

**Consigned to the Flames: An Analysis of the Apostolic Order of
Bologna 1290-1307 with Some Comparison to the Beguins/Spiritual
Franciscans 1300-1330**

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For my husband Andrew and our daughters Arwen and Azure—you all tolerated
my long hours and fits of writing with such grace.

Abstract

The Apostolic Order, a late medieval Italian mendicant order remains fundamentally little understood despite several centuries of research and writing devoted to their history. Much of the work done on the Apostolic Order (or Followers of Dolcino) has been focused on their leaders, taken as given the order's heretical status, or presumed the marginalized status of those who supported the order. This thesis attempts to reconsider the order and its supporters by placing them as another mendicant order prior to the papal condemnation, and put forth the new perspective that the supporters were much like other medieval persons and became socially marginalized by the inquisitorial focus on the Apostolic Order. To support this theory, this thesis will compare the inquisitorial records of the Apostolic supporters found in *Historia Fratris Dulcini Heresiarche* and the *Acta S. Officii Bononie—ab anon 1291 usque ad annum 1310* to those of another group of mendicants and supporters, the Beguins of Provence, which are found in *Spirituali e Beghini in Provenza*, Bernard Gui's *Le Livre des Sentences de L'inquisiteur Bernard Gui 1308-1323*, and the martyrology in Louisa Burnham's *So Great a Light, So Great a Smoke: The Beguin Heretics of Languedoc*. These two groups of data were compared using statistical analysis and network and game theory, and the results were that 1) the groups were similar; 2) most differences could be reasonably explained by the objectives of respective inquisitions or length of persecution prior to the inquisition. That these two groups are comparable suggests that there are patterns in mendicant supporter membership exemplified by Franciscan tertiaries and that the supporters of the Apostolic Order fit this pattern.

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Preface

As most of the individuals and locations cited in this work are drawn from inquisitorial documents, translation of subjects became an issue. In the following pages, the names that are commonly translated in the general body of works on the subject, and do not cause confusion in their translation, have been translated, such that some of their identities are returned to them. Therefore, most names such as Zachariah (Zaccaria), Rolandinus (Rolandino) and Damianus (Damiano) have been altered from the format they appeared in the inquisitorial depositions. In Appendix A, all witnesses are listed by the name that appears in the inquisitorial records in their tables, with the translated name in parentheses beside it. Names that are unclear by their translation such as Iacobina have been left in the format found in inquisitorial documents. Locations that have clear modern day translations have also been altered; ‘Mutina’ has become Modena, Sancta Elena is Sant’Elena. Finally, efforts have been made here to use place names from all but Rome in their original language—‘Trent’ is Trento, ‘Marseilles’ is Marseille.

Author's Declaration

“I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this thesis is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.”

Signature _____

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Abbreviations

AFH: Archivum Franciscanum Historicum

OFM: Ordo Fratrum Minorum

OP: Ordo Praedicatorum

OSM: Order of the Servants of Mary

RIS: Rerum Italicarum Scriptores

Introduction

The Order of Apostles—sometimes called Pseudo-Apostles, Followers of Dolcino or Apostolic Brethren--were a small and often overlooked mendicant order without papal approval begun by Gerardo Segarelli. He was, according to Franciscan 13th century chronicler Salimbene de Adam, inspired by Francis and even wanted to join the order but was turned away for his ignorance.¹ The details of the narrative will be explored throughout this thesis, but it is important to note here that the Apostles were not initially heretical and indeed were treated in much the same way that the Franciscans were by the people of the Emilia-Romagna.² In 1274 the church hierarchy realized the economic implications of the ‘proliferation of mendicant orders’ and sought a modification to the topography of religious poverty by forcing the Apostles and other post-Lateran IV council orders to disband and join other orders. But they did not, they continued with official support in Bologna and unofficial support in Parma until the inquisition was directed at them, and only then it was the calling of crusade and subsequent massacre of a large portion of the order that destroyed it.

That the Apostolic Order had operated as orthodox and was certainly accepted by the laypersons of the Emilia-Romagna as orthodox despite this course of events is at the heart of this thesis. It will be argued here that until 1300 and the execution of Segarelli for heresy, the Apostles were just another mendicant order, and even after that point, it was papal decree and inquisitorial action that made the order heretical and socially marginalized, not any particular unusual quality of the order’s followers or the doctrine of the second leader Fra Dolcino. This is a reinterpretation of the Apostles, in which they will be presumed to be part of the stream of religious development along the evangelical and apostolic poverty lines as first defined by Herbert Grundmann,

¹ Salimbene de Adam, *The Chronicle of Salimbene de Adam*, Joseph Baird, translator, *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies* vol. 40, (Binghamton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1986), 250.

² This order has also been called pseudo-Apostles or Followers of Dolcino; here I will use the non-derogatory terms Apostles or Apostolic Order.

but more specifically, the Apostles can be placed in the particular family of Franciscan-like and Franciscan-inspired orders.³

Within the Franciscan spectrum, the Apostles had a great deal in common not with the quickly disbanded Saccati or Pied Friars, but instead with the Spiritual Franciscans and Beguins (who can be referred to as ‘rigorists’); it is by comparing them analytically in this thesis that a better context for the Apostolic Order will be established. Both groups clung to the notion espoused by Francis that the vow of poverty was absolute, even after the papacy and the Franciscan Order had begun to reinterpret the vow of poverty. The Apostles in their inquisitorial testimonies held fast to the holiness of poverty and believed that the Catholic Church had begun its descent into impurity when it accepted power and property under the Donation of Constantine. So clearly the church’s efforts in refining what holy poverty was did not recommend them to the Apostolic Order. The French rigorists were also attached to poverty like the Apostolic Order, but took inspiration from Peter John Olivi. Olivi put forth the notion of ‘poor use’, or avoidance of luxury, and claimed it was part of the vow of poverty, and later he became more apocalyptic as he faced greater intra-church opposition.

Friars from both orders continued to uphold their doctrines even after they were dismissed. Those of the Apostolic Order remained Apostles while rigorist Franciscans continued to support as authoritative Francis of Assisi’s demand for absolute poverty as found in his Testament and Peter John’s poor use. Following from this disobedience, both groups became subjects of inquisitorial attention, and in response, they became increasingly apocalyptic as they perceived attacks on them as a prophesied ultimate attack on the true spiritual church. In this aspect the French rigorists were again similar to the Apostles in that the persecution was not borne just by the friars, but by their secular followers and tertiaries as well.

The third orders, or individuals who took a vow of penance and associated themselves with an order but did not leave the secular life or take the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, and the lay supporters and patrons suffered

³ Herbert Grundmann, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages*, Translated by Steven Rowan (Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995), 3.

alongside the friars and it is upon them that this thesis will focus. The tertiaries, lay supporters, and patrons of Bologna, whose depositions can be found in Lorenzo Paolini and Raniero Orioli's critical edition of *Acta S. Officii Bononie—ab anon 1291 usque ad annum 1310* will be the primary subject group for the Apostles in this comparison but some additional material from the depositions of Trento found in *Historia Fratris Dulcini Heresiarche, Rerum Italiarum Scriptores* (RIS), IX will be used to better illustrate the group. Terms such as 'tertiary' or 'third order' have not been previously applied to the Apostolic supporters in other works; the reasons why these terms seem appropriate and are used here will be elaborated in chapter five. The terms 'friar' or 'brother' will be used as well for similar reasons, but also because several of the brothers who were not tried for heresy but were questioned were referred to with those terms.

Information on the Beguins will be drawn from the *Culpi* of Lodève, the inquisitorial depositions of Toulouse, and those collected by Dominican friar and inquisitor Bernard Gui, all of which were gathered in the 1320s.⁴ Here Beguins will refer only to the third order Franciscans who were allied with the rigorist Franciscans, and will not include the friars.

While these two groups are drawn from two different time periods and two different regions, the analysis of each group may prove to increase contemporary understanding of the other group. For instance, an analysis of the data set from the Apostles can be used to fill in the gaps of what is unknown about the pre-persecution period of the Beguins. A comparison to the Beguins 'normalizes' the Apostles' third order. A new understanding of the Apostles divorced from ecclesiastical rhetoric of heresy and more directed towards analysis of the conditions of formation, relationships to the greater society, and inner workings of the sect may then have wider applicability for understanding other marginalized sectarian movements.

⁴ The *Culpi* can be found in Raoul Manselli's *Spirituali e Beghini in Provenza* (Rome: Istituto Palazzo Borromini, 1959), while the depositions of Toulouse and Gui are drawn from Limborch's *Historia Inquisitionis, cui subjungitur Liber Sententiarum Inquisitionis Tholosanae Ab anno Christi CDCCVII ad Annum CDCCCXXIII* (Amsterdam: Apud Henricum Netstenium, 1692) and Bernard Gui's *Le Livre des Sentences de L'inquisiteur Bernard Gui 1308-1323*, Volumes 1 and 2 (Paris: CNRS editions, 2002) as transcribed and translated into French by Annette Pales-Gobilliard.

To comparatively analyze the Apostolic Order and the Spirituals/Beguins, this thesis will use a variety of tools. Chronicles and saints' lives will be used to flesh out the socio-religious conditions that created these movements. The words of those within the groups will also be analyzed and compared, and for a more 'global' view archived works by ecclesiastics will be drawn upon. But to analyze both groups as aggregates, some sociological methods such as those associated with network theory will be employed in considering inquisitorial deposition pools. In particular, current understanding of how networks function will be applied as well as the vocabulary, and the graphing system applied to networks will be utilized to better understand how the individuals were interrelated.

There is a precedent for studying religious groups using a sociological framework, particularly regarding matters of religious affiliation. Traditionally religious affiliation was considered a poor candidate for any study that presumed religion was a rational choice because it seemed unrealistic as people do not calculate the consequences of their religious decisions and affiliate based on them.⁵ However, in a series of studies in the 1980s and 1990s sociologists began to explore changes in religious affiliation. Stark and Bainbridge determined in 1987 that there was a religious economy, and that religious groups modified their content to attract religious consumers, i.e., parishioners.⁶ This has been further refined and redefined by Stark and Finke, but the theory remained the same—that in the religious economy, religions are suppliers, and that plurality leads to increased participation.⁷

The 13th and 14th centuries did not have a religious economy as described in Stark and Finke's work per se as there were no denominations of Christianity, but there was competition amongst the religious orders and with the secular church for the attention and alms of the laypersons.⁸ A Christian could support the particular order that fit his or her vision of Christianity, or more strategically angle his/her support towards a group popular with those of a

⁵ Michael Hechter and Satoshi Kanazawa, "Sociological Rational Choice Theory," *Annual Review of Sociology* 23 (1997): 192.

⁶ Hechter and Kanazawa, "Rational Choice," 198.

⁷ Rodney Stark and Roger Finke, "A Reply to Olson, Religious Choice and Competition," *American Sociological Review*, 63 (October 1998): 764.

⁸ Salimbene de Adam discusses this sort of religious competition. Here, it will be discussed in chapter 4.

similar or desired socio-economic status to himself/herself. It is because there were a plethora of potential order affiliations within the church universal that a sociological study of those who chose a particular affiliation makes sense. Those who supported the Apostolic Order of the Spiritual Franciscans share characteristics in common across their respective groups, and are comparable in that members of both groups made a similar decision to support their respective rigorist-turned-apocalyptic mendicants. Prior to this analysis, however, a basic framework of religious and historical context must be put in place.

Chapter one will provide the thirteenth century socio-religious context for the two movements from the early presence of mendicant movements in the Emilia-Romagna and Languedoc. The focus will be on Bologna and Parma in the former and Marseille and Hyères in the latter with some added data from the general regions. The emphasis will be on their similarities and how these would lead to the contemporaneous and interrelated development of Joachite mendicant thought.

This Joachite mendicant religious philosophy then developed in the late 13th and early 14th centuries in both regions into full-scale apocalyptic movements. Chapter two will discuss the apocalyptic works of the primary authors and leaders of the groups—Friars Dolcino and Peter John Olivi—and the conditions that affected them and their writing. Despite the fact that Dolcino is often depicted as being the thorough heretic while Peter John Olivi has become the controversial Franciscan thinker in contemporary historiography, their treatment of the bible is very similar and the product of increasing persecution from the church at large in Dolcino's case or the Franciscan order in Peter John Olivi's.

The relationship between the orthodox mendicant and apocalyptic mendicant movements was not just that one had influence over the other. The religious thought put forth by the proliferating of mendicant movements and increasingly heretical sects within the Franciscan orders changed the way that subjects such as mendicancy, heresy, and obedience were viewed by the church at large. The medium through which this transformation can be tracked is the confession manual, because these were works designed for and viewed by parish priests. Because of their audience, these works included only issues that priests

might actually encounter in pastoral care, thus, that the body of confession manual literature changed in response to these issues speaks to their prevalence. Three examples from three different phases within the time period will be analyzed for Chapter three.

The remainder of the thesis will then comparatively analyze the Apostolic Tertiaries and the Beguins as third order communities. Chapter four will first explore how authorities within the church related to the heretical mendicant sects and the presence of and interaction with local priests and friars of other orders. Chapter five focuses on the lay people within the movements, and will compare the laity of the Apostolic tertiaries/supporters and Beguins across characteristics such as marital and socio-economic status. Here it will be demonstrated that despite usual assertions, the tertiaries of the Apostles were not particularly unusual and that these groups became increasingly marginal with persecution. Chapter six will then focus on the means by which these networks are discernable, the confessions as preserved in inquisitorial depositions. Confessions were not simply given or proffered; some subjects used strategy and coordinated efforts to prevent themselves from revealing new information about their friends and family to the inquisitors, while others used the inquisition to rid themselves of their competition. Their networks will be the subject of chapter seven; they were comprised of cells of family and neighbors that were linked by a few travelers but were still a group unified through belief. The last chapter, eight, will then take up these heretics in matters dealing with death and the afterlife—saints, relics, and veneration. The leaders—Segarelli, Dolcino, and Olivi—were canonized in the minds of their followers, and what this saintly characterization was for each man will be explored. The sanctity of the fallen tertiaries or friars, however, was not as clear or generally recognized by their associates. Despite the fact that, the remains of those martyred persons were gathered and held by the surviving friends and family, and what this meant will comprise the second half of chapter eight.

Historiography

The body of scholarly work on the tertiaries of the Apostolic Order and the Beguins, while significant, has left some matters pertaining to the groups unexplored. The Apostolics have been a popular subject for Italian historians, but rarely considered at any length in an English language work. When the

movement has been engaged, it has more often than not been described as per the biographies of Segarelli and Dolcino, and not as religious social history. The Beguins, by contrast, have been a popular subject matter for English language historians, but they too have only recently become a subject in their own right, instead of an appendage to the friars. These two movements have also rarely been approached through a comparison, and certainly never together as a comparative analysis.⁹ Indeed, the histories of the two movements have been studied in such a disparate manner that a historiography of the two must tell two different and unrelated narratives.

The passage of time and the church's survival and reformation in a post Council of Trento environment allowed heretical groups to be viewed in a new, less threatening light; the documents could be revisited, and their subjects rehabilitated to some extent. Italians comprised the vanguard of researchers with regards to their home-grown heresy of the Apostolic Order. The Followers of Dolcino, as they were called by inquisitors and historians, became a popular subject for Italian historians up through the 19th century.¹⁰ Dolcino, once seen as a crazed, perverse heretic, was gradually transformed into a charismatic leader, while his consort Margherita, for whom we have very little source information, became a nun escaped from a convent, a romantic figure who followed her beloved to a terrible death.

At the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th, the evolution of interest in Dolcino and his Order branched into two different directions. One of these two schools of study and thought flows from the romantic notions of the followers of Dolcino, as they became Italy's first socialists in popular Italian Socialist narratives. A socialist re-interpretation of Dolcino's letters found opposition to feudalism and to any bonds on human freedom in his anticlerical and apocalyptic philosophy, but also in ideas presumed to be his that were drawn from rumors or the depositions of preachers such as Zaccaria regarding sexual liberty. This image of Dolcino carried so much weight with the Italian socialist movement that they erected a monument to his group on Mount Rubello

⁹ Susan Taylor Snyder compared the Bolognese women of the Cathar and Apostolic movements in her unpublished thesis, "Woman as Heretic: Gender and Lay Religion in Late Medieval Bologna" University of California, Santa Barbara, 2002, but this thesis did not analyze the movement as a whole or its relevance as a mendicant movement.

¹⁰ Please See A. Segarizzi, editor, *Historia Fratris Dulcini Heresiarche Rerum Italianarum Scriptores*, IX (Citta di Castello, 1902) for a complete survey of pre-20th century historiography.

in 1907; in 1974 a new one replaced the original that was destroyed in 1927. As socialists saw themselves as a political movement without borders, socialists beyond Italy also adopted Dolcino; for example, Ernest Werner, an East German drew the Socialist Dolcino into a discussion of Taborites. His socialist reading of the followers of Dolcino was entirely typical of that paradigm in that he emphasized the Joachite coming era of the Spirit as being one without private property, and suggested that the lords (in this case, presumably the Church) acted to suppress him because the movement was expanding into a peasant base beyond its bourgeois roots.¹¹ But even beyond socialism, Dolcino's image as heroic has endured, as in 2007 (the seven hundred year anniversary of the crusade against Dolcino and the Apostolic Order) the Poste Italiane created a series of postage stamps featuring the religious leader.

At the same time that these 'Dolciani studies' developed, a more analytical, less political view of the movement was taken up by Italian scholars, one that denied the notion of medieval heresy as a proto-Reformation espoused by some historians in Protestant countries such as Lea. Tocco connected Dolcino to Segarelli via the chronicle of Salimbene and Bernard Gui's *De Secta*, and said that this movement was not an order but an anti-order, that Segarelli preached an end to the rigid orders and a return to a simple and apostolically poor church.¹² According to Segarizzi, he was the first to do so.¹³ Equally important in Tocco's work is that he created two of the building blocks of modern conventional studies of the Apostles—that the Apostles were not Cathars, Valdenses, but also not Fraticelli or Beguins though it had overlaps with the latter three, and that the doctrine of the Apostolic Order represented a particular Joachite view of history and the future.¹⁴ Segarizzi, editor of Muratori's work and Dolcino scholar in his own right reinforced this Joachite theory but linked the Apostles and Franciscans not just in that Segarelli was turned away by them, but that Dolcino may have been first or third order Franciscan.¹⁵

¹¹ Ernest Werner, "Popular Ideologies in Late Medieval Europe: Taborite Chiliasm and Its Antecedents," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 2 (1960), 360.

¹² Felice Tocco, "Gli Apostoli Fra Dolcino," *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 5th Series 19 (1897), 241-243.

¹³ Segarizzi, *RIS IX Historia Fratris Dulcini Heresiarche*, xxv.

¹⁴ Tocco, 272-273.

¹⁵ Segarizzi, 'Introduction,' *Historia Fratris Dulcini Heresiarche*. *Rerum Italianarum Scriptores*, IX. Citta di Castello, 1902, 50.

In a fashion that built on a marriage between his earlier socialism and historical analysis, Gioacchino Volpe forwarded his own view of the heresy and the Apostolic Order/Followers of Dolcino first in the 1920s. According to him, heresy in central and northern communal Italy was interrelated with political and socio-economic rebellion, though they were not necessarily the same thing as some political rebels were simply assumed heretical, while some others supported heresy for irreligious reasons.¹⁶ With regards to the Apostles under Segarelli, however, this was not rebellion, but rather support for the order stemmed from the same current that fostered Valdes and the Cathars—an infatuation with the primitive church and desire for knowledge of the literal scriptures.¹⁷ The order then took on a revolutionary, socio-economic context under the leadership of Fra Dolcino, who re-directed the message of evangelical life into that of evangelical liberty.¹⁸

The next generation of Italians moved studies of the Apostolic movement and heretical mendicancy further beyond the focus on the leaders and doctrine and into a study of the movement itself through inquisitorial records and local histories of cities key to the timelines of events. Eugenio Dupré Theseider put the Apostles into the heretical context of Bologna (Catharism, anticlericalism, the supporters of the Colonna family, and the followers of Dolcino) in the time of Dante using the inquisitorial records of that region.¹⁹ He also supported the theory that heresy was present in the rural areas by noting that many of the depositions are drawn from residents of the region that lies between Modena and Bologna.²⁰ Eugenio Anagnine focused on the region of Trento, Vercelli and Novara through Trento's depositions and chronicled histories of the region throughout the 13th and early 14th centuries, and suggested that Ghibelline Visconti politics played a role in the retreat to the Vercelli region as they may have offered protection.²¹

¹⁶ Gioacchino Volpe, *Movimenti Religiosi e Sette Ereticali nella società medievale italiana (secoli xi-xiv)*, (Rome: Donzelli editore, 1997—originally printed 1922), xxv.

¹⁷ Volpe, *Movimenti*, 114.

