were commissions to friars to move from one convent to another<sup>64</sup> to serve in Jerusalem<sup>65</sup>, or permission to a friar to study at a university.<sup>66</sup> The full text of a letter was given only if a serious matter of discipline was involved.<sup>67</sup> In the correspondence of Bernardino da Feltre (1439 - 1494) there are nineteen letters from Angelo which give a more intimate picture of himself and of the way he governed the Cisalpine Observantines during his last period of office (1490 - 1493).<sup>68</sup> Bernardino was a friend, and Angelo occasionally gave some personal information: he had been ill for the last two years he wrote in July 1489 but was now better.<sup>69</sup> In July 1491 he was once more in poor health and planning to travel to Pavia to consult the doctors.<sup>70</sup> Bernardino was a renowned preacher and Angelo did not hesitate to send him to one place after another, although he occasionally added 'If your health allows'.<sup>71</sup>

Angelo may have played a part in the life of his contemporary St. Catherine of Genoa (1447 - 1510). From 1479 she was living, with her husband, in the great hospital of Genoa, of which she

---

<sup>62</sup> Ibid. 296 - 540.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid. 541 - 555.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid. 168 (1472), obedientia fr. Pacifico de Novaria.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid. 542 (1484), fratres qui mittuntur in Ierusalem.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid. 167 (1472), fr. Francisco de Sedupirio.

<sup>67</sup> E.g. Ibid. 276 - 277; 279 - 280; 280 - 281; 282; 283 - 287.

<sup>68</sup> *Documenti Vari intorno al B. Bernardino Tomitano*, ed. V. Meneghin O.F.M. (Studi i Testi Francescane No.35), Rome 1966.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid. 103 - 105, No.62.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid. 163 - 164, No. 107.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid. 160 No.105; 163 - 164, No.107; 176 - 177, No.115.

became matron (*Rettora*) in 1496.<sup>72</sup> Her husband died in 1497.<sup>73</sup> She was still a married woman when she began the habit of going to Communion every day. 'One day,' we are told,

'A spiritual friar said to her, "You are communicating every day; what kind of satisfaction do you gain from it?" and she replied to him very sincerely, explaining to him all her inclinations and longings. Then the friar, in order to test her sincerity, said, "Perhaps there may be an imperfection in such communions", and then left her. Having heard this, Catherine, fearing such imperfections, ceased to communicate, but experienced much distress. When, after a few days, the friar heard of this, and that she had set the fear of imperfection more highly than the consolations and rewards of communicating, he sent her word that she should, by all means, communicate every day, and so she returned to her usual practice'.<sup>74</sup>

Friederich von Hügel suggested that this 'spiritual friar' was probably Angelo da Chivasso.<sup>75</sup> He gave no reasons. It was a guess, but not a bad one. Angelo enjoyed close and affectionate relations with Genoa.<sup>76</sup> It is very likely that he knew the woman who was closely involved in the running of its largest hospital.

As well as governing the Observantine friars for many years, Angelo was twice involved in the wider affairs of the Church, receiving two important commissions from the papacy. The first was in connection with the crusade of 1480 - 1481, to dislodge the Turks from Otranto. This town, on the heel of Italy opposite the coast of Albania commanded the entrance to the Adriatic Sea. In August 1480, one of the lieutenants of Mehmed II the conqueror of Constantinople, crossed the

---

<sup>72</sup> Friederich von Hügel, *The Mystical Element of Religion as studied in St. Catherine of Genoa and her friends*, 1, London 1923, 138 - 174.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.* 149 - 150.

<sup>74</sup> *Un giorno un frate spirituale le disse, 'Voi vi comunicate ogni dì, come vi pare esserne soddisfatta? ed ella gli rispose puramente, spiegandogli li desiderii ed affetti suoi. Allora il Frate per pruovare la sua diritezza, le disse: 'Potrebbe forse essere difetto nel tanto comunicarsi.' e così detto si parte. Caterina ciò inteso, temendo il difetto, più non si comunicava, ma ne restava con gran pena: la qual cosa fra pochi giorni intendendo il Frate; cioè più essa stimare la paura del difetto, che consolazione e soddisfazione del comunicarsi; le mando a dire, che sopra di sè ogni di si comunicasse: e così ritornò al suo solito. Vita ed Opere di Santa Caterina da Genova, Genoa 1847, 7.*

<sup>75</sup> Von Hügel, *The Mystical Element*, 116.

<sup>76</sup> See p. 16.

straits and seized it.<sup>77</sup> Pope Sixtus IV regarded this as the first step in the conquest of Italy and even considered seeking refuge north of the Alps.<sup>78</sup> He declared a crusade and sent letters to all the rulers of Christendom appealing for help. In December Angelo was nominated the crusade's papal legate.<sup>79</sup> The papal bull of nomination has not survived, but a long letter from Angelo himself gives details of its contents.<sup>80</sup> For the time being he was to represent the Pope to the crusaders in all matters of conscience, giving dispensations for marriage irregularities, granting plenary indulgences in the time of death, and absolution for the invasion of church properties or any other matters for which the crusaders might wish to be reconciled with the Church.

One of Angelo's tasks was to collect money for the crusade. He met with particular difficulties in Milan, where Ludovico il Moro, who was regent of the duchy during the minority of its duke, was personally hostile to him. The course of events has been reconstructed by Sara Fasoli from the records in the state archives in Milan.<sup>81</sup> Angelo's involvement with Ludovico went back to 1476, when the Genoese had risen in rebellion against the Milanese who had been occupying their city since 1464. Ludovico gathered an army to reconquer the city. Angelo tried to mediate. From his time as vicar provincial in Genoa, he no doubt had many friends and connections in the city. His intentions were probably pacific but Ludovico took offence and never forgave him.<sup>82</sup> The friar, he complained in a letter to his agents in Rome, constantly defamed him and the duke. It was no secret that in his sermons he had encouraged the people of Genoa in their rebellion, 'Under pretence of liberty'. When Angelo came to Milan to raise money for the crusade he met with little cooperation. Ludovico wanted to keep half the proceeds of the collection for himself. It was not unusual for Popes to make concessions of this kind to rulers. Sixtus IV was undecided. At first he urged the

---

<sup>77</sup> On the conquest of Otranto and the subsequent crusade see K.M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant 2*, Philadelphia 1978, 364 - 380; F. Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror*, Princeton 1978, 390 - 392; K.M. Setton ed., *A History of the Crusades 6*, Madison 1989, 330 - 331. None of these authorities mention Angelo.

<sup>78</sup> Babinger, *Mehmet*, 330 - 331.

<sup>79</sup> M.E. Viora, 'Angelo da Chivasso e la crociata contro i Turchi del 1480 - 1481', *Studi Francescani* 2 (1925), 819 - 840.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid. 826 - 829.

<sup>81</sup> Sara Fasoli, 'Il Carletti a Milano: un episodio nel quadro dei rapporti tra gli Sforza e l'Osservanza minoritica', *Frate Angelo Carletti*, 97 - 115.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid. 113.

collectors to forward the whole sum to Rome, then, after repeated protests from Ludovico, he gave way. Angelo was sidelined. In the event very little of the money from Milan ever got to Rome.<sup>83</sup>

In May 1481 news came of the death of Mehmed II. The succession was disputed and the conqueror of Otranto was urgently requested to return home with his troops. The city was then retaken by the Neapolitans without difficulty.<sup>84</sup>

In September 1491 Pope Innocent VIII named Angelo and Étienne Morel bishop of Maurienne joint legates in a crusade against the Waldensians in the Duchy of Savoy.<sup>85</sup> The bull gave Angelo power 'to enquire, punish, and correct and, even without the consent of the ordinaries, to judge and hand (the heretics) over to the secular arm, and to absolve those who wish to return to the unity of Holy Mother Church'.<sup>86</sup> The local bishops were to cooperate assisted by the laity. A crusade was to be preached, with a plenary indulgence promised to crusaders. The legate was given power to pronounce excommunications and interdicts. The property of heretics was to be confiscated and redistributed among the faithful at the legate's discretion. He was also to have the power to receive the repentant back into the Church, absolve them, and exempt them from confiscations provided that they remained faithful.<sup>87</sup>

In fact Angelo seems to have been curiously absent from Savoy for much of the time. His health had not been good and in July 1491, as we have seen, he had travelled to Pavia to consult doctors. He spent Christmas 1491 in Venice, and was travelling in the area around Milan in the spring and summer of 1492. In August 1492 he settled down in Casale Monferrato which, if not actually in Savoy, was at least next door. He was still there in November. From there brief sallies into Savoy would have been possible. In November he announced that he was returning to Savoy to

---

<sup>83</sup> Ibid. 112 - 113.

<sup>84</sup> Babinger, *Mehmet*, 331.

<sup>85</sup> The text of the bull is printed by M.E.Viora, 'La persecuzione contro i Valdesi nel secolo XV', *Bulletin de la Société d' Histoire Vaudoise* 47 (1925), 5 - 19.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid. 8.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid. 9 - 12.

await replies to the letters he had sent about the Waldensians.<sup>88</sup> Euan Cameron, a modern authority on the Waldensians, calls Angelo 'a somewhat implausible inquisitor'.<sup>89</sup>

Marentini had given a different picture. 'He stopped the growing evil by his writings and his words. For this reason he was hated by the heretics who called him Christ's whip'.<sup>90</sup> Marentini could only have based this judgement on the title of Angelo's book *Arca Fidei*. He knew that it had once existed but, although he had looked for it, he had been unable to find a copy.<sup>91</sup> That Noah's ark foreshadowed the Church, those entering being saved and the others perishing in the flood, was an idea first put forward by St. Augustine.<sup>92</sup> If that was the argument of Angelo's book it might have been directed against the Waldensians, and was possibly written during his stay in Casale Monferrato in the second half of 1492. Some of his sermons may also have been directed against the heresy, but, as has been seen, these too were no longer available when Marentini was writing.

Waldensians were to be found in the valleys on the Italian and French speaking sides of the duchy of Savoy as well as the Dauphiné.<sup>93</sup> There had been a crusade against them in 1487. This had been limited to the Dauphiné.<sup>94</sup> The crusade of 1491 was to have covered Savoy. Details are confused. Euan Cameron writes, 'It is improbable that a significant armed expedition could have been mounted without it leaving any documentary evidence whatsoever'.<sup>95</sup> In 1587 Gerolamo Molo, a Waldensian pastor, published his *Historia breve et vera de gl'affari dei Valdesi delle Valli*, but although he made every effort to record the memories of the 'oldest and most judicious Waldensians of these valleys' he seems to have got the two crusades muddled.<sup>96</sup> There is little doubt that religious nonconformity in the valleys was, at times, savagely repressed. According to the chronicle of

---

<sup>88</sup> On Angelo's movements at this time see Marina Benedetti 'Angelo Carletti e la crociata contro i Valdesi', *Frate Angelo Carletti*, 125, n.22, based on letters in V. Meneghin ed., *Documenti Vari*.

<sup>89</sup> Euan Cameron, *Waldenses: rejection of Holy Church in Medieval Europe*, Oxford 2000, 168.

<sup>90</sup> Marentini, *Vita* 79.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.* 81.

<sup>92</sup> Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, XV, 26.

<sup>93</sup> Cameron, *Waldenses*, 151 - 206.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.* 193 - 196.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.* 168.

<sup>96</sup> Marina Benedetti, 'Crociata contro i Valdesi', *Frate Angelo Carletti*, 121 - 122.

Cuneo, 'Many of those taken captive were destroyed by various kinds of death to the glory of God and the Christian faith'. Here too it is uncertain to which crusade reference was being made.<sup>97</sup>

Another area where there is evidence for Angelo's activities lies in his engagement, together with his friend and fellow-friar Bernardino da Feltre, in the creation of Monti di Pietà. These institutions were intended to provide credit on easy terms and to prevent the poor from falling into debt. Rich and charitable benefactors provided the capital. Established banks might lose business, and since Jews were very much involved in moneylending, the campaigns for Monte di Pietà frequently became an excuse for anti-Jewish propaganda. Angelo did not hesitate to make use of traditional prejudices to forward his views.<sup>98</sup> In Genoa indeed, there were no Jewish moneylenders, but some banks run by Christians had caused considerable indebtedness. In 1483 Angelo in a series of sermons was able to persuade the citizens to set up a Monte di Pietà in the city, which thanks to generous contributions was able to charge a mere 5% for loans.<sup>99</sup> In 1479 Pope Sixtus IV, a native of Savona, had issued a bull setting up a Monte di Pietà in that city, but the opposition of the bishop, a Dominican, had held the matter up. Angelo and his friend Bernardino came to the city in 1483 to help the cause. The statutes of the Monte were drawn up in part by Angelo himself, but some years were to pass before it was firmly established.<sup>100</sup>

The most difficult situation occurred in Lucca. The moneylending activities of the Jews in that city were of some importance to the economy. They charged 20% to citizens and 30% to the *contadini*. In 1452 Pope Nicholas V had authorised the citizens to continue to make use of Jewish moneylenders 'because you explained to us that it was for the good of the republic that you should use Jewish usurers as you have been doing in the past'. The Pope recommended that interest should be kept as low as possible. The bull was renewed two years later.<sup>101</sup>

---

<sup>97</sup> Ibid. 120

<sup>98</sup> On Angelo and the Monte di Pietà see Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli, 'Angelo da Chivasso e i Monte di Pietà', *Frate Angelo Carletti*, 169 - 184.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid. 170 - 172.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid. 173 - 177.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid. 180.



When he came to preach in the city in 1489 Bernardino da Feltre claimed that the bull was a forgery. Angelo was more subtle. The bull, he explained, was issued because of very special circumstances which were no longer applicable 30 years later. It did not sanction close relations with the Jews and in any case, applied only to Jews who were natives of the city and not to newcomers (actually the bull made no such distinction). The prohibition of usury, Angelo declared, was part of divine law, from which no pope could dispense. Angelo added that in his experience people became poorer in the places where the Jews operated (he did not say which places). When they had been expelled things became better. Setting up a Monte di Pietà was by far the best way to meet the needs of the citizens. Angelo's arguments eventually prevailed and the Jews left Lucca in 1493.<sup>102</sup>

Observant vicars general held office for three years and could not be immediately reelected. Angelo was out of office from 1475 - 1478, 1481 - 1484, and 1487 - 1490. It may have been during these intervals that he wrote his books. *De Contractibus* was about mercantile practices and particularly based on the writings of St. Bernardino of Siena.<sup>103</sup> *De Restitutionibus* in two volumes covered the same subject, this time quoting all the authorities.<sup>104</sup> Marentini was the editor of both books. In his annotations he brought the authorities up to date. Marentini also brought to light and published 'a manuscript of the venerable servant of God the blessed Angelo Carletti, in which he deals with the ten commandments of the Decalogue, and the seven capital sins'.<sup>105</sup> This looks more like a description than a title. A book of sermons, a tract on the conception of the Virgin, and *Arca Fidei* had been lost by 1698.<sup>106</sup>

---

<sup>102</sup> On the arguments at Lucca see Muzzarelli 'Angelo da Chivasso', n.88, 180 - 184.

<sup>103</sup> *De Contractibus*, ed. Onorio Marentini, Rome 1772. On the teachings of St. Bernardino of Siena on mercantile activities see G. Todeschini, *Franciscan Wealth: from voluntary poverty to market society*, New York 2009, 159 - 166.

<sup>104</sup> *Tractatus de Restitutionibus* 2 vols., ed. Onorio Marentini, Rome 1772.

<sup>105</sup> *Manuscriptum ven. servi dei beati Angeli Carletti in quo agit de decem praeceptis Decalogi et de septem vitiis capitalibus*, ed. Onorio Marentini, Milan 1767.

<sup>106</sup> See above p 8.

It was the *Summa Angelica de casibus conscientie* which made Angelo famous. It was the only one of his writings to be printed in his lifetime. After the first edition of 1486, published in Chivasso, a new edition appeared every year throughout the 15th century.<sup>107</sup> The bibliophile abbot Trithemius (Johannes Trietheim 1462 - 1506) wrote of it, 'It is written for ordinary (*simplices*) confessors, but is also very useful and necessary for busy learned ones. It is to be found everywhere, and from the author it is called *Summa Angelica*...I hear that the author is still alive...in the year of Our Lord that we have written this MCDXCIV'.<sup>108</sup>

After his retirement as vicar general Angelo appears to have gone to live in Cuneo, and it was there that he died on 11 April 1495.<sup>109</sup> Luke Wadding was aware that, considering his importance, information about him was not plentiful. 'What we have sparsely said about him under the years we have recorded above shows clearly how great was his virtue, teaching and prudence'<sup>110</sup> The situation has not much improved since the 17th century. It is unlikely that anything new can now be found about his early life and education. A preliminary collection of his letters from various sources then available both printed and manuscript, was made by Bessone in 1950.<sup>111</sup> The full Latin texts of most of these later appeared in other publications: nineteen letters from Angelo in V. Meneghin's edition of the correspondence of Bernardino da Feltre (1966), summaries of his decisions and some full texts in the registers of the Observantine vicars general (1983).<sup>112</sup> The documents recording his public acts, and the popularity in all parts of the Church of his *Summa Angelica* show him to have been a figure of European importance, now unjustly forgotten outside his native Italy.

---

<sup>107</sup> See above n.1

<sup>108</sup> Trithemius, *Liber de ecclesiasticis scriptoribus*, Hamburg 1708, No.895.

<sup>109</sup> AM 15, 109.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid.

<sup>111</sup> Bessone, *Il beato Angelo Carletti*, 193 - 216.

<sup>112</sup> See above p.8.

## Chapter 2. Angelo's *Summa*: its organisation and its literary context.

Angelo da Chivasso's *Summa angelica de casibus conscientie* was first printed in Chivasso in 1486.<sup>1</sup> Until the year of his death in 1495 it was reprinted every year.<sup>2</sup> The copy upon which this study is based is in the St. Andrews University Library's Special Collections.<sup>3</sup> It is a large quarto volume, the folios measuring 19 × 27 cm. There are 370 printed folios altogether, the first seventeen unnumbered, the rest numbered 1 - 353. The colophon states that the book was printed in Strasburg by Martin Flach, one of its citizens, and the date is given as 1 Dec. 1491.<sup>4</sup> It is one of the editions printed within Angelo's own lifetime.

This chapter describes the way Angelo organised his manual, the authorities he used, his explanations of how these should be cited, and the previous confession manuals which influenced his. A book with the title *Summa de casibus conscientie* composed by a Dominican was already in circulation.<sup>5</sup> Angelo acknowledged his debt to it and added the adjective *angelica* to the title of his own book, no doubt to distinguish it from the previous one. The word was partly a play on his name, but his expressed purpose was to remind the reader of Jacob's vision of angels ascending and descending a ladder to heaven.<sup>6</sup> His book begins with a laudatory letter from Girolamo Tornielli, a fellow Franciscan, asking for it to be printed, with his affirmative reply.<sup>7</sup> Next comes Angelo's own prologue.<sup>8</sup> After that comes an alphabetical list of contents, with folio references.<sup>9</sup> An alphabetical list of authorities follows.<sup>10</sup> Then Angelo gives directions about the way certain selected authors

---

<sup>1</sup>GKW 2, 276 - 277.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. 277 - 298.

<sup>3</sup>Typ GS A91 FA.

<sup>4</sup>Colophon f.353b. For printings after 1495 see ch. 6.

<sup>5</sup>See below p.35.

<sup>6</sup>Prologus. Unnumbered folio [12]. The reference is to Genesis, 28, 12 - 15.

<sup>7</sup>f. [1 - 1b].

<sup>8</sup>[f.2].

<sup>9</sup>[f.2b - 4].

<sup>10</sup>[f.4b - 5b].

should be quoted.<sup>11</sup> The rubrics of civil and canon law come next.<sup>12</sup> The main text of the book follows.<sup>13</sup> The colophon is at the end.

Angelo's book was 'user friendly'. Topics were arranged alphabetically. In the longer entries the paragraphs were numbered, thus making cross-references easy. This arrangement was not entirely new, but it probably helped to make the book popular.<sup>14</sup> Angelo had his readership clearly defined. 'This angelic *summa* will be useful not only for confessors, but also for students of civil and canon law', he wrote in his prologue.<sup>15</sup> 'This angelic *summa* has been compiled mostly for ordinary confessors who do not have an extensive familiarity with the law'.<sup>16</sup> *Pro simplicibus confessoribus: simplex* here does not mean 'simple' as now used. Angelo had in mind the fact that most priests who heard confessions did not have a university education.

Early on in the book Angelo gave a list of 183 authorities.<sup>17</sup> 'They are arranged in alphabetical order', he wrote, 'Not according to their antiquity or excellence'.<sup>18</sup> Each alphabetical section was divided into three: first masters of Scripture and Theology, then canon and civil lawyers, lastly *Summistae*. It is instructive to note the authorities for whom Angelo expressed admiration: *Hostiensis lumen iuris canonici* ('Hostiensis the light of canon law', c.1200 - 1270), *Innocentius papa splendor canonistarum* ('Innocent the pope, the splendour of canonists', pope 1198 - 1216), *Johannes Andree irradiator iuris canonici* ('Johannes Andraee, illuminator of canon law', 1270 - 1348). Peter Lombard was not listed under P. or L. but under an impressive M.: *Magister Sententiarum scilicet Petrus Lombardus princeps theologorum* ('The master of the Sentences, that is Peter Lombard, prince of theologians', d.1160). Elsewhere the Franciscan Alexander of Hales

---

<sup>11</sup> [f.5b - 6].

<sup>12</sup> [f.6b - 16b].

<sup>13</sup> f.1 - 353b.

<sup>14</sup> See below p. 35.

<sup>15</sup> f.[2].*Itaque hec Angelica erit utilis non solum confessoribus verum etiam scholaribus utriusque iuris.*

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* *Hec Angelica summa principaliter edita est pro simplicibus confessoribus non habentibus peritiam universalem iuris.*

<sup>17</sup> f.[4b - 5].

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

(d.1245) and Thomas Aquinas (c.1225 - 1274), were described as *luminosi doctores*, but Bonaventure (c.1217 - 1274) was not singled out for special praise in this list although, as will be seen, he was frequently and reverentially used.<sup>19</sup> Duns Scotus (c.1266 - 1308) came under J. for Johannes with a note that he would be normally referred to as *Scotus*, and a cross - reference to S. for Scotus.

The Bible was Angelo's most authoritative source. For a commentary Angelo used his fellow Franciscan Nicholas de Lyre: *Nicolaus de lyra ordinis minorum totius biblie subtilissimus expositor* ('Nicholas de Lyre of the Order of Minors, a most subtle interpreter of the whole Bible', 1272 - 1349).<sup>20</sup> After the Bible came the Fathers of the Church. On Angelo's list were Ambrose, Augustine, Bede, Cassian, Cyprian the Martyr, John Damascene, Dionysius, Gregory the Great, Jerome, and Isidore of Seville. Of these St. Augustine was the most frequently quoted. Theologians who wrote between the 8th and 12th centuries do not appear on the list, except for Rabanus Maurus. It will be remembered that Angelo had travelled to Austria in 1467 to help settle the problems of the Franciscans in this area.<sup>21</sup> Rabanus, who was credited with the authorship of the hymn *Veni creator spiritus* was highly regarded in the German lands and later honoured in humanistic circles there.<sup>22</sup> Angelo may have learned about him in Germany, but he made no further use of him in the text of his *Summa*. It is unlikely that he had access to any of Rabanus's writings.

One thing that would mystify *simplices confessores* was the abbreviated method of citation commonly used in scholastic writings. Angelo's determination that everything should be clear was, it has been suggested, unusual in his time.<sup>23</sup> 'The third table *pro simplicibus*', he wrote, 'Explains the manner of making references both to theologians and to canon and civil law, as well as some abbreviations'. Angelo then explained how to quote from the Master of the Sentences, St. Thomas, St. Bonaventure, and Alexander of Hales. The divisions of the *Decretum* were described and the

---

<sup>19</sup> f.[6b].

<sup>20</sup> f. [7].

<sup>21</sup> See p. 13

<sup>22</sup> *Rabanus Maurus in seiner Zeit*, Mainz 1980, 116 - 117.

<sup>23</sup> See G.S.P. Vidari, 'Angelo Carletti e la cultura giuridica del suo tempo', *Frate Angelo Carletti*, 188 - 189.

manner of quoting from it. The Decretals, the Sext, and the Clementines, Angelo explained, were quoted by their rubrics. The Digest was quoted by book and rubric. *Summistae* were also quoted by title and rubric, except for Hostiensis. Where he was concerned, the reader must look under the subject. After that Angelo listed the abbreviations he used in his book.<sup>24</sup>

Angelo next listed the rubrics of the civil and canon lawbooks. He arranged the rubrics of each book in alphabetical order, and against them, in the left-hand margin, put the numbers of the chapters to which they referred. Thus Angelo went through the *Digestum Vetus*,<sup>25</sup> the *Infortiatum*,<sup>26</sup> the *Digestum Novum*,<sup>27</sup> the earlier books of the *Codex*,<sup>28</sup> the *Novels*,<sup>29</sup> the *Institutes*,<sup>30</sup> books 10, 11, and 12 of the *Codex*,<sup>31</sup> and the *Liber Feudorum*.<sup>32</sup> After this Angelo turned to canon law. First he explained the organisation of the *Decretum*<sup>33</sup>. Here he was repeating what he had already said in his instructions for quoting from it.<sup>34</sup> Then he followed with the rubrics and chapter numbers of the Decretals,<sup>35</sup> the Sext,<sup>36</sup> and the Clementines.<sup>37</sup>

Angelo then, wanted the *simplices confessores* to understand the references and to be able to look them up if necessary. His clear explanations may also have helped to popularise his book. It is interesting to note that Martin Luther read it because he wanted to learn about ecclesiastical law.<sup>38</sup> This, in Volker Lepin's opinion, must have been when he was a student at Erfurt and later at

---

<sup>24</sup> [f.6b - 7].

<sup>25</sup> f. [7b - 8].

<sup>26</sup> f.[8].

<sup>27</sup> f.[8b]

<sup>28</sup> f. [9b].

<sup>29</sup> f. [12b].

<sup>30</sup> f. [13].

<sup>31</sup> f. [13b - 14b].

<sup>32</sup> f. [14b].

<sup>33</sup> f.[15].

<sup>34</sup> f.[6b - 7].

<sup>35</sup> f.[15].

<sup>36</sup> f.[16].

<sup>37</sup> f.[16b].

<sup>38</sup> *Martin Luthers Tischreden* 1531 - 1546, WA 1919, 5, No.6471.

Wittenberg in 1508 - 1510.<sup>39</sup> Looking up the subjects alphabetically and noting the authorities would have been much less trouble than studying canon law systematically.

Angelo's citations from canon and civil law have been studied in some detail.<sup>40</sup> In descending order they are:

Panormitanus (1389 - 1445) .....	343 times.
Sinibaldus (later pope Innocent IV, pope 1243 - 1254)....	253.
Bartolo (1314 - 1357) .....	225.
Hostiensis (c.1200 - 1270).....	204.
Guido da Baisio (d.1313).....	122.
Baldo (1327 - 1400).....	121.
Zabarella (1335 - 1417) .....	82.
Dominicus de Sancto Geminiano (d.1436).....	79.
Cynus (d.1336).....	45.
Angelo degli Ubaldi (1328 - 1400).....	44.
Durantis ( 1237 - 1296).....	43.
Giovanni da Legnano (1320 - 1383).....	40.

These are citations where Angelo gave exact references. Much more frequently he was vague. In the portion A - L of the *Summa*, for instance, Panormitanus occurs 200 times with an exact reference, but 660 more times without one.<sup>41</sup>

As for citations from the Bible, theologians and *summistae*, it has not been practical to comb through Angelo's entire *Summa*. Counting Biblical citations from the portion under the letters D,E,F, gives some idea of his use of the Bible:

The Bible, in descending order:

New Testament -

---

<sup>39</sup> Volker Leppin *Martin Luther*, Darmstadt 2006, 52 - 56.

<sup>40</sup> Vidari 1998, 190 and n. 16.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid. n.16.

Matthew	8
St. Paul	6
St. John (Gospel)	2
1 John (Epistle)	1

Old Testament -

Leviticus	2
Genesis	1
Exodus	1
Deuteronomy	1
Proverbs	1
Malachy	1
Tobias	1

Usually Angelo gave an exact reference for his quotations from the Bible, but occasionally he was vague. 'The divine law given to Moses' was good enough, he evidently thought, to justify tithes.<sup>42</sup> The reference actually occurs in Leviticus 27, 34 and Numbers 18, 25 - 29. At other times he seems to have taken it for granted that the passage was so familiar that it need not be identified: 'Christ prayed for his Church that its faith should not fail' was a not completely accurate quotation from Luke 22,32, perhaps from memory?<sup>43</sup> 'The good shepherd gives his life for his sheep' comes from John 10,11.<sup>44</sup> Comparisons of his quotations with the actual Vulgate text show that he was usually accurate, and most probably had the text in front of him. There seem to have been occasions however, when he did not think that this was necessary.

Quotations from theologians and *summistae* in the section D.E.F, are here listed in descending order (except for the last entry). There are three columns: the first gives the total number of references to each author; the second lists the references which are given with apparent

---

<sup>42</sup> f.68 (Decima).

<sup>43</sup> f.86 (Ecclesia).