¹⁸ Volpe, *Movimenti*, 115.

¹⁹ Eugenio Dupré Theseider, "L'Eresia a Bologna nei Tempi di Dante" in *Studi Storici in Onore di Gioacchino Volpe Per il Suo 80o Compleanno*. Volume 1 (Florence: Sansoni, 1958), 381-444.

²⁰ Dupré Theseider, 430.

²¹ Eugenio Anagnine, *Dolcino e il Movimento Ereticale all'inizio del Trecento* (Firenze: La Nuova Italia, 1964), 150.

In this same generation of authors, Raoul Manselli looked beyond the borders of Italy to research the spiritual Franciscans and Beguins. His works did include some discussion of the tertiaries and spirituals, but the driving narrative was that of the power players—the popes, cardinals, Ubertino de Casale—and the continuing power of Peter John Olivi’s apocalyptic works in the Franciscan rigorist community.²² This particular heretical movement, he noted, did not evolve in a completely orthodox milieu but rather germinated in the same southern French soil as did Catharism and Valdensianism, much akin to how Lombardy and the Emilia Romagna were home to not just the Dolcinian movement but Catharism (often called Patarines) and anti-clericalism.²³ But just as important as his analysis were his collected, transcribed and edited appendices of *Miles Armatus* (short Olivi work but influential for the tertiaries), inquisitorial records of the spirituals burned in Marseille and the *Culpi* of Lodève, to which many scholars have referred.

Returning to the Italian language historiography of the Followers of Dolcino, the next phase of scholarship would explore the order’s history in both a more ‘global’ (European) and individualistic sense. Elena Rotelli emphasized continuity for the order’s doctrine even after the crusade and inquisitions in that she found evidence for condemnations of it in 1368 and 1374 and that in 1402 a man was captured who wore white and claimed that he was an apostle.²⁴ Rotelli put forth the idea that the heresy had spread beyond the Emilia Romagna and Lombardy; that there was evidence that fleeing apostles took refuge in Spain, England, France and Sicily.²⁵ By contrast, Raniero Orioli delved into the past of a single Apostolic friar of the Bolognese region—Zaccaria di Sant’Agata—and through his inquisitorial depositions attempted to create a mini-biography of sorts.²⁶ Orioli found few details to flesh out this biography, but his most important works also stemmed from his work on the Acts of the Inquisition in Bologna, which he co-transcribed and co-edited with Bolognese historian and

²² See Raoul Manselli, *Spirituali e Beghini in Provenza*, Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, Studi Storici, Fascoli 31-34 (Rome: Istituto Palazzo Borromini, 1959) and Manselli, *La “Lectura super Apocalypsim” di Pietro di Giovanni Olivi* (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1955).

²³ Manselli, *Spirituali e Beghini in Provenza*, 264.

²⁴ Elena Rotelli, *Fra Dolcino e Gli Apostolici Nella Storia e Nella Tradizione*, Collana Ritratti Storici, 8 (Torino: Claudiana Editrice, 1979), 73.

²⁵ Rotelli, 65.

²⁶ Raniero Orioli, “Zaccaria di Sant’Agnata,” In *Medioevo Ereticale*, ed., Ovidio Capitani (Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino, 1977).

professor of history at the University of Bologna Lorenzo Paolini in 1982. With that critical edition of inquisitorial depositions, Paolini and Orioli made a significant contribution to the study of the Apostolics, but also to the field of Cathar studies in Italy, a topic that has attracted little Italian interest compared to the Apostles.

In his influential book *Venit perfidus heresiarcha*, Raniero Orioli brought together Salimbene's 'biography' of Gerardo Segarelli and the legend and doctrine of Dolcino with the historical timeline of the order to its end via crusade in 1307, but his real thesis was that those who were attracted to the heresy were socially marginalized people who sought to fulfil their needs for religious participation through relations to this order.²⁷ To demonstrate this, Orioli presented a profile drawn from the Bolognese records of the third order and supporters. He showed them to be small proprietors, for the most part not well off but not impoverished, primarily located in the contado but with some presence in the city, and that their faith followed family lines.²⁸ A few such as the Boccadeferri, in his opinion, may have been attracted to the faith because of its friendliness towards the Ghibelline cause due to its anticlerical bent.²⁹ He also emphasized the family structures atypical for what is regarded conventional in medieval Italy—several households were comprised of illegitimate children living with one parent or siblings co-habiting—which he took to be the reason that they were marginalized and thus attracted to an order that supposedly devalued family.³⁰

Other historians contemporary with Orioli also concentrated on the social context of the order and other heretical movements present in the same time and place. Grado Merlo also discussed the supporters of the Apostolic Order in his *Eretici ed Eresie Medievale*, though his focus was on those who did not fit the profile—the masters, the doctor, the rich and powerful of Firenze. He also defined the followers in terms of countryside versus city, the former he saw as interested in the collective action, the nucleus of family, while the latter was

²⁷ Raniero Orioli, *Venit Perfidus Heresiarcha: Il Movimento Apostolico-Dolciniano Dal 1260 al 1307* (Rome: Institute Palazzo Borromini, 1988).

²⁸ Orioli, *Venit*, 181-184.

²⁹ Orioli, *Venit*, 184.

³⁰ In chapter 5 I will counter this image of the Followers of Dolcino by both analyzing the entire membership of the sect as known from the Bolognese inquisitorial records, and comparing them to Franciscan tertiaries.

focused on the individual.³¹ Lorenzo Paolini wrote more extensively on Cathars in early 14th century Bologna, but some of what he said can be applied to all heretical movements in and around the city. He found Catharism to be transmitted out of and based in the home and secondarily work, which afforded some protection from the inquisition through social bonds.³² These social bonds were not unlike those that Theseider identified as pulling tight the membership ranks and encouraging the silence that meant that Dolcino's visit to Bologna was enshrouded in secrecy despite the inquisitorial presence.³³ The Apostolic Order also turned to gatherings in private homes much like the Cathars, though this was a change from the earlier days before the death of Segarelli, when the Order was a public institution.

Later works on the subject have covered much of the same intellectual ground but with renewed emphasis on Dolcino's biography and doctrine and the bloody conflict. In the collection of essays, *Fra Dolcino e gli Apostolici tra Eresia, Rivolta, e Roghi*, Tavo Burat attempted a biography of the early life of Dolcino as drawn from a commentator on Dante's *Divine Commedia*.³⁴ Another author discussed Dolcino's prophecies, emphasizing the importance of Frederick of Sicily in the apocalypse, while Corrado Mornese hearkened back to the socialist interpretation of the movement by claiming that Dolcino sought an apostolic revolution that would simultaneously return the church to its roots and fulfil Joachim of Fiore's vision of a third age of spirit for the world.³⁵ Mornese continued on the subject of the church's rebirth and the order's flight to the mountains in *Eresia dolciniana e resistenza montanara*.³⁶

One of the latest endeavors to redefine the Apostolic order and Dolcino follows a sort of deconstructionist line of argument. According to Federica Borgono, the problems of the sources on Dolcino point to the Bolognese inquisitors and inquisitor Bernard Gui created a line of leadership succession in

³¹ Grado Giovanni Merlo, *Eretici ed Eresie Medieval*, (Bologna: Societa editrice il mulino, 1989), 124.

³² Lorenzo Paolini, "Domus e Zona degli Eretici: L'esempio di Bologna nel XIII Secolo" *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 35 (1981): 382.

³³ Lorenzo Paolini, "Domus e Zona," 382.

³⁴ Tavo Burat, *Fra Dolcino e gli Apostolici tra Eresia, Rivolta, e Roghi*, Corrado Mornese and Gustavo Buratti, editors, (Novara: DeriveApprodi, 2000).

³⁵ Corrado Mornese, *Fra Dolcino e gli Apostolici tra Eresia, Rivolta, e Roghi*. The development of eschatology relating to the prophecies of Abbot Joachim of Fiore will be discussed in Chapter 1.

³⁶ Corrado Mornese, *Eresia dolciniana e resistenza montanara* (Roma: DeriveApprodi, 2002).

the order from Gerard Segarelli and Fra Dolcino to redefine the Apostles as heretical by ascribing a heretical doctrine assumed to be Dolcino's to the Apostles via his assumed leadership.³⁷ Borgono theorized that Fra Dolcino's movement was entirely separate.

The Followers of Dolcino have held less fascination amongst English language scholars than their Italian counterparts. In the third volume of his massive *History of the Inquisition* H.C. Lea detailed the narrative by describing each of the two leaders and then proceeding to a narrative of the gathering at the mountains and crusade against them, but he also contextualized the movement as 'an abnormal development of the great Franciscan movement' and as part of the spread of Joachite ideas.³⁸ Lea's work on the group started a general trend in that later historians continued to include the Dolcinians in anthologies of heresy. In 1967 Gordon Leff included a section on the order in his work on the heresies of the late middle ages; as his interest was intellectual he emphasized that the order was predominantly Joachite and became heretical with the advent of Dolcino, but according to him, "was of no lasting importance."³⁹ Malcolm Lambert also wrote about the Apostles, and much of his brief passage about them mirrored Lea's with one key exception: he emphasized the notion of Joachim's *status* in Dolcino's writings, and followed on from that into the Franciscan Joachite heresies.⁴⁰ While Lambert does not specifically state that the Apostles and Franciscan Joachites were quite similar and that Dolcino read the latter's works, the continuity is notable.

21st century works on or including the Apostolic Order offer a more nuanced look at the Apostles, as the authors take into account sources outside the RIS and attempt to tease out the order as a living experience and not just as an innately heretical entity defined by a history read from the group's ultimate fate. Brian Carniello consulted the episcopal archives of Parma and combined that information with Salimbene's chronicled account of the Apostles. From those Parmese sources he described Segarelli, who was a sort of anti-Francis, as

³⁷ Federica Borgono, "Dolcino da Novara: il problema della fonti," *Bolettino storico-bibliografico subalpino* 105 (2007): 181-213.

³⁸ H.C. Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, Volume III (New York: Harper & Brothers, Franklin Square, 1888), 103.

³⁹ Gordon Leff, *Heresy into the Later Middle Ages*, Volume 1 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967), 275.

⁴⁰ Malcolm Lambert, *Medieval Heresy, Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation*, 2nd Edition, (Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 1992): 223.

well as the order under his leadership and found that Segarelli and the whole movement enjoyed support in Parma from representatives of the church and the population as though they were an orthodox mendicant movement.⁴¹ Other historians followed the lead of the Italian scholars and included evidence from the Bolognese inquisition. Andrew Roach surmised that the Apostolics were viewed as simply part of a 'spectrum of spiritual expression' and that while their post 1300-image was mixed, many individuals in Bologna did not agree they should be captured.⁴² Susan Taylor Snyder also utilized the inquisitorial records for her thesis on heretical women in Bologna, though here she compared Cathar and Apostolic women.⁴³

Unlike the Apostles, the subject of the Franciscan rigorists and their Beguin tertiaries has been a much explored one for English language authors and somewhat less so for the Italians and French. Raoul Manselli aside, Italian authors writing on the rigorist Franciscans tend to focus on the Fraticelli—the Italian rigorists—who are tangential to the subject matter for this thesis. Many of the French works pertain to Peter John Olivi without a particular concentration on his effect on the Beguins. Thus here I will primarily discuss the English language historiography, particularly that which is about the Beguins and Olivi's works that were relevant to them and works on Joachitism as that philosophy's history is heavily linked with the Spirituals.

From the late 19th century, writers divided the rigorists from those they considered 'Beguins;' tertiaries were separated from friars as the latter were motivated by doctrinal differences while the former were mere followers, but they were considered to be related in the general historical paradigm. Lea's description of the rigorists was that they were "persecuted saints with the familiars ever present at their heels" who while some were given to fanaticism, on the balance were committed Franciscans nobly obeying the Rule.⁴⁴ But the like-minded tertiaries, by contrast, were 'simple people' given to extravagances of faith. In Lea's estimation, they were not so much faithful adherents of

⁴¹ Brian Carniello, "Gerard Segarelli as the Anti-Francis: Mendicant Rivalry in Medieval Italy, 1260-1300." *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 57 (April 2006), 230.

⁴² Andrew Roach, *The Devil's World: Heresy and Society 1100-1300* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2005), 194-198.

⁴³ Susan Taylor Snyder, "Woman as Heretic: Gender and Lay Religion in Late Medieval Bologna." Ph.D. Thesis, University of California, Santa Barbara, 2002.

⁴⁴ H.C. Lea, *A History of the Inquisition*, 83.

another form of Francis' Rule so much as they were apocalyptic adherents to abnegation of property.⁴⁵ Lea's narrative emphasis was on the friars and their leaders; 20th century historians did move away from obvious bias, but this emphasis on the first order set a precedent.

An example of this is Decima Douie's work, *The Nature and the Effect of the Heresy of the Fraticelli*.⁴⁶ Here Douie intertwined the Italian and French groups of rigorists as spiritual heirs of Peter John Olivi and ancestors of the Franciscan Observanti movement in the 1400s without any mention of the tertiaries who suffered alongside them. She does, however, discuss the role of written works in the movement such as *Super Hieremiam*, the *Vaticinia*, Olivi's tracts on *Usus Pauperis* and the apocalypse, a methodology that would be heavily utilized by every author following Douie. Douie gives little credit to Joachim's influence, as she said he was thoroughly discredited by 1260 because the world did not end in that year, and his ideas were associated with "exaggerated forms of heresy such as the Apostles and the sect of the free spirit."⁴⁷

In the decades that followed, Joachim was exonerated from the connection with thorough-going heresy, and became a spiritual father and inspiration for a family of apocalyptic works that have been occasionally attributed to various Franciscan circles by a number of authors specializing in the study of 12th through 15th century apocalyptic. On that subject, Marjorie Reeves was the authority, as she wrote extensively about Joachim and surveyed the many works that he inspired or were attributed to him, though she stated that Joachim himself was not widely read but rather the pseudo-Joachite writings were.⁴⁸ According to Reeves, Joachim's works were of special interest to Franciscans because they believed themselves to be one of the two orders he predicted would be sent by God to redeem Christianity.⁴⁹ Spiritual Franciscans

⁴⁵ H.C. Lea, *A History of the Inquisition*, 84.

⁴⁶ Decima Douie, *The Nature and the Effect of the Heresy of the Fraticelli*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1932). Despite the title, Fraticelli here refers to all of the rigorist Franciscans.

⁴⁷ Douie, *Fraticelli*, 32.

⁴⁸ Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages, A Study in Joachimism*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 76. Fabio Troncarelli countered Reeves' assertion in his article "Escatologia e Gioachimismo in Provenza," where he demonstrated that both Innocent III and his legates in Languedoc knew and quoted Joachim's works.

⁴⁹ Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy*, 72.

in particular were attracted to the Abbot's works because they vindicated their travails, yet despite the fact that Reeves attributes only one of the two tracts popular with them to the Spirituals; while someone in Angelo Clareno's circle wrote *Vaticina*, she attributed *Super Hieremiam* to southern Italian Cistercians.⁵⁰

Later authors generally focused on exploring the relationship between rigorist belief and the Joachim-related works with Reeves' assertions in place, with a few notable exceptions. E. Randolph Daniel assumed the Cistercian authorship of *Hieremiam*, and from that theorized that Hugh of Digne, the Franciscan often considered to be a proto-Spiritual for his Joachite tendencies, encountered the writings and beliefs through John of Parma, because he had been a lector at Naples.⁵¹ Bernard McGinn as well did not contest the authorship attribution, but he suggested a wider audience for Joachim's works in that Joachim gave the pope a more prominent role in reform of the church in his future timeline, an idea that was more fully developed in the *Vaticina* but also could be found in other apocalyptic doctrine such as that of Dolcino.⁵² He found an even more clear connection between Joachim's prophecy and the rigorists in the hopes and assumptions they pinned to Celestine V's ascendancy to the papal throne, as he clearly fit the spiritual monastic pope of Joachim's transition between second and third status.⁵³ Writing on the origins of *Hieremiam*, Robert Moynihan offered another possible authorship; he suggested that as there were two rather different manuscripts, that each one was written by a different group, the shorter one having its origins amongst the monks of Fiore and the longer with Hugh of Digne's circle of southern French Franciscans.⁵⁴

Other scholars discussed the Spirituals in terms of their relationship and disagreements with the rest of the 13th/14th century Franciscan order. Malcolm Lambert focused on the notion of poverty in the order up to 1323, shortly before pope John XXII denied the absolute poverty of Jesus and his apostles. Lambert's argument, if logically followed to its conclusion, suggests that the Spirituals'

⁵⁰ Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy*, 152.

⁵¹ E. Randolph Daniel, "A Re-Examination of the Origins of Franciscan Joachimism," *Speculum* 43 (October 1968): 675.

⁵² Bernard McGinn, "Angel Pope and Papal Antichrist," *Church History* 47 (June 1978): 155-173.

⁵³ McGinn, "Angel Pope," 161.

⁵⁴ Robert Moynihan, "The Development of the Pseudo-Joachim commentary *Super Hieremiam*: New Manuscript Evidence," *Melanges de l'Ecole Francaise de Rome, Moyen Age, Temps modernes*, 98 (Issue 1, 1986): 109-142.

adherence to poverty was doomed from the outset in that while poverty was key to the Franciscan movement, it also required more accommodation to circumstances than any other aspect of religious life.⁵⁵ As poverty in the generations of Franciscans after Francis' death was modified to match the growth and needs of the order, devotion to it was unchanged in some circles. John Moorman found that the disagreement that would become the Spiritual-Conventual battle originated in the years of Elias' generalate of the order.⁵⁶ According to Moorman, Joachitism did play a part in Spiritual thought, but as the rigorist tradition in the order began with the associates of Francis, the abbot's works did not germinate the tradition but enhanced some part of it. As well, Moorman changed the tone of discussion on the persecuted rigorists of the later days in that in his estimation they were just a generation in the continuous strict adherence to poverty who had faced years of intra-order pressure, not a group of fanatics given to extravagance. Duncan Nimmo agreed with Moorman's timeline of Franciscan dissent, but took the changes in poverty in a broader context as part of a change in the nature of the order.⁵⁷ The poor and illiterate nature of the Franciscan movement threatened the church order, but perhaps more important to that dispute was that Franciscan preaching was popular and when the order established churches they not only duplicated the 'secular' church system but pulled a great deal of support from it due to their widespread appeal.⁵⁸ Thus to establish themselves within the church, the Franciscans shed the trappings of their origins and became an order of priests and scholars.⁵⁹

David Burr, one of the most influential scholars of the Spiritual Franciscans in the past twenty-five years, put forth his own explanation of the Franciscan dissent that led to John XXII's condemnation. In it, he changed the date of beginning controversies—he moved the origins of the Spiritual-Conventual debate within the order to the 1270s in Italy and somewhat later in southern France—and determined that the Italian and southern French dissenting

⁵⁵ M.D. Lambert, *Franciscan Poverty, The Doctrine of the Absolute Poverty of Christ and the Apostles in the Franciscan Order 1210-1323* (London: William Clowes and Sons, Limited, 1961), 56.

⁵⁶ John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order, From its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968).

⁵⁷ Duncan Nimmo, *Reform and Division in the Franciscan Order (1226-1558)* (Rome: Capuchin Historical Institute, 1987).

⁵⁸ Nimmo, *Reform and Division*, 52.

⁵⁹ Nimmo, *Reform and Division*, 54.

Franciscan movements were two very different streams.⁶⁰ The Italian stream did have a long history, but this was rather isolated and tended to be focused on poverty as interpreted by Francis, but it was engaged by Pope Boniface VIII as disobedient and dissident under the same auspices as the followers of Dolcino and supporters of Colonna.⁶¹ The French dissident Franciscans, by contrast, were first persecuted under Pope Nicholas IV in the 1290s for ‘disturbing peace and harmony in the order’ and were later deemed heretical for their beliefs regarding the condemned works of Peter John Olivi.⁶² Throughout the body of his works, Burr has focused on the friars and particularly on Peter John Olivi, but he did also include the tertiaries in his analysis, as in his estimation there was a well-established relationship between pious laypeople and the Franciscans, and this relationship was particularly well-developed between reformers and those with apocalyptic tendencies.⁶³

These pious laypeople with apocalyptic tendencies have been Louisa Burnham’s focus. In her *So Great a Light, So Great a Smoke*, Burnham discussed the heretical tendencies of Montpellier (a location that figures prominently in the Beguin persecutions) and the Beguin communities there and in other places in Languedoc based on what could be reconstructed from the inquisitorial depositions and the Beguin martyrology, which she included as an appendix.⁶⁴ Of great influence on this thesis was that Burnham established a narrative for the Beguin tertiaries that was not entirely derived from and dependent on that of the friars; the memory of Peter John Olivi and the martyred Spirituals and Olivi’s writings did play a part in the Beguin community, but their networks were also independent and tied to the secular towns. As well she wrote from a perspective that was similar to her subjects (and will be reiterated here) in that

⁶⁰ David Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans, From Protest to Persecution in the Century after Saint Francis* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001).

⁶¹ Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans*, 108.

⁶² Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans*, 108.

⁶³ Burr’s works have been overwhelmingly about Olivi or matters in which Olivi engaged-- “The Correctorium Controversy and the Origins of the Usus Pauper Controversy” in *Speculum* 60 (April 1985): pages 331-342, *Olivi and Franciscan Poverty: the Origins of the Usus Pauper Controversy*, and *Olivi’s Peaceable Kingdom: A Reading of the Apocalypse Commentary*—but he discussed the tertiaries in some depth in *Spiritual Franciscans* and “Na Prous Boneta and Olivi” in *Collectanea Franciscana*.

⁶⁴ Louisa Burnham, *So Great a Light, So Great a Smoke: The Beguin Heretics of Languedoc* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008).

she did not portray them as heretics but rather as Christians, just as they saw themselves.⁶⁵

It is from these combined that this thesis proceeds. The leaders will be discussed, but primarily in their relationship to their orders. While Volpe began the trend through which the Apostolic Order was considered part of a greater movement, this work will leave aside any social or political rebellion and assert that the movement was primarily religious with some social underpinnings. These social underpinnings, however, were not inherently rebellious, but related in a complex fashion to the religious needs of the individuals who supported the Apostolic Order or the Spiritual Franciscans. As well, while Orioli focused on the followers in Bologna just as this thesis does, here those tertiaries and followers will not be presumed marginalized persons, but rather comparatively proven to be less marginalized than members of another third order, the Beguins. The Apostolic Order and the Spiritual Franciscan/Beguins formed in two geographically different but socially and religiously similar regions. They were motivated by the same religious needs, and became heretical under similar circumstances. To prove this, the next chapter will be devoted to a comparative history of southern France and Emilia Romagna.

⁶⁵ Burnham, *So Great a Light*, 85.

Chapter 1: A Proliferation of Orders-- The 13th Century Religious Histories and Joachite Mendicant Networks of the Emilia Romagna and Southern France

The most striking phenomenon behind the mendicant orders—apostolic poverty—was, like them, a product of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Those who upheld it traced the roots of this form of life back to Jesus, his family and his disciples, and would thus strive to mirror the poverty, mendicancy, and preaching of their savior, to in effect create a form of Biblicism in which they became naked, poor and despised to follow the naked, poor, and despised Christ. But these ardent disciples of Jesus were in fact embarking on a new direction within Christianity despite their claims to an ancient and God-given model of life; there was no established paradigm or set of rules for apostolic poverty within the church universal.

Thus apostolic poverty would drift back and forth over the thin line of orthodoxy. Mendicancy, Biblicism, and non-clerical preaching, its most striking qualities, were innovations that threatened clergy and hierarchy. These elements of apostolic poverty as practiced by various orders throughout the period would--depending on the policies and needs of the individual bishops and popes—result in a group's condemnation as was Valdes' in the 1180s, acceptance as were those of Francis and Dominic in the 1210s, or declaration as heretics as was Segarelli in the 1280s.

This chapter will explore that drifting marginality of apostolic poverty due to its mendicancy, preaching, and Biblicism and how it evolved in two situations into apocalypticism and prophecy from the thirteenth century religious re-awakening of popular religious practice. Part one will entail brief religious histories of the Emilia Romagna and Provence through two locations in each place—Bologna and Parma in Italy and Hyères and Marseille in France, as these regions played important roles in the development of the Apostolic Order and Joachite Franciscanism.

Part two of this chapter will consider this Joachitism as an apocalyptic and prophecy-based religious development influenced by mendicant orders. It will concentrate on two regions in which it took particular hold—the Emilia Romagna and southern France—which will then be the regions on which the

chapters following this one will center. Specifically, the focus in this chapter will be on the particular conditions of these regions that would lead them to take up the same sort of active Joachitism, and the network of Franciscans that were responsible for fostering and spreading it.

I: A Brief Religious History

The 13th century religious historical narratives of Bologna and Parma and Hyères and Marseille were strikingly similar—both Italian and French towns/cities were interlinked, and as well were the homes of a true proliferation of religious orders. Parma and Bologna were two independent communes and even occasionally at war, the religious foot traffic between the two was notable, while movements beginning in Hyères or Marseille were often quickly found in the other place.

Parma and Bologna

The Emilia Romagna, while it was not the initial home of any mendicant movement, quickly became a hub of mendicant movements. Dominic Gusman and his companions first came to Bologna in 1218, finding hospitality with the canons of S. Maria della Mascarella, but very little support otherwise.

According to Alfonso D'Amato, the austere and penitential life was not enough to win over the faithful, but this appears to have either been not quite accurate or a short-lived trouble, as in 1220, Dominic was accompanied through Lombardy by friars based in Bologna.¹ The masters at the studio of Bologna gave considerable guidance to the second chapter (1221), though they were from one of only six Italian Dominican convents.²

Early in the order's history the Franciscans also had a presence in the Emilia Romagna. Francis himself had visited Bologna sometime in 1222 after some of his disciples had formed a small group there, and the order founded a permanent convent and church there in 1224. The colorful tale told of Francis' first visit to Bologna related that the friars had already built a house there, and that he was so incensed by its relative 'lavishness' that he began to tear at the roof with his bare hands. The Minorites spread from there across the Emilia Romagna; Franciscan convents could be found in Ferrara, Faenza, and Parma,

¹ D'amato, *I Domenicani*, 36.

² D'amato, *I Domenicani*, 69-70.

just to name a few locations. It was in the last named of these communes that, in much the same fashion that the Franciscans of Hyères inspired the Penitents, they inspired Gerardo Segarelli to found his order of Apostles.

Despite the fact that their numbers were few; the preaching friars had a powerful impact on the Emilia Romagna with their Halleluiah preaching movement begun in 1230, ostensibly in response to constant war, the accompanying violence, and general bad behavior.³ It took three years for the Halleluiah movement to spread from the north in Lombardy into the Romagna, but three different chronicles—the Chronicles of Bologna, Parma, and Salimbene’s personal chronicle—all note the movement in general and at least one preacher in specific. The Bolognese chronicler’s description was the least adorned; he simply noted that that Brother John of Vicenza came to town, and wrought many miracles in 1233.⁴ Salimbene’s remembrances of that friar and others who preached in Bologna such as John of Bologna and Jacopa of Reggio were likewise simple and possibly based on second hand accounts, but his portrayal of the movement in Parma suggests that he was present and moved by the friars.⁵ He fondly remembered Brother Benedict coming to Parma from either the valley of Spoleto or Rome, unlettered and simple, and like a second John the Baptist in his sheer presence.⁶ Salimbene did not claim Benedict performed any miracles, but he did state that Bartholomew of Vicenza and Gerard of Modena both did so in Parma.⁷ Brother Gerard also appeared in the Parmese Chronicles in 1235; here he was remembered not as a miracle-worker, but as someone who gathered a crowd which he excited into an outpouring of religious devotion.⁸

³ D’amato, *I Domenicani*, 88.

⁴ “processione da fra zohanne de vizenza con tuto el populo della citade de scalcianti. El frate zohanne per la vertude de yhesu christo fece molti miracoli in bologna e in molti altri lochi, et essendo al ditto frate zohanne in lo consiglio del commune de bologna apparve lo segno della sancta croce nella sua fronte,” Albano Sorbelli, editor. *Corpus Chronicorum Bononiensum, Volume II. Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, XVIII.1 (Citta di Castello: Col tipi della casa editrice S. Lapis, 1908).

⁵ Salimbene de Adam, *The Chronicle of Salimbene de Adam*, Joseph Baird, translator, *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and studies* vol 40 (Binghamton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1986), 49.

⁶ Salimbene de Adam, *Chronicle*, 48.

⁷ Salimbene de Adam, *Chronicle*, 52, 599-600.

⁸ “fuerant paces per fratrum Gerardum de Mutina et statute communis emendate; ei baniti omnis absolute. Et frater cornetis venit Parmam, et omnes ibant post eum comramis alborum et candelis accensis, clamando ‘benedictus sit pater, benedictus sit filius, benedictus spiritus sanctus,’ et tunc fuit devocio fratrum predicatorum et implementum fuit campum; et milites et

The Halleluia movement was a Dominican action, but that it appears in three chronicles—two of which were city chronicles—and in connection with large crowds suggests that it was a organized movement with a great deal of popular support. The people of the Emilia Romagna may have had a thirst for religious renewal and greater participation, as evident from the numerous anecdotes of individuals who forsook their lives and joined or founded religious orders. Some local well-known people joined orders, such as Lord Bernard Bafulo, who according to Salimbene was a famous and rich knight but left this life to become a friar minor in Parma. Salimbene noted that the man had himself beaten through the streets by his servants, tied to his horse's tail.⁹ Bafulo's penance sparked a sense of guilt in others; a man named Illuminato who had been a usurer joined the order as well, restoring his ill-gotten gains to the poor and giving money to his new order for construction of a convent.¹⁰ Other penitents formed their own orders, as was the case with the Knights of Jesus Christ (not to be confused with an offshoot of the Templars founded in Portugal), an order/confraternity for knights that began in Parma under the direction of Dominican brother Bartholomew of Vicenza in 1233 and was limited to that commune.¹¹ This group was apparently short-lived as it has no mention in other chronicles, and appears in Salimbene's chronicle as bit of 'local color' and in comparison to a larger group, the Godenti or jovial friars.

The Frati Gaudenti, or more properly the Frati della Beata Gloriosa Vergine Maria, were a more widespread order than the Knights of Jesus Christ, and were founded in Bologna, receiving a rule from Pope Urban IV in 1261. They wore the same robe as the Parma knights, and used white saddles. Salimbene stated that the order had been directed by Brother Ruffius Gorgone, a papal penitentiary, and that the rule was confirmed by an assortment of nobles from across the Emilia Romagna including Lord Ugolino Caprizio Lambertini of Bologna, Lord Fizaimone Baratti of Parma, and Lord Schinea Liazari of Reggio, amongst others.¹² Of course, the Franciscan friar noted that these men were

populis domine et alie mulieris portabant terram de glacea ad implendum boram, que erat valde mangia juxta ecclesiam fratrum predicatorum," A Segarizzi, editor, *Chronicon Parmense*. Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, IX (Citta di Castello, 1902), 10.

⁹ Salimbene de Adam, *Chronicle*, 618.

¹⁰ Salimbene de Adam, *Chronicle*, 619.

¹¹ Salimbene de Adam, *Chronicle*, 619.

¹² Salimbene de Adam, *Chronicle*, 476.

not good-intentioned (else they would have joined his order) but were greedy.¹³ They were held in little regard by the curia for this greed—they did not build monasteries, hospitals, or churches, but robbed other men and then spent their ill-gotten gains on feasts full of entertainment and heavy drinking of alcohol, which they probably held in the convents they sought to take from other orders.¹⁴ This description may have been a bit of exaggeration on the part of the chronicler, as the order was held in enough esteem that two of its founding members, Loderingo degli Andalo and Catalano di Guido, were given power over the Bolognese government in 1265 while the commune was in the grips of intracity strife. What is particularly of note both in Salimbene's chronicle and the assumption of power is that the Gaudenti represented a local effort towards peacekeeping and was simultaneously an opportunity for greater religious participation for those who previously may not have done so.

Almost thirty years after the Halleluiah movement the flagellant movement swept the Emilia Romagna. Unlike the previous movement, the flagellant one was spurred entirely by the lay people in an outpouring of public penance. This spectacular event led to the creation of orders of Disciplinati throughout the Emilia Romagna, including that of Bologna in 1261. The chronicles of both Parma and Bologna both included a reference to the mass penance, but that of Parma was somewhat more descriptive, noting that the entire population of Parma took to the streets, nearly naked and shoeless, to cry out their submission to God and beat themselves.¹⁵ Salimbene, who joined the spectacle in Reggio and continued with it to Parma, claimed that it was led by bishops and men of religious orders presumably to give the flagellants legitimacy.¹⁶ He also imparted an air of mystic power to the penance, as those who did not participate were proclaimed diabolical by the flagellants, and would then take ill and die soon thereafter.¹⁷ Salimbene may have attributed such power to the flagellant movement because it began in 1260, which was a very important year in Joachim of Fiore's prophecies; that same inception year was

¹³ Salimbene de Adam, *Chronicle*, 476.

¹⁴ Salimbene de Adam, *Chronicle*, 476.

¹⁵ "et omnes Parmenses, tam magni quam parvi cum consulibus et vestitis viciniarum ibant per civitatem verberando, existens omnes nudi ac bragherio in sursum et excalciati," *Chronicon Parmense*.

¹⁶ Salimbene de Adam, *Chronicle*, 474.

¹⁷ Salimbene de Adam, *Chronicle*, 474.

one of the few characteristics of the Apostolic Order as founded by Gerardo Segarelli in Parma Salimbene thought praise-worthy.

Other small, Franciscan-inspired orders had preceded the Apostles in establishing a presence in the Emilia Romagna. The Bolognese chronicle recounted the coming of the Friars of Penitence of Jesus Christ or Saccati to the city in 1256; they established themselves near the gates of San Mamolo for begging and (presumably) preaching.¹⁸ The Penitents spread rapidly into the Emilia Romagna. Sometime after the founding of the Bolognese house of those friars there were Saccati convents in Parma, Reggio, and Modena.¹⁹ Around that time though with no sure date, Salimbene remarked on the Saccati presence in Parma and Modena as well—preaching, begging, hearing confession—but that their presence was a heavy burden on the townspeople, who “already had so many sacks and scripts emptying their barns.”²⁰

Unlike the Saccati, the Apostles were a product of local religious action, by Segarelli who was inspired by religious fervor and exclusion from the Franciscan order.²¹ Despite the burdens imposed by all the pre-existing mendicant orders, the Apostles seemed to have found support amongst those of Parma. Segarelli, clad in a habit of his own, amassed a band of thirty followers,

¹⁸ “gli frati de sachi veneno a stare a bologna et andono a stare fuori della porta de san mamolo a questa fu a la prima volte che veneno a bologna,” *Corpus Chronicorum Bononiensium*.

¹⁹ Gabriele Giacomozzi, *L'Ordine Della Penitenza Di Gesu Cristo*. Contributo alla Storia della Spiritualita del Sec. XIII (Roma: Institutum Historicum Fratrum Servorum Sanctae Mariae, 1962) 41-42. Giacomozzi, who is the accepted expert on the Order of Penitents of Jesus Christ, could find no conclusive dates for the founding of those houses, but merely evidence of their existence.

²⁰ Salimbene de Adam, *Chronicle*, 249.

²¹ “Istorum principium fuit in parma. Cum enim in ordine fratrum minorum habitarem in parmensi conventu sacerdos et predicator existens, venit quidam iuvenis natione parmensis, de vili progenie ortus, illiteratus et laicus, ydiota et stultus, cui nomen gerardinus segalellus, et petiit ut a fratribus minoribus reciperetur in ordine. Qui cum non exaudiretur ab eis, tota die, quando poterat, morabatur in ecclesia fratrum et cogitabat quod postea stultizando implevit. Nam super coopertorium lampadis societatis et fraternitatis beati francisci depicti erant apostolicum circumcirca cum soleis in pedibus et cum mantellis circa scapulas involuti, sicut traditione pictum ab antiquis accepit et usque ad modernos deduxit. Ibi iste contemplabatur, et excogitato consilio, postquam capillos nutrit et barbam, accepit soleas ordinis fratrum minorum et cordam; quia, ut iam superius dixi, quicumque volunt noviter congregationem aliquam facere ab ordine beati francisci aliquid semper usurpant. Et fecit sibi fieri de bixetto vestitum et mantellum album de stagmine forti, quem circa collum et scapulas involutum portabat, credens per hoc apostolorum habitum demonstrare. Et vendita domuncula sua et accepto pretio, stetit super lapidem super quem antiquitus potestates parmenses concionari solebant. Et habens denariorum sacculum non dispersit et dedit pauperibus nec congregationi pauperum affabilem se fecit, sed, vocatis ribaldis qui ibi prope in platea ludebant, sparsit inter illos alta voce dicendo, quicumque vult, accipiat et habeat sibi,” Salimbene de Adam, *Cronica*, editor Giuseppe Scalia (Bari: Laterza, 1966), 369.

to whom the locals gave charity as they would any other mendicant order.²² According to Salimbene, by that time that the Apostolic order had grown to thirty members and had settled in a convent of their own.²³ Early in their history, the Apostles apparently even had a sister order, as Carniello found record of the then bishop of Parma, bishop Obizzo, recommending the sisters of the Apostles to the laity as suitable recipients of charity.²⁴ While there is no record of a convent for the sisters of the Apostles, it is reasonable to assume that these sisters, like the Poor Clares, were most likely cloistered and thus had some sort of separate dwelling.

There is also strong evidence that the Apostles formed a house in Bologna. In his work that included a detail of the churches of Bologna, Antonio Masini described a 'chiesa SS Apostoli' with an attached convent that was in the burgo Lama near the gate of Lama.²⁵ He determined that the church was named for the order of friars that presided at the church, the Apostles, and that they were apparently there in 1273, but he did not explore who these Apostles were.²⁶ Based on that 'Apostles' was one of the names that Gui gave amongst the terms for Segarelli and Dolcino's followers and does not appear in connection to any other group that was either suppressed at Lyons II or at any other time, it is a reasonable supposition that these Apostles and the Apostoli of Lama are one in the same.

The commune-level support and acceptance the Apostles received in Parma followed them into the city and contado of Bologna. Book 11, rubric 5 of the 1288 statutes of Bologna stated that the convent of the brothers Apostles in the burgh of Lama were to be given twenty-five baskets of grain a year, half at

²² "Ibant igitur ambo cum mantellis suis tota die per civitatem, et mirabantur parmenses. Et ecce subito multiplicati sunt usque ad tricesimum numerum, et in quadam domo ad comedendum et dormiendum congregabantur; et robertus, qui fuerat famulus fratrum minorum, procurator erat eorum. Et plus et libentius dabant eis parmenses, concives mei, viri et mulieres, quam fratribus minoribus et predicatoribus daren't. Ipsi vero nec pro benefactoribus suis orabant nec celebrant nec predicabant nec ecclesiasticum officium decantabant nec confessiones audiebant nec consilia nec bona exempla dabant, quia circa supradicta in omnibus et per omnia ignorantes errant et penitus inepti et sine peritia spiritualis pugne, et ideo non poterant sic encedere sicut fraters minors et predicators, quia nec consuetudinem habebant," Salimbene, *Cronica*, 371.

²³ Salimbene, *Chronicle*, 253.

²⁴ Brian Carniello, "Gerard Segarelli as the Anti-Francis: mendicant Rivalry in Medieval Italy, 1260-1300," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 57 (April 2006): 243.

²⁵ Antonio Masini, *La Bologna perlustrata*, Volume 2 (Bologna, 1823), 27.

²⁶ Masini, *La Bologna*, 27.

the feast of the Nativity and half on the first day of May.²⁷ This same statute gave the Dominican and Franciscan orders fifty baskets of provisions at those same times, but that those orders received more in charity from the city than the Apostolic Order is no surprise as these two orders were long-established and quite large by then in the city of Bologna.²⁸ By the same statute the order was allotted twenty-five Bolognese lira for the Apostles' church and convent feast day, which was the same amount that the Servants of the Order of Mary were to be given for their feast day.²⁹ The Order of the Servants of Mary was a slightly older order dating from 1233, but it had only been in Bologna as long as the Apostles and was still a small order. From this we can draw that not only did the commune find the apostles to be an acceptable outlet for formal charity, but as well that the order's presence in the region of Bologna was as strong as that of the Order of the Servants of Mary, which had two convents in the area.

Later legal reforms of the commune recognized not only the convent of the Apostles, but also noted the presence of brothers who begged in the city and received the city's charity. The first mention of apostles in the reforms came in 1289 in a short passage that notes the apostles and in particular two friars named Zagnibono and Jacob were to be given two solido Bolognese for three months, the same amount that the friars of the Servites were to be given, though the frequency of this charitable act was unclear from the text of the decision.³⁰ Their presence was once again mentioned in 1292, specifically in that both orders were present at the Ravenna gates of the city waiting for their charity, and the law demanded that those who controlled the city's office of grain give them it.³¹ The apostles were mentioned for the final time in the reforms of the city in 1295. This statute of February 7th was devoted to the matter of false converts, and laid out that those who wished to claim to be amongst the religious must be noted in the city's records, and their sincerity

²⁷ Gina Fasoli and Pietro Sella, editors, *Statuti di Bologna dell'anno 1288*. Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1937, Volume 1, 192, "Conventui fratrum apostolorum de burgo lamarum xxv corbes frumenti. Quas omnes elemosinas dicimus dominus potestas et dominus capitaneus facere precise solvi debent pro comuni bononie ad duos terminos, silicet medietatem in festo nativitatis domini et alliam medietatem in kallendis maii.."