<sup>44</sup> f.95 (Episcopus).



accuracy; the third where the author is named but there is no reference, or one that is so vague as to be useless.<sup>45</sup>

	Total	Accurate ref.	No ref.
Richard Middleton (d.1307/8)	68	52	16
St. Thomas (1225 - 1274)	56	52	4
Dionysius (6th c.)	34	16	18
St. Bonaventure (c.1217 - 1274)	32	26	6
Alexander of Hales (1185 - 1274)	31	20	11
Peter de la Palude (c.1277 - 1342)	24	9	15
John of Freiburg (d.1314)	20	14	6
Peter Auréole (d.1322)	11	9	2
Henry of Ghent (d.1293)	9	5	4
St. Augustine (354 - 430)	8	5	3
St. Albert the Great (1200 - 1280)	6	3	3
Raymond of Peniafort (c.1175 - 1275)	5	5	0
Others (Less than three mentions)	22	12	10

After the high praise given to Peter Lombard, it may seem strange that he was seldom mentioned by name in Angelo's text. In fact Angelo used the commentary on the Sentences by Richard Middleton. Richard transcribed each of Peter Lombard's *distinctiones*. He followed with a general commentary on the text, and a number of *quaestiones*.<sup>46</sup> The *simplex confessor* might not immediately realise that Peter Lombard appeared under references to *Ricardus* or *Ric*. There are fifteen Johns in Angelo's list of authorities. He usually clarified which he meant, but when he

<sup>45</sup> E.g. *ut dicit archiepiscopus Florentinus (Antonino) in summa sua*. f.116 (Excommunicatio 8).

<sup>46</sup> *Clarissimi theologi magistri Ricardi de Mediavilla super quatuor libros sententiarum Petri Lombardi quaestiones subtilissimae*, 4 vols. Brescia 1591.

referred simply to 'Johannes' his readers would have to learn by experience that he meant John of Freiburg.

Angelo showed a natural preference for Franciscans. There was a commentary on Scripture by Hugh of St. Cher, but he was a Dominican. He was not used and does not even appear on Angelo's list of authorities. The Biblical commentary used by Angelo was that of the Franciscan Nicholas de Lyre. There was more than one commentary on Peter Lombard's Sentences, but Richard Middleton's was written by a Franciscan. Alexander of Hales appears often, no doubt for the same reason. It was perhaps inevitable that Thomas Aquinas should be quoted more often than St. Bonaventure, but Angelo treated the latter with a certain reverence. He was often quoted at length, sometimes word for word.<sup>47</sup> One such quotation had a little introduction from Angelo: 'Where Saint Bonaventure makes a holy and praiseworthy distinction saying.....'<sup>48</sup> It does not escape notice that the *simplex confessor* was often being directed to Franciscan authorities.

The authorities in Angelo's list who are singled out for praise belong to the 12th and 13th centuries. Of the theologians most frequently cited, Peter Lombard, hiding under the name of Richard Middleton, belongs to the 12th, nine out of the other twelve lived and wrote during the 13th or the beginning of the 14th centuries. Angelo may have regarded this as the classic period for theology and canon law. He made full use however, of writers in his own century. The large number of quotations from Panormitanus speaks for itself. Antonino of Florence is only occasionally named, but, as will be seen,<sup>49</sup> Angelo relied rather heavily upon him in the section of his *Summa* headed 'Interrogationes'.<sup>50</sup> Among the authorities listed by Angelo was 'The Milanese Giovanni Antonio of San Giorgio who is the present bishop of Alessandria'.<sup>51</sup>

---

<sup>47</sup> See e.g. f.74 (Diligere), f.74 - 74b; f.76b (Divinatio); f.88b (Elemosina).

<sup>48</sup> f.100 (Eucharistia 3).

<sup>49</sup> See below ch. 4, pp. 57-58.

<sup>50</sup> See above n. 45.

<sup>51</sup> f. [7]. Bishop of Alessandria 1487 - 1500. Eubel 2, 96.

When Angelo's *Summa* was first printed in 1486 manuals on confession had been in production for nearly three hundred years. In the second half of the twelfth century churchmen in northern France were insisting that the faithful should go to confession regularly at certain times of the year.<sup>52</sup> In the statutes for his diocese, Eudes de Sully, bishop of Paris 1197 - 1208, had decreed, 'Priests must urge confession frequently, and especially from the beginning of Lent they must command everyone to go to confession'.<sup>53</sup> Bishop Eudes and his successor Pierre de Nemours (bishop 1208 - 1219) reserved judgement in certain special and serious cases to themselves and appointed the Englishman Robert of Flamborough, (d.1224) a canon of St. Victor, to act on their behalf.<sup>54</sup> Robert's *Liber Poenitentialis* reflects their policy, and anticipates many of the features of the confession manuals of the 13th to 15th centuries.

Robert's book was written in the form of a dialogue between the penitent and the priest. The priest was to receive his penitent gently and emphasise the love for him of the crucified Christ.<sup>55</sup> 'Before we go further', the priest then asked, 'Do you belong to our flock or not?' It was explained that only in case of necessity could a penitent confess sins to any other than his parish priest.<sup>56</sup> The penitent was then examined on each of the seven deadly sins.<sup>57</sup> The importance of heartfelt contrition had been emphasised by Gratian in the *Decretum*.<sup>58</sup> 'The highest penance', Robert wrote, 'Is sorrow and contrition'.<sup>59</sup> This too became a commonplace of later manuals. In the fifteenth century, Angelo was to explain that the Latin word *contritus* meant 'crushed, worn down.' Contrition was always to be accompanied by tears.<sup>60</sup>

---

<sup>52</sup> A. Murray, 'Confession before 1215', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series, 3, London 1993, 63 - 65.

<sup>53</sup> *Frequenter presbyteri moneant ad confessionem; et precipue ab initio quadragesime instanter precipiant venire generaliter ad confessionem.* O.Pontal ed., *Les statuts synodaux français du xiiiè siècle: 1, Les statuts de Paris et le synodal de l'ouest*, Paris 1971, 64 (No. 36).

<sup>54</sup> *Robert of Flamborough...Liber Poenitentialis*, ed. J.J. Firth, Toronto 1971, 122.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.* 56 - 57.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.* 57.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.* 179 - 200.

<sup>58</sup> *Decretum* 2 pars c.33 q.3 d.1, caps.34, 35, 37.

<sup>59</sup> *Flamborough...Liber Poenitentialis* 61.

<sup>60</sup> f.61b (Contritio).

Although Robert of Flamborough's book was very popular in his time and many copies exist, he was not on Angelo's list of authorities. No doubt by the 15th century other books, considered more up to date, had largely replaced it. The importance of Robert's book lay in the fact that he included in it the decisions of canon law as developed in Rome and taught in the schools. These were now made available to the ordinary confessor in a practical way which could be applied to the life of the laity.<sup>61</sup>

After the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 had made annual confession and communion a touchstone of orthodox practice for all Catholics,<sup>62</sup> manuals of confession became an important tool for parish priests. The two most important 13th century writers on the subject on Angelo's list of authorities, both Dominicans, were Raymond of Peniafort (c.1175 - 1275), and John of Freiburg (d.1314). Raymond was a Catalan who, as an eminent canonist, was called to Rome in 1230 by Gregory IX to help with the compilation of the Decretals. He was master general of the Dominicans from 1237 - 1245.<sup>63</sup> The first edition of his *Summa de Poenitentia* was composed around 1220 - 1221 in three books; a second edition with an additional book on matrimony<sup>64</sup> can be dated around 1234.<sup>65</sup> His intention, as he stated in his preface was that 'If the brothers of our Order, or others involved in the judgement of souls should be in any doubt in the tribunal of penance, they will, by the use of this book, both following its advice and heeding its decisions, be able to unravel many problems and a variety of difficult and perplexing cases'.<sup>66</sup> Raymond emphasised that the confessor must take account of the situation of the sinner. 'About the nature of the penance: in this matter it<sup>67</sup> must be said on the basis of many authorities that all penances must be imposed at the discrimination of the priest. The circumstances of the sin, its frequency and seriousness as well as its impact must

---

<sup>61</sup> Ibid. 18 and n. 97.

<sup>62</sup> N. Tanner ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, Georgetown 1990, 1, 245.

<sup>63</sup> P. Michaud-Quantin, *Sommes de casuistique et manuels de confession au moyen âge*, Louvain 1962, 34 - 35.

<sup>64</sup> *Summa sancti Raymundi de Peniafort*, Avignon 1715.

<sup>65</sup> Michaud-Quantin 1962, 34 - 35.

<sup>66</sup> *Summa sancti Raymundi* 2. *Si quando fratres ordinis nostri vel alii circa iudicium animarum in foro penitentiali forsitan dubitaverint, per ipsius exercitium, tam in consiliis quam in iudiciis, quaestiones multas et casus varios ac difficiles et perplexos valeant enodare.*

<sup>67</sup> Ibid. 691 - 692.

be considered. Also the person's status, poverty, infirmity or weakness, associations, habits and environment, tears and devotion. Also the nature of the penitent's habitat and its climate, as well as other circumstances, as we have said'.<sup>68</sup> The confessor must not hesitate to interrogate the penitent. 'It is right that he should know fully whatever he must judge, judicial power demands that he should fully understand what he has to judge. The diligent enquirer therefore, the subtle investigator, wisely and , as it were, astutely puts his questions, in case there is something the sinner has forgotten or wishes to hide because of shame. Having discovered the transgression he must not hesitate to investigate the details, the place, the time etc.'<sup>69</sup> Raymond adds however, that the confessor must be gentle, 'Having discovered the facts he must be encouraging, ready to lift up, and help to bear the burden'.<sup>70</sup>

John of Freiburg (Angelo's *Johannes*) always emphasised his indebtedness to Raymond. He appears on Angelo's list of authorities as *Johannes ordinis predicatorum qui fecit summam confessorum* ('John of the Order of Preachers who made the *Summa Confessorum*'). He spent almost his entire life in the area of Germany around Freiburg-in-Breisgau. From 1280 he held a number of offices in the city's Dominican priory, and he died there in 1314.<sup>71</sup> The aim of his book was to bring Raymond up to date.<sup>72</sup> He never departed from Raymond's arrangement or his method, and he used the same rubrics. In the fifty years since the appearance of Raymond's book however, the canon lawyers had been very active, and John added their judgements, especially those of Hostiensis, pope Innocent IV (Sinibaldus - pope 1243 - 1254), and the *Glossa Ordinaria* of the decretals of Gregory IX (pope 1227 - 1241). Theology too had made great strides in Paris and elsewhere since Raymond's

---

<sup>68</sup> *De mensura poenarum; circa hoc videtur per multas auctoritates dicendum, quod arbitrio sacerdotis poenae omnes taxentur; consideratis circumstantiis criminis, quantitate et dignitate, et qualitate. Item personae dignitate, officio, paupertate, infirmitate seu debilitate, complexione, consuetudine, sociate, lachrymis, et devotione. Item regionis et temporis qualitate, necnon et aliis circumstantiis super positis.* Ibid. 691 - 692.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid. 676. *Oportet quod sciat agnoscere quicquid debet iudicare. Judiciaria enim potestas hoc expostulat, ut quod debet iudicare discernet. Diligens igitur inquisitor, subtilis investigator, sapienter et quasi astute interroget a peccatore, quod forsitan ignorat, vel verecundia velit occultare, cognito itaque crimine, varietates ejus non dubitet investigare et locum et tempus etc.*

<sup>70</sup> Ibid. *Adsit benevolus, paratus erigere, et secum onus portare.*

<sup>71</sup> Michaud-Quantin, *Sommes de casuistique*, 1962, 43 - 44.

<sup>72</sup> John of Freiburg, *Summa Confessorum*, Paris 1519.

time. The insights particularly of St. Thomas Aquinas were included in John's book. In addition Raymond's principles were illustrated by a rich collection of difficult cases. An alphabetical index made use of the book easy.<sup>73</sup> John seems however to have been aware of its disadvantages. It assumed acquaintance with canon law and theology. It was also bulky and expensive. He therefore wrote another book, the *Confessionale*, with simple and entirely practical advice for hearing confessions, no references, and no discussion of complicated cases. In case of difficulty readers were advised to consult his other book, or discuss matters with a learned colleague.<sup>74</sup>

There is something slightly mysterious about Astesanus of Asti (14th c.). His name is a tautology, but this is the way he wished to be known, as can be seen from the dedicatory epistle in his *Summa de casibus conscientiae* to John Gaetano, cardinal deacon of St. Theodore: *frater Astesanus de Ast' de ordine fratrum minorum*.<sup>75</sup> The title page of his book uses the same form.<sup>76</sup> He appears on Angelo's list of authorities as *Astensis ordinis minorum*. One wonders what his real name was, and why he concealed it in this curious way. His *Summa* covered the whole subject of confession and penance systematically: Book 1 dealt with the divine precepts; book 2 with the virtues and vices; book 3 with contracts; book 4 with the first three sacraments: baptism, confirmation, and the Eucharist; book 5 with the sacraments of penance and extreme unction; book 6 with the sacrament of holy orders; book 7 with excommunication; and book 8 with the sacrament of marriage. Whilst these were subjects which had been systematically discussed in previous confession manuals, the arrangement was novel. Much of the subject matter was now placed under the heading of the sacraments. Astesanus showed a decided preference for theology over canon law. There was a greater emphasis on divine power. Thus Astesanus discussed the possibility that a priest might feel uncertainty about a problem because he believed himself to be ignorant but added, 'This is taken away by the grace of the Holy Spirit, who teaches all things'.<sup>77</sup>

---

<sup>73</sup> Michaud-Quantin, *Sommes de casuistique*, 1962, 43 - 48.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.* 49 - 50.

<sup>75</sup> John Gaetano de Urbe (Orsini) cardinal deacon of St. Theodore 1316 - 1339, Eubel 1, 14, 50. These are the only dates for Astesanus.

<sup>76</sup> Lyon, *sine anno* (black letter, 16th c.).

<sup>77</sup> Book 2, f.cxv. Some books in this edition are separately foliated, some not at all.

All previous confession manuals had advised confessors to be gentle and understanding. This advice is nowhere to be found in Astesanus's *Summa*. One should not assume that he wanted confessors always to be harsh, but he could be uncompromising. What if someone owed restitution and could not pay without ruining himself?<sup>78</sup> Every effort must be made, replied Astesanus, possibly through intermediaries, to get the creditor to reduce his demands or give time for paying off the debt. But if no agreement could be made, the debtor must sell all he has. Human beings needed divine law, Astesanus stated, because of their divine destiny. If they had no future beyond this earth, human laws would be good enough, 'but because humans are directed to the end of eternal bliss, which exceeds the bounds of nature and human faculties, it is necessary that they should be ordered towards their end by a law given by God'.<sup>79</sup>

It may have been this tendency towards strictness which made Astesanus revert to the penances laid down by the ancient penitential books. 'Although a particular penance has been laid down for each mortal sin', he wrote, 'It should be applied more or less harshly, as the magnitude or littleness of the sin with all the other circumstances demands, as shall be seen in what follows. Many cases however are excluded from this rule. In these cases because of the prominence of the sinner and the enormity of the crime a heavier penance is imposed, though sometimes from a number of causes, a lesser one.'<sup>80</sup> It followed that a priest must know what these ancient penances were. A

---

<sup>78</sup> Book 1, titulus 32.

<sup>79</sup> *Nam per legem dirigitur homo ad actus proprios in ordine ad finem ultimum, et si homo ordinaretur tamen ad finem qui non excederet proportionem naturalis facultatis hominis, non oporteret quod haberet aliquid directum ex parte rationis super legem naturalem at legem humanam quod ab ea derivatur. Sed quia homo ordinatur ad finem beatitudinis eterne que excedit proportionem naturalis facultatis humane, ideo necesse fuit ut dirigeretur etiam ad suum finem, lege divinitus data.* Book 1, titulus 1.

<sup>80</sup> *Licet autem pro singulis peccatis criminalibus sit statuta talis penitentia: debet tamen imponi magis vel minus aspera prout majoritas vel minoritas criminis cum ceteris circumstantiis hoc exposcit ut in sequentibus patet. A predicta namque regula excipiuntur plerique casus, in quibus propter peccantis dignitatem vel criminis enormitatem imponitur penitentia maior, aliquando etiam ex varis causis minor. Ad hoc ergo quod presbyter circa penitencias dispensando cautius arbitretur notandi sunt casus, in quibus per canones certe penitentiae imponuntur, quos sanctos canones tenetur presbyter scire ut dictum est supra. Sunt autem isti...* Book 5, f.163b.

list of 47 followed.<sup>81</sup> In the 15th century this list was copied into a separate book which had a wide diffusion.<sup>82</sup>

Neither Astesanus nor his successors really countenanced a return to the past. Their appeal to the ancient canons always had something tentative about it. Their view seems to have been that reference to the older discipline would persuade sinners to amend their lives by showing them how leniently they were being treated. Angelo copied twenty of Astesanus's penances into his own book. 'I pass over many more', he wrote. It was his opinion that a confessor should be familiar with them, but be ready to relax them if the penitent was in bad health, under an obligation to someone, or unlikely to perform them.<sup>83</sup>

The *Summa de casibus conscientie* of the 14th-century Dominican Bartholomew of Pisa, was a more popular confession manual.<sup>84</sup> Generally known as the *Pisanella* it was brief and practical. References were few, and mainly from St. Augustine, Raymond of Peniafort, and St. Thomas. Much was taken, word for word, from John of Freiburg. Later in the 14th century, Nicholas de Osimo, a Franciscan, wrote a supplement to the *Pisanella*, bringing it up to date and adding extra material.<sup>85</sup> Angelo could hardly ignore these books and he referred to them in his prologue. 'Whoever reads it (my own *Summa*) will find it contains relevant material for confessors especially from the *Summa* called *Pisanella* and its supplement. I have included all their cases of conscience in this work, although some of them in different words, and in a different order.'<sup>86</sup> Angelo's debt was even greater. The *Pisanella* was organised alphabetically and Angelo took this arrangement over and improved on it. In the *Pisanella* cross references were to the key words, but in a long section it still required much industry to find the exact passage. Angelo numbered the paragraphs in his longer

---

<sup>81</sup> Ibid. 163b - 164.

<sup>82</sup> Michaud-Quantin *Sommes de casuistique*, 59.

<sup>83</sup> f.52b (Confessio 6).

<sup>84</sup> *Summa de casibus conscientie*, Paris, Bibl. Ste Geneviève OEXV 491 RES.

<sup>85</sup> *Supplementum Summae Pisanellae*, Venice 1474.

<sup>86</sup> *Quicumque eam perlegerit inveniet quicquid in aliis summulis continetur quod pertineat ad confessores, presertim in summa dicta Pisanella ac eius supplemento, cuius casus conscientiales hic omnes inserui, licet aliquando per alia verba aut alio ordine.* Prologus.



sections, making cross referencing much easier. He had been scrupulous in acknowledging his debt to these older works. Nevertheless he did not include Bartholomew of Pisa and Nicholas de Osimo in his list of authorities. No doubt he felt that they were not sufficiently dignified to rank with the likes of St. Augustine, St. Thomas and St. Bonaventure. Angelo also had little time for the little printed books on penance and confession which circulated in large quantities in his time. Thanks to the invention of printing there was a 'boom' in these publications, some in Latin, most of them in the vernacular.<sup>87</sup> Angelo claimed that his own book was necessary, 'Since the little manuals (*summulae*) are not helpful to poor and ordinary confessors because of the prolixity of some and the excessive brevity of others'.<sup>88</sup>

On an altogether different level was Panormitanus, who appears on Angelo's list as *Panormita id est Nicolaus abbas Siculus (sic) episcopus Panormitanus* ('Panormita, that is Nicholas the Sicilian abbot, bishop of Palermo'). Nicholas de Tudeschis (1386 - 1445) was a native of Sicily who entered the Benedictine Order, became abbot of the monastery of Sta Maria de Miniaco near Florence in 1425, and was therefore often known as *Abbas Siculus*. In 1436 he became archbishop of Palermo and was henceforth more commonly referred to as *Panormitanus*. He attended the Council of Basel and was a fervent spokesman for Conciliarism. He was made a cardinal by the (anti)pope Felix V. He commented extensively on the decretals of Gregory IX, the Sext, and the Clementines.<sup>89</sup> No 15th- century canonist could ignore his prodigious learning and, as has been seen, he is the most frequently quoted legal authority in Angelo's *Summa*. At times Angelo was also prepared to quote some of his more controversial opinions about the papacy and the government of the Church.<sup>90</sup>

---

<sup>87</sup> The word is used by Roberto Rusconi in "'Copia librorum". *Arte della stampa e metodi pastorali*, *Società internazionale de Studi Francescani: Atti del XII convegno internazionale Oct. 1984*, Perugia/Assisi 1986, 194.

<sup>88</sup> *Conspiciens etiam multitudinem summularum de casibus conscientialibus non bene satisfacere pauperibus confessoribus et simplicibus propter prolixitatem aliquarum et aliarum nimiam brevitatem...* Prologus.

<sup>89</sup> On the career and work of Panormitanus see W. Plöchl, *Geschichte des Kirchenrechts 2*, Vienna 1962, 525 - 526.

<sup>90</sup> See below ch.5 p.94.

All the main themes of the previous confession manuals appear in Angelo's *Summa*, but he never showed the innovative spirit of Astesanus of Asti. As will be seen however, he was prepared to use his judgement, and drawing on his experience, to give the *simplices confessores* sensible and humane advice.

### Chapter 3. Confession Angelo's Way

This chapter and the next discuss Angelo's approach to confession. He had to deal with the problem of whether friars should be hearing the confessions of the laity at all, and whether their manner of doing so was corrupt. Only after this matter had been settled could he go on to practical matters: the confessor's attitude to his penitents, and the questions he must ask them. This chapter concentrates on the sins involving the internal dispositions of the penitent. Sins concerning others will be discussed in chapter 4.

The Church's 'power of the keys', Angelo maintained, was held by ordained bishops and priests. It was derived from Christ's commission to the disciples, 'Whose sins ye shall remit they are remitted, and whose sins ye shall retain they are retained'<sup>1</sup> 'It follows', Angelo commented, 'That those whose sins you do not remit are not remitted, but priests do not remit except to those who confess. Therefore they are bound by the command of Christ'.<sup>2</sup> Even the pope, Angelo continued, has to confess his sins. 'But an even more compelling proof that this is a divine law', he went on, 'Is

---

<sup>1</sup> John 20, 23. The power of the keys is discussed by St. Thomas Aquinas in *Summa Theologiae* Pars 3, Supplementum q.17.

<sup>2</sup> *Probatum etiam quod confessio est de iure divino per argumentum a contrario super illud Johannes 20, 'Quorum remisistis peccata remittuntur eis'. Ergo quod non remisistis non remittuntur. Sed sacerdotes non remittunt nisi confitentibus. Ergo tenentur ex precepto Christi. f.47 (confessio 2).*

that one cannot believe that the Church and the apostles would have prescribed so perilous a yoke for men, unless Christ had verbally given this command to the apostles'.<sup>3</sup>

In 1215 the Fourth Lateran Council decreed that every Catholic who had come to the age of discretion must go to confession once a year at Easter to the parish priest (*proprio sacerdote*) and receive communion.<sup>4</sup> St. Thomas Aquinas argued that this did not apply to those who were aware only of venial sins. No one could know how many of these had been committed. Only mortal sins need be confessed. '*Ille qui non habet mortalia*' Thomas continued, '*non tenetur ad confessionem venialium, sed sufficit ad praecepta Ecclesiae implendum, ut se sacerdoti repraesentet, et se ostendat absque conscientia mortalis esse, et hoc ei pro confessione reputatur*'. ('Whoever has no mortal sins to confess, is not bound to confess venial sins, but to fulfil the commands of the Church it suffices to present oneself to the priest and show oneself to be unconscious of any mortal sin, and this will count for confession'.)<sup>5</sup> Those who lived blameless lives then, did not have to go through the rigorous interrogation which was part of the discipline of confession. St. Catherine of Genoa, for instance (1447 - 1510), does not seem to have gone to confession for 25 years: '*Io ho perseverata venticinque anni nella via spirituale senza mezzo d'alcuna creatura*' ('I have persevered in the spiritual life for 25 years without the aid of any person'.)<sup>6</sup> In her old age she chose a confessor (it was Don Marabotto her future biographer),<sup>7</sup> but she did not at first know how to make a confession or understand the distinction between mortal and venial sins.<sup>8</sup>

A person who went to confession then, was expected to be conscious of having offended God in a serious manner. This may account for the somewhat rigorous tone of the questions asked of penitents, as they appear in some confession manuals including Angelo's. The distinction between

---

<sup>3</sup> *Sed verior ratio quo probatur quod sit de iure divino est quod non est credendum quod ecclesia et apostoli istud iugum imposuissent hominibus tam periculosum nisi Christus verbaliter apostolis istud preceptum dedisset.* Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils* ed. Tanner, 1, 245.

<sup>5</sup> *Summa Theologiae* Pars 3, Supplementum q.6, art.3.

<sup>6</sup> *Vita ed Opere di santa Caterina da Genoa*, Genoa 1847, 119.

<sup>7</sup> F. von Hügel, *The Mystical Element of Religion*, 117 - 118.

<sup>8</sup> *Vita ed Opere* 118.

mortal and venial sins was of the utmost importance. It was clearly explained by Raymond of Peniafort. Mortal sin was a deliberate transgression of the precepts of the Decalogue, or commission of the sins listed in the first chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, or the fifth chapter of Galatians, or a deliberate indulgence in sins of the flesh like fornication, sodomy, uncleanness, avarice, luxury and others. All other sins were venial.<sup>9</sup> Angelo's definition was very brief. The precepts of divine and human law, he wrote, showed the difference between mortal and venial sin.<sup>10</sup>

In his magisterial guide to confession, Raymond of Peniaforte had emphasised that the *proprius sacerdos* of the Lateran decree meant the parish priest. Only if a priest admitted that he was incapable or insufficiently learned might the penitent go elsewhere.<sup>11</sup> In such a case perhaps, the friars could help out? In the years immediately following the Council many bishops had welcomed them and helped them to settle in their dioceses.<sup>12</sup> Arguments with the secular clergy about preaching and the right to hear confessions however, arose quite early, and gave rise to a considerable polemical literature.<sup>13</sup> In his writings directed against the friars, William of St. Amour (d.1272) even maintained that their orders should be abolished altogether.<sup>14</sup> To these bitter controversies pope Boniface VIII eventually devised a statesmanlike solution. His bull *Super cathedram* of 1300 decreed that in future friars should have full rights of preaching and hearing confessions in their own churches and in open places. In parish churches they were to preach only at

---

<sup>9</sup> *Si autem quaeras quae peccata sunt mortalia et quae venalia; potes notare in primis mortalia peccata omnes transgressiones Decalogi. Item, quaedam numerantur ab Apostolo in epistola ad Rom. c.1. Ut est idololatria (sic) vitium contra naturam, iniquitas, malitia, fornicatio, avaritia, nequitia, invidia, homicidium, contentio, dolus, malignitas, susurratio, detractio, contumelia, superbia, elatio, inventio malorum, inobedientia, insipientia, incompositio, quibus adiungit illos quae sunt sine affectione, absque foedere et sine misericordia. Postea subiungit quod qui talia agunt, digni sunt morte aeterna. Item in epistola ad Galatos 5. Manifesta autem sunt opera carnis, quae sunt fornicatio, immunditia, avaritia, luxuria etc. Summa Raymundi, 663 - 664.*

<sup>10</sup> f.257, (Peccatum).

<sup>11</sup> *Summa Raymundi*, 656 - 657.

<sup>12</sup> See e.g. for Germany *Chronica Fratris Jordani* ed.H. Boehmer, Paris 1908, 28 - 29; for England, *Fratris Thomae vulgo dicti de Eccleston, tractatus de adventu fratrum minorum in Angliam*, ed.A.G.Little, Manchester 1951.

<sup>13</sup> See e.g. R. Rusconi, *L'ordine dei peccati: la confessione tra Medioevo ed età moderna*, Bologna 2002, 113, 117, 119 - 20, 136 - 7.

<sup>14</sup> *The Opuscula of William of Saint-Amour*, ed. A. Travers, Münster 2003; *William of Saint-Amour, De periculis*, ed. G. Geltner, Paris-Louvain-Dudley MA, 2008.

the invitation of the parish priest or the bishop. Provincials were to choose suitable persons to hear confessions and present them to the bishop for approval. Only friars who had been so authorised were to hear the confessions of the laity.<sup>15</sup>

A juridical framework had thus been created which was to last until the Council of Trent, but in many places the friars were not inclined to act with moderation. John Dalderby bishop of Lincoln (1300 - 1320) often found their demands exasperating. In August 1300, for instance, the Dominican prior provincial presented fourteen friars to the bishop as confessors in the diocese.

'But the bishop, bearing in mind the increasing number of theologians, that the rectors of churches were in priestly orders, that the friars minor had the same privileges as those of his order, and that other friars of the order of St. Augustine and the Carmelites claimed the right to hear confessions and were demanding permission to hear them, said that it was not opportune to present so excessive a number (*numerum effrenatum*)'.

He nevertheless admitted them, but when, a few days later, a Franciscan appeared putting forward nineteen candidates for Northampton, the bishop 'Considering the number of the friars too large', licensed six. On the very same day another Franciscan appeared with the names of eighteen friars for Leicester; of these the bishop licensed four.<sup>16</sup>

There were plenty of grounds then, for ill-tempered controversy. However, as G. Geltner has shown, after the papal condemnation of William of St. Amour in 1256, critics of the mendicant orders no longer demanded that they should be abolished.<sup>17</sup> Instead they concentrated on moral criticisms of the friars' behaviour.<sup>18</sup> A particular thorn in the friars' side during the fourteenth century was Richard FitzRalph, archbishop of Armagh (1347 - 1360). He complained of the readiness of the friars to give absolution for theft or usury without insisting on proper restitution.<sup>19</sup> He voiced the

---

<sup>15</sup> Rusconi, *L'ordine dei peccati*, 140; A.G. Little, *Franciscan Papers, Lists, and Documents*, Manchester 1943, 230.