²⁸ Fasoli and Sella, *Statuti*, 191.

²⁹ Fasoli and Sella, *Statuti*, 194.

³⁰ Franco Andrea Dal Pino. *I Frati Servi di S. Maria, Dalle Origini All'approvazione (1233-1304) Volume II: Documentazione* Recueil de Travaux d'Histoire et de Philologie Series, Fascicule 50, (Louvain: University of Louvain, 1972), 372.

³¹ Dal Pino, *I Frati Servi di S. Maria*, 415.

would be examined the bishop and elected elders of the city.³² There in the list of orders recognized by the commune of Bologna, the apostles were still listed.³³ Then finally in 1300, the convent of Apostles in Burgo Lama was once again listed with monasteries and other religious houses in a document drawn up for the bishop of Faenza by the notary Jacob of Ugone Peppi.³⁴

That the Apostles siphoned off some of the support previously given to the Franciscans was some of the reason that the Salimbene denigrated the order in his chronicle. Not only did they receive some of the charity previously given to the Minorites, but as well they lured away audiences from the Franciscan preachers, as did the Apostles' boy preacher when he was permitted to speak in the cathedral of St. George in Ferrara.³⁵ Of course, some of the appeal of the Apostles was novelty; the people of Parma also followed the holy man Albert the wine carrier when he visited hospitals, but that Segarelli became an order's founder and not just a singular holy man suggests that his lifestyle and mystique spoke to something more integral to the collective religious psyche of the Romagna.³⁶

While the commune and people of Bologna affirmed and reaffirmed the official support and recognition of the Order of Apostles, the order had been condemned and declared heretical by two popes. In 1286, Honorius IV decreed in *Olim Felicis Recordationis* that the Apostles did not have papal approval, and would not be receiving it. Honorius' decision was intended to bring this particular mendicant group in line with the 1274 decision at the Council of Lyons that eliminated all of the mendicant groups founded after Lateran IV.³⁷

Four years later, Nicholas IV, the first Franciscan pope, took up this issue once again. He also pointed out that the order did not have approval and would not

³² Dal Pino, *I Frati Servi di S. Maria*, 448-450.

³³ Dal Pino, *I Frati Servi di S. Maria*, 450.

³⁴ P Sella, "La Diocesi de Bologna nel 1300," *Atti e Memorie della R. Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Province di Romagna* 18 (1928): 112.

³⁵ Salimbene de Adam, *Chronicle*, 261.

³⁶ *Chronicon Parmense*, 34.

³⁷ Ernest Thorin, editor, *Les Registres d'Honorius IV* (Paris: Bibliotheque des Ecoles Francaises d'athenes et de Rome, 1888), "Universis archiepiscopis et episcopis mandate quatinus quoscumque, habitum nove religionis, non a sede apostolica confirmate, sub nomine ordinis apostolorum, deferentes in ipsorum diocesibus inveniri contigerit, eos ad deponendum huiusmodi habitum compellant; monentes eosdem ut si religiosam vitam ducere cupierint ad aliquam se transferant de religionibus approbatis."

receive it, and called upon the bishops to suppress the Apostles. But Nicholas went further than Honorius in that he declared that disobedience was heresy. He also changed tactics in the destruction of the Apostles, rather than just confronting the friars, Nicholas took their secular relations into account, demanding that they deny the Apostles charity. He also declared the Apostles not just subject to the prohibitions set at one council and then reaffirmed by another, but heretical because of their disobedience, and that therefore anyone who assisted them would be heretical as well. By this, the groundwork was laid that would lead to the inquisitorial interest in the lay order of the Apostles around Bologna.

Disagreements between the Church and the laity regarding heresy affected the relations between the mendicants and those of Parma and Bologna. In 1279, the inquisition of Parma burned two women (as per Salimbene these women were someone named Alina and her servant) in the city, and the people ransacked the Dominican convent in retaliation.³⁸ The Dominicans demanded Parma be placed under interdict, which was not lifted until 1282 after the city sent ambassadors to the Dominican friars who left their city. Five years later, the commune's chronicle recounts, the Dominicans returned to the city with great fanfare.³⁹ The next auto-da-fe held in 1294 (and the imprisonment of Segarelli) did not incite any violent reactions in Parma, but this was not because the people of the Emilia Romagna were somehow cowed by the inquisitions. The 1299 burnings of two Cathars and the bones of a third in Bologna were met with a riot in that city. But all such troubles aside, the communes of Bologna and Parma were generally welcoming to mendicants.

Marseille and Hyères

Despite the fact that the most common attribution of itinerant religiosity in southern France in the late 1100s/early 1200s is that of heresy, representatives of the orthodox church played a prominent role in that field as well. By the turn of the 13th century, there was a prominent stream of saint veneration in the form of the cult of Mary Magdalene thriving in Provence that was brought by

³⁸ *Chronicon Parmense*, 34 and Salimbene, *Chronicle*, 511.

³⁹ *Chronicon Parmense*, 52.

wandering preachers.⁴⁰ By the 1100s, a group of penitents had developed from this cult, supported by Robert of Abrissel, founder of the convent at Fontevrault, and the saints Mary Magdalene and Martha enjoyed large-scale celebrations in Marseille.

The first mendicant order to establish itself in Provence generally and Marseille specifically were the Dominicans, as Dominic himself was alive and involved in the founding of seven convents throughout Languedoc between 1219 and 1221.⁴¹ The movement then spread into the adjoining territory, and Provence was named a province at the Bolognese chapter of 1221, but the house in Marseille was formed four years later.⁴² This particular house was, like that of Bologna, an urban house in that it was established at the hospice of Saint Michel des Passants, while the Bolognese house was near one of the gates.⁴³

Franciscans first arrived in Provence in 1217 with the missionary activity of John Bonelli, but it was after the Dominicans did so that they established convents there.⁴⁴ Anticipating their formations, the order formed a Provence province in 1217 in addition to a French one.⁴⁵ In 1220, the Franciscans formed convents in Languedoc in Montpellier, and then in the following seven years the brothers minor could be found in Toulouse, Lavaur and Lodève.⁴⁶ According to Edouard Baratier, no date can accurately be established for the formation of a convent in Marseille (or Hyères), but it must have been before 1243, and probably more likely in the late 1220s or early 1230s.⁴⁷ By 1245, the number of Franciscan convents in southern France exceeded that of the Dominicans, and

⁴⁰ Philippine Porcellet, *The Life of St Douceline, A Beguine of Provence*, Kathleen Garay and Madeleine Jeay, translators (Wiltshire: Antony Rowe Ltd, 2001), 2.

⁴¹ Marie-Humbert Vicaire, O.P., "Le developpement de la province Dominicaine de Provence (1215-1295)" 103-131, in *les Precheurs et la Vie religieux des Pays d'Oc au XIIIe siècle*. Originally published in Cahiers de Fanjeaux, issue 8, 35-77, 1973.

⁴² Vicaire, "Le developpement", 106.

⁴³ Vicaire, "Le developpement," 105.

⁴⁴ Philippine Porcellet, *The Life of St Douceline*, 12.

⁴⁵ Colette Ribaucourt, "les mendiants du midi d'après la cartographie de l'enquête" in *Les mendiants en pays d'Oc au XIIIe siècle*, Les Cahiers de Fanjeaux 8 (Toulouse: Centre d'Etudes historiques de Fanjeaux, 1973), 27.

⁴⁶ Philippe Wolff, editor, *Histoire du Languedoc*. Toulouse: Editions Privat, 2000. Originally printed in 1967, 205.

⁴⁷ Edouard Baratier, "le mouvement mendiant a Marseille" *Les mendiants en pays d'Oc au XIIIe siècle*, Les Cahiers de Fanjeaux 8. Edouard Privat, editor (Toulouse: Centre d'Etudes historiques de Fanjeaux, 1973): 181.

they were soon founding houses in new locations in the region before the Preachers.⁴⁸

The Franciscans of Provence inspired the formation of a new mendicant order; Salimbene blamed the formation of the Order of the Penitents of Jesus Christ in 1248 on Hugh of Digne, who would not accept some men into the Franciscan order, but rather turned them out and told them to wander, living on roots.⁴⁹ In a second account, Salimbene remembered that the Saccati's founder was Raymond Attanulfi, a knight and native of Provence, specifically of Hyères, who may have been turned away from the order because he had become sickly.⁵⁰ Brother Bertrand was Raymond's first companion, and together they left the Franciscan convent and, dressed in sacks to which they added sleeves, went about begging. From this less than auspicious beginning, the order spread to Montpellier and Marseille, where it founded houses. The order went on to become a full fledged mendicant order with full papal approval under the rule of the Augustinian canons at the order's general chapter in Marseille in 1251, though it remained an essentially Provençal movement with 29 of its houses there.⁵¹ When the group was formally disbanded after the 1274 Council of Lyons II, the Saccati were able to temporarily resist being ousted from their Marseille house, as the people of Marseille supported them.

Hugh of Digne was also connected with the founding of another Franciscan-oriented group, the Beguines, via his sister Douceline. In 1230, Douceline and her father moved to Hyères to be closer to her brother, and it was here that she developed a reputation for piety as she nursed the sick in her father's home.⁵² At 20, she experienced full conversion and took her vows of virginity and poverty before Hugh, and then set out to found her first community of women in Hyères.⁵³ These women attended the Franciscan church, but more than that their entire religious culture was heavily influenced by Franciscan belief as Douceline herself held up Francis as her (greatly modified) model. Douceline, like her hero, became a living saint to her followers and the laity in

⁴⁸ Marie-Humbert Vicaire, O.P., "Le développement," 115.

⁴⁹ Salimbene de Adam, *Chronicle*, 248.

⁵⁰ Salimbene de Adam, *Chronicle*, 249.

⁵¹ Micheline de Fontette, "Les Mendiants Supprimés au 2e Concile de Lyon (1274)" *Les mendiants en pays d'Oc au XIIIe siècle*, Les Cahiers de Fanjeaux 8, Edouard Privat, editor (Toulouse: Centre d'Etudes historiques de Fanjeaux, 1973): 199.

⁵² Philippine Porcellet, *The Life of St Douceline*, 7.

⁵³ Philippine Porcellet, *The Life of St Douceline*, 7.

Provence, though her attributes of sanctity were modified to be more acceptable for religious women as she became known for her visionary trances and healing capacities rather than preaching. Much like Francis, Douceline attracted the attentions of those in the middling and upper classes including the influential Charles d'Anjou and his wife Beatrice to her movement, but as well the Provincial minister Jaucelin and her brother's friend and Minister General of the Franciscans John of Parma supported this 'local saint' of Provence. This support network allowed Douceline to found a second house in Marseille in 1250, to which 'many good people brought her their daughters and their female relatives and offered them to her in great piety'.⁵⁴ After Douceline's death, her body was transferred presumably from Hyères twice—in 1275 to Marseille by the friars minor in conjunction with the other mendicant orders, and then in 1278 with great fanfare she and Hugh were moved to the new Franciscan church in Marseille.⁵⁵

The Franciscans of Marseille were not only blessed with the relics of local but uncanonized saints Hugh and Douceline, but also in the early 14th century received the body of officially recognized Saint Louis d'Anjou. The son of Charles d'Anjou, Louis was royalty who accepted the habit of the friar in 1297 and was destined to be the bishop of Toulouse, but died shortly thereafter. Louis was apparently quite Provençal in culture, as according to Margaret Toynbee he was brought up to venerate the cults of SS Mary Magdalene and Martha, and celebrated the feast of St. Martha at Tarascon.⁵⁶ The cult that gathered in Louis was Provençal as well, as all 24 witnesses called during the inquiry into his sanctity were from Marseille, and all of the miracles happened in Marseille or to local people.⁵⁷ Indeed, according to Toynbee, the city rather than the friars was involved in pressing for the Louis' canonization, despite the fact that nine of the twenty-four witnesses to his sanctity were Franciscan friars.⁵⁸

Marseille could be said to be a mendicant town even beyond its Franciscan reputation. The reasons why are unclear, though some postulation is

⁵⁴ Philippine Porcellet, *The Life of St Douceline*, 32.

⁵⁵ Philippine Porcellet, *The Life of St Douceline*, 94, 101.

⁵⁶ Margaret Toynbee, *S. Louis of Toulouse and the Process of Canonization in the Fourteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester university press, 1929), 127.

⁵⁷ Toynbee, *S. Louis of Toulouse*, 185.

⁵⁸ Toynbee, *S. Louis of Toulouse*, 157.

possible. One of the more common theories as to why Catharism (and later orthodox mendicant orders) could take root in the Midi is that the parish churches were inefficient in providing pastoral care. But the region in general and Marseille in particular were much like Bologna in that here resided a large middling class who were trained in law, notarial practice, and medicine; these people made up the bulk of those attracted to mendicant faith.⁵⁹ Baratier claimed that mendicants were more numerous in Marseille than in the rest of Provence, a thought that appears to be accurate as every mendicant order except the Apostolic Order had some representation in the city.⁶⁰ The presence of the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Saccati has already been noted, but as well the Friars Hermits of Augustine and the Carmelites also had houses there. The city even was even the site of founding for one order—the Friars of the Blessed Mary of Arenò, or Pied Friars. That small order, also disbanded by Lyons II, was founded around 1257 in Marseille, and was protégés of Bishop Benoit d'Alignan.⁶¹ In 1266 pope Clement IV recognized them and gave them the Augustinian rule, and approved their costume of white habit and black scapular.⁶² Unfortunately for the Pieds, they like the Saccati and the Apostles did not have enough support in the church hierarchy to survive the re-assertion of Lateran IV's prohibition against new orders.

Marseille, despite the fact that it was home to most of the mendicant orders, was not entirely friendly to them. According to Francine Michaud, the bulk of the 20,000 to 25,000 people in Marseille were laborers, and they tended to support traditional acts of devotion, such as giving to the secular churches.⁶³ As well, a group that she called 'peasant patricians—those who were not born to high status but equaled them in acquisitions—made bequests, particularly those for anniversary masses, to the cathedral.⁶⁴ But clearly the many orders were receiving some sort of support, because they were thriving; this support seems to have come from the middling classes and the very wealthy. That the wealthy

⁵⁹ Jacques Paul, "Contraste Culturel Entre Nord et Midi," *Eglise et Culture en France Meridionale Cxii-Xive Siecles, Cahiers Fanjeaux* 35 (1973): pages 35-37.

⁶⁰ Baratier, "le mouvement mendicant," 177.

⁶¹ Baratier, "le mouvement mendicant," 185.

⁶² Frances Andrews, *The Other Friars: The Carmelites, Augustinian, Sack and Pied Friars in the Middle Ages* (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2006), 224.

⁶³ Francine Michaud, "The Peasant Citizens of Marseille at the Turn of the Fourteenth Century," *Urban and Rural Communities in Medieval France: Provence and Languedoc 1000-1500*, eds. Kathryn Reyerson and John Victor Drendel (Boston: Brill, 1998), 282.

⁶⁴ Michaud, "The Peasant Cities of Marseille," 282.

supported the mendicants has already been seen in the context of Douceline's beguine movement, but the middling-class support is better likened to that seen throughout the Italian peninsula, where mendicants drew membership and alms from the merchants and small proprietors.⁶⁵

II: Networks of Joachitism

Religious phenomena of the twelfth century were not just confined to apostolic poverty and heresy; the end of that century also saw the birth of a new form of apocalyptic writing heavily imbued with prophecies of the future. The best known and most influential author of these types of works was Abbot Joachim of Fiore, a monk who was given permission to found a new monastic order of San Giovanni in Fiore in 1196 by Celestine III.⁶⁶ The Abbot, a former hermit turned Cistercian, settled his order on his native Calabria. At this time the island was still a part of the kingdom of Sicily. Marjorie Reeves, one of the most authoritative historians on Joachim and his works, stated that while his actual works were not widely read, Joachim's fame and reputation as a prophet had spread north of the Alps by the time of his death.⁶⁷ One legend has it that King Richard the Lionhearted of England wanted to meet with him en route to the Third Crusade. The veracity of this legend cannot be determined, but by the mid thirteenth century Joachim's works had spread to Germany. The Dominican chronicler Gerard de Fracheto in Erfurt wrote in 1256 that Joachim had predicted the Franciscans.⁶⁸ As will be demonstrated in this section, clearly the Abbot's works were known in the Emilia-Romagna and in southern France.

Though it is not the purpose of this thesis to discuss Joachim of Fiore or his works in any depth, there are four elements relating to it that will prove pertinent to this chapter, the first two of these involving the writings themselves. Joachim's theological vision of history claimed that there were three ages—one of the Father, one of the Son, and one of the Holy Spirit. Each era would build on but not necessarily exceed the preceding one in holiness; this prophecy became very popular but would be subject to misinterpretation.

⁶⁵ The matter of support for mendicant groups will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5.

⁶⁶ Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages, A Study in Joachimism*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969, 28.

⁶⁷ Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy*, pages 76 and 37.

⁶⁸ Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy*, page 72.

Shortly before the genesis of the third age, God would send two orders to convert the masses. Some apocalyptic Franciscans and a few unusual Dominicans asserted that they were these two orders, but the followers of Segarelli may have considered themselves in this role as well.⁶⁹ When the popularity of Joachim's prophecies combined with the fact that two powerful, generally educated and growing mendicant groups claimed to be promised in them, the result is the third element of Joachimism, the proliferation of not just his works, but pseudo-Joachite works that expand on the prophecies.

What follows from the above three elements is the fourth and most important aspect of Joachimism for this chapter and this thesis—the guided reinvention and diffusion of a particular form of activist Joachimism primarily by Franciscans who tended towards mysticism and apocalypticism towards the importance of evangelical poverty. Some Franciscans, unlike Dominicans, were less likely to regard the works of Joachim with circumspection, and would thus foster the ideas contained in them. But this diffusion would not necessarily succeed in all places in which those particular Franciscans were active; certain conditions had to be in place within a region for active Joachimism to take root. Those conditions were particularly met in the two locations for this study—Emilia Romagna and southern France.

Conditions for Activist Joachimism

The general societal conditions that supported the spread of activist Joachimism were a strong presence of mendicant orders but particularly Franciscans, a history of activist religious sentiment, and ongoing levels of disruptive violence. Southern France had the clearest tradition of any region of mendicant poverty—the Valdenses settled and flourished here, and Dominic founded his order in Languedoc. In addition to that Languedoc and Provence were originally home to the Dominicans, the Franciscans also established themselves there very early in their history. Both orders were also present in force in Emilia Romagna from the earliest full decade after their founding, establishing themselves first in Bologna and then throughout the region. Following these two large orders, the Order of Apostles, The Saccati, and the

⁶⁹ According to Reeves the Dominicans tended to view Joachim's works with more caution, Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy*, page 167.

numerous other smaller mendicant groups, like the Franciscans before them, were able to tap into a particular characteristic of the Emilia Romagna, and that is a history and culture of activist religious sentiment.

Preaching was also a common theme of activist religious sentiment in southern France and the Emilia Romagna. The Halleluiah movement of the Romagna in the 1230s serves as that area's chief example of popular preaching. The Cathars had a small presence in the area but not a strong established one. Valdensians, or the Poor Lombards as they were more commonly known here, similarly appear to have made very little impact in the Emilia Romagna. Both of these heretical groups were known to have strong ties to Lombardy, but fewer just south in the area under study. It is notable that heresy in the Emilia Romagna prior to the later thirteenth century has not been written upon as thoroughly as heresy in Lombardy; this may be due to a lack of evidence, a lack of heresy, or that it is unexplored territory.

Southern France, by comparison, had been home to preaching tours by both orthodox and heretical groups since the 12th century. Some preaching movements, such as the Cistercians in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, were foisted upon the region and not necessarily fostered by its inhabitants, but this is not the case of the evangelism of the Cathars and Valdensians. Both of these heretical groups, despite their opposing doctrines, responded to a religious need that was widespread across the region. This need was the need for more accessible outlets of religious participation. Religion that involved and spoke to the pastoral needs of the laity was a common need that had grown since the heightened expectations created by Gregorian reforms and the accompanying increase in importance of the priests and sacraments at the expense of the layman's role in religion, but in regions with more potent and centralized authority, the heretical and anticlerical groups that evolved or garnered support in response to those needs were effectively countered by that authority.⁷⁰ The church universal and the secular power tended to support one another's legitimacy in places like northern France, but in southern France and the Romagna, power was fragmented and the church hierarchy did not clearly support one leader's sovereignty over another. Thus there was no unified force

⁷⁰ For more discussion on the effects of Gregorian reforms and increased role of sacraments and priests, see Andrew Roach, *The Devil's World: Heresy and Society 1100-1300*, Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2005, 21-23.

to respond to the preachers in the streets or the heretics promising salvation if only the believer would confess all sins and join the faith at the end of his/her life.