<sup>16</sup> Little, *Franciscan Papers*, 236 - 237.

<sup>17</sup> See *William of Saint-Amour, De periculis*, ed. Geltner, 12 - 13.

<sup>18</sup> G. Geltner, *The making of medieval antifraternalism*, Oxford 2012, 23 - 24.

<sup>19</sup> Katherine Walsh, *A fourteenth-century scholar and primate*, Oxford 1981, 364 - 365.

frustration of the secular clergy at the number of friars who acted as complaisant confessors to kings, princes, and noblemen. Easy absolution, the archbishop maintained, was obtained in return for wealth and privileges.<sup>20</sup>

These arguments were a gift for satirists. Boccaccio's friars are either lechers or fools. He railed against 'The quality and degree of hypocrisy of the religious, who flaunt it in ample flowing robes, and with faces made pallid by art, with voices low and gentle to beg alms, most loud and haughty to reprove in others their own sins, who would make believe that their way of salvation lies in taking from us and ours in giving to them...of whose guile were it lawful for me to make as full exposure as were fitting, not a few simple folk should soon be enlightened as to what they cloak within the folds of their voluminous habits'.<sup>21</sup> Geoffrey Chaucer was another mordant critic, clearly well informed about the disputes between friars and the secular clergy. His 'poor parson' is in every way the opposite of the greedy friar. He is a learned man and preaches eloquently. His physical needs are few and he is not grasping about tithes.

'Wyd was his parisshe, and houses fer asonder,  
But he ne lafte nat for reyn ne thonder,  
In siknesse nor in meschief to visite  
The ferreste in his parisshe, muche and lite,  
Upon his feet, and in his hand a staf.  
This noble ensample to his sheepe he yaf'.<sup>22</sup>

Chaucer was here putting his finger on the essence of the secular clergy's argument. Unlike the friars, here today and gone tomorrow, the parish clergy were rooted in one neighbourhood, knew their people, and were sensitive to their needs.

It is impossible to tell to what extent absolution was obtained from the friars for money or (as Boccaccio would have it in some of his stories) sexual favours. 'No smoke without fire' one might

---

<sup>20</sup> Ibid. 371, 400.

<sup>21</sup> *Decameron*, 4th day, second story.

<sup>22</sup> *Canterbury Tales*, The Persoun.

think, but the accusations are generalised and, of their nature, impossible to check. Archbishop FitzRalph was at least prepared to offer some statistics. Because of the disorders in his archdiocese caused by the O'Neils, he claimed that 2000 members of his flock in Armagh had incurred excommunication for homicide, robbery and arson. These were sins reserved to the bishop, but in fact only about forty sinners came to him or his penitentiaries for absolution. All the rest went blithely to Communion, claiming to have been absolved. Who could have absolved them, but the friars operating in his diocese?<sup>23</sup>

In 1418 the Council of Constance cancelled all privileges and exemptions granted to religious by the popes of the Schism period.<sup>24</sup> It looks as if the Council fathers wished to reassert the authority of bishops and parish priests, as William of St. Amour had wished. The rise of observant movements during the fifteenth century may have taken the wind out of some sails, but the former bitterness was not forgotten. The writings of the satirists were still circulating. Boccaccio's *Decameron* had gone into nine printed editions by 1486, when Angelo's *Summa* first appeared in print.<sup>25</sup> The humanists repeated all the old arguments. Erasmus (1466 - 1536) denounced 'The order of mendicants, whom none dare offer any affront to, because as confessors, they are entrusted with all the secrets of particular intrigues which they are bound by oath not to discover. Yet many times, when they are almost drunk, they cannot keep their tongue so far within their head, as not to be babbling out some hints, and showing themselves so full, that they are in pain to be delivered'.<sup>26</sup>

Angelo then, a Franciscan writing about confession, could not be unaware of some troubling questions:

Was it right that friars should be hearing the confessions of the laity at all?

Did they give away the secrets of the confessional?

---

<sup>23</sup> Walsh, *A fourteenth century scholar*, 424.

<sup>24</sup> *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. Tanner, 1, 447.

<sup>25</sup> GKW 4, Leipzig 1930, 258 - 261.

<sup>26</sup> Erasmus, *In Praise of Folly*, London 1887, 150.

Was their confessional practice corrupt?

Were they too permissive?

As far as the first question was concerned, Angelo kept strictly to *Super cathedram*. 'Is it lawful', he asked, 'to confess to friars minor or preachers without license?' (*Utrum liceat absque alia licentia confiteri fratribus minoribus et predicatoribus*).<sup>27</sup> Yes, he replied. The general or provincial minister (for the Dominicans), the custodian (for the Franciscans), the master or provincial or his vicar (for the Dominicans), must go to the bishop and ask that certain named friars be licensed to hear confessions in his diocese. Angelo did not think that the Franciscan minister general or the Dominican provincial minister need present themselves to the bishop in person. They might send representatives or even communicate by letter. The other superiors must go in person. To friars licensed in this way the laity were free to go to confession.<sup>28</sup> That Angelo was uneasy about this matter however, is shown by some of the questions he asked confessors: 'Are you hearing confessions without authority?... Are you giving absolution without authority?... Do you give away the secrets of the confessional?' He reminded confessors that to give a dispensation without authority is a mortal sin.<sup>29</sup> He also thought it necessary to warn Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinian friars that if they had a licence from a bishop to hear confessions, it applied only to his diocese and to no other.<sup>30</sup>

The problem of corruption was more difficult. Angelo's question to confessors, 'Do you hear confessions chiefly for money?' seems to confirm the accusations of the satirists. There was however a more subtle form of corruption.<sup>31</sup> A penitent might be so grateful for a friar's spiritual support or his understanding of human weaknesses, that he would wish to make a generous gift to the Order. The friars' critics felt that easy absolution prompted such generosity. Questions about corruption and permissiveness were thus intertwined.

---

<sup>27</sup> f.48b (Confessio sacramentalis 3).

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> f. 181b (Interrogationes in confessione).

<sup>30</sup> f. 172b (Interrogationes).

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.



An important procedure during a confession, which Angelo followed, was for the confessor to ask searching questions. The examination usually began with the ten commandments.<sup>32</sup> On the first commandment, 'Thou shalt have no other gods before me', the penitent was to be asked about necromancy, having masses said so that someone should die, fighting a judicial duel, or promoting heresy.<sup>33</sup> On the second and third, taking the name of the Lord in vain and observing the Sabbath, the questions were about blasphemy, oath-breaking, or insulting the sacraments. Had the penitent indulged in games or dances on the Sabbath or feastsdays, failed to hear Mass or attend sermons, or worked gainfully on those days?<sup>34</sup> 'Honouring father and mother' prompted questions about failure to love parents, disobeying them, speaking to them disrespectfully, and not helping them when they were poor or ill. Then came, 'Thou shalt not kill'. Was the penitent guilty of killing or wounding anyone or intending to do so? Unjustly imprisoning someone? Enjoying spectacles like tournaments, where people were likely to be killed? If the penitent was a woman, had she aborted a child? Had children been suffocated beneath parents in bed?<sup>35</sup>

Next came, 'Thou shalt not commit adultery'. Here Angelo seems to have had men particularly in mind. The penitent was to be asked about adultery, fornication, incest, and sodomy. Had he visited a prostitute? Had he committed sacrilege by fornicating with her in a sacred place? Had he wanted to do any of these things? They were all mortal sins.<sup>36</sup> What about nightly pollutions? Had he seduced a virgin promising to marry her?<sup>37</sup> It might be difficult, Angelo remarked, to get someone to admit to these things. The confessor would have to lead up to the subjects gently. As for unnatural sexual acts with someone, Angelo followed the approach of

---

<sup>32</sup> f.173 - f.175 (Interrogationes in confessione).

<sup>33</sup> f.173 - 173b.

<sup>34</sup> f.174.

<sup>35</sup> f.174.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> f.175.

previous confession manuals, that it would be best not to go into too much detail.<sup>38</sup> The confessor was advised just to find out the facts, and to ask how often the sin had been committed.<sup>39</sup>

The seventh commandment was 'Do not steal'. Here the penitent was asked about stealing, or robbery with violence, receiving goods stolen from a wreck, helping to plan or giving advice on a robbery. Under this heading Angelo also included usury and debasing the coinage. Making unjust wars, breaking into churches and invading ecclesiastical property were also included under this commandment.<sup>40</sup> 'Thou shalt not bear false witness' prompted questions about harming someone by telling lies in court or outside it, prevaricating, or refusing to be a witness.<sup>41</sup> As for not coveting a neighbour's house or wife, the penitent was told that it was a mortal sin to plan to obtain a neighbour's property by unjust means. And he should not stand at a window to look at the pretty girls.<sup>42</sup>

After being examined on the ten commandments, the penitent was then questioned about the seven deadly sins: Pride, Avarice, Self-indulgence (*Luxuria*), Anger, Greed, Envy, Despair. Some theologians had worked out subdivisions. Raymond of Peniafort listed seven vices which arose from pride, and 43 more which were derived from these.<sup>43</sup> Angelo had altogether 40 major sins on his list: Pride led to Presumption, Curiosity, Ingratitude, Hasty Judgement, Adulation, Mockery, Tempting God, Pertinacity, Arrogance or Vainglory, Disobedience, Discord, and Quarrelling. Avarice was responsible for Betrayal, Fraud and Forgery. Anger included (rather arbitrarily) 'Acceptance of persons' (partiality when making judgements or appointments) and Filthy Lucre. Under Self-indulgence were listed Forgetfulness of Salvation, Rashness, Love of Self, Love of the World, Inconstancy, Hating God, and Scurrilous talk. Greed involved Drunkenness, Dulness,

---

<sup>38</sup> See e.g. Robert of Flamborough, *Liber Poenitentialis* ed. J.J.Firth, 196 - 197.

<sup>39</sup> f.174b.

<sup>40</sup> f.175.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>42</sup> f.175.

<sup>43</sup> *Summa Raymundi* 681.

Loquacity, Scurrility, Backbiting, and Detraction. Desperation involved abandoning trust in God, Pusillanimity, and Negligence.<sup>44</sup>

This proliferation led to considerable overlaps. There was not much difference between backbiting (*sussuratio* - literally 'whispering') and detraction. The former therefore merited only one question. Under the latter Angelo defined as mortal sins speaking evil about a neighbour. What was said might be false, or it might be true, but it should not have been revealed.<sup>45</sup> Discord and quarrelling were also much akin. Angelo's policy seems to have been to reserve most of his questions for the second of the pair. Was the penitent quarrelling because of envy? Obstinate maintaining a position in spite of knowing that it was wrong?<sup>46</sup> As for luxury, which meant inordinate delight in any pleasurable activity,<sup>47</sup> after the grilling the penitent had received on fornication under the ten commandments, there was very little else that could be asked under this heading.<sup>48</sup>

Avarice, fraud, forgery and filthy lucre formed another group. Avarice was a mortal sin. Was it a motive for business transactions? Did the penitent fail to pay creditors?<sup>49</sup> Cheat the tax collectors? Sell adulterated wine or other foodstuffs?<sup>50</sup> Knowingly use false measures or coins? Forge documents like papal bulls? Destroy or hide documents? Forge the seal of a prelate? Had he obtained a benefice through forgery? Under filthy lucre the penitent was warned that although prodigality was the opposite of avarice it was also a mortal sin. Extravagance in dress, excessive pomp, and the ostentatious caparisoning of horses were to be condemned. It was wrong to win money by games of chance. Altogether, worrying about temporal matters to the extent of neglecting one's salvation was itself a mortal sin.<sup>51</sup>

---

<sup>44</sup> f. 175 - 177.

<sup>45</sup> f.176b.

<sup>46</sup> f.176.

<sup>47</sup> *Pisanella* (see ch.2 p.20. ) under 'Luxuria'.

<sup>48</sup> f. 176b.

<sup>49</sup> f.176.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

In the little section on betrayal Angelo discussed the betrayal of a castle or land to the enemies of one's lord. This was a most vile sin in his view. So was revealing one's lord's secrets to his harm. Under this heading Angelo included opening another's sealed letters and revealing the secrets of the confessional.<sup>52</sup>

Love of self, love of the world, greed, and drunkenness could also be considered together. It was wrong to want to be in the world for ever, and to have a horror of the next life. It was a sin to be constantly craving delicacies. Listed under greed were beginning to eat before the time for the meal, paying too much attention to the food and being finicky about it, eating too much and too eagerly. As for drunkenness, it was always a mortal sin.<sup>53</sup>

At the root of everything was pride. It was fatal to the soul to take pride in one's talents and achievements without admitting that all these things were gifts from God. It was worse still for penitents to boast of accomplishments or achievements which they did not have, or to covet honours of which they were not worthy. It was a mortal sin to break the divine commandments in order to get to the top, and to aim at ecclesiastical benefices merely for the prestige that they brought. It was presumptuous to manoeuvre oneself into a position above one's capacities. Vainglory too, was a mortal sin. This involved putting one's own glory above that of God. One should always refuse to praise someone who was against God, whatever the rest of the world might say. Disobedience was one of the daughters of vainglory. Here the penitent was to be asked about obeying the precepts of the Church: observing the feasts, fasting at the proper times, going to confession and receiving communion once a year, hearing Mass on feastdays. Was obedience shown to prelates and lords? Did the penitent boast about sinful actions? A man should also be asked whether he had taken part in tournaments.<sup>54</sup>

---

<sup>52</sup> f.176.

<sup>53</sup> f. 176b.

<sup>54</sup> f.175 - 175b.

Angelo was aware of the complexity of human circumstances and experience. The task for a medieval confessor was to help the penitent to transcend his human limitations. As Astesanus of Asti had put it: 'Through law a man is directed to perform the appropriate deeds ordered towards a particular end. If a man were directed only towards an end which did not exceed his natural human faculties, he would not need to be rationally guided through what is beyond natural law and the human law which is derived from it. But because man is ordered towards the end of everlasting blessedness, which exceeds the limits of natural and human faculties, he needs to be led to this end by the law given by almighty God.'<sup>55</sup>

The road to Heaven then, was arduous. Perhaps for that very reason confessors were urged to be gentle. In the statutes for his diocese Eudes de Sully bishop of Paris (1197 - 1208) had instructed priests to listen to their penitents in a spirit of mildness (*in spiritu lenitatis*).<sup>56</sup> Around 1200 Alan of Lille compared the confessor to a doctor of the soul. He was to hear the penitent patiently and give him confidence.<sup>57</sup> Robert of Flamborough, writing a little before the 4th Lateran Council, advised the confessor to be humble. 'My case is the same as yours', he was to say, 'Both of us are loving and expectant helpers of Christ, needing the salvation of our souls'.<sup>58</sup> When the confessor had discovered the penitent's sins, wrote Raymond of Peniafort, 'He must be kindly, ready to lift up and himself bear the burden, there must be a sympathy in his approach, pity for the lapses of another, discretion in details. Let him help the penitent by prayer, alms, etc.'<sup>59</sup>

---

<sup>55</sup> *Nam per legem dirigitur homo ad actus proprios in ordine ad finem ultimum, et si homo ordinaretur tamen ad finem qui non excederet proportionem naturalis facultatis hominis, non oporteret quod haberet aliquid directum ex parte rationis super legem naturalem et legem humanam quod ab ea derivatur. Sed quia homo ordinatur ad finem beatitudinis eterne que excedit proportionem naturalis facultatis humane, ideo necesse fuit ut dirigeretur etiam ad suum finem lege divinitus data.* Astesanus de Ast' *Summa de casibus conscientie*, f.4, col.2.

<sup>56</sup> *Les statuts synodaux français du xiii siècle*, ed. O. Pontal, 1, 62 - 63.

<sup>57</sup> Alan of Lille, *Liber Poenitentialis*, *Patrologia Latina* 210, 285.

<sup>58</sup> Robert of Flamborough, *Liber Poenitentialis*, ed. J.J.F.Firth, Toronto 1971, 56 - 57.

<sup>59</sup> *Adsit benevolus, paratus erigere, et secum onus portare, habeat dulcedinem in affectione, pietatem in alterius crimine, discretionem in varietate, adjuvet confitentem orando, eleemosynas et caetera bona pro eo faciendo etc.* *Summa Raymundi* 676.

These exhortations to mildness are missing in some of the later manuals. There is nothing of the kind in Astesanus's *Summa* or in the *Pisanella*, the influence of which upon his own book Angelo had acknowledged.<sup>60</sup> Antonino of Florence however (1389 - 1459), parts of whose manual on confession Angelo followed closely, returned to an older tradition in emphasising mildness in a confessor. 'Let a confessor be careful not to be hasty in judging a sin to be mortal when he is not certain'.<sup>61</sup> 'Let him observe gentleness in his manner, sympathy in the face of another's guilt, discretion as to circumstances'.<sup>62</sup> Angelo himself was very insistent that a confessor must be considerate:

'There is a harshness in giving commands when he does not correct calmly, but seeks to bend his subject with asperity. A harsh man should not be in authority whilst God is gracious. It is better to draw sinners from their error by kindness than by harshness to fling them into the pit of perdition...immoderate harshness achieves neither correction nor salvation'.<sup>63</sup>

The confessor must be patient with the penitent and console him.<sup>64</sup>

'In matters about which there is not a specific law, proceed, whilst maintaining equity, by choosing the more humane solution (*semper in humaniorem partem declinando*), as it seems to you that the individual, the circumstances, and the occasion demand'.

The penitent must not leave in despair.<sup>65</sup> Angelo asked confessors whether their questions to penitents were too quick, or too slow.<sup>66</sup> He wanted the penitent to go at his own pace. 'Don't interrupt him', he advised,

---

<sup>60</sup> See above ch.2 p.35.

<sup>61</sup> *Caveat autem confessor ne sit preceps ad dandum sententiam de mortali quando non est certus.* Antonino of Florence, *Defecerunt* f.17b. On Antonino see below ch.4 p. 60-61.

<sup>62</sup> *Habeat dulcedinem in affectione, pietatem in alterius crimine, et discretionem in varietate.* *Defecerunt* f. 23 - 23b. Taken from Raymund, see n.60.

<sup>63</sup> *Austeritas in imperanda est quando non cum tranquillitate corrigit sed aspere subditos inflectere festinat. Austerus non debet esse dispensator ubi deus est benignus...melius est per mansuetudinem peccatores ab errore eruere quam per austeritatem in foveam perditionis propellere...austeritas immoderata nec correctionem induit nec salutem.* f.17 (austeritas).

<sup>64</sup> f.50b (confessio sacramentalis 4).

<sup>65</sup> *In his super quibus ius non invenitur expressum procedas, equitatem servata, semper in humaniorem partem declinando secundum quod personas loca et tempora videris postulare.* Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> f.181b (interrogationes in confessione - confessores).

If he can't tell things in a logical order, persuade him at least to confess the graver sins and to go on from there. Don't go into too much detail about sins of the flesh, above all when hearing the confessions of women, as some do who are more like contaminators than confessors, who sin mortally by taking delight in investigations of this kind.<sup>67</sup>

Above all, there was no place for arrogance in a confessor. 'The best quality that a confessor can have', Angelo summed up memorably, 'after life itself, is to know how to be uncertain' (*optimum quod posset esse in confessore post vitam est scire dubitare*).<sup>68</sup>

In Angelo's time there was still some variety in the way confessions were heard. The statutes of Eudes de Sully for the diocese of Paris decreed that a place should be chosen for the hearing of confessions which was public, so that all could see. Only in very special circumstances should confessions be heard unseen by the congregation. The priest should have his eyes turned to the ground and not look at his penitent, especially if it was a woman.<sup>69</sup> In many churches the hearing of confessions was thus visible to the public until the time of the Counter-Reformation.<sup>70</sup> By Angelo's time however, some churches of the Observant Franciscans, had private spaces especially set aside for the hearing of confessions (*confessoria*).<sup>71</sup>

Angelo was not quite consistent about the attitude of penitents. In one part of his *Summa* he said that kneeling or being bareheaded was not necessary. Humility of spirit was what God wanted.<sup>72</sup> Elsewhere he was more formal. The penitent must kneel and say the *confiteor* up to *mea culpa* if he knows it. A woman or young man must stand at the confessor's side and not be allowed to look into his face.<sup>73</sup> If an intricate problem arose and the confessor did not have sufficient

---

<sup>67</sup> *Sicut faciunt quidam qui potius sunt contaminatores quam confessores qui sepissime peccant mortaliter delectando se de huiusmodi interrogationibus.* f.172 - 172b (interrogationes in confessione).

<sup>68</sup> f. 50b (confessio sacramentalis).

<sup>69</sup> *Les statuts synodaux français* ed. Pontal, 63.

<sup>70</sup> R. Rusconi, 'Figure della confessione', *L'ordine dei peccati*, 161 - 181.

<sup>71</sup> R. Cobianchi, 'The practice of confession and Franciscan Observant churches: new architectural arrangements in Early Renaissance Italy', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 69 (2006), 289 - 304.

<sup>72</sup> f.44b (confessio sacramentalis).

<sup>73</sup> f.173 (interrogationes in confessione).

knowledge to make a judgement he might ask the penitent to leave and return later, so that he could consult a book or a more learned colleague.<sup>74</sup>

As far as penances were concerned, Raymond had stated that, in the opinion of many authorities (*per multas auctoritates*), these could be fixed by the arbitrary judgement of the priest, taking into account the circumstances of each penitent.<sup>75</sup> A detailed knowledge of the ancient penitential canons would still be necessary, by which the priest could be guided, increasing or lessening the penalty as each case seemed to demand. Other authorities however, took the view that the priest's sole judgement was sufficient. 'Custom seems to favour the last opinion,' wrote Raymond, 'But the first one is safer, if more difficult.' The confessor was free to choose.<sup>76</sup>

As far as Astesanus was concerned, the choice was limited and there was certainly no place for arbitrary decisions.

'The canons give general instructions about the way a penance is to be imposed...Although for all mortal sins a particular penalty is prescribed, it should be imposed more or less severely, according as the greater or lesser gravity of the crime, together with other circumstances, demand'.<sup>77</sup>

The priest must know what the ancient penances were, and therefore Astesanus gave a list of them.<sup>78</sup> It was extremely influential. Nicholas de Osimo copied it out in a separate treatise:<sup>79</sup> 'Penitential canons extracted from the *Summa* of Astesanus,' of which numerous copies survive.<sup>80</sup>

In his treatment of penance Angelo followed more or less the line of Raymond of Peniafort.<sup>81</sup> 'Although John (Scotus) ...believes that the penitential canons are no use today', he wrote (*quod*

---

<sup>74</sup> f.50b (*confessio sacramentalis*).

<sup>75</sup> *Summa Raymundi* 691 - 692.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.* 699.

<sup>77</sup> Astesanus, *Summa de casibus*, 163b.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.* 163b - 164. See above p. 37

<sup>79</sup> On Nicholas de Osimo see ch.2 p. 38.

<sup>80</sup> P.Michaud-Quantin, *Sommes de casuistique*, 59.



*canones penitentiales hodie de nihilo serviunt*), they should not be ignored. 'Although the priest could depart from these canons and impose whatever penance he pleases, because of the weakness of men', nevertheless he should be familiar with the ancient canons, know what he is moderating, and tell the penitent what in the Church's view he actually deserves. 'The priest must impose such a penance as the penitent is willing to bear without grumbling and not anything else, because of the risk. He must also concede that the penitent can redeem the fasts which are imposed upon him'. The traditional penances might also be relaxed because the penitent was in bad health (*debilis*), under an obligation to someone, or unlikely to perform them. As we have seen, Angelo listed 20 canons taken from Astesanus (perhaps *via* Nicholas de Osimo, though he does not list Osimo in his authorities).<sup>82</sup> The basic penance for every mortal sin was a 7 years' fast .

It is difficult to avoid the impression that, while Angelo was paying lip-service to the ancient canons, he was in fact undermining them. If the penance had to be one that the penitent was likely to perform and could bear without grumbling, if he could be excused the rigour of the law because of other responsibilities or the state of his health, if he could redeem the traditional fasts by other works of penance more suited to his situation, it does not seem likely that the mere recital of the ancient penalties would have done him much good.

Finding the proper balance between severity and mercy was a perennial problem of the system of penance as it had developed in the Church. At the end of his long discussion about usury,<sup>83</sup> Angelo maintained that there were evils which went against divine law and could never be tolerated.<sup>84</sup> When discussing individual cases however, he was sometimes prepared to be flexible. A starving man who steals out of necessity is not guilty of theft, he maintained, following the

---

<sup>81</sup> *Sacerdos et si possit recedere a dictis canonibus in imponendo penitentiam quam vult propter fragilitatem hominum... debet sacerdos talem imponere quam sine murmuratione et sponte velit portare et non aliam propter periculum et etiam concedat quod ipse possit redimere ieiunia que ei imponat.* f.52 - 52b (Confessio 6).

<sup>82</sup> f.52b (Confessio 6). See also above p. 37

<sup>83</sup> See below ch.4 pp.67-68.

<sup>84</sup> f.350 (usura, end).

tradition of older authorities.<sup>85</sup> 'There are evils like theft which necessity sometimes excuses. In a time of need all things are common'.<sup>86</sup> Is a wife who hides some of the family's goods against the prohibition of a drunken spendthrift husband in order to provide for future needs, guilty of theft? No, Angelo replied, she is not committing a sin. She is not obliged to obey her husband if he says, 'Give me everything'. That would be like giving a sword to a madman.<sup>87</sup> Is it theft to free captives from the infidel? No, they should not have been held captive in the first place. The same is true of anyone who liberates the captives of a Christian who is holding them unjustly.<sup>88</sup>

It is not surprising that in discussing heresy, Angelo did not consider the circumstances or motives of the heretic as providing any excuse.<sup>89</sup> Under heresy he was prepared to include all schismatics and those who transgressed the commands of the Holy See.<sup>90</sup> Sometimes heresy was added to schism, as with the Greeks who, Angelo claimed, had separated themselves from the unity of the Church.<sup>91</sup> What about the more recent papal schisms? Angelo's opinion was that when a matter was doubtful, the schism long-lasting, and the facts complicated, adherents of a particular claimant to the papacy were free from sin.<sup>92</sup>

Angelo maintained however, against the opinion of Raymond of Peniafort, that if someone held the heresy only in his heart and showed no sign of it in word or action, there was no cause for excommunication. 'Saving a better judgement, it seems to me that one could say that if the heresy is

---

<sup>85</sup> See e.g. Robert of Flamborough *Liber Poenitentialis* ed. J.J.Firth, 256.

<sup>86</sup> f.134b (furtum).

<sup>87</sup> *Utrum uxor que habens virum prodigium celat de bonis eius contra eius prohibitionem ut sibi et viro provideat tempore necessario committat furtum? Respondeo quod non, nec peccat nec tenetur obedire viro precipienti sibi quod ei omnia tradat. Quod sic esset dare gladium furioso.* f.135b (furtum).

<sup>88</sup> *Utrum committat furtum et peccet qui Christianos captos ab infidelibus furat et liberat? Respondeo quod non, quia nullo modo poterant eos habere captivos... similiter dicendum esset de eo qui liberat detentum iniusto a christiano.* f. 135b - 136.

<sup>89</sup> f. 139 - 142 (hereticus).

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

<sup>91</sup> f.299b (Scisma).

<sup>92</sup> *Ubi autem questio sit dubia et maxime si constiterit in facto intricato et longo prout evenit in scismate preterito, tunc putarem omnes evitare excommunicationem et peccatum.* Ibid.

only in the heart, and nothing is made apparent by word or action, he is not an excommunicate'.<sup>93</sup> Here Angelo was putting into practice what he had said earlier about the need for a confessor to be uncertain.<sup>94</sup> His experience told him that judging motives and thoughts was extremely difficult, and that, even in the matter of heresy, the Church in this case could go no further, and the penitent must be given the benefit of the doubt. Angelo also gave it as his opinion that simple people who erred on an article of faith were not necessarily to be excommunicated. They might have picked up these views from someone they thought was in authority - a preacher perhaps, or even a bishop. Provided they were humble and ready to be corrected when the error was pointed out to them they were not to be regarded as guilty of heresy.<sup>95</sup>

The main lines of morality as taught by the Church were centuries old. It never occurred to Angelo, or to any other medieval writer on confession, to move out of these limits. Angelo brought back the admonitions to gentleness of the older manuals which had been omitted from some of the more recent ones. Like Raymond of Peniafort he thought that the ancient penances had a certain authority but need not always be followed. Aware of the complexity of human circumstances and experience, he was inclined, when he could, to temper severity by choosing, in his own words, 'the more humane solution'.<sup>96</sup>

---

<sup>93</sup> *Salvo meliore iudicio mihi videtur dicendum quod si heresis sit solum in corde nec aliquid ostendatur in signo vel opere quod non est excommunicatus.* Ibid. f.139.

<sup>94</sup> See above p.49 - 50.

<sup>95</sup> *Dico quod aliquando talis error posset esse meritorius, ut puta aliquis audit aliquem predicantem famosum vel episcopum predicasse aliquem errorem et simplex credit animo obediendi fidei paratus, tamen corrigi, nam ex intentione opera indicantur.* f.130b (Fides).

<sup>96</sup> See above p. 49.

#### Chapter 4. *AD STATUS*

After questions about the ten commandments and the seven deadly sins, the next stage in the confession was for the confessor to probe his penitents' circumstances and way of life. This chapter examines particularly the section of Angelo's *Summa* headed '*Interrogationes in confessione*'. It involved searching questions about the penitents' way of life, according to their various occupations and professions. Here Angelo was following the practice of some older manuals, and particularly Antonino of Florence's *Defecerunt*, composed a generation earlier. It is noteworthy however, that Angelo's questions were sharper and more detailed. They reveal not only his attitude to confession, but also occasionally throw light on his views on the social problems of his day.

Angelo's questions were directed at boys, Christians in general, ambassadors or lords of cities, guardians of other people's property, married people, wives, husbands, heads of families, sons, doctors and teachers, scholars, medical doctors, herbalists, merchants, craftsmen (*artifices*), cloth-makers, tavern keepers, butchers, bakers, tailors, goldsmiths, alchemists, scribes, musicians and actors, labourers and countrymen, huntsmen, cloth workers or dyers of silk, judges, officials of a lord or a city, counsellors of lords or cities, arbitrators, plaintiffs, advocates, proctors, notaries, litigants, witnesses, guardians, executors of wills, courtiers, princes and secular lords, clergy (especially regular), beneficed clergy, bishops and prelates having jurisdiction, confessors, inquisitors of heretical pravity, religious living in community (*religiosi in communi*), monks (*monachi*), abbots, abbesses, and hospitallers.<sup>1</sup>

There is something slightly haphazard in the way this list is arranged. It may however be significant that the clergy come last. The more conventional order can be seen in the Litanies which were sung in every church four times a year and with which Angelo must have been familiar: Church - Pope - Clergy - Kings and Princes - Christian people.<sup>2</sup> It may have been the traditional humility of

---

<sup>1</sup> f.177 - f.182 (*Interrogationes in confessione*).

<sup>2</sup> See e.g. *Rituale Romanum*, Venice 1648, 79.

the friars which made Angelo put the clergy last on his list. It did not imply any unconventional view about the place of the Church in society, as the questions he directed to rulers and princes show. It should be noted that in the list compiled by Antonino of Florence, the clergy come last also.<sup>3</sup>

Most confession manuals had a questionnaire *ad status* but there were exceptions. There are none in the *Pisanella* or its supplement by Nicholas de Osimo, the influence of both of which upon himself Angelo had acknowledged.<sup>4</sup> In Raymond of Peniafort's *Summa de Penitentia* these questionnaires occur twice. The first time Raymond was rather general: is the penitent male or female, young or old, clerical or lay?<sup>5</sup> In a later section Raymond's questions were somewhat more detailed. The clergy were to be examined about chastity, reciting the Office, luxury, simony, engaging in commerce, and other matters not compatible with the clerical state. The laity were to be questioned next: 'Princes about justice, knights about robbery, merchants as well as practitioners of the mechanical arts about perjury, lying, theft, cheating and similar things; burgesses and citizens about usury and agreements; rustics about envy, theft especially where tithes were concerned, first-fruits, tribute, and tax'.<sup>6</sup>

In his *Summa Confessorum* John of Freiburg arranged his penitents in pairs: male or female; young or old; noble or ignoble; free or servile; office-holder or private person; sane or insane; learned or ignorant; married or single; in or out of cloister; clerk or lay; Christian, heretic, or Jew (it is difficult to imagine the last two coming to confession); native or foreign?<sup>7</sup> He did not however devise particular questions for each class.

---

<sup>3</sup> See below p.58.

<sup>4</sup> See ch.2 p. 35.

<sup>5</sup> *Summa Raymundi* 677.

<sup>6</sup> *Item circa principes de justitia, circa milites de rapina, circa mercatores necnon et officiales artes mechanicas exercentes de perjurio, mendacio, furto, dolo, et similibus, circa burgenses et cives communiter de usuris et pignoribus, circa rusticos de invidia, furto, maxime circa decimas, primitias, tributa, et census.* Ibid., 682, 683.

<sup>7</sup> *Summa Confessorum* f.102b. On John of Freiburg see ch.2 p. 35.

Astesanus's questions to the laity came word for word from Raymond of Peniafort. His questions to the clergy were more colourful, and seem to imply a detailed if jaundiced experience of the life of clerics and religious in particular:

'Secular clerks about simony, commerce and other matters connected with avarice, dilapidations if they hold any administrative post, whether they are present at the divine office and say it, whether they wear the tonsure and are dressed fittingly. Again, about luxury, engaging in lawsuits, playing dice and similar things in which they very commonly offend. Religious about the sins of the cloister: negligent and undisciplined superiors, the young lazy, the old obstinate, a monk-courtier, a litigious monk or regular canon, dressed expensively, fussy about food, gossipy in the cloister, argumentative in Chapter, undisciplined in choir, irreverent at the altar. Again, about the three foundations of the Rule, whether they are obedient to chastity and poverty. Again, about simony, and other matters which are commonly committed by such persons'.<sup>8</sup>

In his *De arte audiendi confessiones* composed about 1406, Jean Gerson instructed the confessor, after preliminary questions, to enquire 'about the age, profession, class, occupations, and affairs of the penitent, whether he himself is being frank or hesitant because of excessive shame, perhaps because he is a boy or a woman, or a stranger'.<sup>9</sup> Five of the eight pages of the vernacular *Confessione generale* attributed to Angelo's friend Bernardino da Feltre contain detailed questionnaires directed at lords and rulers, judges, advocates, proctors and notaries, teachers and scholars, medical doctors, grocers, and merchants.<sup>10</sup>

Angelo did not include Jean Gerson among his authorities, and the manual attributed to Bernardino da Feltre may have been composed after his own *Summa*. Of all the authorities he cited however, the one who most influenced his *Interrogationes in confessione* was St. Antonino of

---

<sup>8</sup> *Clerici seculares de symonia, negotiatione, et aliis ad avaritiam pertinentibus, de dilapidatione si administrationem aliquam habent, utrum intersint divino officio et si ipsum dicant, utrum portent coronam et habitum congruentem. Item de luxuria, advocatione, ludo alearum, et similibus in quibus sepius offendere solent. Religiosi de xii abusionibus claustris qui sunt prelati negligens, discipulus inobediens, iuuenis ociosus, senex obstinatus, monachus curialis, monachus seu canonicus regularis causidicus, habitus preciosus, cibus exquisitus, rumor in claustro, lis in capitulo, dissolutus in choro, irreverencia circa altare. Item de tribus substantialibus regule, scilicet obedientia, castitate, et paupertate. Item de symonia et aliis que a talibus sepius solent committi. Astesanus, *Summa de casibus conscientie*, Bk.5, xvij, 'De interrogationibus faciendis a confessore'.*

<sup>9</sup> Jean Gerson, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Glorieux, 8 Tournai 1972, 11 - 12.

<sup>10</sup> R. Rusconi, 'Copia Librorum', *Società internazionale di Studi Francescani: atti del XII convegno internazionale Oct. 1984*, Perugia/Assisi 1986, 208.

Florence (b.1389, archbishop of Florence 1446 - 1458). The similarities between the questions in Angelo's *Summa* and those in the archbishop's *Summula confessionis - Defecerunt* are very striking.<sup>11</sup> *Defecerunt* was probably compiled partly in response to the appalling spiritual conditions which Antonino found when he took over his archdiocese.<sup>12</sup> The archbishop's manual was very successful, having gone into 43 printed editions before Angelo's *Summa* appeared in 1486.<sup>13</sup> The whole third part of Antonino's treatise contains a detailed questionnaire for penitents. There were questions for married people, princes, rulers (*rectores*) and secular barons, judges, advocates, proctors, and notaries, academic doctors and scholars, medical doctors and chemists, chemists only, merchants and bankers, craftsmen and mechanics, cloth makers, silk workers, tavern keepers and hosts, butchers, bakers, tailors, goldsmiths, leather workers, metal workers, horse traders, actors, musicians, servants, agricultural labourers and rustics, boys and girls, clerks living in common, beneficed canons, religious, prelates living in common, bishops and superiors.<sup>14</sup>

Angelo used this list and enlarged upon it. The addition of wives, husbands, and sons, made Antonino's 'married people' more specific. Antonino had questions for rulers, Angelo added officials of a lord or city, and counsellors. Not only was the list of professions more refined. Angelo also increased the number and subtlety of the questions asked. A comparison of the section on judges in both confession manuals can be used for an example.<sup>15</sup> Antonino, followed by Angelo, had questions about the sources of the judge's authority - was he acting on behalf of a usurper? Both writers insisted that a judge must not take bribes, fail to follow the proper procedures, take money from widows, orphans, or the poor, or allow unjustified delays. Angelo also wanted the judge to be asked about failure to clear his jurisdiction from evil-doers, putting prisoners to the torture without proper procedures, allowing frivolous accusations, making judgements against the facts he knew.

---

<sup>11</sup> *Fratris Anthonini archiepiscopi florentini ordinis fratrum predicatorum confessionale seu summula confessionis utilissima, 'Defecerunt'*. The copy used here was printed in Paris in 1507 and is in St. Andrews University Library, Typ. FP. BO7BA.

<sup>12</sup> D. Hay, *The Church in Italy in the Fifteenth Century*, Cambridge 1977, 56.

<sup>13</sup> GKW 2, 375 - 403.

<sup>14</sup> *Defecerunt, 'Pars tertia interrogatoria de statibus'*, f.71 bis b - 95 bis.

<sup>15</sup> *Defecerunt* f.76b; Angelo's *Summa* f.179 (Interrogationes in confessione).

The somewhat vague *si penam relaxavit vel auxit* ('Whether he relaxed or increased a punishment') is probably a reference to bribery or to a cowardly yielding to pressure.

Angelo had taken Antonino's questionnaire as his model and pushed it further. The characteristic pursuits of the penitent's way of life were to be subjected to unsympathetic scrutiny. Whilst Angelo was not the first to take this attitude to penance, it is very likely that the obsessive thoroughness of his method, and the popularity of his book among confessors, put it into the eye of the Reformation storm in 1520. One can discern a certain hostility in his questions to boys who were old enough to tell right from wrong (*doli capaces* - 'capable of guile')<sup>16</sup> which can be contrasted with Antonino's.<sup>17</sup> According to Angelo, they were to be asked about going to confession and hearing Mass. Did they lay violent hands on ecclesiastical persons? Were they guilty of lying, dishonesty and thievery? *Et similibus*, added Angelo, *In quibus communiter illa etas solet peccare* ('and other things in which that age-group is wont to sin'). Antonino had asked the same questions of young people but had remarked that these sins were common among them 'Because of bad company, and they keep them secret' (the ambiguity is in the original Latin).<sup>18</sup> Antonino added, 'They are to be questioned with great caution and indirectly so that they don't learn about things about which they know nothing. Caution about these matters is to be kept all the more where girls are concerned, if the confessors believe that they have the use of reason, in distinguishing between venial and mortal sins.'<sup>19</sup> Angelo did not mention girls at all. The boys of whom he had so low an opinion were mature men at the time of the Reformation.

Angelo wanted Christians in general to be asked about receiving the sacraments at the proper times, whether they were excommunicated, guilty of sacrilege, defending evil, advising others to sin,

---

<sup>16</sup> *'Doli autem capax dicitur puer vel puella septem annorum et supra'*, Nicholas de Osimo, *Supplementum Summae Pisanellae* (Confessio 2).

<sup>17</sup> f.177 (Interrogationes in confessione).

<sup>18</sup> *Propter malas societates et occultant. Defecerunt* f.84.

<sup>19</sup> *Interrogandi sunt cum magna cautela et a longe ut non addiscant que ignorant. Multo magis hoc servandum est erga puellas de omnibus predictis si credunt tunc habuisse usum rationis, iudicandum est de mortale aut veniali.* Ibid.



or failing to correct sinners.<sup>20</sup> Were they were properly informed about their faith? Familiar with Jews? Guilty of cross-dressing (*Si usus est femineo habitu vir existens*)?

Angelo's questions to the clergy were rigorous. Bishops were not to be spared.<sup>21</sup> They were to be asked about visiting their dioceses once a year, correcting public sinners, unjust excommunications, unworthy appointments, ostentation, pluralism, taking bribes, neglecting to bless the Holy Oils on Maunday Thursday, carelessness about Confirmation, failing in their care for nuns or hospitals. Priests were to be asked about simony, reverent celebration of Mass, the recital of their Office, and their observance of interdicts.<sup>22</sup> Benefice holders were to be examined about pluralities, and their qualifications for office. Priests living in community were to be interrogated in detail about observance of their Rule.<sup>23</sup> Abbots were to be reminded of their duty to instruct those under their rule,<sup>24</sup> abbesses that they must be blessed by the bishop if that was the custom, and keep their enclosure.<sup>25</sup> Inquisitors of heretical pravity were to be asked about abusing their powers, extorting money, taking bribes, and making malicious accusations.<sup>26</sup>

Princes and rulers were first to be examined about respecting the rights and immunities of the Church.<sup>27</sup> Did they appoint unsuitable persons to churches of which they had patronage? If this had been done for money it was simony. Had they withdrawn from obedience to the Pope? Invaded the territory of the Church? Laid violent hands on ecclesiastical persons? Harassed cardinals, members of the Pope's household or bishops? Interfered with traffic to Rome? Suppressed apostolic letters or impeded their implementation? Burned or damaged churches? Notaries were to be asked

---

<sup>20</sup> f.177b (Interrogationes in confessione).

<sup>21</sup> f.181 - 181b (as above).

<sup>22</sup> f.180b - 181 (as above).

<sup>23</sup> f.182 (as above).

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> f.180 (as above).

whether they had drawn up in public form documents against the freedom of the Church.<sup>28</sup> Fathers of families were to be asked whether they had paid tithes.<sup>29</sup>

As for a Christian's duties to fellow Christians, confession manuals insisted that goods taken unjustly must be returned and that restitution was an essential sign of true repentance. The positive command to give back what was not yours, Angelo stated, arose from the negative commandment 'Thou shalt not steal'.<sup>30</sup> A confessor must beware of excuses: the penitent might plead poverty, or fear of violence from the person he had robbed. Perhaps it would be necessary to work through intermediaries. The priest should not give absolution unless he was satisfied that the penitent would take positive action to put matters right.<sup>31</sup> This duty of restitution was emphasised by Angelo whatever the penitents' social scale. Princes and judges who perverted the course of justice must pay compensation to the victims.<sup>32</sup> Rulers who demanded unjust tolls must also pay back what was robbed from travellers.<sup>33</sup> Huntsmen who damaged fields must pay those who had suffered.<sup>34</sup> An official who exacted unjust dues must pay them back.<sup>35</sup> An advocate whose malpractice caused loss to the innocent must compensate those who had suffered.<sup>36</sup> Restitution was also obligatory for the crime of murder. A murderer must devote the whole of his life to fighting the infidel or heretics to atone for a killing. If this was impossible he must spend the rest of his life in prayer and fasting, and if this too was more than he could manage he must make satisfaction for the rest of his life in some other way, according to the judgement of good men. If there was an affray the murderer must look after the wounded.<sup>37</sup> Princes were warned that to make war simply in order to enlarge their territories was a mortal sin. They must return all unlawful conquests to their original owners.<sup>38</sup>

---

<sup>28</sup> f.179b (as above).

<sup>29</sup> f.178.

<sup>30</sup> Exodus 20, 15. f. 295 (Restitutio 3).

<sup>31</sup> f.295b (Restitutio - ultimo).

<sup>32</sup> f.180 (Interrogationes in confessione).

<sup>33</sup> f.258 (Pedagogium 6).

<sup>34</sup> f.179.(Interrogationes in confessione).

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> f.179b.

<sup>37</sup> f.289 (Restitutio).

<sup>38</sup> f.180 (Interrogationes in confessione).

The different members of a family were to be asked about their duties: fathers whether they had provided all that was needed for their family's spiritual and bodily needs, and not exasperated everyone with fits of temper; wives whether they were obedient to their husbands and had not taught their daughters vanities; husbands and wives whether they were faithful to one another; daughters whether they were frivolous; sons whether they wasted their father's money.<sup>39</sup>

Angelo's questions to craftsmen emphasised the use of good materials, honesty of presentation, and reasonable pricing.<sup>40</sup> Butchers and bakers must make sure that what they sold on the market was fresh and wholesome.<sup>41</sup> Rustics were to work conscientiously on their lord's land and to pay restitution if he suffered loss because of their dishonesty or neglect.<sup>42</sup>

Detailed though Angelo's list of crafts was, he had no specific questions for painters and sculptors (nor, surprisingly for an archbishop of Florence, had Antonino). There had been disagreements in Florence about their status. After 1378 painters were recognised as a special branch of the guild of doctors and pharmacists (*medici e speziali*). Sculptors, who worked with bronze and stone amidst dust and dirt were a much lower form of life and were included among the silk weavers.<sup>43</sup> Both kinds of artists were included among the 'mechanical arts'. Only the cultivators of the liberal arts could be classed as gentlemen. Leonardo da Vinci's plea in his *Treatise on Painting* that painters should be numbered among followers of the liberal arts, superior to sculptors, fell on deaf ears.<sup>44</sup> There can be no doubt however that the depiction of the naked gods and goddesses of pagan Rome could be regarded as sinful. Under the influence of Savonarola, Botticelli gave up painting mythical subjects and henceforth kept exclusively to Christian themes.<sup>45</sup> Angelo's questions to *artifices* (workmen belonging to the mechanical arts) however, made no mention of

---

<sup>39</sup> f.177b - 178 (as above).

<sup>40</sup> f.178b (as above).

<sup>41</sup> f.178b (as above).

<sup>42</sup> f.179 (as above).

<sup>43</sup> F. Hartt and D.G. Wilkins, *History of Italian Renaissance Art*, New Jersey 2007, 24 - 5.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*448.

<sup>45</sup> M. Feuillet, *Botticelli et Savonarole: l'humanisme à l'épreuve du feu*, Paris 2010, 111 - 132. For a more colourful account see G. Vasari, *Lives of the Artists*, 1, London 1987, 227.

painting. They were simply to be asked whether they had made any objects which could not be used without sin, such as dice.<sup>46</sup> Under *Ars* Angelo had questions about fraud, the use of inferior materials, and conspiracies to raise prices.<sup>47</sup>

Angelo's own attitude to the learned interests of his time was measured. His traditional ecclesiastical Latin showed no influence from the humanists. The study of lascivious poets like Ovid was altogether forbidden, he wrote.<sup>48</sup> There were other pagan writers, he continued, which, although some lascivious matter was included in their compositions, were worth studying. It was allowable to read them for the sake of the learned words they used (*causa eruditionis vocabulorum*) and in order to learn how to talk elegantly (*ornate*). In their lessons however, teachers must abbreviate these writers and pass quickly over the immoral passages.

Sex and marriage were matters of importance to society as a whole. St. Augustine had taken the view that taking pleasure in sex was a sin even within marriage. The only purpose should be procreation. Most medieval moralists followed this line, as J.A. Brundage observes, 'Overwhelmingly the Fathers of the Church and their medieval successors saw sex as a danger to be combatted, not as a pleasure to be praised.'<sup>49</sup> A minority saw marriage as a good in itself apart from bearing children. St. John of Damascus (675 - c.749) had praised the mutual affection of husband and wife in marriage.<sup>50</sup> Hugh of St. Victor had done the same.<sup>51</sup> Marriage was commended as a positive good in a number of 13th- and 14th-century Italian sermon collections.<sup>52</sup> Pleasure in sex within marriage was a different matter. Rare indeed were the churchmen who saw this as licit. The 13th century Franciscan theologian Richard Middleton was cautious about it. 'Certain theologians', he wrote (without naming them), thought that for a married couple to take pleasure in sex was not

---

<sup>46</sup> f.178b (as above).

<sup>47</sup> f. 16 - 16b (*Ars*).

<sup>48</sup> f.216b (*Magister*).

<sup>49</sup> J.A.Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe*, Chicago 1987, 82. See also *ibid.* 138 - 140, 182 - 187.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.* 138.

<sup>51</sup> C.N.L. Brooke, *The Medieval Idea of Marriage*, Oxford 1989, 54.

<sup>52</sup> D.L.D'Avray, *Medieval Marriage: Symbolism and Society*, Oxford 2005, 211 - 241.

wrong, provided it was done in moderation.<sup>53</sup> Angelo took an altogether more tolerant view. He was of the opinion that taking pleasure in sex within a marriage was not a mortal sin.<sup>54</sup> Angelo was even fairly relaxed about sex before the official marriage blessing. Although he wanted couples to be asked whether this had happened, he took the view that it was not necessarily a mortal sin to ask for intercourse if the blessing had been held up because of arguments about the dowry.<sup>55</sup> Custom had the force of law, he remarked, but only if it had been perceptively flouted. An engaged couple who caused scandal by their actions might be in mortal sin, but not otherwise.<sup>56</sup>

Many manuals for confession had asked questions about the proper positions of married couples making love. Albert the Great (c.1200 - 1280), followed by other canonists defined five positions in sexual intercourse of which only the first two were licit.<sup>57</sup> Antonino also had questions about this, citing Albert as an authority, but added that none of the positions was necessarily sinful.<sup>58</sup> Angelo had no questions about this matter at all. It may well be that he had these kinds of questions in mind when he asked confessors whether they had pried into matters which were not their concern.<sup>59</sup>

Angelo's definition of marriage was taken from older authorities: *Coniunctio maris et femine inter personas legitimas individuum vite consuetudinem retinens* ('The union of a man and a woman among legitimate persons, maintaining an undivided way of life').<sup>60</sup> It was a sacrament, the essence of which was the free consent of both parties, its form the words or a gesture expressing it. The

---

<sup>53</sup> Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society*, 429.

<sup>54</sup> *Nam ex triplici causa sine peccato exigitur et redditur, eiam cum merito ex primis duabus: prima prolis procreandi, secunda debiti reddendi, tertia fornicationis vitande.* f.66b (Debitum conjugale).

<sup>55</sup> *Ego vero istud de benedictione limito verum nisi ex rationabili causa moveretur ad petendum, puta propter fornicationem evitandam, cum non possit contineri et uxorem ducere ut benedicatur non posset, propter dotem habendam et huiusmodi, quia nec tunc mortaliter peccaret nisi esset scandalum in patria.* f.65b (Debitum conjugale).

<sup>56</sup> f.65b (Debitum conjugale).

<sup>57</sup> T.N. Tentler, *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation*, Princeton 1977, 189 - 90.

<sup>58</sup> Antonino of Florence, *Defecerunt* f.72 bis b.

<sup>59</sup> f.181b (as above).

<sup>60</sup> See Robert of Flamborough, *Liber Poenitentialis*, 63 and n.2, quoting Huguccio (d.1210) and Bernard of Pavia (d.1213).

*verba de presenti* by which the parties expressed their consent to a union in the present tense - 'I N. take you N. as my wedded husband/wife' were the most common,<sup>61</sup> but in Angelo's time there was considerable variety in the way a marriage was celebrated, and a religious ceremony was not essential, provided the banns were published and both parties had entered the union of their free will. In central Italy for instance, a civil ceremony before a notary was recognised as valid by the Church. It was the Council of Trent which made a religious ceremony compulsory for all Catholics.<sup>62</sup> As for a religious ceremony, nineteen different forms have been recorded for France from the 12th to the 16th centuries.<sup>63</sup> Angelo recorded some very informal occasions. Asked whether she accepted the bridegroom as her future husband, the girl might nod, or he could say to her, 'If you accept me as your husband, drink this!'<sup>64</sup>

Marriage, according to the teaching of the Church, was for life. Husband and wife were not to refuse their bodies to one another unless they were freed by God. They were obliged to accept offspring if this was God's will. It was a sin to procure poisons to prevent conception. What if a marriage was contracted because of lust, or the beauty of one of the partners? Angelo quoted St. Bonaventure's view that a marriage could be contracted for many reasons and that there was no sin unless these were the only ones. If beauty or riches were expressly stated as motives however, the marriage was invalid.<sup>65</sup>

Divorce then was not allowed, but separation for very special reasons was possible. Couples could vow continence. Separation was also possible for adultery, sodomy, fornication, or the heresy of one of the parties. In all these cases however the consent of the Church was required, and neither of the couple could marry again.<sup>66</sup>

---

<sup>61</sup> On *verba de futuro ... de presenti* see especially C.N.L. Brooke, *Medieval Idea of Marriage*, 138.

<sup>62</sup> D.L. d'Avray, *Medieval Marriage*, 65, 105; J.A. Brundage *Law, Sex, and Christian Society*, 190 - 191.

<sup>63</sup> J.B. Modin and P. Mutecombe, *Le rituel du mariage en France du XIIIe au XVIe siècles*, Paris 1974, 283 - 318.

<sup>64</sup> f.219 (Matrimonium 2).

<sup>65</sup> f.220b (Matrimonium 2). The reference is to Bonaventure's *Libri Sententiarum* IV, dist. XXX, dubium VI. S. Bonaventura *Opera Omnia* 6, Paris 1866, 259 - 260.

<sup>66</sup> f.231 (Matrimonium 4).

Before 1215 the rules about consanguinity and affinity had extended up to the seventh degree: it was forbidden to marry one's sixth cousin or someone formerly married to him or her. This often gave kings and noblemen an excuse to get rid of their wives. The Fourth Lateran Council restricted the rules to the fourth degree and thus made it much harder to dissolve a marriage.<sup>67</sup> Angelo listed eighteen impediments to marriage. The most numerous and complicated involved various degrees of relationship in one's own family, in that of the intended husband or wife, and also in that of the godparents.<sup>68</sup> These rules were often very difficult to keep. It is noteworthy how often the apostolic penitentiary was asked to ratify marriages which had been contracted within the forbidden degrees.<sup>69</sup>

The poor were of special concern to Angelo. On their behalf he urged confessors to address the rich and powerful directly:

'He lacks food and drink and you have more than you require for your state of life. He is in prison and you could redeem him from your abundance. He is naked and you have a long train. He has no home and you have palaces.'<sup>70</sup>

Angelo maintained that someone who stole out of necessity was not committing a mortal sin. Some crimes were inexcusable but 'There are evils like stealing which are excused because of necessity. Because in a time of need everything is held in common.'<sup>71</sup> Angelo expected judges to provide advocates for the poor who would act free of charge.<sup>72</sup> Princes were to give audience to the

---

<sup>67</sup> D.L.d'Avray, *Medieval Marriage*, 104.

<sup>68</sup> f.220b - f.230 (Matrimonium 3 - Impedimenta 1 - 18).

<sup>69</sup> See e.g. *Supplications from England and Wales in the Registers of the Apostolic Penitentiary 1410 - 1503*, Vol.3, index under marriage - dispensations.

<sup>70</sup> *Eget cibo et potu et habes ultra condecetiam tui status. Est in captivitate et redimere posses de superfluitatibus tuis. Est nudus et tu caudam ducis. Est sine domo et tu habes palatia.* f.177 (Interrogationes in confessione).

<sup>71</sup> f.134b (Furtum).

<sup>72</sup> f.179 (Interrogationes in confessione).

poor and orphans, and not to put pressure upon countrymen to increase their labour, particularly on feast days.<sup>73</sup>

The medieval Church's teaching about usury, based on certain passages in the Bible<sup>74</sup> had received, as G. Todeschini has shown, considerable attention from Franciscan theologians.<sup>75</sup> In his *Summa* Angelo expressed fairly uncompromising views about it. 'What shall we say', he asked, 'About lords and communes who allow Jews to take usury, giving them houses and making agreements with them? What shall we say about judges who force debtors to observe these agreements?' A number of canonists, Angelo went on, defended these arrangements.<sup>76</sup> They claimed that they were acceptable if approved by lawful authority such as a bishop. They were immemorial custom, beneficial to the *res publica* and tolerated by the popes themselves in the states of the Church. As for the Jews, some added, they were damned anyway. Could we not use their evil practices to our profit?<sup>77</sup> Angelo would have none of this. The law, he said, allowed three kinds of exceptions to a rule. For a special reason a penalty might be remitted but not the guilt. A permission might be given, and in an emergency a law might even be waived, to avoid a greater evil. Such exceptions however, could only be made in unusual situations. There were things to which one should never consent. Usury was a mortal sin, and there were no circumstances under which it could be allowed.<sup>78</sup>

In his discussion of usury Angelo had specifically associated the practice with the Jews. In 15th-century Italy many of them were newcomers. Todeschini observes that they had been invited

---

<sup>73</sup> f.180 - 180b (as above).

<sup>74</sup> Exodus 22, 25; Ezechiel 18, 8; Luke 6, 35. On the medieval Church's teaching about usury see especially J. Baldwin, *Masters, princes, and merchants*, Princeton N.J. 1970, i, 284 - 289.

<sup>75</sup> G. Todeschini, *Franciscan Wealth: from voluntary poverty to market society*, New York 2009.

<sup>76</sup> *Sed quid dicemus de dominis et communitatibus que concedunt iudeis ut possint exercere usuras et locant eis domos et faciunt conventiones cum eis super usuris exercendis et ut iudices cogant debitores secundum conventa et huiusmodi?* f.349b - 350 (Usura 2). The canonists listed are Andreas de Barbatio or Siculus (1400 - 1479, DDC 1, 519 - 522); Petrus de Ancharam (c.1330 - 1416, DDC 6, 1464 - 1471); a certain Paulus de Castro; 'et plures alii'.

<sup>77</sup> f.349b (Usura 2).