Activist religious sentiment was not strictly confined to supporting heretics in southern France. Anticlericalism was also a widespread phenomenon, and that individuals were willing to not only talk about it, but also commit to writing their sense of the injustice and evil of the despotic priests.⁷¹ Fabio Troncarelli found several poems in Provençal dating from between the early 1200s and 1250s that attack these ‘aids of the anti-Christ’; what makes these works important as a form of activism is that in them the troubadour authors demonstrate that they feel they can judge the quality of a priest, just as troubadour Bertran of Lamanon claims that Jean Baussan, archbishop of Arles, did not know the scripture.⁷² Ironically enough, this sense of righteousness had survived the curia’s official dispersions on the religious behaviors of the region in the form of first crusade and then inquisition.

The crusade, subsequent smaller rebellions and the bloodiest events of early inquisition would also support the particular activist (and apocalyptic) Joachite thought under discussion here. Between 1208 and around 1250, the region of southern France was wracked with disruptive violence in which power was centralized under the French monarchy in the form of the king’s brothers who were given power in Toulouse and Provence. Towns like Toulouse, which had been formerly autonomous, were now subjected to greater authorities. The Cathars, who had been recognized as legitimate religious were hunted and burned as the papacy became more involved in the religious workings of southern France. Michael Costen and Philippe Wolff both noted that southern France was more economically prosperous after the crusade as the towns became even more important intellectual and commercial centers, but that does not bely the fact that fundamentally the character of the region changed. Violence may have been more normative in the medieval era, but this situation was unique in that the Albigensian crusade was the first crusade waged against people in Western Europe who called themselves Christians and that it in no way

⁷¹ Fabio Troncarelli, “Escatologia e Gioachimismo in Provenza.” In *La Vie Culturelle, Intellectuelle, et Scientifique a la Cours des Papes d’Avignon*. Editor Jacqueline Hamesse. 2006, 168.

⁷² Troncarelli, “Escatologica” 170.

related to conquering the holy land. The protracted war then left in its wake a new power structure and an inquisition, the latter of which through its tactics could have easily fostered a sense of persecution. When the war, power struggle and inquisition are all considered together, it is clear how the southern French could well have interpreted the times in which they lived to be the tribulations that would precede the apocalypse, and this left them hoping that a new era of the saintly society would soon dawn.

Though the Emilia Romagna's ongoing violence was not officially sanctioned like that of southern France, that region suffered under an ongoing pattern of disruptive fighting that encouraged active apocalyptic Joachimism. Emperor Frederick II sought to restore imperial sovereignty throughout northern Italy despite the fact that Frederick Barbarossa had been forced to reconcile with the Lombard League in 1183.⁷³ According to Daniel Waley, Frederick II's chief victory in this area was to create animosities between the communes, promising aid to his allied communes, while threatening others.⁷⁴ Salimbene described that in 1239 Frederick led the forces of Parma, Reggio, and Modena against the castle of Piumazzo in the Bolognese territories, laying waste to the castle.⁷⁵ But an alliance with the emperor did not prove particularly fruitful for Parma, as in 1247, he laid siege to the commune. Salimbene blamed the siege on Innocent IV, as he had deposed Frederick II.⁷⁶ The chronicler seems unclear as to how the pope and Parma's siege are connected otherwise, but in fact the knights banished from Parma by the emperor had returned and expelled imperial functionaries in June.⁷⁷ During the next year, the commune scored a victory, defeating the siege and destroying the new city Vittoria that Frederick was building nearby. Two years later, Frederick died of natural causes, and without

⁷³ William Chester Jordan, *Europe in the High Middle Ages* (New York: Penguin Press, 2001), page 148.

⁷⁴ Daniel Waley, *Later Medieval Europe from St Louis to Luther*, 2nd Edition (New York: Longman Group Limited, 1985), page 27.

⁷⁵ "In that same year during the months of July, August, and September, the Emperor Frederick besieged the castles of Piumazzo and Crevalcore with troops from Parma, Modena, and two hundred knights from Reggio and a thousand foot soldiers. And both these castles, which belonged to Bologna, were destroyed," Salimbene de Adam, *Chronicle*, 157.

⁷⁶ "A Lombard, Innocent was of the lineage of the counts of Lavagna, which is in the bishopric of Genoa, and he sat for eleven years, five months, and ten days. And he had formerly been a canon in the church of Parma, and he was the cause of the destruction of Parma," Salimbene de Adam, *Chronicle*, page 165.

⁷⁷ "In 1247, a few knights of Parma, who had been banished by the Emperor, came from Piacenza, entered Parma, and cast out the Emperor's party on the fifteenth day of June," Salimbene de Adam, *Chronicle*, 178.

conquering Northern Italy. But the violence brought on by his efforts was not forgotten, thus, it is thus not surprising that when Joachites from the Emilia Romagna sought an individual to fill the role of the evil emperor or the Nebuchadnezzar of the *Super Hieremiam*, they chose Frederick II.

In addition to the ongoing imperial warfare, throughout the 13th century the communes of the Emilia Romagna were also wracked by intra-town violence between the Guelph and Ghibelline factions. 'Guelph' and 'Ghibelline' were generally the pro-papal and pro-secular parties, but not this did not necessarily play out in the same fashion in every commune. In Florence, the Ghibelline government opposed the inquisition there, and because of this the region's Cathars were generally allied to the faction. However, Frederick II was also staunchly against heresy and supported the inquisition. Bologna and Parma, by comparison, were both Guelph, but neither particularly supported the inquisition, due to the fact that throughout the papacies following Rudolf of Habsburg's cession of the Romagna to the papal throne, the popes put efforts towards controlling the region. Martin IV (1281-1285) even levied a 'crusading tenth' on France to pay for his campaign against the people of the Romagna.⁷⁸

The two factions in Parma lived under an uneasy truce throughout the early 1260s, but then came into open conflict in 1263.⁷⁹ Three years later, the Ghibelline side failed to bring Parma into the party's orbit, and the Society of St. Hillary, a militant society of the lay faithful and favorite of then-pope Urban IV, became the commune's watchdog.⁸⁰ Bologna's troubles also resulted from the same factionalization; in that city the Geremei (Guelphs) and Lambertazzi (Ghibelline) were the two main parties, and their struggle came to its first halt in 1274 when the Lambertazzi were forced to leave the city. According to Antonio Ferri, even the expulsion of the Lambertazzi did not end the quarrel; fighting spread into the contado, and the commune went to war with nearby communes that housed the Lambertazzi.⁸¹ Clearly the commune's government was troubled by escalating violence between the powerful families—in 1287 the commune added to its statutes strict punishments upon the magnates for the

⁷⁸ Waley, *Later Medieval Europe*, 33.

⁷⁹ Norman Housley, "Politics and Heresy in Italy: Anti-Heretical Crusades, Orders, and Confraternities, 1200-1500," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 33:2(1982): 201.

⁸⁰ Housley, "Politics and Heresy" 202.

⁸¹ Antonio Ferri and Giancarlo Roversi, *Storia di Bologna* (Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2005), 155.

killing of any popoli or the destruction of their crops or lands. Specifically the violence in question has a date tied to it in the statute, as the statute regarding destruction of crops and land refers to violence that began in 1274.⁸² The Lambertazzi were readmitted into Bologna in 1299, but apparently the family and its allies could not come to peaceable living in the commune, and were expelled once again in 1306.

Evidence of Joachite Works in southern France and the Emilia Romagna

Not only did each of the two regions under study exhibit the same set of conditions that would support activist Joachite thought, there is evidence that works both truly written by Joachim and attributed to him after the fact were known and could be found in both southern France and the Emilia Romagna. Evidence from several chroniclers including Salimbene and letters place the works there from around 1202. The means by which they could be found there, however, is a matter of debate.

The earliest evidence for the presence of Joachite works in southern France is drawn from the letters of Raniero of Ponzo, papal legate. During the 1202 Cistercian preaching campaign in Languedoc, Raniero wrote a letter to Cistercian Arnould Amaury in which he alludes to two Joachite works, the *Liber Concordie* and his Life of St. Benedict.⁸³ In order for Arnould to have understood the allusions, he would have had to be familiar with the works—his familiarity could be the result of ties with Citeaux, or the works may well have been available to him where he was in Languedoc. Then in 1203 Innocent III wrote to Cistercian monk Jean of Bellesmains and cited the *Expositio in Apocalypsim*; this same pope refers to that work in a 1215 letter to Simon Montfort, wherein he likened the Cathars to the locusts of Revelation.⁸⁴

Later evidence demonstrates more concretely the presence of Joachite writings. Salimbene mentioned in his chronicle that in 1248 he had copied Hugh of Digne's manuscript of Joachim's *Exposito* on the Four Gospels for John of

⁸² Trevor Dean, *The Towns of Italy in the Later Middle Ages*, Translated and Annotated (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 164.

⁸³ Troncarelli, "Escatologica," 165.

⁸⁴ Troncarelli, "Escatologica," 166.

Parma, as he did not have that work.⁸⁵ Salimbene also notes that Hugh was a great Joachite, and such an expert on his doctrine that two friars from Naples came to hear him speak on Joachite matters, thus, he must have had access to more than just that work.⁸⁶ Adam Marsh, lector at the Oxford University Franciscan convent and friend to Robert Grosseteste, apparently also knew Hugh de Digne, and it may have been from him that Marsh acquired a book of Joachim's works for Grosseteste.⁸⁷ Prior to Marsh's acquisition of Joachite works, he sent Grosseteste a book on ethics by Aristotle from Hugh of Barjols, or better known as Hugh de Digne.⁸⁸ Hugh's collection may also have contained a copy of the *Super Hieremiam*, an apocalyptic commentary on the book of Jeremiah, and may have even had a hand in writing the long version.⁸⁹ Salimbene quotes the work many times, particularly in reference to the role of the emperor and the order of hunters and order of fishermen, and the work generally resounded with the apocalypticism that marked Hugh's Joachism.⁹⁰

While the Franciscan version of *Super Hieremiam* may have been composed in Provence, the means by which the actual Joachite writings reached southern France is more mysterious. E. Randolph Daniel theorized that Hugh de Digne was not a Joachite until a visit to southern Italy and that he brought texts and the doctrine back to Provence.⁹¹ Daniel based this theory on two things: first, that Salimbene did not describe Hugh as a Joachite in his record of their first meeting, and second, that Frederick II is ascribed the role of the evil

⁸⁵ "In the year of the Lord 1248 when I was with Brother Hugh in Provence at Hyères, where the Brothers of the Sack took their beginning and where Brother Hugh lived, I received from him the book that he had by Joachim commenting on the four gospels," Salimbene de Adam, *Chronicle*, 294.

⁸⁶ "At that time two Joachites from the convent at Naples came there, one of whom was Brother John of France; the other, Brother Johannino Pigulino of Parma, the cantor at Naples. They came to Hyères to see Brother Hugh and hear him speak on this doctrine," Salimbene de Adam, *Chronicle*, 231.

⁸⁷ "Paucas particulas de uariis expositionibus abbatis loachim, que ante dies aliquot per quondam fratrem uenientem de partibus transmontanis michi sunt allate, uobis inspiciendas transmittito," Adam Marsh, *The Letters of Adam Marsh*, Edited and Translated by C.H. Lawrence (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 118.

⁸⁸ "Librum ethicorum aristotelis, quem scribe fecistis uestri gratia ad opus religiosissimi uiri fratris hugonis de Berions," Adam Marsh, *Letters*, 64.

⁸⁹ Robert Moynihan, "The Development of the Pseudo-Joachim commentary *Super Hieremiam*: New Manuscript Evidence," *Melanges de l'Ecole Francaise de Rome, Moyen Age, Temps modernes* 98 (Issue 1, 1986): 138. According to Moynihan, there are two versions of the manuscript, a shorter version that was most likely written by Florentians, and a longer version that is more clearly Franciscan.

⁹⁰ The hunters and fishermen are a direct reference to Jeremiah 16:16, but the Franciscan interpreted this to refer to the orders of Dominicans and Franciscans respectively.

⁹¹ E. Randolph Daniel, "A Re-Examination of the Origins of Franciscan Joachitism," In *Speculum* 43 (October 1968): 675.

emperor by Hugh and Salimbene. But Salimbene recorded his chronicle many years after the fact, and tended to include information where he deemed it relevant; he discusses Hugh and his Joachimism elsewhere in the text. As well, the role of Frederick II could reveal the influence of Hugh's friends from Emilia Romagna, who had the lived experience of Frederick's wars just as the southern Italians did.

More likely is the course of events that Troncarelli described; that the abbot's works were brought to southern France by either the legate Raniero or the Cistercian preachers with whom he was exchanging letters. Raniero travelled the region extensively in the first years of the thirteenth century, and as he clearly felt the works had importance in refuting heretics and directing preaching, he would have left copies of Joachim's works at a Cistercian monastery.⁹² Troncarelli names one likely location of manuscripts to be an abbacy in Marseille, just thirty-one kilometers from Hugh's family home in Barjoul.⁹³

The evidence for the presence of Joachite and pseudo-Joachite manuscripts, and in particular ones that refer to prophecy and apocalypse, is somewhat more solid and is drawn from chroniclers and Franciscans. Albert Milioli, notary and resident of Reggio, referred to Joachim's *Liber Figurarum* in his *Liber de Temporibus*.⁹⁴ In Bologna, the chronicler Francesco Pippini made reference to Joachim in his *Exposito in Apocalypsim*.⁹⁵ Thomas of Pavia, Franciscan chronicler and lector in Parma, Bologna, and Ferrara, described in his works the dragon found in Joachim's *Exposito in Apocalypsim*, and well enough that is clear that he had seen it. As much of his career (other than missionary work in Greece, Dalmatia, and Bohemia) had been spent in the Romagna, this is where he most likely saw the work. Other Franciscans did not just see but sought out the works. Salimbene related that Gerard of Borgo San Donnino had requested him to retrieve the works of a 'Veronese who was skilled with prophecy' from a monastery in Modena, but Albert Cremonella, the abbot there,

⁹² Troncarelli, "Escatologica," 178.

⁹³ Troncarelli, "Escatologica," 178.

⁹⁴ Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy*, 51.

⁹⁵ Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy*, 76.

had the works scraped out of the parchment.⁹⁶ But the works of the anonymous prophet of Veneto survived in other locations throughout the Emilia Romagna; Reeves stated that manuscripts had been found in Padua and Reggio by Tondelli, an Italian historian that were both Joachimist and contained references to northern and central Italy.⁹⁷

In the Emilia Romagna, Joachite thought reached even further than allusions to his writings. An evolving mixture of pseudo-Joachimist prophecy and the words of the abbot had penetrated the region to the point that it events it described were to be found acted out in some of the region's religious activities. The episode in Salimbene's chronicle in which he referred to the boy preacher of the Apostles hearkens back to a Joachite notion that boys would come forth with the words of the gospel in the third age as young men had done in the beginning of the second.⁹⁸ That Salimbene as a Joachite would detect a Joachimist reference in the choice of a boy preacher is not surprising, but he did not create the situation, thus he did not necessarily create the Joachimism in it. As the boy had been training as a Franciscan and the Apostolic Order did have relations with the Franciscans at least in Parma, it is entirely possible that they had intended the Joachite message. Clearly the general theme of Joachite-influenced prophecy proved popular in the Romagna, as the simple and unlettered prophet Asdente was invited to breakfast by Bishop Obizzo of Parma, and here he prophesied making reference to the Sibylline oracles, Joachim and Merlin.⁹⁹

Some of the pseudo-Joachite thought floating around in the mid to late thirteenth century was clearly a product of writers in the Emilia Romagna, but this does not explain how Joachim's manuscripts reached the region. Here the chronicler is for the most part silent; Salimbene remembered that a monk in Naples brought the works of Joachim to the convent in Pisa where he was staying because the monastery feared that Frederick II would destroy them and

⁹⁶ T.L. Kington Oliphant, "The Life of Salimbene, 1221-1290," In *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 1 (1872): 257. Oliphant's work is an excerpted translation of Salimbene's Chronicle from the Latin.

⁹⁷ Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy*, 51.

⁹⁸ Salimbene, *Chronicle*, 261.

⁹⁹ Salimbene de Adam, *Chronicle*, 541.

the works,¹⁰⁰ but this does not explain how they reached the Emilia Romagna. One possibility is that Joachite Franciscans, some of whom were connected as a network, spread the works.

Franciscans, their Network, and the Spread of Joachimism

When determining who may have been involved in the diffusion of Joachite thought, it is highly notable that the particular type of Joachimism that had spread and evolve in both southern France and the Emilia Romagna is an activist, prophetic and apocalyptic form. It was entirely possible to adopt a contemplative form of Joachite thought—the Florentian monks were not known for missionary or preaching efforts—but the particular form that tended to resound with Franciscans who became Joachite was one that emphasized their role, as a new order that would usher in the third age. This advent of a third age evolved to include an apocalypse and prophecy regarding it, all of which once again gave the brothers minor a prominent role. Thus it seems entirely reasonable to say that Joachite Franciscans were the individuals responsible for the spread and growth of Joachite/pseudo-Joachite thought.

Salimbene mentions but does not emphasize that he and other Franciscans were spreading the beliefs. He noted that many educated persons flocked to hear Hugh of Digne speak of Joachite notions; as he was a well-known religious, this meant that rather than being a curiosity to the gathered crowds, they came because they most likely believed him.¹⁰¹ If indeed Hugh was involved in the writing of *Super Hieremiam*, he was probably spreading not just Joachite thought in its original form, but an evolved and more apocalyptic form. Salimbene himself was also spreading the word. He noted in his chronicle that he had read Joachim's *Exposito* on Isaiah to Azzo, marquess of Este and lord of Ferrara.¹⁰² He was in Reggio at the time that Milioli was writing his *Liber*, and

¹⁰⁰ Ephraim Emerton, "Fra Salimbene and the Franciscan Ideal," In *The Harvard Theological Review*, 8 (October 1915): 487.

¹⁰¹ "And there were a large number of notaries, judges, physicians, and learned men there who, on solemn feast days, would gather in Brother Hugh's chambers to hear him speak on the doctrine of Joachim, teaching and expounding on the mysteries of Holy Scripture and predicting the future," Salimbene de Adam, *Chronicle*, 228.

¹⁰² Oliphant, "The Life of Salimbene," 269-270.

knew the man, thus perhaps he even had a hand in the notary's knowledge of the Joachim prophecy.¹⁰³

As well Franciscans may have been involved in any reference to Joachite thought in Segarelli's Apostolic Order, as he had been often at the Franciscan church in Parma before he founded his own order. Salimbene claimed that Segarelli was a base idiot who chosen to sit about in the church when he was refused by the Franciscans and during his time of reflection came up the idea of his new life; it seems probable that Segarelli had gone through a novitiate at the church before he was refused and knew Franciscans there, some of which may have introduced him to Joachim's works.¹⁰⁴

Franciscan friars also had not just the interest in the works, but the itinerant lifestyle and network that would have permitted them to spread ideas. Salimbene was exposed to Joachimism in Pisa, and then visited Hugh of Digne in Hyeres for more elucidation on the subject. At Aix, he copied a manuscript borrowed from Hugh for John of Parma, and then was sent to Ferrara, where he educated at least one layperson on a Joachite work. He was also in Parma, Bologna, Reggio (at the time of Milioli's writing), and Modena. And Salimbene was not the only Franciscan for whom this travel was common. John of Parma was initiated in Parma, but soon thereafter taught as lector of theology in Bologna and Naples, then 'read the sentences' in Paris. As Minister General of the order, he travelled constantly on visitations, which gave him greater chance to interact not just with other Franciscans in general, but also Joachite Franciscans, and to spread what he knew of Joachimism. Hugh of Digne traveled through Lucca where he met Salimbene, and then through Naples, where he most likely met the Neapolitan Joachite friars that Salimbene would later meet in Hyeres and that John would have known as former lector of Naples.¹⁰⁵

Because of this itinerant lifestyle, creating and maintaining a network of Joachites for the purposes of spreading ideas and texts amongst themselves was easier. As noted earlier, Salimbene knew both Hugh and John of Parma, and copied a work from the former to give to the latter. Through Hugh, Salimbene also met Joachite friars from Naples, but it was through John of Parma that he first came into contact with Gerard of Borgo San Donnino. Gerard has become

¹⁰³ Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy*, 52.

¹⁰⁴ Salimbene de Adam, *Chronicle*, 250.

¹⁰⁵ Salimbene de Adam, *Chronicle*, 231.

one of the better known members of the Joachite network as the result of his condemnation—in his *Eternal Evangel*, he claimed that Joachim's writings would in effect replace the Bible in the coming third age, a completely heretical thought—but prior to his condemnation, Gerard was just a Franciscan friar.