<sup>78</sup> *Nam nullus potest peccatum committere seu cooperari ut committatur pro quocunque bono obtinendo seu malo vitando ab alio.* f.349b - 350 (Usura 2).



into cities in large numbers because they could provide much needed capital. They settled down with their families but were never accepted as full citizens. In some cases residence was permitted for only a limited period.<sup>79</sup> These Jews faced the friars with a new and unwelcome problem. They did not at all fit into a conventional view of the Christian commonwealth.

Views about Jews living in the midst of Christian communities differed. In 1463 cardinal Bessarion, the papal legate to Venice, addressed a letter to the Doge on the subject. In the past, the cardinal noted, contact between the Venetian government and the Jews had been to the benefit of all. Jews should be allowed to live peaceably within a Christian city, in the hope that, by the good example of their neighbours, they would be converted. All agreements with Jews should be strictly observed and they should be permitted to live, trade, and associate with Christians in harmony. The cardinal's letter was still being cited in controversy 60 years later.<sup>80</sup>

The sermons of Angelo's friend Bernardino da Feltre were of a very different tenor. In Trent during Holy Week 1475 he encouraged the belief that a small boy called Simon, whose body had been found, had been murdered by the Jews.<sup>81</sup> A similar story was put about in Padua a short time later. In 1485 at Porte Bufolè in the Veneto, some Jews were burned for an alleged crime of this kind.<sup>82</sup> Bernardino continued his anti-Jewish crusade in the late 1480's, but in 1492, after protests from the Venetian government, he was forced partly to eat his words: 'No one who holds his soul dear may harm the Jews ... for justice, Christian charity and love must be shown to Jews also. I have always', Bernardino added disingenuously, 'Said so in every city'.<sup>83</sup>

Angelo most probably saw the way things were going. The turbulent career of his friend may have persuaded him to be cautious. His views about the Jews were based strictly on canon

---

<sup>79</sup> Todeschini 2009, 151 - 153.

<sup>80</sup> B.Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice*, Oxford 1971, 454 - 455.

<sup>81</sup> On Simon of Trent see S.Bowd and J.D.Cullington, '*On everyone's lips*': *Humanists, Jews, and the Tale of Simon of Trent*, Tempe, Arizona, 2012; B. Pullan *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice*, 458.

<sup>82</sup> Pullan, 459.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.* 462.

law<sup>84</sup> and particularly on the concessions defined for them by Innocent III<sup>85</sup> and brought up to date by Martin V's two bulls *Sicut Judaeis* (1422) and *Quamquam Judaei* (1429).<sup>86</sup> It was undesirable, Angelo stated, for Christians to be familiar with Jews and situations which brought them together should be avoided. A Christian could be a Jew's servant only if the service took place outside the Jew's house. The same applied to the Jewish servants of Christians. A Christian child should not have a Jewish wet-nurse. Some authorities allowed a Christian woman to wet-nurse a Jewish child, but Angelo gave it as his opinion that this should not be allowed as it encouraged too much familiarity. Jewish doctors were not to look after Christian patients. Christians were not to buy medicines from Jews. Jewish usurers were particularly condemned. Jews must be obliged to appear in public wearing a particular badge. They were not to commit sacrilege against the Christian faith (it was often alleged that they had insulted the sacred host).<sup>87</sup> On the last three days of Holy Week they were not to appear in the streets or have their windows open. It was out of the question for a Jew to marry a Christian woman. A Jew who by violence prevented one of his nation from becoming a Christian was to be burned. As far as Jewish worship was concerned Angelo took the view that it must be tolerated<sup>88</sup> if only to prevent disorder.<sup>89</sup> No new synagogues could be built,<sup>90</sup> but old ones might be repaired so long as they did not look new.<sup>91</sup>

Angelo's list of things which Christians were not allowed to do to Jews<sup>92</sup> was based on Martin V's two bulls and their predecessors. No one was to force a Jew to be baptised, nor were Jewish children to be baptised without the permission of their parents. Jews were to be allowed to observe their customs and festivals. They were not to be dragged before a judge on their Sabbaths.

---

<sup>84</sup> f.187 - 188 (Judaeus).

<sup>85</sup> Text in M.Tangl, *Die päpstlichen Kanzleiordnungen des Mittelalters*, Innsbruck 1897, 252 - 253.

<sup>86</sup> Texts: S. Simonsohn ed., *The Apostolic See and the Jews, Documents 1394 - 1464*, Toronto, 1989, No.614 (20 Feb. 1422), and 658 (13 Feb. 1429).

<sup>87</sup> An alleged incident in Brussels is related in the early Renaissance stained glass windows in the cathedral of St. Michael and Ste Gudule. See M.Rubin, *Gentile Tales: the narrative assault on late medieval Jews*, New Haven 1999, 181 - 189.

<sup>88</sup> f.161b (Infidelitas).

<sup>89</sup> f.349 (Usura 2).

<sup>90</sup> f.187b (Judaeus).

<sup>91</sup> On medieval legislation about the building of synagogues see C.H.Krinsky, *Synagogues of Europe*, Boston 1985, 39; bibliography *ibid.* 115 n.16.

<sup>92</sup> f.188 (Judaeus).

Their cemeteries were to be respected. The persons and properties of Jews could not be violated without the sentence of a judge, and they were not to be burdened with unprecedented dues. They were not to be prevented from selling goods at the best price. Jews who became Christians were not to be deprived of the property they had acquired before their conversion.

It will be seen that in his *Summa* Angelo intended to cover in some detail every detail of a Christian's way of life, whether he was a man or a woman, clerical or lay. How was the book to be used? In an article about pictorial representations of confession<sup>93</sup> Roberto Rusconi reproduces only a very few where the confessor is holding a book.<sup>94</sup> One way of using Angelo's manual then, was for the confessor to have it on his lap, and go through the relevant questionnaire point by point as it was on the page. Other confessors (perhaps the majority) will have used Angelo's *Interrogationes in confessione* as a guide and proceeded *ex tempore*. If they had access to other confession manuals they will have noticed that Angelo's interrogations were the most detailed and thorough. This, together with its helpful arrangement, may account for the popularity of the *Summa Angelica* with confessors, and would explain the many editions, of which very many copies survive today.<sup>95</sup> It is not likely, on the other hand, to have made their Easter confession less of an ordeal for the laity. It made Angelo an easy target for the wrath of Martin Luther.

From his *interrogationes* it is possible to make some deductions about Angelo's view of the way society should be organised. In confession penitents were not faced with new concepts, but rather with teachings which had been put forward many times in sermons and through pictorial representations in churches and elsewhere. Angelo was only prepared to depart from the conventional in one particular. It was his view that married people expressed their love for one another through sex. The pleasure they took in this was in no way blameworthy. This unusual opinion was shared by almost none of his fellow clerics, and much criticised after his death.<sup>96</sup> For

---

<sup>93</sup> R. Rusconi, 'Figure della confessione', *L'Ordine dei peccati*, Bologna 2002, 161. The article is preceded by thirty illustrations.

<sup>94</sup> E.g. Ibid. fig.24: early 16th century woodcut from Magdeburg.

<sup>95</sup> GKW 2, 276 - 297. See above p.6.

<sup>96</sup> See below ch.6 p.97.

the rest, Angelo reiterated the familiar. Married people must be faithful to their marriage vows. The purpose of their marriage, was the bearing of children. Parents had defined duties. A father must ensure the spiritual and bodily wellbeing of his household. A mother must keep her daughters modest. Sons and daughters must be obedient to their parents. Sons must not waste their parents' money, daughters must avoid frivolity. In this view the family was dominated by the men. Wives, Angelo stated, must obey their husbands. It may be noted that he did not give the mother any part in the spiritual education of her children. She might however have to take responsibility for the family if her husband took to drink or gambling.<sup>97</sup>

For bishops and priests, pastoral duties were of the first importance. Avoidance of these in favour of secular activities, benefice-hunting, seeking ecclesiastical office for the sake of wealth or prestige, were mortal sins. From religious an undeviating observance of their rules was to be expected.

Rulers were to govern with justice, be compassionate to the poor, and not invade the lands of neighbours. Above all, they must respect the rights and privileges of the Church and not obstruct its government by the Pope. Judges were to uphold justice and not take bribes. Honesty was expected from all in their different vocations - lawyers, craftsmen, and labourers in the country. Property which had been unjustly acquired must be returned. This principle applied, in Angelo's view, even to rulers who had seized the lands of their neighbours.

This last demand might appear to be fantastic. There is no example throughout the Middle Ages of any ruler, however devout, giving back conquered lands because his Christian conscience required this of him. It gives however, an insight into the way Angelo saw society. He was thinking in terms of Christendom. The interests of rulers were subordinate to this greater unity, and their ambitions could be seen as disturbing factors. Angelo's was a Christendom in which all knew their place, and where all were in transit to a better world.

---

<sup>97</sup> f.135b (Furtum).

## Chapter 5. Angelo and problems of Franciscan Discipline.

Under the heading 'Religiosus' Angelo, in his *Summa*, discussed the religious life, concentrating on the Franciscans, their Rule, and its interpretations.<sup>1</sup> As vicar general of the Observantines south of the Alps, he had not only studied the documents, but had practical experience of their implementation. This chapter discusses his ideas, and the way he carried them out in his government of the friars.

In the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, Franciscan movements of strict observance came into being in France and Spain and above all in Italy.<sup>2</sup> The Italian movement began in a modest way during the mid-fourteenth century with a few hermitages in central Italy. Cautious papal approval was sometimes given and sometimes withdrawn.<sup>3</sup> The Schism popes (1378 - 1417) provided the Observantines with a firmer basis. The heavy hand of the Avignon papacy had been withdrawn and papal claimants were anxious not to lose support. Boniface IX, of the 'Roman' obedience (1389 - 1404) was particularly encouraging.<sup>4</sup> In the fifteenth century the small group of Franciscan hermits in central Italy developed into a fervent band of preachers under the inspiring leadership of St. Bernardino of Siena (c.1380 - 1444), St. John Capistrano (1386 - 1456), and St. James of the Marsh (1394 - 1476). Thanks particularly to the preaching of John Capistrano, these Observantines spread to eastern Europe, particularly Silesia, Bohemia, and Poland.

In the course of time it became clear that a literal observance of the 1223 *Regula Bullata* was not compatible with the way of life of a large body of preachers. In 1440 St. Bernardino ruled that the Observantines in future should follow the papal modifications of the Franciscan life: *Exiit qui*

---

<sup>1</sup> f.280 - 282b (Religiosus).

<sup>2</sup> On the vicissitudes of the Franciscan Order after the death of St. Francis, see J. Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, Oxford 1968, 50 - 61; D. Nimmo, *Reform and Division in the Franciscan Order*, Rome 1987, 56 - 60; D. Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans*, Pennsylvania State University 2001; N. Senoçak, *The poor and the perfect*, Ithaca, 2012. On the development of the Franciscan Observance in Italy, M. Sensi, *Le Osservanze Franciscane nell' Italia Centrale*, Rome 1985.

<sup>3</sup> Sensi, *Le Osservanze nell' Italia Centrale*, 33 - 50.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 52 - 4.

*seminat* (1279), and *Exivi de Paradiso* (1312).<sup>5</sup> Pope Eugenius IV in 1446 allowed the Observantines to hold their own two chapters general north and south of the Alps and to elect two vicars general, who would exercise authority in each region, independently of the Conventual minister general.<sup>6</sup> The Franciscans had now been more or less divided into two orders, and it appeared that the Observantines would be free to go their own way. The validity of the 1446 decision however, and the extent of the minister general's authority over the friars of both observances, remained a subject of endless argument and of numerous, sometimes contradictory, papal pronouncements.

Because nothing is known of Angelo's early life, not even when he was born,<sup>7</sup> it is impossible to tell whether he knew the Observantines' famous preachers, whether they influenced him directly, and if so, how. He belongs, in any case, to the second generation of Observantine friars. Accurate historical information about him comes only in 1462, when he was addressed as vicar provincial of the Observantine friars of Genoa.<sup>8</sup> In 1467 he was one of the friars sent by the chapter general to reorganise the Observantines of eastern Europe.<sup>9</sup> His election as vicar general of the Observantines south of the Alps seems to have come at a dramatic moment. In 1472, Pope Sixtus IV, himself a former Franciscan minister general, summoned a commission of cardinals to try and overcome the divisions among the two branches of the Franciscan Order. The only detailed account of what happened comes from Wadding's *Annales Minorum*.<sup>10</sup> It appears that the opinion of the commission was that Eugenius's bull of 1446 should be cancelled. Before this was done, the Pope summoned Mark of Bologna, vicar general of the Observantines south of the Alps, to give his views. Sensing that things were not going the way he wanted, Mark lost his temper, made a scene, stormed out of the building, and went into hiding. The Pope and the cardinals were outraged. Meetings of the commission were adjourned. From his hiding place Mark of Bologna urged his followers to write to

---

<sup>5</sup> On this development see Nimmo, *Reform and Division*, 588 - 596.

<sup>6</sup> Moorman, *A History*, 452.

<sup>7</sup> See ch.1 p.10-12.

<sup>8</sup> See ch.1 p.12.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> AM 14, 2 - 7.

the Observantines' many admirers in high places. Letters from kings and princes came pouring in, and it seems that Sixtus IV concluded that in future it would be wiser to observe strict neutrality when it came to Franciscan affairs.<sup>11</sup>

Angelo's official activities from 1472 can be studied from the surviving register of the Cisalpine Observantine vicars general 1464 - 1488 (the portion after 1488 is lost).<sup>12</sup> Clemens Schmitt, its editor, was particularly struck by the extremely brief record for his first term of office 1472 - 1475 - only three pages in the original manuscript.<sup>13</sup> The surviving register, now in the Vatican archives, is not a late copy but the authentic record used by the vicars general at the time, as is shown by the different handwritings of the secretary of each successive office holder.<sup>14</sup> Since Angelo's 1472 section begins on f.99b, immediately after that of his predecessor, there is no question of anything having been left out. It may be suggested that the commotion after the resignation of Mark of Bologna was not easily or quickly settled, and that, during his first term of office, Angelo had to spend a great deal of time at the Curia. For the rest, Angelo's decisions and policy were not notably different from those of Peter of Naples, with whom he alternated in office between 1472 and 1487. The difference was that Peter had all the correspondence in every case, sometimes in Italian, copied word for word into the register, whereas Angelo usually preferred summaries, even if some of them were quite detailed. The impression from the entries during his period of office is of brisk efficiency. The unusual case where Angelo had every word of one of his letters copied into the register is discussed below.<sup>15</sup>

Of particular concern to the Observant vicars general were the small Franciscan communities in the Holy Land. Here the friars looked after the Holy Places and provided pastoral care for

---

<sup>11</sup> On Sixtus IV and his relationship with the Observantines see Mario Fois, 'I papi e l'Osservanza minoritica', *Il rinnovamento del Francescesimo: l'Osservanza*, Società internazionale di Studi Francescani, Perugia/Assisi 1985, 83 - 90.

<sup>12</sup> *Regestum Observantiae Cismontanae* (1464 - 1488), ed. C. Schmitt O.F.M., Grottaferrata/Rome 1983.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* 21.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* 30.

<sup>15</sup> See p.83-85.

Christian pilgrims, under the watchful and not always sympathetic eye of the Islamic authorities. It was sometimes difficult for the vicar general to enforce discipline so far away. In January 1487 Angelo sent an injunction to the friars in Candia (now Herakleion on the northern coast of Crete) who had been sent under obedience to the Holy Land. On pain of excommunication and imprisonment, they were not to travel *via* Cairo or Alexandria, or to visit the monastery of St. Catherine in the Sinai peninsula. It had been reported that they were going to these places out of curiosity, that they were a nuisance to the merchants, and causing scandal. Once sent to Jerusalem they were to stay there until recalled, and not to return when they saw fit, complaining that they had not seen the sights.<sup>16</sup>

Some of the friars in Bosnia were in a somewhat similar situation to the ones in Palestine. In May 1486 Angelo commissioned brother Francis de Soimiris to visit those parts of Bosnia 'under the dominion of the infidel Turks'. Brother Francis was to write a report for the chapter general on conditions there, and bring with him one of the local friars who would give further information.<sup>17</sup>

For the friars south of the Alps the vicar general was the supreme authority for the settlement of disputes. In July 1486 Angelo gave orders that brother Philip of Paris was not to call himself vicar provincial of Calabria. His election was null and void because he had called a chapter against Angelo's express command. On pain of excommunication and imprisonment he was, within three days, to surrender his seal and papers to Angelo's commissary.<sup>18</sup> A more serious situation had arisen in Sicily in 1480. Brother John Fontana complained that he had been unjustly imprisoned by brother Anthony of Agrigento who was then his vicar provincial. In April of that year Angelo, accompanied by a colleague, crossed into Sicily. Seated on a bench in the friars' refectory in Catania, he condemned brother Anthony for the crime of unjust imprisonment. Brother John's confession was declared to be illegal since it had been obtained under duress, and Angelo ordered it to be burned. Brother Anthony, who was suspended for some years from any participation in the

---

<sup>16</sup> *Regestum* ed. Schmitt, 549, 16.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* 546, 10.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* 547, 12.



Observants' affairs, was personally to clear brother John's reputation and to do penance.<sup>19</sup> Angelo went on to pronounce the accusations made against fifteen other local friars as baseless and ordered the friars in Sicily to put their dissensions aside once and for all.<sup>20</sup>

Most of the entries in the register of the vicars general were orders, under obedience, moving individual friars around. Angelo did not hesitate to move a friar from one end of Italy to the other:

'Rome 17 Nov. 1480.

'Obedience to brother Philip de Rambau de Terminis, a Sicilian, that he should go to Siena and, as he was told by the guardian of Capriola in my name, to stay and preach there.

'A letter with this command has been sent, with a copy for the vicar of his province, that is, of Sicily. It states that he will incur automatic excommunication within nine days, which period has been allowed him by authority, if he does not within nine days begin his journey and fulfil the obedience mentioned above. The same punishment is extended to his companions if they stay with him after he has disobeyed. The vicar of the province and all the brethren are ordered, if he disobeys, not to keep him'.<sup>21</sup>

Brother Philip's reluctance is understandable. There is no trace here, or anywhere else in the register, of St. Francis's ruling, quoted by Angelo himself in another context,<sup>22</sup> that a friar who cannot observe the Rule spiritually can go and explain his difficulties to his superior.<sup>23</sup> All the Observantine vicars general expected unquestioning obedience. Angelo routinely threatened recalcitrants with excommunication or imprisonment, or both.<sup>24</sup> Perhaps it would be wrong to

---

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. 289 - 290, 15.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid. 290 - 291, 16.

<sup>21</sup> *Facta est obedientia fr. Philippo Rambau de Terminis, Siculo, praedicatori, quod veniat Senas et iuxta quod ei dictum fuerit a guardiano Capriolae, meo nomine, illuc vadat et praedicet...Item eidem facta est littera praeceptorum cuius copia missa est vicario Provinciae, scilicet Siciliae, videlicet quod sub poena excommunicationis latae sententiae, quam novem diebus elapsis, qui ei assignantur pro termino peremptorio, incurrat, si non statim pro termino novem dierum iter arripuerit et fecerit obedientiam praedictam; et eidem poenae subiaceant socii, si secum remanserint, postquam non obedierit. Mandatur etiam vicario provinciae et omnibus fratribus quod, si non obedierit, in locis suis non teneant.* Ibid. 293, 19.

<sup>22</sup> See below p. 89.

<sup>23</sup> *Regula Bullata* ch.10, *François d'Assise, écrits*, ed. T. Desbonnets O.F.M.et al., Paris 1981, 195.

<sup>24</sup> *Regestum* ed. Schmitt, 170, 2, 1473 (imprisonment); 292, 18, 1480 (imprisonment); 293, 19, 1480 (excommunication); 547, 12, 1486 (excommunication and imprisonment); 548, 14, 1486 (imprisonment); 549, 16, 1487 (excommunication and imprisonment); 550, 17, 1487 (excommunication and imprisonment).

conclude that he was a tyrant. In May 1479 he reprimanded the vicar provincial of Milan for refusing to receive back a friar who had repented of his misdeeds. The teaching of the Saviour, Angelo insisted, was that repentant sinners should be welcomed.<sup>25</sup>

There is no complete collection of Angelo's letters. The situation as it was in 1950, when most of them were to be found in manuscript collections, was described by Mario Bessone.<sup>26</sup> He summarised everything he had found. Since his time the letters Angelo wrote to his friend Bernardino da Feltre have appeared in print.<sup>27</sup> No doubt more material is still lying in Italian archives and libraries.

Angelo was always ready to take up the cudgels in defence of his fellow friars, their observances and characteristic teachings. In December 1475 he wrote a defence of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception - a teaching upheld by the Franciscans but opposed by the Dominicans. St. Albert the Great and St. Thomas Aquinas had both argued that sin, and the absence of it, was not possible before the body had been 'ensouled'.<sup>28</sup> Angelo's defence rested entirely on tradition - he defended the doctrine by numerous references to the Fathers.<sup>29</sup> On 15 August 1492 a procession of Observantine friars in honour of the feast of the Assumption took a wrong turning and walked into a ploughman's cart pulled by two oxen. The animals ran amok, and a number of bystanders were injured. Whether there were fatalities is not recorded, but an Augustinian friar later preached a sermon in which he blamed the Observantines for putting on a procession which was not authorised by the Liturgy. Angelo replied in July 1493. Such spectacles are licit, he claimed, and approved by the doctors as enhancements of the feasts. But the ploughman was not blameless. He should have chosen his route more carefully.<sup>30</sup>

---

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. 282, 8.

<sup>26</sup> M. Bessone, *Il beato Angelo Carletti*, 194 - 210.

<sup>27</sup> See below.

<sup>28</sup> On Dominican objections to the Immaculate Conception see X. Le Bachelet, 'Immaculée Conception', *Dictionnaire de Théologie catholique*, 7 (1921), 1050 - 1054.

<sup>29</sup> *Regestum*, ed. Schmitt 194 - 196.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid. 197 - 198.

In the correspondence of Bl. Bernardino da Feltre (1439 - 1494), there are nineteen letters from Angelo which give some information about his activities as vicar general in 1490 – 1493.<sup>31</sup> Since Bernardino was a friend, include some personal touches.

Numbers and page references from the Meneghin edition.

All letters are addressed to Bernardino, unless otherwise stated.

62, 193 - 105.

Savona 14 July 1489.

Angelo looks forward to Bernardino's forthcoming visit. Angelo himself has been ill for the last two years but is now better. Bernardino is not to be upset by slanders against the Monte di Pietà but to show in his preaching that it is beneficial to all and approved by all learned and trustworthy people.

91, 140 - 141.

Rome 4 Nov. 1490.

Angelo notes that because of difficulties about preaching Advent in Padua, Bernardino has gone to the cities of the Romagna. Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, protector of the Order, wants Bernardino to preach the next Lent in Bologna. Angelo therefore orders Bernardino to proceed to Bologna after Christmas.

(Attached is Angelo's little seal - an angel with the letters FA - frater Angelus - on either side).

92, 142 - 143.

Siena 22 Dec. 1490.

Renewed orders to Bernardino to proceed to Bologna.

93, 143.

Siena 1 Jan. 1491.

There have been complaints from the Felicini family of Bologna because their coat of arms was removed from a chapel in the city's Observantine church. Bernardino is asked to deal with the matter.

94, 144.

Siena 1 Jan. 1491.

Angelo to the Observantine friars of Bologna.

---

<sup>31</sup> P. Vittorino Meneghin O.F.M. ed., *Documenti Vari intorno al B. Bernardino Tomitani*, (Studi i Testi Francescane No. 35), Rome 1966. Briefly summarised also by Bessone, *Il beato Angelo Carletti*, 209 - 210.

They are to abide by brother Bernardino's decision about the Felicini coat of arms.

95, 145 - 146.

Florence 12 Jan. 1491.

Renewed orders to Bernardino to preach Lent in Bologna.

103, 157 - 158.

Florence 12 Apr. 1491.

The citizens of Padua have expressed their disappointment because Bernardino did not complete his preaching in their city. He is therefore to satisfy the Paduans and afterwards to return to Piacenza. After resting himself he is to go to Milan. Papal letters to the contrary are not to deter him 'because, as is clear to me from the letters of our most reverend protector, I can dispose of all the preachers of this congregation as I please' (*clare constat mihi ex litteris reverendissimi domini protectoris nostri, ex voto meo possum destinare omnes praedicatores familiae*).

105, 160.

Cesena 26 June 1491.

The father guardian of Ravenna has asked that Bernardino should preach there. If it is not too much to ask, Angelo would like Bernardino to accede to this wish, then preach in Cesena, and from there proceed to Milan. But if this taxes his strength too much Angelo will not insist.

106, 162 - 163.

Faenza 1 July 1491.

The citizens of Faenza have asked for a Lenten preacher and they would like Bernardino for Advent. Angelo has told them that this is not possible, but he asks Bernardino, after preaching in Ravenna and Cesena to spend a few days in Faenza before proceeding to Milan.

107, 163 - 164.

Modena 15 July 1491.

Angelo does not wish to burden Bernardino with visits to Ravenna or the Romagna but will leave the decision to himself. Angelo is going to Pavia to consult doctors about his health problems. He will then travel to Milan where difficulties have arisen about Bernardino preaching there. When the situation is clear he will write. He wants Bernardino to preach the next Lent at Padua.

108, 164 - 165.

Modena 15 July 1491.

Angelo to the citizens of Padua.

A promise that Bernardino will preach the next Lent there.

110, 167 - 168.

Abbiategrosso 13 Aug. 1491.

Papal letters notwithstanding Bernardino is to preach Advent in Milan. He is to preach Lent in Padua as promised. The brothers and citizens of Milan will receive him gladly.

115, 176 - 177.

Venice 20 Dec. 1491.

The Observantines of Mantua have asked that Bernardino spend some time with them. If he can, Angelo asks that he should preach three or four sermons in the convent, especially about the Monte di Pietà. From there he should go to Vicenza, but only if this is not too much for him. After Christmas Angelo intends to go to various cities on the way to Brescia. In the middle of January he hopes to be in Mantua. The vicar provincial there has trouble with his eyes, one is completely blind.

116, 177 - 178.

Venice 24 Dec. 1491.

Angelo is well and celebrating Christmas. The Paduans await Bernardino as if he were the Messiah. So they do in Vicenza and Mantua. The alms Bernardino has collected for the convent in Assisi are to be spent on a new dormitory.

132, 196 - 197.

Voghera 16 March 1492.

The citizens and friars of Reggio Emilia want Bernardino to preach at the provincial chapter which will be on the second Sunday after Easter (6 May 1492). He is to go provided this is not too much for him. - it is left to him to decide.

153, 230 - 231.

Saluzzo, 11 July 1492.

The people of Vicenza have asked for Bernardino for Lent, or if that is not possible, for Advent. The people of Lucca want him for Advent. The Genoese have asked for him several times. Angelo has already assigned Bernardino to Pavia for Lent (1493). He must satisfy the others as best he can, but Angelo does not want him to be too much burdened.

156, 234 - 235.

Casale Monferrato 3 Aug. 1492.

Angelo to the guardians of Observant houses in the Cismontane province.

If letters about the preaching of brother Bernardino are sent to vicars provincial and these are away, the guardians are to have authority to forward them.

160, 239.

Casale Monferrato 2 Nov. 1492.

Angelo rejoices over the success of Bernardino's preaching in Genoa and Lucca. Bernardino is to preach the next Lent in Pavia. He is to use the Observantine church of St. Francis. This church is more spacious than the cathedral. It is also conveniently near the university. Angelo intends to return to Piedmont, there to await a response to his letters about the Waldensians.

170, 254.

Florence, 20 March 1493.

At the request of the brethren and citizens, Angelo will be in Florence for Easter and will stay until the Ascension. He intends to be present at the Chapter General which will be held in that city at Pentecost.

(This was the Chapter at which Angelo, for the last time, laid down his office as vicar general).

In spite of his importance during his lifetime, there is a frustrating dearth of information about Angelo. Within the very large collection of letters addressed to Bernardino da Feltre, his nineteen do not stand out. Bringing them together creates a consecutive narrative for at least one portion of Angelo's life and sheds a little more light on his personal history. Something can be learned about his movements, his relationship with a friend, his health during these last years of his life, and his other activities.

During these years of his last term of office Angelo led a peripatetic life. He was in Savona on the Ligurian coast in July 1489 (letter 62). In November 1490 he was in Rome (letter 91). A month later he was in Siena. His sojourn there lasted about a month (letters 92, 93, 94). He was in Florence on 12 Jan. 1491 and stayed there at least until April (letters 95, 103). In the summer of 1491 we find him in north-east Italy: on 26 June 1491 in Cesena (letter 105), and five days later in Faenza (letter 106). Two weeks later he was in Modena, from where he planned excursions to Pavia and Milan (letters 107, 108). From Modena he travelled north to Abbiategrosso, where he was in August (letter 110). By this time he seems to have made his planned journey to Milan (*ibid.*). Christmas of 1491 was spent in Venice (letters 115, 116). At this time he was also planning journeys to the cities on the way to Brescia and to visit Mantua (letter 115). He was in Voghera in March 1492, and in Saluzzo in July (letters 132, 153). In August 1492 he was in Casale Monferrato, within reach of Savoy, where a crusade against the Waldensians, to which he had been appointed papal legate, was taking place (letters 156, 160). He may have spent some quiet months there, writing his book against heresy.<sup>32</sup> In March 1493 he was in Florence attending the Chapter General

---

<sup>32</sup> See above ch.1, p.18.

at which he resigned (letter 170). A little more than two years later he was dead.<sup>33</sup> It does not appear that in these last years of his office Angelo travelled south of Rome. The longest he was in any one place was a little over one year. The area he traversed covered approximately 115,600 kilometres. The register of the Cisalpine Observant vicars general gives few indications of where decisions were made, but one may guess that Angelo had travelled in much the same way during his earlier terms of office.

A study of these letters confirms the impression given by the register, that during their three years of office, Observantine vicars general exercised a great deal of power over their fellow friars. A city which wanted a course of sermons from a famous preacher did not approach him directly but applied to the vicar general, who gave the order and organised an itinerary (letters 103, 106, 108, 110, 132, 153). Vicars provincial had no control over the movements of friars subject to them. They, or in their absence the guardians, forwarded requests to the higher authority (letter 156). It is true that Angelo twice stated that he did not want Bernardino to be too much burdened (letters 132, 153). This however was because Bernardino was a personal friend. Such consideration was not shown to other friars, as brother Philip de Rambau had painfully discovered.

Twice Angelo seems somewhat brusquely to set aside orders from the Pope (letters 103, 110). In fact his action was based on a papal privilege granted to Peter of Naples in 1477. If the Pope ordered a friar to preach in a certain city the vicar general could cancel the order if carrying it out would cause scandal.<sup>34</sup> A much more serious crisis involving papal authority occurred in 1479. Angelo's long letter about it was copied word for word into the register.<sup>35</sup>

The friar to whom the 1479 letter was addressed was not named but belonged to the province of Dalmatia. Subject to the agreement of the lord of Veglia, (now the island of Krk in Croatia),

---

<sup>33</sup> See above ch.1 p.7.

<sup>34</sup> *Regestum* ed. Schmitt, 279, 5.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.* 283 - 287, 10. Briefly summarised by Bessone, *Il beato Angelo*, 203 - 205, who however treats this as an isolated episode.

Angelo ordered him to leave the island and return to Arbo (now Rab) where he belonged, or wherever else the vicar provincial of Dalmatia wished to send him. 'I wish you to know that I have read and studied a copy of your papal brief,' wrote Angelo, 'It is null and void... When you say that you are sixty and that, because of the weaknesses of old age you are not able to bear the burdens of the religious life, these statements are false. You are not sixty, and it is not true that because of the weaknesses of old age you are unable to bear burdens, for you have been in worse health than you are at present....Many other reasons,' Angelo continued, 'could be put forward to show that it (the brief) is of no effect... Reflect therefore most carefully on your own position, and the danger in which you are.' ( *Volo te scire quomodo copiam brevis tui habui et legi et studui. Et advertas primo quod ipsum breve nullum est....Cum igitur dicas quod sexagenarius es et quod, propter ingravescentem aetatem, non possis onera religionis portare, quae falsa sunt, cum nec sexagenarius sis nec propter ingravescentem aetatem onere portare non posses, nam magis debilis quam nunc semper fuisti...Multa alia essent dicenda quare nullum est...et propterea attende bene quomodo stas et in quo periculo*).

Even if the brief was valid, Angelo went on, it would have to be applied strictly. It did not give the friar the right to choose his own companion. Any friar who accompanied him could only go with the permission of his own superior. (*Vide primo quod oportet habeas socium honestae conversationis tui Ordinis quem non potes eligere pro placito tuae voluntatis, sed oportet illum tibi concedat praelatus eius*). If the lord of Veglia could not spare him, he was nevertheless to relinquish within six days all that he had taken for his own use. He was to eat with the rest of the brethren in the convent of Veglia and sleep in the common dormitory, relinquishing the room in the tower that he had obtained for himself. If he disobeyed Angelo's injunction he was to be regarded as an apostate. (*Intra sex dies a praesentatione praesentium cameram et omnia quae ad usum tuum tibi alias fuerunt concessa et quaecumque habes, tenearis in manu patris guardiani conventus Vegliae assignare...in conventu vere existens volo ut non per te, sed cum aliis fratribus insimul comedas, dormias, et cetera facias quae ad regularem pertinent observantiam, ita quod nec aliquo pacto volo teneas cameram illam in illa turri a dormitorio separatam sed cameram seu cellam habeas in dormitorio cum aliis fratribus*).



The letter has a number of unusual features. It is the only one in the entire register of the vicars general where the name of the recipient is not given. Whereas Angelo was usually content to give a summary of his decisions, here he reproduced the letter word for word and thus recorded all the details of the affair. Every section of the letter was accompanied by a reference to canon law, something which was not done in any other document in the register.

In every regular community there would be elderly or infirm religious who could no longer fulfil all the strict observances of their rule. It was for their superior, who knew the circumstances, to give them dispensations. St. Bernard of Clairvaux had discussed what was involved in his treatise *De praecepto et dispensatione*.<sup>36</sup> In the later Middle Ages however there were many communities which no longer had a superior. A religious house might be held *in commendam*, and even if there was a nominal superior he was not infrequently an absentee. In the 1340's for instance, seven Cistercian abbots including the abbot of Cîteaux were living in Paris studying at the university.<sup>37</sup> Since, in these circumstances, superiors might not have the necessary personal knowledge of their subjects, these found it expedient to apply to the Holy See. The officials in the Curia however had no means of checking the facts. The numerous papal dispensations to individual religious exempting them from the observance of parts of their Rule had the effect, in the long run, of destroying the communal life altogether.<sup>38</sup>

Angelo was setting his face against abuses which had affected many religious communities for more than a century. His numerous quotations from canon law show how controversial a position he was taking. He had to show that he was not deliberately disobeying the pope. His contention that a papal brief must be interpreted strictly would also have come as a surprise to

---

<sup>36</sup> *Sancti Bernardi operum tomus secundus*, ed. J. Mabillon, Paris 1839, 1173 - 1214.

<sup>37</sup> P. King, *The finances of the Cistercian Order in the fourteenth century*, Kalamazoo 1985, 184.

<sup>38</sup> On the collapse of the communal religious life in the late Middle Ages see Moorman, *The Franciscan Order* 353 - 357; D. Knowles, *The religious orders in England*, III, Cambridge 1955, 240 - 247; P. King, *Western Monasticism*, Kalamazoo 1998, 231 - 235. Local studies: E. Wisplinghoff, 'Die Benediktinerklöster des Niederrheins', *Festschrift H. Hempel*, Göttingen 1972, 277 - 291; B. Harvey, *Living and Dying in England 1100 - 1540, the Monastic Experience*, Oxford 1993.

contemporaries. The papal registers are full of dispensations to religious to hold benefices.<sup>39</sup> Everything else followed from this - a private room, private dining arrangements, servants, a private confessor. How else was the money to be spent? Angelo's view that nothing was allowed that was not specifically mentioned in a papal brief, went against the common practice of his time.

Had the Dalmatian friar been allowed to get away with his manoeuvres, it would have set a precedent for others to follow. In that case the communal life of the Observant brethren would gradually have been eroded and they would have gone the way of the Conventuals. The crucial nature of his decision explains the unusual prominence given to Angelo's letter in the register of the vicars general. It was probably to emphasise its importance that Angelo omitted the name of the friar to whom his letter had been addressed. Nevertheless, it contained so many circumstantial details that the friars must have known who was involved. In spite of the irregularities sometimes recorded in the register of the vicars general, there need be no doubt that the majority of Observantine friars at this time took their vocation seriously. They would have had reason to believe that Angelo had saved their congregation. He had stood his ground at the very first sign of an unwelcome development: *principiis obsta*. No wonder that, after he had already served as vicar general twice, he was elected twice more.

There is something magisterial then, in the discussion of the religious life which Angelo included in his *Summa*. It comes under the heading 'Religiosus', and begins with some considerations about the religious life in general. The word 'religious', Angelo explained, is particularly used of persons who have taken the three vows (Poverty, Chastity, Obedience) in an Order whose rule has been approved by the Holy See. Of these there are four: 1). St. Basil; 2). St. Benedict; 3). St. Augustine; 4). St. Francis. The Carthusians have statutes of their own. New Orders are forbidden unless expressly approved by the pope. Unauthorised orders are not religious but irreligious. The

---

<sup>39</sup> See e.g. *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, vols. 13 - 14 (1471 - 1484), London 1955 - 1960; vols. 15 - 19 (1484 - 1513), Dublin 1978 - 1998. See subject indices under 'Benefices - religious orders members of, dispensed by papal authority to receive and retain one secular.'

religion of the Beguines is forbidden and all who give them succour are excommunicated. The sisters of St. Clare however, are legitimate as are the sisters of the third Order of St. Francis. These have received papal approval.<sup>40</sup> Whoever enters the religious life should be healthy in body, of legitimate birth, of good reputation, ready for obedience, competent in letters or suitable for decent labour.<sup>41</sup> Religious are not obliged to be perfect. According to St. Thomas, Angelo stated, they are not liars if they commit themselves to a life of perfection. They are liars only if they do not constantly aim to be perfect.<sup>42</sup>

All Christians, Angelo maintained, should consider seriously the question of a vocation to the religious life, 'because of the safeguards which are available in the religious rather than the secular life, because of the good example which they most frequently see there, the good words which they most frequently hear, and the greater consolations which God in his mercy pours upon them because of his favour of religion and holy companionship. The more fervent the observance, the greater the effect, compared to life in the world'.<sup>43</sup>

From here Angelo could proceed to the section headed 'Whether a religious is bound by command to everything contained in the Rule he has professed'.<sup>44</sup> For Franciscans this was a particularly delicate question which had led to bitter divisions in the previous century. Angelo was in no doubt that all the controverted questions had been solved by papal rulings. It had been the policy of later medieval popes to replace the various religious rules with legislation of their own, written in the style of the canon lawyers, instead of the more charismatic but less precise language of

---

<sup>40</sup> *Religiosus dicitur tripliciter. Primo largissime et sic est quilibet Christianus...secundo large et sic comprehendit omnes clericos seculares et omnem Christianum honeste viventem...Tercio accipitur proprie et sic religiosus est qui professionem fecit alicui de religionibus approbatis per sedem apostolicam.* F.280 (Religiosus).

<sup>41</sup> f. 280b.

<sup>42</sup> f. 281b.

<sup>43</sup> *...propter enim custodiam que magis adhibetur religiosis quam secularibus. Et propter bona exempla que vident ibi frequentius. Et propter bona verba que frequentius audiunt. Et propter maiores consolationes quas divina benignitas ob favorem religionis et ex sancta societate infundit eis, efficitur eius observantia proportionata in ipsam existenti que improportionata esset remanti in seculo.*f.281.

<sup>44</sup> *Utrum religiosus teneatur de precepto ad omnia que continentur in regulam quam profitetur.* Ibid.

the founders.<sup>45</sup> As far as the Observant Franciscans were concerned, two papal bulls were definitive. In his bull *Exiit qui seminat* (1274) pope Nicholas III had made the Holy See the owner of most Franciscan property.<sup>46</sup> Clement V's bull *Exivi de Paradiso* (1312), published at the Council of Vienne (1311 - 1312) was an ultimately unsuccessful attempt to unite the warring Franciscan factions by defining rules to which all could agree.<sup>47</sup> Basing himself on these documents Angelo explained that when a Franciscan promised 'To keep the Rule of the Friars Minor, living in obedience without property and in chastity', he was bound only to those three vows and to any explanations of them which were couched in monitory terms or their equivalent. Everything else in the Rule was to be regarded as advice.<sup>48</sup>

'So that every religious may know to what he is bound', Angelo continued, 'I begin with the the Rule of blessed Francis, which, although it was the last to be written, is the first in nobility and perfection'. He went on to quote the bull *Exivi de Paradiso* in which this Rule is described as 'That heavenly form and rule of life'<sup>49</sup> and then quoted the preamble of Nicholas III's *Exiit qui seminat*: 'This is the pure and immaculate religion, descending from the Father of lights through his Son, handed down by word and example to the apostles, with which the Holy Spirit inspired St. Francis and his successors. It contains within itself the witness of the Trinity. It is of this that St. Paul said, "Let no one be troublesome to me...",<sup>50</sup> for Christ confirmed it with the stigmata of his passion, wishing the Order's founder to be openly marked with the signs of his passion'.<sup>51</sup>

There could be no better way, Angelo went on, than to follow this Rule of life, confirmed by the sacred council of Vienne, in which *Exivi de Paradiso* was promulgated. In this matter, which concerned faith and good morals, the Council could not err. 'Therefore', Angelo concluded, 'It is

---

<sup>45</sup> King, *Western Monasticism*, 235 - 238.

<sup>46</sup> Text: *Seraphicae Legislationis Textus Originales*, Florence 1897, 181 - 228.

<sup>47</sup> Text: *ibid.* 229 - 261.

<sup>48</sup> f. 281b. *Non tenentur nisi ad tria vota secundum quod modificata sunt in illa regula preceptorie vel inhibitorie, seu sub verbis equipollentibus, alias non de precepto sed de bono consilio.*

<sup>49</sup> *Seraphicae Legislationis*, 230.

<sup>50</sup> Galatians 6, 17.

<sup>51</sup> f. 282. Cf. *Seraphicae Legislationis*, 183. I have translated Angelo's transcription of this text, which differs slightly from the original.

most safe to live under that Religion, living, not according to the opinions of men or of the learned, but by the revelation of the Holy Spirit'.<sup>52</sup> A quotation from *Exivi de Paradiso* followed: 'It is not to be thought that blessed Francis wanted those who profess this Rule to be less firmly bound to those passages in it where the three vows were concretely applied, than to the other matters which it contained. For he made abundantly clear where their transgression of the words would be a mortal sin and where not. Some of the words he made into a command or its equivalent, others not'.<sup>53</sup>

To make the matter quite clear, the bull then listed the precepts in the Rule of St. Francis which were binding on the friars. Angelo went on with his quotation:<sup>54</sup>

'Friars should have only two tunics, one with a hood and one without (RF. ch.2).

They should not have shoes or ride horses except in case of necessity (ibid. and ch.3).

They should wear old and worn clothes (ibid.).

They should fast from the feast of All Saints until Christmas, and every Friday (RF. ch.3).

Clerics should recite the Divine Office according to the Roman rite (ibid.).

Ministers and guardians should care for the sick and see that all under their care have adequate clothing (RF. ch.4).

All the friars should help to look after the sick (RF. ch.6).

Friars should not preach in the diocese of any bishop who has forbidden them to do so (RF. ch.9).

No friar should preach unless examined and authorised by the minister general or someone empowered by him (ibid.).

Friars who find it impossible to observe the Rule in spirit should be free to go for help to their superiors (RF. ch.10).

Friars are obliged to observe everything in the Rule relating to the habit and the reception, both of novices and the professed.

Wherever in the Rule the words 'they are obliged' occur, they have the force of obligation and the friars must accept them as such'.

It is clear from the beginning of the section in Angelo's *Summa* headed 'Religiosus' that he had intended to discuss all religious, but when he got on to Franciscan matters he lost sight of the

---

<sup>52</sup>f.282.

<sup>53</sup>f.282. See my remarks in n.51. Angelo took some liberties with his text. Cf. *Seraphicae Legislationis* 235. RF: the Rule referred to is that of 1223: *François d'Assise, écrits*, ed. T. Desbonnets et al., Paris 1981, 1181 - 199.

<sup>54</sup>f.282. *Seraphicae Legislationis* 237.

others. The amount of space he allotted to the subject is evidence of its importance to his fellow friars. He made a plausible case. The fact that there were no major schisms among the 15th-century Observantines shows that arguments of this kind were effective. Nevertheless, Angelo's presentation is not free from problems.

It is not clear what he meant by 'The Rule of St. Francis.' It was, he said, the most noble and perfect, though the last to be written.<sup>55</sup> Here he appears to be referring to St. Francis's *Regula Bullata* of 1223. He also has it in mind when he says that a friar is bound only by those parts of it which are written in monitory terms. All else is advice.<sup>56</sup> Quotations from the actual Rule of St. Francis in Angelo's *Summa* are, however, rare. There is one under the heading 'Dispensatio'. 'Blessed Francis ... says that if certain friars know and feel that they cannot observe the Rule spiritually, they ought to be able to come to their ministers so that they can be dispensed, if that is in accord with charity'.<sup>57</sup> The quotation is from Chapter 10 of the 1223 Rule, but the last five Latin words are Angelo's.

For the most part Angelo's quotations come from the papal bulls. He had clearly accepted without question the papal policy of rewriting religious rules in the terms of canon law. It looks as if he believed that the essence of Francis's Rule was contained in the papal bulls and that the words 'Rule of St. Francis' could also be used of them. When Angelo claimed that it was safe to live in that Religion, living 'Not according to the opinions of men or of the learned but by the revelation of the Holy Spirit', it is not clear which documents he had in mind.<sup>58</sup>

---

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> *Et hoc innuit beatus Franciscus cum dicit si quidam fratrum scirent et cognoscerent se non posse regulam spiritualiter observare ad suos ministros debeant et possint recurrere ut dispensentur si conveniat caritati ut dictum est. f.76 (Dispensatio).*

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

This is the more striking because of the special place in the providence of God which Franciscans attributed to their founder. In his *Major Legend* of the saint, St. Bonaventure had identified him with the angel of the sixth seal in the Apocalypse.<sup>59</sup>

"The grace of our God and Saviour has appeared"<sup>60</sup> he wrote, 'In these last days of ours, in his servant Francis, to all who are humble and friends of holy poverty ... Therefore he is the angel who ascended from the rising sun, who had the sign of the living God... as John says in the Apocalypse<sup>61</sup>...With undoubted faith we can make this beloved messenger of Christ, this model for us, this admirable servant of God who was Francis, live again, if we reflect on the culmination in him of his remarkable sanctity, through which, whilst living among men, he was an imitator of angelic purity, and thus became an example for the most perfect followers of Christ'.<sup>62</sup>

These views had received a ringing endorsement from pope Nicholas III in the bull *Exiit*, in which the Rule of St. Francis was seen as divinely inspired.<sup>63</sup> Bonaventure frequently put Francis forward as a model and ideal for the friars to follow. His treatise on prayer culminates with the image of St. Francis on Monte Alverna:

'He is set forth as an example of perfect contemplation, just as previously he had been of action, like a second Jacob-Israel. And thus, through him, more by example than by word, God would invite all spiritual men to this passing over, and this transport of the soul'.<sup>64</sup>

In Angelo's *Summa*, on the other hand, Francis is a somewhat remote figure. Most of the references to the Rule of 1223 come when Angelo tells the friars which parts of it they need not observe.<sup>65</sup>

---

<sup>59</sup> Apocalypse 7, 2 - 10.

<sup>60</sup> Titus 2, 11.

<sup>61</sup> Apoc. 6,12; 7,2.

<sup>62</sup> *Apparuit gratia dei Salvatoris nostri diebus novissimis in servo suo Francisco omnibus vere humilibus et sanctae paupertatis amicis... Ideoque alterius amici sponsi, Apostoli et evangelistae Johannis vaticinatione veridica sub similitudine angeli ascendentis ab ortu solis signumque dei vivi habentis adstruitur non immerito designatus... ut ait Joannes in Apocalypsi...Hunc dei nuntium amabilem Christo, imitabilem nobis et admirabilem mundo servum dei fuisse Franciscum, indubitabili fide colligimus si culmen in eo eximiae sanctitatis advertimus, qua, inter homines vivens, imitator fuit puritatis angelicae, qua et positus est perfectis Christi sectatoribus in exemplum. Legendae S. Francisci Assisiensi, Florence, (Quaracchi) 1926 - 1941, 557 - 558.*

<sup>63</sup> f.282 (Religiosus)

<sup>64</sup> Bonaventure, *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum*, ed. P. Boehner, New York 1956, 98 - 99.

<sup>65</sup> See above p.88.

Papal authority then, was crucial to Angelo's view of Franciscan obligations, but here he was embarking on exceedingly controversial territory. Had the Pope's dispensing and interpretative powers any limits? Canonists, remarked Angelo drily, 'speak confusedly, and this question cannot be solved from their teachings'.<sup>66</sup> During the Avignon papacy some canonists endeavoured to answer the criticisms of Marsiglio of Padua, Dante, William of Ockham, and others, by emphasising papal prerogatives to their utmost limits. A whole school of papalist theologians came into being. Augustinus Triumphus (1270/3 - 1328) had no hesitation in saying that the Pope, as vicar of Christ on earth, was endowed with his authority. The Pope was, of course, a man, and communicated God's will to humans through earthly means. Nevertheless 'The Pope... not on his own behalf, but in God's stead, has universal jurisdiction in the whole world'.<sup>67</sup> Such views seem to have been common at Avignon. 'One of the most senior archbishops in the world', wrote William of Ockham (1285/90 - c.1348), 'In the presence of a great prelate, asserted that the Pope can change the sacraments established by Christ and institute new ones. Another, who now has the title of master of theology, stated in my presence that if the Pope contradicted the Gospel he would rather believe the Pope than the Gospel. Yet another maintained that whatever the Pope asserted had to be held and believed, because everyone must hold his understanding captive in accord with such an assertion'.<sup>68</sup>

Ockham had spent four unhappy years at Avignon (1324 - 1328), forbidden to leave the city whilst he was being investigated for heresy. He knew most of the prominent prelates there.<sup>69</sup> His evidence of what was being said at the papal court needs to be taken seriously, because what was said was probably just as important as what was written. No doubt those who read his treatises would know the persons to whom he was referring. It looks as if he was not greatly exaggerating.

---

<sup>66</sup> f. 255b (Papa).

<sup>67</sup> M. Wilks. *The Problem of Sovereignty in the Later Middle Ages*, Cambridge 1963, 358 - 363.

<sup>68</sup> *Quidam eciam de majoribus archiepiscopis orbis coram quodam magno prelato asseruit quod papa posset mutare sacramenta instituta a Christo et instituere nova. Quidam eciam, qui modo vocatur magister in theologia, me presente, asseruit quod, si papa contradiceret evangelio magis crederet pape quam evangelio. Et quidam asseruit quod quidquid affirmaverit papa tenendum est et credendum, quia propter assercionem eius debet quilibet suum captivare intellectum.* Guillelmi de Occam, *Breviloquium de Potestate Papae*, ed. L. Baudry, Paris 1937, 42.

<sup>69</sup> For a brief account of Ockham's career see *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 9, Munich 1998, 178 - 179.



There were publicists on the lunatic fringe of papalism who claimed that the pope could work miracles.<sup>70</sup>

The papalists maintained views of this kind throughout the 15th century. They continued to draw on Augustinus Triumphus, whose *Summa de Potestate Ecclesiastica* was printed, during Angelo's lifetime, in 1473, 1479, 1484, and 1487.<sup>71</sup> A new champion of papal prerogatives was Juan de Torquemada (1388 - 1468). Emphasising the Pope's title of 'Vicar of Christ', Torquemada argued that all jurisdiction within the Church and in the world as a whole came ultimately from him. Nobody could legitimately oppose him. The Pope's power over the faithful was absolute and direct - he was the 'universal ordinary', the immediate superior of every individual. The bishops were his agents only because he could not be everywhere at once.<sup>72</sup>

Angelo expressed himself moderately. In the arguments with the conciliarists he was a papalist. 'It is the privilege of the Pope', he wrote, 'to assemble a General Council. If it meets without the authority of the Pope it has no standing'.<sup>73</sup> So much for Basle. Angelo's discussion of papal powers was more subtle. The Pope is 'the highest among all others, because he alone has the summit of power'.<sup>74</sup> It must be borne in mind however, that there is a final aim towards which each Christian must aim. You should embrace the good and avoid evil. These are the principles of Natural Law and the conclusions to be drawn from them are that you should love God and your neighbour. From these obligations there can be no dispensation from any authority whatsoever. The first and second commandments of the Decalogue, Angelo continued, are of this character. The third commandment ('Remember to keep holy the Sabbath Day') is also of this nature, but the details of its application can be subject to papal regulation and dispensation. The precepts of the Law of

---

<sup>70</sup> Wilks, *The Problem of Sovereignty*, 371 n.4.

<sup>71</sup> GKW 3, 180 - 184.

<sup>72</sup> T.M.Izbicki, *Protector of the Faith; cardinal Johannes of Turrecremata and the Defense of the institutional Church*, Washington D.C. 1981, 83 - 85.

<sup>73</sup> f.42b (Concilium Generale). *Concilium generale congregare est privilegium solius pape...unde sine auctoritate pape congregatum nullum habet firmamentum.*

<sup>74</sup> *Papa summus est inter omnes quia ipse solus habet plenitudinem potestatis.* f.255b (Papa).

Moses and the Gospel are equally immutable, although here too, papal dispensations and variations about observance are in some cases possible.<sup>75</sup>

Within this context Angelo could discuss the question of obedience to the Pope.<sup>76</sup> Did he have to be obeyed in everything? Not if the command involved a sin was Angelo's reply. In secular affairs, according to Angelo, the Pope's authority was very limited. He could not order lay persons to observe continence or impose upon them a stricter way of life against their wish. They did not have to obey him in temporal matters unless they happened to be his subjects.<sup>77</sup>

On the other hand all Christians were obliged to obey the Pope where matters of faith or morality were concerned.<sup>78</sup> As for definitions of faith, it is noteworthy that Angelo regarded the bull *Exivi* as binding because it proceeded 'from the Holy Spirit by whom the sacred Council of Vienne was guided and in which it was solemnly declared that there could be no error in this matter since it pertained to faith and morals'.<sup>79</sup> Here Angelo was keeping to the views of the Decretists. In the *Glossa Ordinaria* to Gratian's *Decretum* written shortly after 1215, Johannes Teutonicus (d.1245/6) had stated, 'It seems that the Pope is bound to require a council of bishops, which is true where a matter of faith is concerned, and then a council is greater than the Pope.'<sup>80</sup>

In the list of authorities at the beginning of his *Summa*, Angelo included neither Augustinus Triumphus nor Juan de Torquemada. The writings of the latter were little known in his time.<sup>81</sup> The *Summa* of Augustinus, on the other hand, had been printed several times during Angelo's lifetime. There need be little doubt that the omission of this authority was deliberate. On the other hand,

---

<sup>75</sup> f.256 (Papa).

<sup>76</sup> f.245b (Obedientia).

<sup>77</sup> *In temporalibus vero non teneantur ei obedire nisi sint ei subiecti vel ratione cause vel ratione persone. Unde si preciperet seculari nulla ratione sibi subdito quod det sibi bona non tenetur obedire...nec papa potest indicere eis vitam strictiorem contra eorum velle.* Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> *Cuius declaratio cum sit firma et certa utpote a spiritu sancto emanata a quo regulabatur sacrum concilium Viennense, in quo fuit declarata plenissime quod errare non potuit circa predicta cum pertinet ad fidem et bonos mores.* f.282 (Religiosus).

<sup>80</sup> See B. Tierney, *The Origins of Papal Infallibility*, Leiden 1972, 25 - 31.

<sup>81</sup> Izbicki, *Protector of the Faith*, 121.

Angelo frequently quoted from the canonist Panormitanus. Nicholas de Tudeschis (1386 - 1445) who became archbishop of Palermo in 1434 (hence 'Panormitanus') was one of most noted canonists of his time.<sup>82</sup> He was an eloquent supporter of the Council of Basle and made a cardinal by the (anti)pope Felix V (1439 - 1449). For the rest, in his analysis of papal authority Angelo was relying, he said, on the Franciscans Alexander of Hales and Duns Scotus. They themselves derived their teaching about papal sovereignty from the older canonists beginning with Gratian.<sup>83</sup>

It is significant that Angelo repeated an opinion of Panormitanus that if obedience to the Pope were severely to disturb the Church or cause another evil or scandal, the command need not be obeyed even if automatic excommunication was threatened.<sup>84</sup> Angelo did not exactly endorse this opinion himself. Whenever he gave his own opinion he introduced it with the words '*Ego dico*'. Here he let the opinion stand by itself. It fitted in quite well with his own experience.

---

<sup>82</sup> For a brief account of his career and work see W.M. Plöchl, *Geschichte des Kirchenrechts 2*, Munich/Vienna 1962, 525 - 526. See also above p. 39

<sup>83</sup> See Tierney, *The Origins of Papal Infallibility*, 25 - 31.

<sup>84</sup> f.245b (Obedientia).

## Ch. 6: Angelo's posthumous reputation and influence.

In the decades immediately after his death, Angelo's *Summa* continued to be printed. A new edition with comments by a fellow Franciscan was found necessary and published in 1510, and there were other editions in spite of fierce criticism from a Dominican. It was the Reformation however, which made the *Summa Angelica* truly controversial. Luther had the book publicly burned, and since the Catholic teaching about penance was repudiated wherever Protestantism was accepted, it was irrelevant in many parts of Europe. In Catholic Europe however, it remained successful and was reprinted throughout the 16th century.

At the end of his life Angelo realised that his *Summa* needed to be supplemented with extra material. In 1492 an edition appeared *cum additionibus eiusdem fratris Angeli*.<sup>1</sup> Editions in 1494 and 1495 were published *cum additionibus noviter additis*.<sup>2</sup> Until shortly before his death in 1495 then, Angelo was concerned to keep his book up to date. Additions were also mentioned in the editions published in 1502<sup>3</sup> and 1509.<sup>4</sup> An edition published in Rouen in 1511 states on the title page, *cum multis additionibus post primam compilationem per eundem* (i.e. Angelo) *in diversis locis operis insertis valde necessariis et utilibus* ('with many very necessary and useful additions in various parts of the work, inserted by the author after its first compilation'), although it is not clear, sixteen years after Angelo's death, whether the new material, if there was any, came from him.<sup>5</sup>

In 1510 a new edition of Angelo's *Summa* was published in Venice with additions by Jacobo Ungarelli and Augustino, both Franciscans of Pavia. The title page claimed that the text had been brought back to its original purity, purged of innumerable errors both in its references (*in allegationibus*) as well as in other matters. In fact the numerous misprints on the title page rather

---

<sup>1</sup> Lyon 1492.