Angelo of Clareno claimed that Gerard was one of John's companions, and even credited him with prophecy during John's legate mission to Greece.¹⁰⁶ Salimbene never notes Gerard amongst John's companions, though he does give a fairly long list of those men,¹⁰⁷ and as well it is important to bear in mind that Angelo is writing almost a century after the fact, and was not part of the network. It is, however, possible that Salimbene still knew Gerard through John, as Gerard may have been a student of John's at the Naples convent where he was posted, and that as two Joachite thinkers remained friends after John's promotion.¹⁰⁸ It cannot be reliably established where John of Parma learned of Joachim's works, but it could well have been Bologna or Naples, as he served as lector in both of these places. The connection between John and Gerard and that John had been known to be a Joachite would explain why John was forced to resign office when Gerard's work on the *Eternal Evangel* was condemned and he was sentenced to prison. But before that point, Gerard was an active member of this network, travelling to Hyeres to hear Hugh of Digne, and disputing his thoughts on Joachim's theories with Salimbene. His written work was the most obvious attempt to spread Joachite thought, and in this he differed from his fellows in the network and foreshadowed the next generation of Joachite/apocalyptic thinkers who would be clearly associated with their own versions of Joachite history and the End Times.

Conclusions

The lifespan of the Joachite Franciscan network was rather short-lived. Gerard's condemnation and John's subsequent fall from grace removed them from the network, while Frederick II's death denied the prophetic role attributed to him and thus disillusioned Salimbene. The particular form of Joachite thought of which they had been part and that they had helped to

¹⁰⁶ Angelo of Clareno, *A Chronicle or History of the Seven Tribulations of the Order of the Brothers Minor*, David Burr and E. Randolph Daniel, translators, Franciscan Institute Publications, New York: The Franciscan Institute, St. Bonaventure University, 2005, 102.

¹⁰⁷ Salimbene de Adam, *Chronicle*, 558-559.

¹⁰⁸ It cannot be reliably established where John of Parma learned of Joachim's works, but it could well have been Bologna or Naples, as he served as lector in both of these places.

spread, however, remained in both the Emilia Romagna and southern France, where it survived particularly amongst mendicant circles and would come to touch the Marches of Ancona. Franciscans who were more inclined towards strict poverty would continue to add their own works to the genre of evolved Joachimism, while the Order of Apostles would begin to create their own vision under the umbrella of Joachite thought.

Chapter 2: Evolution of an Innovation--Towards the Apocalypse

In the previous chapter it was demonstrated that the religious climate of Emilia Romagna and Languedoc/Provence were very similar. The Romagna and southern France had very similar relationship to mendicant orders, but as well both regions were influenced by the culture of mendicant Joachite thought. In Languedoc/Provence, a minority of Franciscans were the primary adherents to Joachitism while the Romagna's Joachitism could be found amongst Franciscans but was mostly attributed to the Apostolic Order. But regardless of the carrier of the religious philosophy, southern France and the Emilia Romagna would remain comparable on this point even through the evolution of both orders and Joachitism itself.

Throughout the last quarter of the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth centuries, this Joachite mendicancy of the Romagna and southern France evolved from a prophetic tendency into a full-blown apocalyptic one. In the first three quarters of the century, the end of an era as predicted by Joachim could easily be derided as the year 1260 came and went without any clearly transitional event that indicated the coming of the apocalypse. Even committed Joachites could be dissuaded, as Salimbene noted in his chronicle that he turned away from the prophecies of the abbot because of this lack of transition, and that Frederick II died of natural causes in 1250 rather than in the manner prescribed by Joachim.¹ But events of that later thirteenth/fourteenth century period (the changing nature of poverty, the succession of popes) revived a form of Joachitism, as they were interpreted to be signposts for a coming apocalypse by certain mendicant friars most concerned with holy poverty. Two men in particular did not miss these signposts—Franciscan friar Peter John Olivi and the second leader of the Apostolic Order, Fra Dolcino. These men, like Joachim a century before them, became prophets of their own apocalypses and purveyors of their own vision of not just the future, but the history of the church. To garner legitimacy for their visions of the End and support their interpretations of history, both Peter John Olivi and Fra Dolcino cited the Bible, though each had his own specific twist employed in the use of the scriptures.

¹ Salimbene de Adam, *Cronica*, Giuseppe Scalia, editor, Volumes I and II (Bari: Laterza, 1966), 441.

Due to both his status as a heresiarch and Bernard Gui's characterization of Dolcino, the common understanding of the Apostolic leader's biblical references is that they were skewed to fit an unorthodox apocalypse.² Olivi's work, while it was condemned, is often not judged as harshly by scholars, but he also refers frequently to Joachim, an author who had been condemned for trinitarianism.

The following chapter will be devoted to considering this apocalypticism as the evolution of the Joachite innovation in both the Franciscan and Apostolic Orders. First, the change in conditions at the end of the thirteenth century that served as catalyst for the apocalyptic leanings of both Peter John Olivi and Fra Dolcino will be discussed. Following from that their writings will be considered in terms of that most important of medieval sources of legitimacy, the bible. More specifically, this chapter will discuss how each author referred to the Old Testament prophets Jeremiah, Zachariah, Ezekiel and Isaiah and the New Testament's Revelation, in particular, the vision of the seven churches, the whore of Babylon and the antichrist. For that analysis, Dolcino's use of the bible and the comparison of Olivi's work to it will be the focus, as while record of Dolcino's theology is fragmented, considering those fragments in tandem with the more complete work of another apocalyptic Joachite mendicant may serve to fill some of the gaps in the received knowledge of the Apostolic Order.

I: The Conditions for Reinvention

The characteristics of the time span currently under consideration that spurred a shift in Joachite apocalypticism differed slightly for the spiritual Franciscans and the Apostles. Both were touched by issues in the papacy and the accompanying developments in expectations of the popes from an apocalyptic perspective. But from there the conditions diverge as per the nature of the subject order. The changing nature of apostolic poverty and intra-order strife primarily affected the Franciscans, while the crackdown on mendicant orders and Pope Boniface VIII's efforts to root out enemies in Italy were felt more strongly by the Apostles.

² Bernard Gui, *De Secta*, RIS IX *Historia Fratris Dulcini*, "Interpretans secundum suum pravam intellectum multa de scripturarum prophetarum et veteris ac novi testamenti...", 21.

Franciscans and the Conditions for Change

Bernard McGinn came to the conclusion in his article, “Angel Pope and Papal Antichrist,” that an acceptance of Joachite ideas about the papacy had led to an expectation of a *pastor angelicus* who would lead the true spiritual church after apocalypse’s beginning.³ This angelic pope was not a reformer, but a holy contemplative, an idea that had been semi-buried in the abbot’s works for three-quarters of a century, becoming popular currency in this time period.⁴

It could be argued that the Franciscans supported the reformer popes as it was through them that they were granted approval (Innocent III and Honorius III) and that even the spirituals encouraged reform through Liberato’s request to Celestine V to leave the Franciscan order to set up the Poor Celestines while maintaining the Franciscan rule.⁵ But besides that one request granted though not upheld by successors, Spiritual Franciscans and other rigorist mendicants had reasons to dislike the curia. Salimbene informs that Hugh de Digne was hated by both Alexander IV and Nicholas III (who had both been correctors and governors of the Franciscans) for his Joachitism.⁶ If this anecdote can be extended, it is not difficult to imagine a troubled relationship between these popes and the Spirituals, many of whom were also at least somewhat Joachite. Then Martin IV in 1281 expanded the ministry of the Franciscan order by giving the friars the right to preach and hear confession without the permission of the local diocese or bishop with the decree *ad fructus uberes*.⁷ This papal decree was against the order’s Rule; article IX of the Rule of Francis specifically admonished his spiritual sons that they ‘must not preach in the diocese of any bishop if they have been forbidden to do so by him.’⁸ While the Dominican Order chose to take the path of self-denial with regards to that document as they simply did not preach where they were not permitted, amongst the Franciscans there was more

³ Bernard McGinn, “Angel Pope and Papal Antichrist,” *Church History* 47 (June, 1978): 173.

⁴ McGinn, “Angel Pope,” 158.

⁵ Angelo Clareno, *A Chronicle or History of the Seven Tribulations of the Order of the Brothers Minor*, David Burr and E. Randolph Daniel, translators (New York: The Franciscan Institute, St. Bonaventure University, 2005), 150.

⁶ Angelo Clareno, *Tribulations*, 156.

⁷ Salimbene, *Chronicle*, 301.

⁸ Regis Armstrong, Wayne Hellman et al, *Francis of Assisi—The Founder: Early Documents Volume 2* (London: New City Press, 2000), 764.

⁸ The Rule of Francis, 3rd edition (1223), <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/stfran-rule.html>, accessed 08/12/2010.

of an outcry against it.⁹ Though most of the Minorites were opposed to *ad fructus uberes*, the friars who were the most attached to honoring the intentions of the founder without modification (zelanti, spirituals) were the most incensed by the decree.

At times Franciscans were at odds with the vicars of Christ as a result of decisions curtailing their ministries; according to the chronicler, Innocent IV had composed a letter to the Minorites that they were not to open their churches until the afternoon, such that the secular churches would not be denied their offerings.¹⁰ This particular decree was never enacted—according to Salimbene, Alexander IV burned it.¹¹ Corroborating evidence for Salimbene’s recollection is not forthcoming, but Alexander IV’s bull *nec insolitum* of 1254 did address the issue in that here the pope reiterated Innocent IV’s prohibition on usurpation of the care of souls by friars. Amongst other items, this bull prohibited preaching by the friars prior to the celebration of mass or gathering the faithful ‘at the first hour of the day’, i.e., before the secular churches celebrated mass.¹²

Contributing to these difficult relations was the occasional papal intervention in the evolving nature of Franciscan poverty. The disagreements over the practice of poverty within the order began very early in the history of the order in the time of Francis, and essentially shaped the entire order until the 1270s when the order internally fractured along the lines of the dispute.¹³ Angelo of Clareno wrote that it was during the deliberations of the Council of Lyons II (1273-1274) that a rumor that the Franciscans would be forced to retain property reached the rigorists of the Marches of Ancona, leading to an outcry amongst them.¹⁴ Five provincial ministers determined in discussion that the

⁹ John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order, From its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 182.

¹⁰ Salimbene, *Chronicle*, 425.

¹¹ Salimbene, *Chronicle*, 425.

¹² Alexander IV, *Nec insolitum*, <http://www.franciscan-archive.org/index2.html>, accessed 08/12/2010.

¹³ The Assisi Compilation (1244-1260), chapter XVI, noted that the ministers of the nascent Franciscan order requested of their spiritual father that the brothers be allowed to hold some things in common. This is event set earliest in the order’s history that points to strife over poverty, though the bull *Quo Elongati* (Gregory IX, 1230) is the earliest papal intervention over the matter.

¹⁴ Angelo Clareno, *Tribulations*, 150. “For at the time when the general council called by the holy pope of blessed memory Gregory x was being celebrated, a rumor spread through Italy that the supreme pontiff had decreed in the aforesaid council that the friars minor, preachers, and others should be given property. Hearing this most of the friars accepted it, while some—though only a few—took it very badly and, unable to (in fact, not wanting to) hide what was in their

rigorists were ‘schismatics, corrupted by the stain of heresy’ and imprisoned their leaders, but their decision was overturned and their prisoners released by the Minister General Raymond Geoffroi.¹⁵ But while the minister general had the power to free the rigorist Franciscans of the marches, he could not end the debate between them and their Conventual brothers over the matter of poverty.¹⁶

Pope Nicholas III, in an effort to peaceably resolve the intra-Franciscan order strife, called upon the wisdom of an assortment of Franciscans such as Peter John Olivi and theologians and cardinals outside the order such as the future pope Boniface VIII to advise on matters of the nature of the rule, evangelical poverty and the difference between use and dominion.¹⁷ In 1279 Nicholas III released the bull *Exiit qui seminat*. With this decree the pope sought to definitively end the debate by stating three things: the Minorites had the right of use of things while the church held ownership over those things, that the use of those things should maintain the appearance of poverty (*usus pauper*) and not be extravagant, and that this debate was to not be opened again. Other historians—David Burr, John Moorman, Malcolm Lambert, have taken up the importance of this bull and its role in Franciscan history with more detail and at greater length—thus it will not be rehashed here. What is cogent to the evolution of the Joachite/apocalyptic innovation is that while the concept of *usus pauper* was stated in the text of this decree, it was not specifically defined. It was this point that one particular Franciscan Joachite, Peter John Olivi, took up and attempted to define.

David Burr succinctly defined the *usus pauperis* controversy as not being about whether there was a requirement of poor use, as that has already been established, but rather what the exact relationship was between the obligation of poor use and the Franciscan vows.¹⁸ Olivi writing in 1279 and 1281 surmised that poor use was part of the vow, thus an obligation. His two primary works on

hearts, disclosed their feelings to their brethren, if the matter happened to be discussed in public.”

¹⁵ Angelo Clareno, *Tribulations*, 150.

¹⁶ The dispute between the Italian rigorists would continue into the mid 14th century, but for the purposes of this chapter, this is where coverage of their story will end.

¹⁷ While there is debate as to how involved Peter John Olivi was in this discussion, David Burr and John Moorman at least agreed that Olivi did play some role.

¹⁸ David Burr, “The Correctorium Controversy and the Origins of the Usus Pauper Controversy” *Speculum* 60 (April 1985): 332.

the matter, the *Tractatus* and the *Quaestio* contain long, complicated arguments on the matter, including that Francis, who clearly lived in a fashion that called for the strictest interpretation of poverty, had essentially lived according to the life of Christ, and that one could not call a strict *usus pauper* interpretation heretical without referring back to the life of Christ himself.¹⁹ His detractors, while they agreed with the fundamental notion of poor use, argued against an obligation to it, as such a thing would be indeterminate at best and if this indeterminate poor use was part of the vow, then failing to uphold it would be a mortal sin against the vow.²⁰ In this debate, Olivi's detractors carried the day. Olivi's works on the matter were condemned and he was removed from his post as lector in Provence, and sent to Florence.

But this was not the end of Olivi's influence. Olivi continued to write, and was eventually permitted to return to southern France, where he lived out his days in Narbonne, and where he wrote his *Lectura Super Apocalypsim*, a lengthy tract in which he laid out his own vision of an apocalypse in which the spiritual men must separate from the carnal church, a thought possibly fueled by a bitterness towards the church that disdained his interpretation of poor use, and indeed seemed heading down a path of corruption. It was this work and Olivi's *usus pauper* that had real influence over his brethren in southern France; In 1290 Nicholas IV informed the Franciscan ministers that they were to take action against some Franciscans in that region that felt themselves holier than their brethren and were inciting schism within the order.²¹ Though what exactly these men advocated at that point in history is not clear, it can be surmised from Angelo's description of Peter John:

“The prophecy transmitted by the angel to saint Cyril calls Peter John the sun because of the sublimity of his virtues and his illustrious, unflagging

¹⁹ Peter John Olivi, *Quaestio de Usu Paupere*, Edited and Transcribed by David Burr, Italian Medieval and Renaissance Studies 4 (Perth: University of West Australia, 1992), 32. “Preterea non solum falsum sed etiam hereticum esset dicere paupertatem aliquam esse perfectiorem quam evangelicam. Sed certum est paupertatem illam que vovebit pauperem usum cum abdicatione omnis iuris esse maiorem quam illam que absque primo solum vovet istud secundum. Ergo hereticum est dicere in voto paupertatis evangelice pauperem usum non includi. Sed regula francisci et tota eius vita dicit se profiteri evangelium Christi, quod nichil est dictum si ad plenum ad evangelicam perfectionem non obligat iuxta modum illum quo obligantur apostolici Christi, de quo nullus sane mentis dicet quod periculose obligarentur seu ad aliquid periculosum.”

²⁰ David Burr, “Correctorium Controversy,” 332.

²¹ Decima Douie, *The Nature and the Effect of the Heresy of the Fraticelli* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1932), 90.

incorruptibility, because of the most remarkable multiformity of his divinely infused wisdom and his knowledge, and because of the truth of his ardent and Christiform love of God and neighbor.”²²

This above ‘prophecy’ may be part of the pseudo-prophecy *Oraculum angelicum*; according to legend, Cyril of Constantinople, the hermit of Mt. Carmel, received two silver tablets with prophetic inscriptions on them.²³ But this ‘prophecy’ may have also been the creation of the Spirituals, one that was specifically created to make Olivi seem like someone whose existence had been prophesied.

The Apostolic Order and Conditions for Change

The Council of Lyons II proved a turning point not just for the rigorist Franciscans, but also for the Apostolic Order, as it was at this council that Gregory X, who wished to diminish the burden on the people from the proliferation of mendicant orders, dispersed (amongst others) the Apostles.²⁴ Prior to this council the papacy had chosen not to act on the matter of non-approved and/or new religious orders. Some of the younger orders, such as the Penitents of Jesus Christ (Saccati) and the Friars of the Blessed Mary of Areno had received approval despite the fact that the decision of Lateran IV should have prevented any new forms of religious rules and new orders, while others such as the Gaudenti and the Apostles, were simply not prohibited prior to 1274. The genesis of this council decision has been theorized upon—Frances Andrews noted that the Franciscans and Dominicans had representatives at this council, and that the former had reason to wish to destroy these competing orders.²⁵ On the other hand, Richard Emery found evidence that the first formal suggestion to limit the number of mendicant orders came from Dominican sources; he cited the *Opus Tripartitum* by Humbert of Romans (1254-1263), in which the author claimed that the number of mendicants could increase beyond the level of

²² Angelo of Clareno, *Tribulations*, 132.

²³ <http://carmelnet.org/biographies/Cyril.pdf> has a short description of Cyril. Also, see Paul Piur, *Urkundliche Quellen zur Geschichte Rienzos Oraculum Angelicum Cyrilli und Kommentar des Pseudojoachim* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1912), 223-327.

²⁴ Salimbene, *Chronicle*, 249.

²⁵ Frances Andrews, *The Other Friars: The Carmelites, Augustinian, Sack and Pied Friars in the Middle Ages* (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2006), 19-20.

sustainability by laity.²⁶ Salimbene may have been correct as to the burden of proliferating mendicants being the reason that the curia took a stand. But it is also likely that Gregory X had just taken notice of a trend that had been emergent since the early 13th century, that the church had lost control of what could be considered orthodox Christian religious life, and that this was to be the first attempt since the time of Innocent III to rectify that situation.

Lyons II should have been able to effectively destroy the Apostolic Order as it did the Saccati and the Pieds, but Segarelli's group carried on under his leadership for the next quarter century, and if Salimbene is to be trusted on this matter, without even a hint of the desperation that shrouded the persecuted Franciscans. Even in 1294 when Segarelli was imprisoned and four heretics (possibly of his order) were burned, the order does not seem to have adopted a more apocalyptic tone or even to be generally under attack as there are no inquisitorial processes that feature Apostles from their strongholds of Parma, Bologna, or Trento.²⁷ But then in 1300, everything changed. Segarelli was burned for heresy, the first inquisitorial depositions of Apostles appear in the records, and Fra Dolcino claims leadership of the group with his apocalyptic message.

The sudden persecution of the Apostles fit into two turn-of-the -century trends—a general renewed drive to root out heresy in Italy and Boniface's efforts to destroy any perceived threats to him; at the intersection of these two event arcs was the Emilia Romagna, the home of the Apostles. Heresy was persecuted throughout Italy—Manfreda the leader of the sect of Gugliemites was burned outside Milan in 1300 and the bones of Guglielma were exhumed and burned from their resting place near the Cistercian abbey of Chiaravalle.²⁸ As well, the inquisitorial efforts had reached into the Emilia previously. The aforementioned burnings that had coincided with Segarelli's imprisonment had been preceded by burnings of two women in 1279 in Parma.²⁹ Five years after Segarelli's imprisonment, two men were burned in Bologna for Catharism, and the bones of a woman were exhumed and burned.

²⁶ Richard Emery, "The Second Council of Lyons and the Mendicant Orders," *Catholic Historical Review* 39:3 (October 1953): 259.

²⁷ A. Segarizzi, editor, *Chronicon Parmense*, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, IX (Citta di Castello, 1902), 67.

²⁸ Grado Merlo, *Eretici ed eresie medievale*, (Bologna: Societa editrice Il mulino, 1989), 115.

²⁹ RIS, *Chronicon Parmense*, 35.

At first glance, these outcomes of inquisitorial activity seem fairly normal in that there are only a few burnings in any given deposition period, though it is notable that no records remain for the 1279 inquisition in Parma, and that few people were questioned on Catharism in Bologna. But it was the fallout that made these inquisitions unusual and seem not worth the trouble or cost to the authorities. Following the 1279 burnings, the people of Parma rose up and sacked the house of the Preachers, sending the Dominicans fleeing for their lives and demanding an interdict that was not to be lifted until 1282.³⁰ The 1299 Bolognese burnings led to a riot as well, one that would come up in hundreds of depositions after the fact as the Dominican inquisitors brought the unruly townspeople to heel.