<sup>2</sup> Lyon 1494; Strasburg 1495.

<sup>3</sup> Paris 1502; Strasburg 1502.

<sup>4</sup> Hagenau 1509.

<sup>5</sup> Rouen 1511.

undermine confidence in the claim that this is a purified text.<sup>6</sup> It may have been because of this title page however that T.N.Tentler interpreted the new edition as a radical correction of Angelo's *Summa*, contrasting Angelo's apparent pmissiveness with Ungarelli's rigorism. On Angelo's views about the lawfulness of sexual pleasure within marriage,<sup>7</sup> Ungarelli's gloss, writes Tentler, 'disagrees in its usual, rigoristic fashion ... Ungarelli's scorn and condemnation for pleasure seekers is unrestrained'.<sup>8</sup>

In fact Ungarelli's edition is not a *critique* of Angelo's *Summa*.<sup>9</sup> It has no preface in which the reasons for a new edition are explained. One may guess however, that in 1510, after Angelo's book had been in use for 24 years, certain problems had become apparent to his fellow Franciscans. Angelo had a tendency to begin a discussion with a very striking generalisation and then to modify it. 'The penitential canons are no use today' he began in one discussion, quoting Scotus.<sup>10</sup> 'But the abbot (Panormitanus) says that this is not true' commented Ungarelli, 'Most of the doctors hold an opinion contrary to Scotus'.<sup>11</sup> In fact Angelo himself went on to soften the impact of his original statement. On the question of 'unnatural' positions in sex, Angelo began impressively: 'But you must detest all these deviations and declare them to be dangerous'. Then he went on to explain why they could sometimes be allowed.<sup>12</sup> His *Summa* had been written *pro simplicibus confessoribus*. What were they to make of some of his discussions?

---

<sup>6</sup> *Summa Angelica de casibus per Angelum Clavasius (sic) ... observ. regu. afflatu potius divino quam humana (sic) compilata cum additionibus quam utilissimis ... Jacobi Ungarelli ... que ex inumeris erroribus tasum (sic = tantum ?) in allegationibus quam in aliis depravata pristinae luci ac integritati sue restituta est necnor (sic) a Augustino eiusdem professionis maxima cum industria ac solerti diligentia revisa iterumque emendata pro ea qua Gen. P. praefatos observantia semper prosequutus est.* Venice 1510. National Union Catalog 16 (1969), 676.

<sup>7</sup> See above p.63-64.

<sup>8</sup> Tentler, *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation*, 183, 198 - 200.

<sup>9</sup> The two editions used for this study are, for vol.1, *Summa Angelica de casibus conscientialibus cum additionibus quam commodis R.P.F. Iacobi Ungarelli Patavini eiusdem ordinis*, Venice 1578, and for vol.2, *Summa Angelica.....* Lyons 1534. The latter volume is in St. Andrews University Library, Typ FL B34 GA

<sup>10</sup> f.52 (Confessio 6).

<sup>11</sup> Ungarelli (1578), p.226 note c.

<sup>12</sup> f.66b, (Debitum coniugale).

It seems more reasonable to conclude that Ungarelli wished to clear up certain ambiguities. In doing so he sometimes adopted an interpretation of the rules which was stricter than Angelo's, though there was nothing new in his judgements. He passed many of Angelo's opinions without comment. He had nothing to say against Angelo's advice that penitents should be given the benefit of the doubt or his statement that uncertainty was necessary for a confessor.<sup>13</sup> He had no criticism of Angelo's condemnation of confessors who asked detailed questions about sexual sins, *potius contaminatores quam confessores* ('More like contaminators than confessors').<sup>14</sup> Angelo would probably have agreed with his commentator that a penitent should not avoid confessing to his own parish priest and look for another confessor who would be more complacent.<sup>15</sup> Ungarelli had no comment to make about Angelo's long article *Interrogationes in confessione*, only adding two cross-references.<sup>16</sup> On the other hand he divided this article into sections each with its own heading, making it much easier to use than Angelo's undifferentiated text. He also specifically agreed with Angelo that sex before the official marriage blessing need not be a mortal sin.<sup>17</sup> He had no comment to make about Angelo's long discussion about Franciscan discipline.<sup>18</sup> He did not disagree with Angelo's view, that a Pope who commands something which disturbs the unity of the Church need not be obeyed.<sup>19</sup> Angelo had quoted Panormitanus. Ungarelli looked up the reference and gave more details. 'Panormitanus gave as an example the cardinals who withdrew from Gregory [XII] and Benedict [XIII] who had recalled them under pain of excommunication. They said that they were not obliged to obey because it would impede the intention and unity of the Church'.<sup>20</sup>

Where sex and marriage were concerned however, Ungarelli was stricter than Angelo. He would not condone Angelo's view that pleasure in sex was not necessarily evil.<sup>21</sup> Sex was allowed,

---

<sup>13</sup> See above p.49.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Ungarelli (1578), p.221 note c, 222 note a.

<sup>16</sup> Ungarelli (1578), p.677 note a: 678 note a.

<sup>17</sup> Ungarelli (1578), p. 282 note b; (1534), f.liii note h.

<sup>18</sup> See above p.86 - 89.

<sup>19</sup> See above p.93-94.

<sup>20</sup> Ungarelli (1534), f. 114 note f.

<sup>21</sup> See above p.63.

he declared, only for the procreation of children and to render the debt. It must be done decently and in a decent and suitable place (not in a church). Everything else was a mortal sin because it was against the law 'Thou shalt not commit adultery'.<sup>22</sup> 'In a matrimonial cause,' wrote Ungarelli, 'Ecclesiastical severity is to be maintained.'<sup>23</sup> Elsewhere he gave it as his opinion that when there was a general prohibition everything must be regarded as forbidden unless there was a specific exception.<sup>24</sup>

A more trenchant critic of Angelo before the Reformation was the Dominican Sylvester Prierias Mazzolini (c. 1456 - 1523). His *Summa summarum* was first published in Bologna in 1515. He covered the same ground as Angelo, and also arranged his material in alphabetical order of subjects. In the second half of the 16th century his book was printed more often than Angelo's, possibly because he was noted as a vigorous opponent of Martin Luther.<sup>25</sup> Sylvester had little time for Franciscans. Angelo, whom he thought careless and rash, was a common target for his criticisms. Angelo had written, for instance, that it was wrong to 'cut' people: crossing the road when they approached, turning your back on them, refusing to greet them, glowering at them. If this destroyed their reputation it might even be a mortal sin.<sup>26</sup> It all depended on circumstances, rejoined Sylvester. Such actions, harmless in themselves, might be a good way of reprovng sinners.<sup>27</sup>

Sylvester was particularly critical of Angelo's views on the Eucharist. He was wrong about the composition of the host.<sup>28</sup> *Summa Angelica suo more in determinando audax* ('as usual rash in its conclusions') had judged that in countries where wine was not available, the Pope could issue a dispensation and allow something similar to be used.<sup>29</sup> This was wrong, maintained Sylvester. The

---

<sup>22</sup> Ungarelli (1578), p. 287, notes b and c.

<sup>23</sup> Ungarelli (1578), p.222 note c.

<sup>24</sup> Ungarelli (1578), p.287 note c.

<sup>25</sup> On Sylvester and Angelo see Tentler, *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation*, 35 - 36; on Sylvester and Luther, V. Leppin, *Martin Luther*, Darmstadt 2006, 135 - 6.

<sup>26</sup> *Summa Angelica* f.74b (Diligere).

<sup>27</sup> *Sylvestrinae Summa quae Summa Summarum merito nuncupatur*, Antwerp 1578, 124.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid. 337. Cf. *Summa Angelica* f.96 (Eucharistia 1).

<sup>29</sup> *Summa Angelica* f.96b (Eucharistia 1).

Pope could not depart from the material of any sacrament.<sup>30</sup> St. Thomas had said that if someone who was not a priest pretended to say Mass and gave communion, this was not indeed a Mass, but the communicant who received in good faith would receive all the graces of the sacrament. Angelo was wrong to deny this.<sup>31</sup> It was perfectly all right, said Sylvester, for several priests to consecrate at the same Mass. This was done at the consecration of a bishop and the ordination of priests. In denying this, Angelo had not taken these liturgical practices into account.<sup>32</sup> Angelo had said that it was a mortal sin to refuse communion on one's deathbed.<sup>33</sup> Wrong again, said Sylvester, a deathbed communion was desirable but not obligatory.<sup>34</sup>

This was all too much for Sylvester's 1578 rubricator. 'Here again the *Summa Angelica* is accused of various errors' he wrote in one of his headings, 'But perhaps too sharply, and not without jealousy' (*sed fortassis argute nimium nec citra invidiam*).<sup>35</sup> The jealousy could have been the common one between Dominicans and Franciscans.

To those who accepted the Reformation, the *Summa Angelica* represented everything that was wrong about Roman Catholicism. Angelo's most savage 16th-century critic was Martin Luther. 'I, Martin Luther' he wrote in 1545, looking back on his student days,

'Wishing to learn about ecclesiastical law, read the *Summa Angelica*. Doctor Henning<sup>36</sup> said that it ought not to be called angelic but devilish, because of its complicated arguments. Thus the Pope plays with cases, preserving them all for his secret judgements and the reservations of his mind. He remits in order to maintain.'<sup>37</sup>

In 1520, Luther's most productive year, his tract *An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation von des christlichen Standes Besserung* ('To the Christian Nobility of the German nation about the

---

<sup>30</sup> *Sylvestrina* 338.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.* 339. Cf. *Summa Angelica* f.97b (Eucharistia 2).

<sup>32</sup> *Sylvestrina* 344. Cf. *Summa Angelica* f.98 (Eucharistia 2).

<sup>33</sup> *Summa Angelica* f.98b (Eucharistia 3).

<sup>34</sup> *Sylvestrina* 344.

<sup>35</sup> *Sylvestrina* 339.

<sup>36</sup> Luther's friend Henning Göden.

<sup>37</sup> WA Tischreden.5, No. 6471.



betterment of the Christian Estate') stated that there was no difference between the lay and clerical states. Neither needed a lawcode (canon law) applicable to itself only.<sup>38</sup> The Bible alone was in future to be the only lawcode for all Christians - *sola scriptura* as Melanchthon later memorably phrased it.<sup>39</sup> At one stroke Luther had thus undermined the 'power of the keys' on which the Catholic practice of confession depended.<sup>40</sup> It was in this tract also that he reduced the number of the sacraments from seven to two: Baptism and the Eucharist. Luther's tract *De captivitate Babylonica ecclesie* ('About the Church's Babylonian Captivity'), also published in 1520 and written in Latin for a more learned audience, contained a direct attack on Angelo:

'There is a book passing around everywhere, highly thought of, confusedly brought together from the filth and bilge of all human traditions, which is known as the *Summa Angelica*, when more truly it is an exceedingly devilish collection. In it, among endless marvels, in which it is thought that confessors should be instructed, when in fact they are wickedly led astray, eighteen impediments to marriage are listed. If you read this in an impartial and free spirit of faith you will see that he (i.e. Angelo) belongs to the number of those of whom the Apostle predicted, "Giving heed to seducing spirits speaking lies in hypocrisy, forbidding to marry"<sup>41</sup>

The papal bull listing Luther's heresies was dated 15 June 1520 and published in Rome on 24 July.<sup>42</sup> It ordered that all his books should be burned. This was done in Louvain, Liège, Mainz, Trier, Cologne, and elsewhere in Germany.<sup>43</sup> The bull arrived in Wittenberg on 10 Sept. 1520. Luther was given three months to recant, otherwise he was to be excommunicated. Early in December a large number of students left Wittenberg, leaving the University to be dominated by the more convinced supporters of Luther and his circle.<sup>44</sup>

---

<sup>38</sup> WA 6, 381 - 460; Leppin, 2006, 154.

<sup>39</sup> Leppin *Martin Luther*, 116 - 117.

<sup>40</sup> On the power of the keys see ch.3 p. 37.

<sup>41</sup> WA 6, 553 - 4. The quotation (somewhat abbreviated) is from 1 Timothy, 4, 1 - 3.

<sup>42</sup> Leppin *Martin Luther*, 165.

<sup>43</sup> N. Krentz, 'Martin Luther burns the Papal Bull on 10 December 1520', C.L. Johnson et al., *Archaeologies of Confession*, New York/Oxford 2017, 222.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

The period of grace allowed to Luther for recantation ran out on 10 December. On the previous day, Philip Melanchthon placed the following notice on the doors of the parish church of Wittenberg:

'Whoever you are who hold to the truth of the Gospel, be present at 9 o'clock at the church of the Holy Cross outside the walls of our town. There, following apostolic precedent, the impious books of papal constitutions and scholastic theology will be burned. The audacity of the enemies of the Gospel has gone so far that they have burned the pious and evangelical books of Luther. Come then, pious and studious youth, be present at this pious and religious spectacle. Do not doubt that now is the time when it is proper to reveal the antichrist.'<sup>45</sup>

What happened on the morning of 10 Dec. is related in a memorandum in Latin and German written by Johannes Agricola, who had acted in the 1520's as Luther's secretary, though the two later quarrelled.<sup>46</sup> Agricola was certainly an eye-witness. It looks as if this account was first written shortly after the event and then revised after Agricola settled in Eisleben in 1525.<sup>47</sup>

'This morning, on Monday after the Conception of Mary, in the twentieth year (i.e. 1520), around the ninth hour before midday, there were burned here in Wittenberg all the books which were written and published by the Pope in Rome and his adherents, that is to say: The Decretum, the Decretals, the Sext of the Clementines (sic), with the diabolical Extravagantes. We couldn't get Thomas because no one would let him go. He had been burned elsewhere. No one would give up Scotus, otherwise he too would have passed under judgement. The Chrysopassus of Eck and whatever else had been written by him. The books of Emser, typical of this author. Most impious of all, the Bull, which was the centre-piece of this bonfire and because of which all these things were done. When the books were burning Doctor Martin himself put it into the flames with his own hands, first having said these words as a sentence, "Because you have overturned the truth of God, may he overturn you today in this fire. Amen." At these words "Amen" was shouted by all. Ioannes Agricola, Eisleben, *subscripsi*'.

Angelo is not mentioned in Agricola's list.

---

<sup>45</sup> WA 7, 183. For the chronicles which give the text of the notice see *ibid*.

<sup>46</sup> *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 1 (1953), 100 - 101.

<sup>47</sup> M. Perlbach, J.Luther, 'Ein neuer Bericht über Luthers Verbrennung der Bannbulle', *Sitzungsberichte der königlich-preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, (1907) 1, 100.

The tract *Exustionis Antichristianorum decretalium acta* ('A Report of the burning of the antichristian Decretals') also presumably by a contemporary witness describes the scene more briefly:<sup>48</sup>

'A certain not unknown master (Melanchthon?) built the pyre and lit it. After the antichristian decrees had been put into it, the eminent Dr. Martin Luther added the recently published papal bull, which Dr. Martin himself threw into the flames'.

The tract then goes on to describe in far greater detail what was done by the students after Luther and his party had left, when other books, unspecified, were burned.<sup>49</sup> Angelo is not mentioned in this account either.

A few days later Luther himself, in a letter to his friend Spalatin, gave what we must regard as an accurate list of the burned books:

'Greetings. In the year 1520, at the ninth hour, were burned in Wittenberg at the eastern gate near Holy Cross all the Pope's books: the Decretum, the Decretals, the Sext, the Clementines, the Extravagantes, the latest bull of Leo X, as well as the Summa Angelica, Eck's Chrysopassus, and everything else by that author, Emser's, and some others which were added by others.'<sup>50</sup>

'Some others which were added by others' (*quaedam alia quae adiecta per alios sunt*) may imply, in a roundabout way, that Luther himself had personally burned all the books named in his letter. The claim was made explicit in Luther's tract, written shortly after the event, *Warum des Papstes und seiner Jünger Bücher von D. Martin Luther verbrannt sind* ('Why the Books of the Pope and his disciples were burned by Dr. Martin Luther').<sup>51</sup>

It will be noted that only in Luther's letter to Spalatin is Angelo's *Summa Angelica* mentioned. The books were already burning when Luther stepped forward and personally put the

---

<sup>48</sup> *Exustionis Antichristianorum Decretalium Acta*, WA 7, 184.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.* 184 - 186.

<sup>50</sup> WA Br 2, 234.

<sup>51</sup> WA 7, 152 - 183.

papal bull of excommunication on the fire. Nevertheless it is likely that the whole scene had been carefully prepared beforehand, and it is reasonable to conclude from Luther's letter to Spalatin and his tract, that he had decided which books were to be burned. It seems that not everything in this drama went quite according to plan. Melanchthon had announced that books of scholastic theology would be burned, but students would not give them up. Thomas escaped on a pretext. The attachment to Scotus is particularly interesting.

There are other critical references to Angelo in Luther's writings. In a tract of 1518 about indulgences his authority is called 'worthless'.<sup>52</sup> In a tract about papal dispensations he is 'nothing'.<sup>53</sup> Luther went on to discuss Angelo's rules about the duty of a wife to reveal to her husband the fact that she had had a child from someone else.<sup>54</sup>

'Who will dare to believe in rules or to give a final answer here? The opinions of men are very variable. They may think one thing today and perhaps be of a different opinion after a year, even if this year they had patience with a wife confessing adultery.'<sup>55</sup>

In 1530 Luther expressed a more nuanced view of Angelo. He was discussing matrimonial causes. The papal decrees, he maintained, were self - contradictory.

'It is true that there are many good judgements and pronouncements in them. Others again are so-so (*sind so hin*'). It is generally believed that in his *Summa* Angelus sorted it all out. I will let that pass (*Das las ich geschehen*'). But it would not be to my liking that I should follow Angelus in everything. Therefore my advice is: let the secular authorities decide in these matters'.<sup>56</sup>

It may have been in 1530 also that Luther wrote out a list of books which were harmful to Christians. Angelo's *Summa* was included.<sup>57</sup>

---

<sup>52</sup> WA 1, 568 - 70.

<sup>53</sup> WA 1, 384.

<sup>54</sup> The reference is to *Summa Angelica* f.8 (Adulterium).

<sup>55</sup> WA 1,488.

<sup>56</sup> WA 30, iii, 248.

<sup>57</sup> WA 60, 16 - 17.

Luther wrote two tracts about confession, in neither of which Angelo was mentioned. The *Instructio pro confessione peccatorum* was dated 1518.<sup>58</sup> It was fairly conventional, organised around the ten commandments. Sinners against the fourth commandment ('Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain...') included 'Those who do not obey the commands of the Church or honour its priests'.<sup>59</sup> Luther's *Confitendi Ratio* of 1520, was far more radical.<sup>60</sup> It was written around the same time as the tract which denied the difference between clergy and laity.<sup>61</sup> In this new discussion of confession Luther criticised the decretal which obliged a Christian to confess all mortal sins once a year. It was a devilish or murderous enactment, he maintained.<sup>62</sup> 'This is the most deadly of all deadly sins - not to believe oneself to be deserving of damnation and of mortal sin before God'.<sup>63</sup> It would be impossible to confess all one's mortal sins; one would probably not even be aware of them all. Luther mocked the lists dear to medieval moralists: the three theological virtues, seven deadly sins, seven sacraments, and others. In this way the penitent would get lost in details and not see what was vital.<sup>64</sup> A confession should be brief, and limited to whatever oppressed the conscience. Trust in the mercy of God and the love shown through Christ's Passion and Crucifixion was all.<sup>65</sup> Luther did not condemn oral confession. 'I do not reject confession but rather commend its use to you,' he wrote in 1529, 'So long as no one is forced or tricked into it.'<sup>66</sup> As for penance, Luther's view was that the trials and suffering endured by all mortals were sent by God as a punishment for sin. The Church could not relieve sinners from this by indulgences. No priest or other human could remit sins - the faith of the penitents who confessed reconciled them to God.<sup>67</sup>

Other reformers, whose break with Catholicism was more radical than Luther's, also wrote about confession and the forgiveness of sins. John Calvin's discussion of the subject does not

---

<sup>58</sup> WA 1, 250 - 256 (German), 258 - 265 (Latin).

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.260.

<sup>60</sup> WA 6, 158 - 169 (Latin)

<sup>61</sup> See above p.99

<sup>62</sup> WA 6, 162.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid. 163.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid. 163 - 164.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid. 166.

<sup>66</sup> WA 29, 541.

<sup>67</sup> R.K.Rittgers, 'Embracing the true relic of Christ, suffering, penance, and private confession in the Thought of Martin Luther', *A New History of Penance*, ed. A. Firey, Leiden 2008, 381 - 389.

mention Angelo.<sup>68</sup> Confession could never wipe out sins, Calvin argued, only the Lord's mercy could do that. There was nothing ancient about auricular confession; the early Church had not known it. It could be useful however. 'Let every believer remember that if he be privately troubled and afflicted with a sense of sins, so that without outside help he is unable to free himself from them, it is part of his duty not to neglect what the Lord has offered him by way of remedy. Namely that, for his relief, he should use private confession to his pastor'.<sup>69</sup> Calvin also commended the ancient discipline of confession to the entire congregation. The authority of the congregation gave the minister 'the power of the keys'. He could absolve the penitent, but only if he was a zealous preacher of the Word of God.<sup>70</sup> Later on Calvin was less certain about private confession. He wanted confession to the congregation, as observed by the early Church to be restored. As far as 'the more recent practice' was concerned, 'Although I dare not disallow it or speak sharply against it, I nevertheless deem it less necessary'.<sup>71</sup>

On the other side of the religious divide, the Catholic Church found it necessary to defend and clarify the teaching about penance and confession. In its fourteenth session in November 1551, the Council of Trent confirmed the traditional Catholic doctrine.<sup>72</sup> 'The Lord instituted the sacrament of penance ... when, after his resurrection he breathed on his disciples saying: "Receive the holy Spirit, if you forgive the sins of any they are forgiven, if you retain the sins of any they are retained."<sup>73</sup> It was universally accepted by the Fathers, the Council continued, that these powers of forgiveness were given to the apostles and their lawful successors. The form of the sacrament was expressed in the priest's words of absolution, its matter consisted of the penitent's contrition, confession, and satisfaction. 'Though it sometimes happens,' the Council went on, 'That this contrition is made perfect by love, and a person is reconciled with God before this sacrament is

---

<sup>68</sup> J. Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, trans. and ed. J.T.McNeill and F.L.Battles, Philadelphia 1960, 1, 622 - 669.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid. 636 - 637.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid. 639.

<sup>71</sup> 2, 1461 - 1464.

<sup>72</sup> *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. Tanner, 2, 703 - 709. On the Council's decrees on penance see J.W.O'Malley, *Trent - what happened at the Council*, Cambridge Mass. 2013, 132 - 133.

<sup>73</sup> John 20, 22 - 23.

actually received, nevertheless the reconciliation is not to be attributed to the contrition without a desire for the sacrament being included in it.' Imperfect contrition ('Attrition'), motivated not by perfect love of God but by fear of eternal punishment, was also an inspiration sent by God, and therefore, combined with confession to a priest, obtained complete forgiveness for the sinner.<sup>74</sup>

It was the Jesuit publicist St. Peter Canisius (1521 - 1597) whose writings set out to show how the Council's decrees could be applied to the daily life of Christians.<sup>75</sup> In his *Catechism* he popularised the Council's teaching on penance and confession.<sup>76</sup> The priests' power to forgive sins was demonstrated from the New Testament and the witness of the Fathers.<sup>77</sup> Interior contrition was not enough, confession to a priest was necessary.<sup>78</sup> Canisius discussed contrition and attrition in considerable detail,<sup>79</sup> and went on to define the nature of satisfaction.<sup>80</sup> Finally he explained that it was possible to make satisfaction on behalf of someone already dead, through prayers for the souls in Purgatory.<sup>81</sup>

If the Catholic Church maintained its traditional teaching about confession, there was an important change in its practice. The use of the confessional was particularly recommended by San Carlo Borromeo (1538 - 1584). Nominated archbishop of Milan in 1560, when he was only 22, he took possession of his enormous archdiocese five years later and in time became a model Tridentine bishop, whose diocesan decrees were widely studied and imitated throughout the Catholic world.<sup>82</sup> The most detailed instructions for the erection of confessionals came in Book 1 section 23 of San

---

<sup>74</sup> *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils* ed., 2, 703 - 705.

<sup>75</sup> For an introduction to St. Peter Canisius see J. Brodrick S.J., *St. Peter Canisius S.J.*, London 1935.

<sup>76</sup> *Opus Catechisticum de Summa Doctrinae Christianae...D. Petri Canisii theologi...Editio tertia...Coloniae 1586, 275 - 314.* St. Andrews University Library Typ. GC. B.86CC.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.* 275.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.* 286.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.* 281 - 286.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.* 292 - 300.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.* 303.

<sup>82</sup> For Spain, see A.D. Wright, 'The Borromean ideal and the Spanish Church', in J.M.Headley and J.B.Tomaro, ed. *San Carlo Borromeo - Catholic Reform and Ecclesiastical Politics in the second half of the sixteenth century*, Washington 1988, 188 - 207; for France, M. Venard, 'The influence of Carlo Borromeo on the Church of France, *ibid.* 208 - 227; for the Empire, J.M.Headley, 'Borromean Reform in the Empire?' *ibid.* 228 - 249.

Carlo's *Instructiones Fabricae et Suppellectilis Ecclesiasticae* (Instructions for the fabric and furniture of churches) published in 1577.<sup>83</sup> In a cathedral and in collegiate churches there were to be as many confessionals as there were confessors. In a parish church there were to be at least two, so that men and women could confess separately. Confessionals were to be made of wood, with a platform for the feet of the confessor and the penitent, an armrest for the confessor and a bench for the penitent to kneel on. There was to be a roof over the priest's seat. Between the penitent and the confessor there was to be partition with an iron grille on the penitent's side, and a thin fabric on the confessor's side, so that the penitent could be heard but would be completely invisible. Exact measurements for all the different parts of the confessional were also given.<sup>84</sup>

It followed that penitents were not to be embarrassed, and would, in future, be anonymous. This, it was hoped, would make for a more uninhibited confession, whilst a priest would not be tempted to be more lenient with a powerful parishioner who could make trouble for him. Instead of the *interrogationes in confessione* which could make confession a kind of spiritual police-court, penitents, at least the literate ones, following the precedent of the medieval primers, were encouraged privately to examine their own consciences, before entering the confessional. For this they could use the little prayer books which were such a feature of Catholicism from the early modern period to the Second Vatican Council. 'Call to mind your past Sins', wrote Jacques Merlo de Horst (1597 - 1644) in his *Paradisus Animae* (1630),

'By some certain Method whereby your Memory may be helped. Consider wherein you have sinned against God, yourself, and against your Neighbour, in Thought, Word or Deed. And then collect them as short as is Convenient letting alone general Things, unnecessary Things, and such as rather tend to Excuse than Accuse: Intirely by explaining the Kinds, the certain or probable Number and Circumstance that may change the Species of all those Sins that trouble the conscience; and *clearly* by plain and certain Expressions, distinguishing all the certain Sins from doubtful one's (sic); Matters of Consequence from Trifles, deliberate Acts from Surprize or Inadvertence etc.'<sup>85</sup>

---

<sup>83</sup> E.C. Voelker ed. and trans., *Carlo Borromeo's Instructiones Fabricae et Suppellectilis Ecclesiasticae, a translation with commentary and analysis*, 1977, 1981, 82 - 87. Internet, accessed 26 Sept. 2017.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid. 82 - 84.

<sup>85</sup> *The Paradise of the Soul... composed in Latin by Horstius*, translated in 1720 by T.M., Second edition, Walton 1771, 154.



In his *Introduction à la Vie Dévote* (1609) St. Francis de Sales (1567 - 1622) advised his readers to examine their consciences briefly every evening.<sup>86</sup> This would prepare them for a more detailed examination of their consciences before confession,<sup>87</sup> which, Francis recommended, should take place every week.<sup>88</sup> Following Francis's example, most later prayer books included a checklist of sins.

Thus, from the early modern period onwards, Catholic penitents played a much more active part in the sacrament of penance. They examined themselves at home, and came ready prepared into the confessional. There they accused themselves. Priests could, of course, ask supplementary questions, and in the confessions of the illiterate, examinations may still have resembled the former *interrogationes*, although anonymity would spare the blushes of the penitent. The new procedures coincided with an emphasis among theologians that perfection was attainable in the lay state, and not just among religious. When this view was first put forward in his writings by Luis de Granada (1504 - 1588) he met with considerable hostility and was soon in trouble with the Inquisition. It took time for him to be vindicated. By the end of the 16th century his books were generally recommended particularly by the Jesuits.<sup>89</sup> The *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius Loyola, which reached their final form between 1539 and 1541,<sup>90</sup> were written indifferently for clerics and laypersons.<sup>91</sup> As far as the achievement of perfection was concerned, neither sex was privileged. St. Francis de Sales's *Introduction* was written for *Philothée*.

It is no small tribute to Angelo that in this changed context his *Summa Angelica* should still have been found useful. It was his practicality which made him, as M. Turrini puts it, 'a *bestseller*

---

<sup>86</sup> *Saint François de Sales, Oeuvres*, Paris 1969, 95 - 96.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.* 299 - 306.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.* 113.