The increasing frequency of ecclesiastical action against heresy throughout the Romagna does coincide with the nascent efforts to curb the Apostles, but it may be more sensible to connect their persecution with that of other religious dissidents and in particular the spirituals. The rigorist Franciscans and Apostles were frequently conflated by Boniface VIII and other church officials; in a letter circa 1305 the inquisitor Tommaso of Averso claimed that he had captured forty members of the sect of Dolcino, but in reality he had imprisoned about thirty-nine of the rigorist Franciscan-cum-Celestinian fra Liberato's brothers, and one Apostle.³¹ The inquisitor may have made his erroneous statement because by 1305 the Apostles were commonly understood by secular authorities to be heretical, but he could not have done so and expected to be believed if there were not common behaviors and beliefs that made it possible to confuse Apostles and Franciscans.

In the 1290s in Bologna, allies of the rigorists and the Apostles shared common inquisitorial woes. In 1299, Boniface VIII's campaign against his rival family the Colonna touched the Romagna around the same time that Zaccaria (the well-known Apostolic friar) was first questioned. Boniface had a very real and ongoing rivalry with the Colonna; they had decried his papal election, but they were also supporters of the rigorist Franciscans.³² But further afield from battles with the family itself, the pope found himself at odds with supporters

³⁰ RIS, *Chronicon Parmense*, 35, 39.

³¹ Angelo of Clarenò, *Tribulations*, 170.

³² The dispute between Boniface VIII and the Colonna and their relationship to the Spirituals will be discussed in depth in the chapter, "The Church and the Heretics".

such as Dominus Vanni Ghiandonus of Florence, a scholar of law in Bologna.³³ Two years before, he had heard another Florentine staying in Bologna say that Boniface was not the pope and that the action against the Colonnas was illicit.³⁴ A Dominican friar, Manfredinus of Campagnola, had spoken with Attolinus at an inquisitor's sermon; the friar castigated Attolinus for impeding the inquisition by interrupting the sermon, and the fellow claimed that the Colonnas were better than the friars.³⁵ Attacks on the Dominicans because of their involvement in inquisitions in Bologna were common—many of the rioters claimed to have heard disparaging statements uttered about the Preachers while several of the Apostolic friars referred to their end in depositions. The predicted destruction of the Dominicans combined with the Apostles' anti-Boniface stance and rigorist tendencies shared with dissident Franciscans suggests that the crack-down on Apostles more closely fits the stream of confronting dissidents that included the Colonna supporters and Spirituals than the one on Cathars, which was a concurrent stream that rarely referenced anti-Dominican or anti-Boniface sentiment.

Conditions Set for Apocalypticism

Thus the conditions were set for an apocalyptic turn for both rigorist Franciscans and Apostles. The fundamental values of the groups were threatened; evangelical poverty was a more clearly recognized value of the Franciscans than the Apostles, but in that the latter's existence as a mendicant order was threatened means that they too were affected by changes in orthodox religious poverty. Both were persecuted, one by other members of their own order and the inquisitions, the other by the inquisitions alone. And both sects were to be found in the regions heavily influenced by Joachitism, southern France and Emilia Romagna.

The argument has been made by Borgono that a discussion on the biblical commentary of Dolcino has no relevance because the evidence is drawn from Bernard Gui and that he simply took apocalyptic ideas that were circulating

³³ Acts, 62.

³⁴ "Item dixit quod audivit dictum Andream dicentem quod libenter vellet quod bellum esset in paradise inter sanctos et quod unus interficeret alium et occideret. Item quod papa Bonifacius non est vere papa et quicquid fecit contra Collumpnenses non de iure fecit..."Acts, 62.

³⁵ "Attolinus dixerat quod illi de Columpna, de quibus loquebatur dictus inquisitor in dicta predicatione, errant meliores homines quam fratres..." Acts, 69.

around, highlighted the ones that were similar to those of the Beguins, and ascribed them to Dolcino.³⁶ If this were the case, however, there would have been no reason to create differences between the two heretics' commentaries. It is not as though Gui wouldn't have known the heretical Franciscan's works well enough to properly attribute his ideas to Dolcino; Olivi's works would have been available to Gui, and as well the inquisitor questioned many Beguins. When put side by side, the differences as will be demonstrated here are quite noticeable, and relate heavily to the orders' respective situations.

II: The Use of the Bible in Olivi and Dolcino's Joachite Innovations

At that point in the histories of the rigorist Franciscans and the Apostolic Order, when the sects were both facing persecution, the theologians Peter John Olivi and Fra Dolcino penned works that essentially said that the end times had come. Each of these leaders penned an interpretation of the apocalypse that was based on a trope pioneered by Joachim—each man designed a system of epochs of history overlaid with seven ages, and each saw his own age as the sixth age, the one that would shortly lead to the great consummation of history in the seventh. The idea of ages and epochs was not entirely new before the abbot of Fiore, but his use of the bible in interpreting history, according to Delno West and Sandra Zimdars-Swartz, was in fact quite novel. West and Zimdars-Swartz found that Joachim studied prophecy to understand events of the past, present, and future, and he considered prophecy to be not merely morally instructional, but genuine descriptors/predictors of events.³⁷

Much like the influential abbot, Dolcino and Olivi reference Old Testament prophets, using them to understand the present and future, but their focus was not so strongly upon the entirety of Christian history but the events of their own days and the apocalyptic future. Joachim also conceived of an apocalypse and a great change in society, but his vision had less urgency to it; there was a future in the third status, that of the holy spirit as begun in the time of Benedict and would be consummated in the time of the two new orders yet to

³⁶ Federica Borgono, "Dolcino da Novara: il problema delle fonti," *Bollettino storico-bibliografico subalpino* 105 (2007), 210.

³⁷ Delno West and Sandra Zimdar-Swartz, *Joachim of Fiore, A Study in Spiritual Perception and History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), 110.

be, before the rise of the antichrist and the end events. Dolcino and Olivi, however, saw little beyond the horizon other than an impending antichrist, though each one would use key visions of the apocalypse differently.

The Old Testament

Jeremiah/Obadiah

The prophet Jeremiah and his contemporary Obadiah lived in and wrote of a time that was very symbolically important for the 14th century Joachite apocalyptic writer. Joachim referred to the time of King Josiah, the Deuteronomic reformer, as the beginning of the second status, the status that would ‘bear fruit’ in the coming of Jesus.³⁸ Jeremiah lived and prophesied during and after that reign, and predicted the coming of the Babylonian invasion and exile, while Obadiah’s prophecy is set in the latter portion of Jeremiah’s time, and has a strict focus on the proclamation against the people of Edom.³⁹

According to Bernard Gui, who was supposedly describing Dolcino’s theology from his letters and the deposition of an Apostle that he tried, the Apostolic leader referred to the downfall of Edom as predicted by both Jeremiah and Obadiah. More specifically, with regards to Jeremiah, Dolcino quoted 49:19 about God’s intentions to drive the Edomites from their lands.⁴⁰ Who the lion is in the original text is somewhat unclear, but later lines suggest that the inhabitants of the pasture, the Edomites, are a flock that could easily be dragged away by the predator, who in this case is God in his aspect as defender of the chosen people (Jews) against their rival people, the children of Esau. In Dolcino’s interpretation, the lion becomes Frederick III the king of Sicily.⁴¹ The

³⁸ Joachim of Fiore, Selection C: The book of Concordance, book 2, part 1, chapter 5, in *Apocalyptic Spirituality: Treatises and Letters of Lactantius, Adso of Montier-en-der, Joachim of Fiore, The Franciscan Spirituals, Savonarola*, translator Bernard McGinn (Spck: London, 1980), 125.

³⁹ Edom was south and east of Israel, at the lower end of the Dead Sea in modern day Saudi Arabia.

⁴⁰ “Look, like a lion he climbs from the thickets of the Jordan to the perennial pasture! In a flash, I shall make them run away, and there appoint someone I shall choose.”

⁴¹ Bernard Gui, “De Secta,” Segarizzi, A., editor, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, Volume 9, “Historia Fratris Dulcini Heresiarche.” (Citta di Castello, 1902), “Tertium vero papam dicit esse successorem bonifacii quem non nominat nomine proprio, sed de ipso exponit quod dicitur in ieremia propheta de esau legato et infra de babilone magni ubi dicitur: ecce quasi leo ascendat de superbia lordanis et XLIX, 19, et infra; quis erit electus primo post mortem bonfacii de novo factus etc, que secuntur. Et exponit leonem esse fredericum regem cicilie...”, 23.

lion (Frederick) will come in the next year (1304) and defeat the pope, the cardinals, and as well all the rest of corrupted Rome.⁴²

By extension of Biblical analogy, if Frederick is Jeremiah's lion, then the church hierarchy is the people of Edom, the successors of Esau. While Esau was first born and best loved by his father Isaac, it was his twin brother Jacob that took both his birthright and the blessing. The Apostolic Order is the Jewish people, the spiritual Israel who would reap the benefits of an angry God who through his weapon Frederick would lay low the surrounding enemy peoples after years of suffering heaped on the chosen people. Thus Dolcino's use of the prophecies of Jeremiah are a promise of retribution to his persecuted brethren, a guarantee that an ally that had not yet made himself known in their plight would rise up and destroy their enemies.

Dolcino's reference to Obadiah is found earlier in Gui's text but builds on his use of Jeremiah just as the prophet's work referred back to the themes of his contemporary. Gui's paraphrase of the friar is not as detailed as his citation of the Jeremiah quote; he refers obliquely to the prophet by name twice.⁴³ But the inquisitor also notes Obadiah in that the mountains were a place of salvation.⁴⁴ This suggests that Dolcino's intended comparison was to 1:17 Obadiah, "But on Mount Zion will be those who have escaped—it will be a sanctuary".⁴⁵ From this, it is not difficult to see that Dolcino means that once again his small order will retain the role of the true spiritual church, and that he may have even been calling his followers to the mountain before his third letter, as this reference is to his second missive.

Olivi, though he does not use the same sections of Jeremiah, does reference the prophet 12 times.⁴⁶ In this friar's work the emphasis shifts from prophecies concerning Edom to ones focusing on Babylon and numerology. To

⁴² *RIS Historia*, "Et exponit leonem esse fredericum regem cecilie que dicit venturam anno proximo tunc venture MCCCIII super maliciosum papam novum et super cardinales secum ed consumendum secum totem romanam malitiosam ...," 23.

⁴³ *RIS Historia*, "et propositum temple qui fecit sibi fieri monumentum, et ymaginem supra petram sicut esse viva; et in abdia propheta de legato esau," and only as the prophet referring to Jacob earlier, both 23.

⁴⁴ *RIS Historia*, "et in abdia dicitur in fine: in monte supra erit salvation 17," 23.

⁴⁵ "But on Mount Zion will be those who have escaped—it will be a sanctuary—and the house of Jacob will recover what is rightfully theirs."

⁴⁶ While Olivi does not cite Jeremiah 49, he does cite another group of verses (50:41-43) that appear right before a verse where the exact same words are repeated, except that here they are aimed at Babylon, not Edom.

Olivi, just as it was to Joachim and Dolcino, numbers were magical, and numbers from the Old Testament were predictors of elements in future events. Peter John's use of numbers is beyond the scope of this comparison as they flow through the entirety of his *Lectura*; these include the seven heads of the dragon of Revelation as the seven enemies of Christianity and the four stages of the church overlaid with the three status and seven ages, but the importance of parallelism in the numbers in Jeremiah and Revelation will be discussed. His use of the proclamations of Jeremiah bears a similar amount of nuance that really differentiates him from Dolcino. While Olivi does see a need for the spiritual man to leave the church as Jeremiah left the synagogue before its destruction, unlike Jeremiah—who prophesied that God would 'raise up a league of mighty nations to attack Babylon'—he does not perceive the secular powers as his allies.⁴⁷ Rather, the kings of Jeremiah 50:41-43 that in Jeremiah's text come from the north and destroy Babylon are compared to the kings of Revelation 17:13, the ten kings who aid the beast/Antichrist in its war against Christ.⁴⁸ This particular comparison is very troubled in that the beast of Revelation is associated with Babylon, who is the whore that appears concurrently with him and controls the kings, while the kings of Jeremiah serve as the tools of God. The only clear reason for the difference between the two friars' regard of secular powers is that Dolcino may have been attempting to appeal to the pro-Spiritual Sicilian king to assist his order, while Olivi and his allies including the Colonna family already enjoyed an alliance with the Sicilian sovereign, and he was thus free to draw concords between the old testament and the Apocalypse that were not overtly pro-secular.

⁴⁷ Peter John Olivi, *Lectura Super Apocalypsim*, transcribed by Alberto Forni, <http://www.danteolivi.com/Metamorfosi/pdf/Lectura%20super%20Apocalipsim.pdf>, "scilicet a tertio decimo anno regni Iosie in quo Ieremias cepit captivitatem babilonicam prophetare, sicut patet Ieremie XXV° (Jr 1, 2; 25, 3), et consimiliter transmigratio ecclesie a sinagoga ad gentes precessit destructionem sinagoge per quadraginta duos annos, a Christi baptismo et predicatione inchoatos, et per triginta octo a Christi ascensione, sic, secundum rectam concordiam, transmigratio evangelicorum virorum a sinagoga pseudochristianorum precedit destructionem nove Babilonis, id est sinagoge prefate..."

⁴⁸ Peter John Olivi, "Hii unum consilium habent" (Ap 17, 13), id est concordi et unanimi consilio et consensu convenient insimul contra Christum et electos eius, et etiam contra meretricem, id est contra ecclesiam a Christo meretricatam. Ex quo patet quod non successive unus post alium, immo insimul regnabunt et concordabunt. Concordatque hoc cum eo quod Ieremias, capitulo L° loquens contra Babilonem, dicit: "Ecce ego adducam in Babilonem congregationem gentium magnarum" (Jr 50, 9). Et post subdit (Jr 50, 41-43): "Ecce populus veniet ab aquilone, et gens magna et reges multi a finibus terre, crudeles et immisericordes contra te fili[a] (n) Babilonis. Audivit rex Babilonis famam eorum, et dissolute sunt manus eius". Et tamen constat quod isti reges venerunt cum Ciro rege et Dario," 585.

Zachariah

The book of Zachariah is not the work of just one prophet (or even one prophet and his secretary) but two works composed two hundred years apart. The first has been dated to shortly after the return of the Jews from Babylonian exile, but it is the second half, a work three hundred years later and focused on hopes for a renewal and a messiah, that seems to have drawn the attention of the two apocalyptic friars.

In his second letter, Dolcino referred to Zachariah 11:17, the punishment levied on the shepherd that deserts his flock.⁴⁹ According to him, the deserter shepherd was Boniface VIII, and the wounded arm and eye were Charles II of Naples (an Angevin) and Charles of Valois.⁵⁰ Much like Dolcino's citation of Jeremiah, this particular reference can once again be viewed as two things—an attack on the church hierarchy, and an appeal to Frederick III, who was by extension of this biblical analogy the sword that attacks the arm and eye of the shepherd.⁵¹

Dolcino's analogy, while working towards the friar's objective of rallying the animosity of his Order and their tertiaries against the pope that initiated their persecution and making an appeal to a potential defender, is of mixed efficacy. Boniface VIII was unpopular because he was an activist pope, not because he was too laissez-faire in pastoral matters. Yet, the shepherds are chosen by God just as the pope was. As well, just as Dolcino saw the church universal that Boniface oversaw as the carnal church, so too did God break his covenant with the flock that were supervised by the detested shepherd when he broke the stave of goodwill.⁵² Frederick III as the sword is fitting in that swords are often symbols of those who held the secular authority, but his battles with

⁴⁹ Zachariah 11:17, "Disaster to the shepherd who deserts his flock! May the sword attack his arm and his right eye! May his arm shrivel completely and his right eye be blinded!"

⁵⁰ *RIS Historia*, "et in zacharia propheta, quasi in medio libri ide pastore stulto qui habebat brachium et occulum destrum, et exponit esse brachium et occulum eius karolum primum regem cecilie et karolum secundum filium eius dem Regis qui prop papa contra fredericium pugnauerunt," 23. That the second 'karolinus' should be Charles of Valois is not as clear, but in that Charles of Valois was sent by Boniface VIII to deal with Frederick III the description fits. Charles II's sons Robert and Phillip also fought Frederick III, but the papal-secular authority connection is not quite as clear there.

⁵¹ Zachariah 11:16, "For I am now going to raise a shepherd in this country, who will not bother about the lost, who will not go in search of the stray, who will not heal the injured, who will not support the swollen, but who will eat the meat of the fat ones, tearing off their very hoofs."

⁵² Zachariah 11:10, "I then took my staff, 'Goodwill', and broke it in half, to break my covenant, which I had made with all the peoples."

the two Charles (and Charles II's sons) were not undertaken because of their connection to the pope but in defense of his kingdom in Sicily. Yet, Frederick made an appealing secular ally, because of his strong allegiance to the Spiritual Franciscans. According to Clifford Backman, Frederick III was converted to the rigorist-apocalyptic camp by Arnau of Villanova in the early 1300s, but more importantly he began to believe the physician's prophecies that assigned him the role of great reformer who would prepare the way for the final battle between the forces of good and the antichrist.⁵³ Following from the conjunction of this perceived new role and the general evangelizing tendencies that came to Sicily with Frederick in the 1280s, Frederick embarked on a project to build schools where the islanders could be educated on the evangelical life, and welcomed Franciscans amenable to his world view to preach.⁵⁴

Olivi also cited the foolish pastor verse, specifically in his description of the seventh age. Unlike Dolcino, however, Olivi finds the deserter shepherd in the fold of the Antichrist. The Franciscan notes the passage from Zachariah (following the theologian Richard of St. Victor) in his analysis of Apocalypse 13:14, where the second beast leads the people astray in the world and convinces them to honor the great beast, the antichrist.⁵⁵ The stupid pastor, "Pastor et idolum derelinquens gregem" permits and perhaps encourages the people to make the idols and adore the Antichrist, and the pseudoprophets—who could also be the stupid pastors--then imitate the first beast or Antichrist.⁵⁶

Olivi's use of Zachariah 11:17 is even more strained than Dolcino's. The pastors of Zachariah, regardless of how bad they were, were all put in place by God for the purposes of tending his flock, while the Antichrist and the

⁵³ Clifford Backman, *The Decline and Fall of Medieval Sicily* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 200.

⁵⁴ Backman, *Medieval Sicily*, 53, 204.

⁵⁵ Revelation 13:14, "Through the miracles which it was allowed to do on behalf of the first beast, it was able to lead astray the people of the world and persuade them to put up a statue in honor of the beast that had been wounded by the sword and still lived."

⁵⁶ Peter John Olivi, "Imago bestie sumitur hic vel pro illo Antichristo qui adorabitur quasi idolum, iuxta quod Zacharie XI° (Zc 11, 17) de ipso dicitur: "Pastor, et idolum derelinquens gregem", vel, secundum Ricardum, erit forte aliqua materialis statua seu imago Antichristi, ut sicut nos adoramus corpoream imaginem Salvatoris seu potius Christum in ipsa representatum, sic illa imago Antichristi ab omnibus adoretur. Vel sumitur pro lege seu traditione Antichristi habente quondam imaginem et similitudinem veritatis, quam pseudoprophete precipient ab omnibus fieri, id est ut opere impleatur et observetur. Vel, secundum Ricardum, sumitur pro conformi imitatione Antichristi, ut sit sensus quod pseudoprophete predicabunt quod omnes imitentur Antichristum sicut Deum suum et sicut sanctum sanctorum. Vel forte docebunt quod sicut viri devoti habent apud se imaginem Christi, ut magis assidue ipsum recogitent et quasi videant, quod sic quilibet ex speciali reverentia et devotione habeat imaginem Antichristi." 535.

pseudoprophets were not. The Antichrist can be seen as part of a grand plan by an omniscient God to winnow the faithful from the unfaithful in the flock, but not as a shepherd. As well, the pseudoprophets, unlike the prophets, are not called by God but are drawn into the role through vanity, maliciousness, or simple foolishness. But this concordance does make it possible to imagine an evil pope as the Antichrist due to the role as shepherd, the one who would sit on the throne in the sanctuary.⁵⁷ And indeed, if the foolish pastor is the pope, then he could easily be the mystical Antichrist that, according to David Burr, Olivi finds in the church.⁵⁸ In the comparison between the two friars' works on the matter of the foolish pastor, Dolcino only makes the citation more concrete in that he names Boniface VIII specifically as the foolish pastor; he too could easily have meant that Boniface was the Antichrist if he just carried the discussion one step beyond Olivi's attribution of the symbol of the pastor to the Antichrist.