<sup>89</sup> On Luis de Granada see *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* 59 - 60, Paris 1975 - 1976, 1043 - 1054.

<sup>90</sup> P.R.Divarkar S.J. et al. ed. and trans. *Ignatius of Loyola, The Spiritual Exercises and selected works*, Mahwah N.J. 1991, 117.

<sup>91</sup> See e.g. *ibid.* 165.

for one hundred years.<sup>92</sup> For solving difficult cases his was one of the books recommended by post-Tridentine bishops to their parish clergy.<sup>93</sup> After Trent most medieval manuals on confession were reedited with notes giving the relevant decisions of the Council. A new edition of Angelo's *Summa* was prepared by the Venetian jurisconsult Pietro Vendramin. His additions were printed in the margins - references were to Trent and the new Roman Catechism. Ungarelli's additions were also included.<sup>94</sup> In this new form four editions of the *Summa* were published in Venice in 1576. More editions followed, all printed in Venice, in 1578, 1582, 1591 (twice) and 1592.<sup>95</sup>

A curious reference in Pascal's *Provincial Letters* brings the story into the 17th century. These letters were directed against the Jesuits and their use of casuistry in confession which, it was alleged, undermined morals. In Letter 5 an imaginary enquirer talks to a Jesuit about the authority for the Company's penitential practice. The Jesuit explains that the Fathers of the Church are quite out of date. On whom then, should one rely? The Jesuit gives a list of authorities, all of them medieval or later.

"Oh my Father," I said to him terrified, "Are all these people Christians?"

"What do you mean, Christians," he replied, "Haven't I told you that they are the only ones through whom we now govern Christianity?"<sup>96</sup>

'De Clavasio' is one of the authorities mentioned. In Pascal's time then, the *Summa Angelica* was still being used by confessors, although he and his Jansenist friends disapproved.

In 1698 Angelo's *Summa Angelica* was republished as vol.3 of a collection of authoritative Catholic theologians.<sup>97</sup> By this time the first steps for Angelo's beatification had been taken.<sup>98</sup> He

---

<sup>92</sup> M. Turrini, *La coscienza e le leggi: morale e diritto nei testi per la confessione della prima età moderna*, Bologna 1991, 78.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid. 105.

<sup>95</sup> [http://edit16.iccu.sbn.it/scripts/iccu-ext\\_dil?fn=40&=724&fz=1](http://edit16.iccu.sbn.it/scripts/iccu-ext_dil?fn=40&=724&fz=1). Information kindly given by Prof. Frances Andrews.

<sup>96</sup> Pascal, *Oeuvres Complètes*, Paris 1963, 391.

was declared blessed and his cult was approved by Benedict XIV in 1753. It was in connection with the beatification that Onorio Marentini wrote a systematic biography. He also edited those of Angelo's writings which had not been printed but which could still be found. He made no attempt however, to edit the *Summa Angelica*. Presumably he felt that there were so many copies available that the labour would not be necessary. A very large number of copies survive to this day. In the 18th century they were to be found particularly in the libraries of monasteries and seminaries.<sup>99</sup> Possibly they were dipped into now and then. After the dissolution of these institutions as a result of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars, their libraries were scattered. Copies of the *Summa Angelica* were bought up by antiquaries and found their way into public and university libraries. Every major library in Europe and America has one. St. Andrews University Library has two complete copies, and one of the two volumes of Ungarelli's edition. No longer of interest to priests and theologians, Angelo's book was now lying ready for critical scrutiny by historians.

---

<sup>97</sup> *Bibliotheca Maxima Pontificia in qua auctores melioris notae qui hactenus pro Sancta Romana Sede tum theologice quam canonice scripserunt fere omnes continentur*, 21 vols., Rome 1698.

<sup>98</sup> See above ch. 1 p. 9.

<sup>99</sup> GKW 2, 275 - 297.

## Conclusions.

It is unfortunate that almost nothing is known about Angelo's early life. As far as his family in Chivasso was concerned, Mario Bessone in 1950 relied on intelligent guesswork. Nearly half a century later, Alberto Lupano had nothing new to add.<sup>1</sup> One would like to know at what university Angelo studied, who influenced him, and when and why he became an Observant Franciscan.

He enters History in 1462 as minister provincial of the Observant province of Genoa.<sup>2</sup> Ten years later he was elected minister general of the Observants south of the Alps, and he held that office alternately with a colleague until 1487. The records show that his government was brisk and efficient.<sup>3</sup> He would hardly have been elected four times in all, if he had not won the approval of his fellow friars. His commitment as an Observant Franciscan shaped his attitude towards other religious orders. The entry 'Religiosus' in his *Summa* is mainly concerned with Franciscans.<sup>4</sup> It is largely based on, and sometimes quotes word for word, the papal bulls *Exiit qui seminat* (1279) which tried to solve the problem of Franciscan properties and their consistency with the Franciscan vow of poverty, and *Exivi de Paradiso* (1312), a wide ranging and largely unsuccessful attempt to reconcile the different Franciscan factions. As for the other mendicants, Angelo occasionally mentions Dominicans and Augustinian friars in his *Summa*, but there is no reference anywhere to the Carmelites.<sup>5</sup>

It was Angelo's *Summa Angelica de casibus conscientie* which made him famous. Copies were printed during his lifetime in Venice, Speyer, Nürnberg, Strasburg, Lyon, and Alost.<sup>6</sup> There were many more printings after his death in 1495, until the 1520's.<sup>7</sup> A very large number of copies

---

<sup>1</sup> See ch. 1, p.10.

<sup>2</sup> See ch.1 p.12.

<sup>3</sup> See ch.5, pp.74 - 77.

<sup>4</sup> f. 280 - 287b (Religiosus).

<sup>5</sup> E.g. f. 172b (Interrogationes in confessione).

<sup>6</sup> GKW 2, 276 - 292.

<sup>7</sup> See Ch.1 p.21.

survive to this day. Of the two and a half copies in St. Andrews University Library, the copy studied for this thesis has only some library catalogue numbers in the cover, all of them, to judge by the handwriting, post-medieval.<sup>8</sup> The 1516 copy however,<sup>9</sup> belonged to a Master Alexander Galloway.<sup>10</sup> He was possibly the official of the diocese of Aberdeen who is mentioned in that office in 1515 and 1516.<sup>11</sup> One can say at any rate that here was a copy which had found its way to the British Isles before the Reformation. The popularity of the *Summa Angelica* no doubt owed something to the Observant Franciscans who spread knowledge of it wherever they went. Its alphabetical arrangement made it easy to use, but there was nothing new about this, nor about cross-references, which can be found in the *Pisanella*.<sup>12</sup> Angelo's numbering of paragraphs in his longer entries, and directing cross-references to the paragraph numbers however, may have been an innovation. This made it easier for the reader to gather together all the information about a particular topic. It has also been suggested that Angelo was original in explaining in detail how to cite a voluminous work of reference.<sup>13</sup>

It was its ubiquity which made the *Summa Angelica* the object of Luther's ire.<sup>14</sup> The period of Angelo's fame was however, brief. Luther's hostility destroyed his reputation in those parts of Germany which accepted the Reformation. As for the rest of Protestant Europe, the newly constituted churches did not greatly encourage oral confession. A disburdening of conscience to an experienced theologian might be psychologically helpful, but it was no longer compulsory, and the clergy of the Reformation did not claim the power of the keys. As for the Catholic Church, the method of confession changed. Penitents were now expected to examine their consciences themselves, and come prepared to accuse themselves when they entered the confessional. The section *Interrogationes in Confessione*, which takes up so much room in Angelo's book, was now redundant. Nevertheless, the *Summa Angelica* was thought by some bishops to be useful, especially as giving

---

<sup>8</sup> Only vol.2 of the Ungarelli version.

<sup>9</sup> St. Andrews University Library GHF 33.f(1).

<sup>10</sup> Entry on title page.

<sup>11</sup> D.E.R. Watt and A.L. Murray, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae Medii Aevi* revised edn, 2003, 32.

<sup>12</sup> See ch.2, p. 35.

<sup>13</sup> See ch.2 pp. 22-23.

<sup>14</sup> See ch. 6 pp.99 - 104.

guidance in difficult cases.<sup>15</sup> It must be presumed that the many copies surviving today were to be found on the shelves of seminary and monastery libraries, until these were scattered in the storms of the French Revolution and its consequences. After that surviving copies of the *Summa* were acquired by University and National libraries, and by private collectors.<sup>16</sup> They can still be purchased on the Internet.

As a result of the momentous changes in the 16th and 18th centuries, Angelo was forgotten in Europe north of the Alps. In Italy he is still remembered, and a conference, with contributions from a number of eminent Italian medievalists, was held in Cuneo in 1996, to mark the fifth centenary of his death in 1495.<sup>17</sup> His reputation as a figure of European importance however, needs to be restored. The various towns in Germany and France where the *Summa Angelica* was printed, as well as the criticisms of Sylvester Mazzolini and Martin Luther, show how well he was known in every part of pre-Reformation western Christendom. This was not because he was an original thinker. Indeed, he seems to have tried to steer clear of discussions of principle. His understanding of the complexities of human motivation and avoidance of excessive rigour however, made him an instructive and sensitive guide for confessional practice. His book was sensibly arranged and easy to use. It was intended for *simplices confessores* and the many surviving copies show that they appreciated it.

In his 1950 biography of Angelo, Mario Bessone made no secret of his admiration.<sup>18</sup> In his long and fatiguing journeys from town to town and region to region, in the struggles and disappointments which met him in large number, in the fatigues and anxieties which affected him, he

---

<sup>15</sup> See ch.6 pp. 108 - 109.

<sup>16</sup> For incunabula copies in national collections see GKW 2, Leipzig 1926, 275 - 297. For private collectors: a 1486 first edition was presented to the University of Notre Dame, U.S.A. by Prof. A.L. Gabriel, see A. L. Gabriel, *Description of the Summa Angelica*, University of Notre Dame, 1991; the 1516 copy in St. Andrews University Library formerly belonged to the 19th-century Fife antiquary George Hay Forbes, see P. King, *A Catalogue of the George Hay Forbes Collection in the University Library of St. Andrews*, St. Andrews 2010, 9 (in St. Andrews University Library).

<sup>17</sup> *Frate Angelo Carletti osservante nel V centenario della morte (1495 - 1995)*, ed. Ovidio Capitani et al., Cuneo 1998.

<sup>18</sup> M.Bessone, *Il beato Angelo Carletti da Chivasso*, Cuneo 1950, 14.

had but one purpose and intention: his wish and object was none other than to embody the programme of the apostle Paul, "Be instant in season and out of season,"<sup>19</sup> to the glory of God and the salvation of souls.' Nearly forty years later the published judgement of Sosio Pezzella in the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* was more jaundiced.<sup>20</sup> 'His strong attachment to the ascetic life, the observance of fasts and penances, and the love of poverty do not go beyond the pattern of the spirituality of his time, whilst the pugnacious vehemence (*la veemenza battagliera*) with which he knew how to burden consciences according to the policies of Rome (*ragioni di Roma*) anticipates a model of conduct which can be found in the most rigid periods of the Counter-Reformation.'

Bessone showed more admiration than is fashionable among historians nowadays. Because Angelo rarely revealed anything about himself in the letters from him which survive, we are in fact not well informed about his struggles and disappointments, fatigues and anxieties, although no doubt he experienced them. As for Sosio Pezzella, he was probably right when he said that Angelo 'Did not go beyond the pattern of the spirituality of his time'. In many ways Angelo was very conventional. In his approach to confession however, he was not at all fierce. Following earlier confession manuals he urged confessors to be flexible, not to believe the worst of their penitents, but to take account of circumstances and 'know how to be uncertain' (*scire dubitare*). On matters of sex he was prepared to be understanding to the extent of shocking some of his later commentators.<sup>21</sup> A study of Bessone's biography might have modified Pezzella's somewhat negative judgement, but in spite of the fact that it was carefully based on all the evidence available at the time, Pezzella did not put it into his bibliography, and does not seem to have read it. Had he done so, he might have been saved from stating, in his very first paragraph, that Angelo had studied in Bologna,<sup>22</sup> something which Bessone had shown to be unlikely.<sup>23</sup>

---

<sup>19</sup> 2 Timothy 4,2.

<sup>20</sup> *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 20, Roma 1977, 136 - 138 (CARLETTI, Angelo).

<sup>21</sup> See ch.6 p. 97.

<sup>22</sup> *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 136.

<sup>23</sup> See above ch.1 p.11-12.

Mgr. Bessone was writing during the Catholic revival which followed the Second World War. Sosio Pezzella spoke for the iconoclastic 1970's. It is no small tribute to Angelo that he could arouse such strong if opposite feelings in the twentieth century.



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### SOURCES

1). Manuscripts and printed books before 1800.

Angelo Carletti da Chivasso, *De Contractibus*, ed. Onorio Marentini, Rome 1772.

*Manuscriptum ven. servi dei beati Angeli Carletti in quo agit de decem praeceptis Decalogi et de septem vitiis capitalibus*, ed. Onorio Marentini, Milan 1767.

*Summa Angelica de casibus conscientie*, Strasburg (Martin Flach), 1491. St. Andrews University Library Typ GS A91 FA.

*Summa Angelica de casibus conscientie*, revised by Jacobo Ungarelli in 1510: vol.1, Venice 1578, vol. 2, Lyons 1534 - the latter vol. in St. Andrews University Typ FL B34 GA.

*Summa Angelica de casibus conscientie*, Lyons 1516. St. Andrews University Library, GHF f. (1).

*Tractatus de Restitutionibus*, ed. Onorio Marentini, 2 vols., Rome 1772.

Antonino (Pierozzi), *Fratris Anthonini archiepiscopi florentini ordinis fratrum predicatorum confessionale seu summula confessionis utilissima 'Defecerunt'*, Paris 1507. St. Andrews University Library Typ. FP B07 BA.

Astesanus of Asti, *Summa de casibus conscientie*, Strasburg (Mentelin), n.d. (before 1469).

Bartholomew of Pisa, *Summa de Casibus Conscientie* (manuscript, 15th century), Paris, Bibl. Ste. Geneviève OEXV 491 RES. ('Pisanella').

*Bibliotheca Maxima Pontificia in qua authores melioris notae qui hactenus pro Sancta Romana Sede tum theologice quam canonice scripserunt fere omnes continentur*, 21 vols., Rome 1698. Vol. 3, *Summa Angelica*.

Canisius, Peter, St., *Opus Catechisticum de Summa Doctrinae Christianae ... D. Petri Canisii theologi...editio tertia*, Cologne 1586. St. Andrews University Library, Typ GC B 86 CC

*Corpus Juris Canonici*, 2 vols., Cologne 1757.

Horst, see Merlo de Horst.

John of Freiburg, *Summa Confessorum*, Paris 1519.

Marentini, Onorio, *Vita del beato Angiolo Carletti da Chivasso Osservante di S. Francesco scritta da un sacerdote della Osservante Provincia di S. Tommaso Apostolo*, Turin 1753.

Mazzolini, Sylvester, Prierias, *Sylvestrinae Summa quae Summa Summarum merito nuncupatur*, Antwerp 1578.

Merlo de Horst, Jacques, *The Paradise of the Soul ... composed in Latin by Horstius, translated in 1720 by T.M.*, second edition, Walton 1771.

Middleton, Richard, *Clarissimi theologi magistri Ricardi de Mediavilla super quatuor libros sententiarum Petri Lombardi quaestiones subtilissimae*, 4 vols., Brescia 1591.

Münster, Arthur, *Martyrologium franciscanum*, Lyons 1638.

Nicholas de Osimo, *Supplementum Summae Pisanellae*, Venice (Franz Renner and Nicholas of Frankfurt), 1474.

Raymond de Peniafort, *Summa sancti Raymundi de Peniafort*, Avignon 1715.

Richard Middleton, see Middleton, Richard.

*Rituale Romanum*, Venice 1648,

Trithemius (Johannes Trithem), *Liber de ecclesiasticis scriptoribus*, Hamburg 1708.

Ungarelli, Jacobo, see Angelo Carletti ... *Summa de casibus* revised by Jacobo Ungarelli.

2). Modern editions, Collections, Calendars (from 1800).

*The Apostolic See and the Jews, Documents 1394 - 1464*, ed. S. Simonsohn, Toronto, (Studies and Texts of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies No.95), 3 vols., 1989.

Aquinas, see Thomas Aquinas.

Augustine, *The City of God against the Pagans*, 7 Vols., Cambridge Mass./London 1966 - 1972 (The Loeb Classical Library).

Bernard of Clairvaux, St., 'De praecepto et dispensatione', J. Mabillon ed., *Sancti Bernardi operum tomus secundus*, Paris 1839, 1173 - 1214.

Boccaccio, Giovanni, *The Decameron*, trans. J.M.Rigg, 2 vols., London 1942.

Bonaventure, St., *Itinerarium mentis in Deum*, ed. and trans. P. Boehner, New York 1956.

*Opera Omnia*, 10 vols., Paris 1866.

Borromeo, Carlo, St., *Instructiones Fabricae et Suppellectilis Ecclesiasticae*, ed. and trans., E.C.Voelker, 1977, 1981, on Internet

*Calendar of Entries in the Papal registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, vols. 13 - 14 (1471 - 1484), London 1955.

Vols. 15 - 19, (1484 - 1513), Dublin 1978 - 1998.

Calvin, Jean, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, ed. and trans. J.T.McNeill and F.L.Battles, 2 vols., Philadelphia 1960.

Chaucer, Geoffrey, *The Canterbury Tales*, ed. F.N.Robinson, London 1957.

*Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. and trans., N.P. Tanner, 2 vols., Georgetown 1990.

*Documenti Vari intorno al B. Bernardino Tomitani*, ed. V. Meneghin O.F.M., (Studi e Testi Francescane 35), Rome 1966.

Eccleston, Thomas de, *Fratri Thomae vulgo dicti de Eccleston Tractatus de adventu fratrum minorum in Angliam*, ed. A.G. Little, Manchester 1951.

Erasmus, Desiderius, *In Praise of Folly*, London 1887.

*François d'Assise, écrits*, ed. T. Desbonnets O.F.M. et al., Paris 1981.

Francis de Sales, *Oeuvres*, Paris 1969.

*Franciscan Papers, Lists, and Documents*, ed. A.G.Little, Manchester 1943.

Gerson, Jean, *Oeuvres Complètes*, ed. Glorieux, 8 Vols., Tournai 1972.

Giano, see Jordan of Giano.

Ignatius of Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises and Selected Works*, ed. and trans., P.R. Divarkar S.J. et al., Mahwah New Jersey, 1991.

Jordan of Giano, *Chronica fratris Jordani*, ed. H. Boehmer, Paris 1908.

Langland, William, *The Vision of William concerning Piers Plowman*, ed. W. Skeat, (Early English Text Society OS 30), London 1867.

Ockham, William of, *Guillelmi de Occam breviliquium de potestate Papae*, ed. L. Baudry, Paris 1937.

Pascal, Blaise, *Oeuvres Complètes*, Paris 1963.

*Regestum Observantiae Cismontanae*, ed. C. Schmitt O.F.M., (Analecta Francescana 12), Grottaferrata 1983.

Robert of Flamborough, *Liber Poenitentialis*, ed. J.J.Firth, Toronto 1971.

*Seraphicae Legislationis Textus Originales*, Quarachi, Florence 1897.

Sépinski A., *Martyrologium Romano-Seraphicum*, Rome 1953.

*Les statuts synodaux français du xiiiè siècle: 1, Les statuts de Paris et le synodal de l'ouest*, ed. O. Pontal, Paris 1974.

*Supplications from England and Wales in the Registers of the Apostolic Penitentiary 1410 - 1503*, ed. P.D. Clarke and P.N.R. Zutshi, 3 vols., Rochester N.Y. 2013 - 2015.

Tangl, M., *Die päpstlichen Kanzleiordnungen des Mittelalters*, Innsbruck 1897.

Thomas Aquinas, *The 'Summa Theologica' ... translated by the fathers of the English Dominican province*, 22 vols., London 1920.

Vasari, G., *Lives of the Artists*, London 1987.

*Vita ed Opere di Santa Caterina da Genova*, Genoa 1847.

William of St. Amour, *The Opuscula of William of St. Amour*, ed. A. Travers, Münster 2003.

*De Periculis*, ed. G. Geltner, Paris/Louvain/Dudley MA, 2008.

William of Ockham, *Breviloquium de Potestate Papae*, ed. L. Baudry, Paris 1937.

BOOKS AND ARTICLES

*Archaeologies of Confession*, ed. Johnson C.L. et al., New York/Oxford 2017.

D'Avray D.L., *Medieval Marriage: Symbolism and Society*, Oxford 2005.

Babinger F., *Mehmed the Conqueror*, Princeton 1978.

Baldwin J., *Masters, princes and merchants*, Princeton 1970.

Benedetti M. 'Angelo Carletti e la crociata contro i Valdesi', *Frate Angelo Carletti*, 117 - 126.

Bessone M., *Il beato Angelo Carletti da Chivasso*, Cuneo 1950.

Billier P., 'Confession in the Middle Ages: Introduction', *Handling Sin: Confession in the Middle Ages*, York 1998.

Bowd S., Cullington D.J., 'On everyone's lips': *Humanists, Jews, and the Tale of Simon of Trent*, Turnhout 2012.

Brodrick J., S.J., *St. Peter Canisius S.J.*, London 1935.

Brooke C.N.L., *The Medieval Idea of Marriage*, Oxford 2005.

Brundage J.A., *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe*, Chicago 1987.

Burr D., *The Spiritual Franciscans*, Pennsylvania State University 2001.

Cannarsa G., 'Vite antiche e nuove del beato Angelo Carletti da Chivasso', *Quaderni del Unitre* (Università della terza età di Chivasso), 1995, 33 - 138.

*San Carlo Borromeo - Catholic Reform and Ecclesiastical Politics in the second half of the sixteenth century*, ed. Headley J.M., Tomaro J.B., Washington D.C., 1988.

Cohen J., *The friars and the Jews: the evolution of medieval anti-Judaism*, Ithaca/London 1982.

Ditchfield S., *Liturgy, Sanctity, and History in Tridentine Italy*, Cambridge 1995.

Eubel C., *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi*, 3 vols., Münster 1898 - 1910.

Fasoli S., 'Il Carletti a Milano: un episodio nel quadro dei rapporti tra gli Sforza e l'Osservanza minoritica', *Frate Angelo Carletti*, 97 - 115.

Feuillet M., *Botticelli et Savonarole: l'humanisme à l'épreuve du feu*, Paris 2010.

Fois M., 'I papi e l'Osservanza minoritica - Sisto IV', *Il rinnovamento del Francescesimo: l'Osservanza*, (Società internazionale di Studi Francescani), Perugia/Assisi 1985, 83 - 90.

*Frate Angelo Carletti osservante nel V centenario della morte (1495 - 1995)*, ed. O. Capitani et al., Cuneo 1998.

Geltner G., *The making of medieval Antifraternalism*, Oxford 2011.

Griseri G., 'La fama e il culto di Angelo Carletti in età moderna', *Frate Angelo Carletti*, 199 - 294.

Hay D., *The Church in Italy in the fifteenth century*, Cambridge 1977.

Hart F. Wilkins D.G., *History of Italian Renaissance Art*, Upper Saddle River N.J. 2006.



Harvey B., *Living and Dying in England 1100 - 1540, the Monastic Experience*, Oxford 1993.

Holzapfel H., *Handbuch der Geschichte des Franziskanerordens*, Freiburg-in-Breisgau 1909.

Hügel Friedrich von, *The Mystical Element of Religion as studied in St. Catherine of Genoa and her friends*, 2 vols., London 1923.

Izbicki T.M., *Protector of the Faith: Cardinal Johannes of Turrecremata and the Defense of the institutional Church*, Washington D.C. 1981.

King P., *A Catalogue of the George Hay Forbes Collection in the University Library of St. Andrews*, St. Andrews 2010, (in the university library).

*The Finances of the Cistercian Order in the 14th century*, Kalamazoo 1985.

*Western Monasticism*, Kalamazoo 1998.

Knowles M.D., *The Religious Orders in England 2*, Cambridge 1950.

*The Religious Orders in England 3*, Cambridge 1955.

Krentz N., 'The early roots of confessional memory: Martin Luther burns the papal bull on 10 December 1520', *Archaeologies of Confession*, 221 - 241.

Krinsky C.H., *Synagogues of Europe*, Boston 1985.

Leppin V., *Martin Luther*, Darmstadt 2006.

*Lexikon des Mittelalters*, 10 vols., Munich 1980 - 1999.

Little A.G., *Franciscan Papers, Lists, and Documents*, Manchester 1943.

Lupano A., 'Tra Paleologi e Savoia', *Frate Angelo Carletti*, 45 - 73.

Luther J., see Perlbach, Luther, 'Ein neuer Bericht'.

O'Malley J.W., *Trent - what happened at the Council*, Cambridge Mass. 2013.

Michaud-Quantin P., *Sommes de ccasistique et manuels de confession au moyen âge*, Louvain 1962.

Modin J.B., Mutecombe P., *Le rituel du mariage en France du xiiie au xvie siècles*, Paris 1974.

Moorman J., *A History of the Franciscan Order*, Oxford 1968.

Murray A., 'Confession in the Middle Ages', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series 3, London 1993, 51 - 81.

Murray A.L., see Watt, Murray, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae*.

Mutecombe, see Modin, Mutecombe, *Le rituel du mariage*.

Muzzarelli M.G., 'Angelo da Chivasso e i Monti di Pietà', *Frate Angelo Carletti*, 169 - 184.

*National Union Catalog*, 754 vols., Washington D.C. 1968 - 1981.

*Neue Deutsche Biographie*, 26 Vols., Berlin/Munich 1953 - 2016.

Nimmo D., *Reform and Division in the Franciscan Order*, Rome 1987.

Pellegrini, L., 'Una Missione delicata nell' Europa centro-orientale: la riorganizzazione della provincia osservante di Austria', *Frate Angelo Carletti*, 75 - 95.

Perlbach M., Luther J., 'Ein neuer Bericht über Luthers Verbrennung der Bannbulle', *Sitzungsberichte der königlich-preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1 (1907), 95 - 102.

Pezzella S., 'Carletti, Angelo', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 20, Rome 1977, 136 - 138.

Plöchl W.M., *Geschichte des Kirchenrechts*, 2 vols., Vienna 1960 - 1962.

Pullan B., *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice*, Oxford 1971.

*Rabanus Maurus in seiner Zeit, 780 - 1980*, Mittelrheinisches Landesmuseum Mainz, Mainz 1980.

*Regestum Observantiae Cismontanae*, ed. C. Schmitt (Analecta Franciscana 12), Grottferrata 1983.

Rittgers R.K. 'Embracing the true relic of Christ, suffering, penance, and private confession in the Thought of Martin Luther', *A New History of Penance*, ed. A. Firey, Leiden 2008, 377 - 393.

Rubin M., *Gentile Tales: the narrative assault on late medieval Jews*, New Haven 1999.

Rusconi R., "'Copia librorum": Arte della stampa e metodi pastorali', *Società internazionale de Studi Francescani; Atti del xii convegno internazionale Oct. 1984*, Perugia/Assisi 1986, 192 - 227.

'Figure della confessione', *L'ordine dei peccati*, 161 - 181.

*L'ordine dei peccati: la confessione tra Medioevo ed età moderna*, Bologna 2002.

Senoçak N., *The Poor and the Perfect*, Cornell 2012.

Sensi M., *Le Osservanze Franciscane nell' Italia Centrale*, Rome 1985.

Setton K.M., *A History of the Crusades* 6, Madison 1989.

*The Papacy and the Levant* 2, Philadelphia 1978.

'Il "Sommaro" della causa di canonizzazione del beato Angelo Carletti da Chivasso, Roma 1708'  
*Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 81 (1995), 367 - 370.

*Les statuts synodaux français du xiiiè siècle* 1: Les statuts de Paris et le synodal de l'Ouest, ed. O. Pontal, Paris 1971.

Szittyta P.R., *The Antifraternal Tradition in Medieval Literature*, Princeton 1986.

Tentler T.N., *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation*, Princeton 1977.

Tierney B., *The Origins of Papal Infallibility*, Leiden 1972.

Todeschini G., *Franciscan Wealth: from voluntary poverty to market society*, New York 2009.

Tomaro, see Headley and Tomaro, *San Carlo Borromeo*.

Turrini M., *La coscienza e le leggi: morale e diritto nei testi per la confessione della prima età moderna*, Bologna 1991.

Vidari G.S.P., 'Angelo Carletti e la cultura giuridica del suo tempo', *Frate Angelo Carletti*, 185 - 198.

Viora M.E., 'Angelo da Chivasso e la crociata contro il Turchi del 1480 - 1481', *Studi Francescane* 2 (1925), 819 - 840.

'Le persecuzione contro i Valdesi nel secolo xve', *Bulletin de la Societé d'Histoire Vaudoise*, 47 (1925), 5 - 19.

Walsh K., *A fourteenth century scholar and primate*, Oxford 1981.

Watt D.E.R. and Murray A.L., *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae Medii Aevi*, revised edition, Edinburgh 2003.

Wilkins D.G., see Hart and Wilkins, *History of Italian Renaissance Art*.

Wilks M., *The Problem of Sovereignty in the Later Middle Ages*, Cambridge 1963.

Wisplinghoff E., 'Die Benediktinerklöster des Niederrheins', *Festschrift H. Hempel*, Göttingen 1972, 277 - 291.