Ezekiel

The prophet Ezekiel's visions have historically played an important role in medieval religious writing. His prophecies call for a renewal of faith, as he was living during the Babylonian exile, which is a handy reference for the periodic calls for Christian renewal. For Joachim, the first vision, the chariot of God, was key as his concordances of Tobit, Judith, Esther and Job with the gospels was expressed in terms of Ezekiel 1:16, the wheel within the wheel.⁵⁹ The outer wheel is a history of the Israelites, the inner one is a general history of the church as per the Revelation of John. But Joachim's use of Ezekiel did not necessarily circumscribe the writings of his spiritual descendants.

Dolcino's use of Ezekiel is difficult to completely ascertain due to Gui's paraphrasing. The first reference to Ezekiel according to Gui was 8:2, but Gui wrote that this section of Dolcino's work was about the coming End and the advance of the four horsemen of the apocalypse.⁶⁰ But Dolcino's second reference is somewhat more faithfully conveyed, in which he associates the mountains of tribulation of Ezekiel 6:1-10 with Mount Zion the sanctuary of

⁵⁷ 2 Thessalonians 2:4.

⁵⁸ David Burr, *Olivi's Peaceable Kingdom: A Reading of the Apocalypse Commentary* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), 90.

⁵⁹ West and Zimdars-Swartz, *Joachim*, 49.

⁶⁰ Ezekiel 8:2, "I looked, and there was a form with the appearance of a human being. Downwards from what seemed to be the waist there was brilliance like the glitter of amber," has little to do with, "de isto etiam papa quod dicitur Ezekiel propheta: finis venit, venit finis super quattuor plagas terre," 23.

Obadiah 1:17.⁶¹ The correlation is a difficult one to make, as the mountain of Obadiah is a desirable location, while the mountains of Ezekiel are a place that God will smite as per Ezekiel 6:3-7, but as Ezekiel states, some will survive, and those are the chosen survivors, the scattered remnant of Israel.⁶² Dolcino implies that it is these people who are the house of Jacob of Obadiah; that it is his people who are the real Israel who will ultimately live in the sanctuary where the angelic pope will reign.

Olivi does not cite the same verse in Ezekiel, but he does cite another passage, 5:12, which relates to the scattered remnant of Israel.⁶³ In this reference, Olivi finds concordance with Revelation 16:19, whereby the cities of the world would collapse and the Great City was split into three parts just as Jerusalem would collapse under siege in Ezekiel's time and the fates of the people were three.⁶⁴ Just as those whose land was occupied or destroyed by a power from the east in Ezekiel were unfaithful, so too will the world's guilty cities fall shortly after the kings of the east cross the dried Euphrates in Revelation 16:12.⁶⁵ In a way that is related to Dolcino's use of the passage, Olivi ends his correlation with the idea that it is the church that faces tribulation for its unfaithfulness.⁶⁶ However, the timing does not appear to be harmonious between the friars, as in Dolcino's timeline his people are already separated from the greater body of the church that had been Israel, while the rigorist Franciscans were still part of both the church and the order at *Lectura's* writing.

Isaiah

Isaiah, the last prophet to be discussed here, was not one man but three living at three different times—during the Assyrian threat, during the Babylonian

⁶¹ RIS *Historia*, "et in abdia dicitur in fine: in monte supra erit salvation 17. in ecclesia erit unus papa sanctus qui tunc regnabit, et in ezechiele propheta dicitur de montibus Israel quantas tribulationes debent pati pro deo, et montes exponit et dicit esse se ipsum et suo," 23.

⁶² Ezekiel 6:8, "But I shall spare some of you to escape the sword of the nations, when you have been dispersed in their lands..."

⁶³ Ezekiel 5:12, "A third of your citizens will die of plague or starve to death inside you; a third will fall by the sword round you; and a third I shall scatter to the winds, unsheathing my sword behind them."

⁶⁴ Peter John Olivi, "Item fient in ea ille partes que tanguntur Ezechielis V° (Ez 5, 2-3, 12), quarum una pars fuit in obsidione consumpta, alia vero in prelio per hostilem gladium est occisa, tertia vero est ab hostibus captivata. Fiet etiam tunc id quod hic subditur (Ap 16, 19): "et civitates gentium ceciderunt." 572.

⁶⁵ Peter John Olivi, "Exercitus enim Antichristi seu orientalium regum multas urbes et terras gentium infidelium tunc temporis destruent et occupabunt," 572.

⁶⁶ Peter John Olivi, "quod hic narratur ad insinuandum quod exercitus illorum veniet cum potestate maxima et monarchica super ecclesiam," 572.

exile, and after the return. Yet there is a common theme to all three parts that the people of God will be punished for their failings, but God is their champion and He will recall them to His glory. The first part of the book has clear appeal to a small fervently religious sect facing a large and powerful enemy, as Israel (here Israel as the descendants of Jacob, not as the northern tribes) was facing destruction due to threats of invasion on all fronts from powerful enemies and from within due to corruption, and only a scattered remnant was prophesied to remain. Isaiah chapters 56-66, on the other hand, are almost apocalyptic in that here the prophet calls for a renewal and judgment.

In his second letter to the Apostolic Order, Dolcino referred to Isaiah 21:7, 20:7, and 56:7, while the friar more generally notes the chapters 54-57 in his first letter.⁶⁷ The beginning passage of chapter 21 sets the tone for apocalypticism with the prophet's warning that there will be an attack from the desert on Babylon. Babylon in Dolcino's estimation is of course the carnal church, thus, his use of the rest of the chapter is in a description of an attack on the church. In 21:7, God tells the prophet to post a lookout to report what he sees concerning the fall of Babylon; in the next verses the scout sees a sizable cavalry, and then proclaims that Babylon has fallen and her false idols are smashed.⁶⁸ Dolcino stated that Boniface was in some fashion Babylon in this allegory, that he had seen the advancing enemy and was captured in 1303.⁶⁹ Boniface was captured by Philip IV in 1303 during a disagreement sparked by the bull *Unam sanctam* as to whether secular power was entirely derivative and dependent on sacred power, ie, was a secular government subservient to the pope. This particular analogy makes little sense unless it is taken in the context that it is used in conjunction with a reference to Obadiah as the prophet of the fate of Mount Esau, and the foolish pastor of Zachariah.⁷⁰ From this it can be

⁶⁷ RIS *Historia*, "usque ad illum locum non est pax impiis, dicit Dominus Isaiah LIV, LV, LVI, LVII," 21. There is not enough of a reference here for analysis.

⁶⁸ Isaiah 21:7, "Tell him to watch for chariots that are pulled by teams of horses. Tell him to watch for men riding on donkeys or camels. Make sure he stays awake. Make sure he stays wide awake."

⁶⁹ RIS *Historia*, "et illo anno quo predicta littera dulcini fuit scripta bonifacius fuerat captus in mense septembri et dici sequenti mense octobri, de quo exponit quo scribitur in ysaia propheta de ascensione cameli xxi, 7, et propositum temple qui fecit sibi fieri monumentum, et ymaginem supra petram sicut esse viva;" 23.

⁷⁰ Obadiah 1:8-9: "When that day comes—declares Yahweh, shall I not eliminate sages from Edom and intelligence from Mount Esau? Your warriors, Teman, will be so demoralized that the people of Mount Esau will be massacred to the last one."

presumed that Boniface is the representative of the carnal church, which could be likened to Babylon in the apocalyptic use or Edom in Old Testament use.

Dolcino referred to another dead pope through an Isaiah quote in this letter; he also wrote of Celestine V, the hermit pope that abdicated within months of his election. Celestine was one of Dolcino's two good popes, while the other was the angelic pastor yet to come. Celestine was imprisoned in the coastal desert of Isaiah 21:7 (here equated with Campagna, on the southwest coast of Italy) by the people of the church of Pergamum, or Sylvester and the clerics who in the analogy are Boniface and the other churchmen who assisted and allowed Celestine's imprisonment.⁷¹ This particular biblical reference is difficult to make or comprehend, though whether that is due to Dolcino or Gui is unknown.

The 56:7 reference, however, is much clearer. This passage in Isaiah relates to the inclusion (i.e., conversion) of non-Jews into the house of God, whereupon they too shall make their sacrifices and pray.⁷² In Dolcino's letter, the conversion of the unbelievers comes in the time of the fourth pope, the angelic pope who is not elected.⁷³ While it is difficult to draw this directly from Revelation, as there is no mention of a conversion, only a judgment based on the steadfastness of an individual's faith, the concept of world conversion was not original. Olivi also believed that much of the rest of the world would be converted in the seventh age.⁷⁴ These friars were Joachites; they would have believed that their orders were one of the two that would fulfill the Florentian abbot's prophecy that two new orders would rise and convert the world's population. Though Joachim never fully developed the notion of the two orders, the body of literature that he inspired did so, based on two biblical passages—Jeremiah 16:16 and Revelation 11. Olivi and Joachim loosely interpreted

⁷¹ *RIS Historia*, "in mccciii Dec. primum papam exponit et dicit esse celestinum qui cessit papatum, de quo exponit prophetiam Ysaie ubi dicitur: onus deserti maris xxi:1, ubi habetur de ascensione asini xxi:7 et in abdia propheta de fratre Jacob, et in apocalipsi de angelo Pergamum de servo anti-phiri," 22.

⁷² Isaiah 56:7, "these I shall lead to my holy mountain and make them joyful in my house of prayer. Their burnt offerings and sacrifices will be accepted in my altar, for my house will be called a house of prayer for all peoples."

⁷³ *RIS Historia*, "quartam vero papam non nominat nomine proprio quam asserit esse sanctum et exponit de ipso quod dicitur in ysaia propheta, de cremato paxillo, et in abdia dicitur in fine: in monte supra erit salvation 17," 23.

⁷⁴ Warren Lewis, 'Peter John Olivi: Prophet of the year 2000, Ecclesiology and Eschatology in the *Lectura Super Apocalypsim*', (University of Tubingen, 1973), 237.

Revelations verse 11 regarding the rise of the two witnesses, and this interpretation gained some currency with not just the most radical friars, but some of the more restrained mendicants such as the Dominicans and moderate Franciscans.

Olivi cited one passage in common with Dolcino, 54:1.⁷⁵ Specifically, this passage of Isaiah is used in the context of a discussion of Revelation 12:6, the vision of the woman who births a son and then escapes to the desert, and 21:3, whereby God lives amongst the people in the heavenly Jerusalem. In the first, Olivi attempts to explain how the woman is the church, and that there are three kinds of solitude to which she could escape—the status of a professed Christian amongst non-believers, the state of divine conversation with the Holy Spirit, and the land of the common people who do not know the cult of God.⁷⁶ While the third is not a conventional place of religious solitude nor even seems desirable, Olivi reminds the reader with several Isaiah quotations (32:15-16, 35:1-2, 41:19) that under God’s providence, the desert will become miraculously fruitful, just as did the barren women of the bible, Sarah of Genesis or Elizabeth of the New Testament.⁷⁷ Thus the desert, though barren in physical gifts, is a place of promise.

The New Testament

The Seven Churches of Asia Minor

Revelation chapters 2 and 3 were, in the account of their author John of Patmos, the letters he was instructed to write in a vision during which he came

⁷⁵ Isaiah 54:1, “Shout for joy, barren one who has borne no children! Break into cries and shouts of joy, you who were never in labor! For the children of the forsaken one are more in number than the children of the wedded wife, says Yahweh.”

⁷⁶ Peter John Olivi, “Primum est status christiane professionis et fidei a statu iudaismi et omni alio sequestratus. Nam ecclesia Christi, post mortem et ascensionem, se multo fortius quam prius sequestravit a statu iudaismi et ab omni alio christianitati contrario.

Secundum est spiritalis et celestis conversatio et contemplatio ad quam ecclesia, Spiritu Sancto sibi copiosius tunc emisso, confugit et ascendit, ut ibi solis divinis refectionibus intendat et a temptationibus diaboli se abscondat et muniat. Tertium est plebs et terra gentilium, que tunc erat a Deo et a divino cultu deserta, et ad hanc ad litteram tunc confugit ecclesia, fugiendo ludeorum obstinatum incredulitatem et persecutionem.” 502-503.

⁷⁷ Peter John Olivi, “De hac autem solitudine dicitur Isaie XXXII° (Is 32, 15-16): “Erit desertum in Chermel”, id est [sic] pinguis in gratiis sicut prius fuerat ludea, “et Chermel”, id est ludea, “in saltum” seu silvam “reputabitur”, id est silvestrescet, “et habitabit in solitudine iudicium et iustitia” et cetera. Et capitulo XXXV° (Is 35, 1-2): “Letabitur deserta et invia, exultabit solitudo et florebit quasi lilium. Gloria Libani data est ei, et decor Carmeli et Sa[r]jon”. Et capitulo XLI° (Is 41, 19): “Dabo in solitudine cedrum et spinam et mirtum et lignum olive, ponam in desertum abietem” et cetera,” 503.

face to face with the Son of Man himself. The missives were both encouraging and correcting to each of the seven churches all located in what became modern day Turkey, and though the letters were dictated in a vision, they are often considered to be a sort of preface to the true visions.

Dolcino's use of the seven churches as symbols in his first letter was carefully described by Bernard Gui. The first church to which Dolcino referred was Ephesus, the church of hard work and perseverance, which he equated with Benedict and his followers, i.e., monks.⁷⁸ Yet, this church was also guilty of not loving God as it had. It is not difficult to see how this analogy was fitting for the late 13th and early 14th centuries; the Benedictine monastics had persevered despite being eclipsed by the newer mendicant orders, though they had once been accused of being lax. This accusation may have been partly correct—150 years before, Bernard of Clairvaux attacked the Cluniacs in his *An Apologia for Abbot William* for their less-than-austere lifestyles. But C.H. Lawrence noted that Cluniacs and other traditional monastics, rather than being lax, were simply a different, 'relatively humane and gentle' form of asceticism, while the new orders drew inspiration from the desert tradition in its strict adherence to poverty.⁷⁹ More important to thirteenth and fourteenth century, the Benedictine monks were victim of the changing religious atmosphere in which the new form of religious life typified by mendicants supplanted the Benedictine one as 'correct' in the minds of the Christian west.⁸⁰ But monks were also not the Apostles' persecutors, thus, they associated with a less offensive church.

Sylvester and the clerics were the church of Pergamum in Dolcino's attribution scheme; of Pergamum John said that while those of Pergamum were faithful to God, that they were followers of Balaam who tricked the Israelites into eating unclean food.⁸¹ If Israel is the spiritual church, then it is possible that Dolcino meant that the clerics and papal curia were attempting to force the Apostles and other 'true Christians' into sin. But there is more in this analogy in that the Pergamites were accused of living lives of unrestrained indulgence (Nicolaitism) much like the secular clerics of Dolcino's time. There were,

⁷⁸ RIS *Historia*, 19.

⁷⁹ C.H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, third edition (Essex: Longman Group, 2001), 203.

⁸⁰ See Barbara Rosenwein and Lester Little, "Social Meaning in the Monastic and Mendicant Spiritualities," *Past and Present* 63 (May, 1974): 4-32, for more on this change in religious expectations.

⁸¹ Revelation 2: 14.

however, also secular clerics who were allied to the Order, thus, those who repented could be saved.

Dolcino noted the two most powerful mendicant orders in his discussion of the churches of Revelation. The Dominicans were the church of Laodicea, the church that gained riches but needed to trade their riches for repentance.⁸² The friar could have been suggesting that Dominicans had forsaken mendicant poverty for comfort, or he could be hinting at a common accusation leveled at Dominican inquisitors, and that was that they chose their victims based on economic status. The Franciscans were represented by Sardis. It is clear that Dolcino was a believer in the original Franciscan mission, as this church was said to have lost its vigor much as the Franciscans of Dolcino's day had lost their commitment to poverty.⁸³

Dolcino characterized his own order with not one but two churches. Gerardo Segarelli, represented by the church of Smyrna, was to be honored for his poverty and hardships, and much like the people of Smyrna, Segarelli was put in prison.⁸⁴ Smyrna was not chastised for anything in John's letter, but rather told simply to remain strong under persecution. Dolcino represented himself in far less flattering way with the church of Thyatira, which had a far more mixed reputation.⁸⁵ Thyatira was the church in which some members tolerated a Jezebel prophetess, but for those that had not, they would be given authority over the nations if they remained faithful. In 1 Kings 21: 1-28 Jezebel embodies the temptation to apostasize—Ahab and the elders and nobles of the Jezreel followed Jezebel's orders to have Naboth killed despite the fact that these orders were counter to the Commandments. That Jezebel could be equated with Margherita, Dolcino's female friend, does suggest that this particular church-man allegory may have been concocted by Gui, but there is no evidence either way.

Three men in Dolcino's scheme were represented by a church; Segarelli, Dolcino himself and then the saintly pope of the future. The promise of vindication lay in the survival of the truly faithful and the coming of a saintly

⁸² Revelation 3:17.

⁸³ Revelation 3:2.

⁸⁴ Revelation 2:9-10.

⁸⁵ *RIS Historia*, 22.

pope.⁸⁶ This pope was represented by the church of Philadelphia, and it was he and his people who were promised protection from God in the coming trials and the rise of the Antichrist, for this saintly pope had persevered in the faith.⁸⁷ The angelic pope was the only character in the scheme that was not identified positively with a current player on the scene, but he fit into a late 13th/early 14th century growing expectation of a pope sent by God. Joachim had a role for a special pope that assisted the transition between the second and third eras, but his was not properly an angelic pope but simply a charismatic contemplative.⁸⁸

Olivi, in contrast to Dolcino, took little interest in the churches of Revelation, and unlike other commentators did not include it in the visions proper of the seven ages.⁸⁹ He stated that the seven churches verses were tuned specifically to the times of their author, and that if that portion of Revelation had anything to do with the future, it was merely as a general statement on the seven ages of the Church. For this, Olivi gave three reasons. First was that it often happened that a prophet must speak of current events (preferably that he has not seen) to prove that he is knowledgeable.⁹⁰ Or it could be that the information behind the letters was given for purposes of instruction.⁹¹ Finally, Olivi pointed out that some things are specific to the times of the prophet and the churches to which he speaks, though there are some aspects of the seven letters that might be generally applicable in the same fashion that Matthew 25:13 (the prescription to be alert to the coming of the Kingdom of God) was.⁹²

⁸⁶ RIS, *Historia*, 21.

⁸⁷ Revelation, 3.

⁸⁸ McGinn, "Angel Pope," 159.

⁸⁹ David Burr, *Olivi's Peaceable Kingdom*, 82.

⁹⁰ Peter John Olivi, "[prima ratio] Prima est quia ad hoc ut prophetia eorum que post longum tempus sunt ventura sit credibilis et fide digna, expedit aliqua prophetari spectantia ad tempus prophete et sue prophetie, in quibus populi prophete convicini et contemporanei experiantur et probent ipsum esse verum prophetam. Et hinc est quod Isaias et Ieremias et ceteri prophete veteris testamenti predixerunt aliqua suis temporibus per facti evidentiam verificata, ex quibus reliqua suis temporibus non ventura sunt facta fide digna. Et consimiliter Iohannes, longe absens a septem ecclesiis Asie, revelat eis bona ipsarum et mala, de quibus constabat eisdem quod illa scire non poterat nisi per lumen propheticum, ex quo tam ipsis quam ceteris reliqua fide digniora fuerunt." 248.

⁹¹ Peter John Olivi, 248.

⁹² Peter John Olivi, "[tertia ratio] Tertia est quia iste liber debuit esse sic clausus quod solis introducendis a Deo esset pervius. Sollemnia enim opera temporum futurorum non expedit clare revelari antequam fiant, et tamen oportet ibi esse aliquas claves et hostia per que idonei possint suo tempore ad illa intrare. Quia ergo hic occulte describuntur septem status

The Whore of Babylon

Babylon makes a repeat appearance in Scripture in Revelation 17 and 18; while the Babylon of Jeremiah's day was the 'scourge of God' upon an unfaithful Israel, here the city and her people are not the threat nor is she God's weapon. Instead, Babylon of the New Testament is the name given to a symbol for all depravity. The symbol itself is a woman, a prostitute that rises in the desert and is allied to the great beast, but she also enjoys the support of the people in that they participated in the lavishness and gluttony she purveyed. Not surprisingly, this particular symbol of sin and the extravagant lifestyle gained importance in the writings of the mendicant friars.

Dolcino spent little time in his letters discussing the whore of Babylon of Revelation, but in Gui's list of Dolcino's errors, he lists equating the Roman church with the whore among them.⁹³ Little is added to this statement, but there extending the analogy produces a fuller picture of the friar's opinion of the church. First it should be noted that Babylon was drunk on the blood of the martyrs of Jesus; Segarelli and other Apostles together with an assortment of rigorists could be seen as those martyrs as they had lost their lives through ecclesiastical persecution.⁹⁴ Then there is that Babylon had authority over all the cities of earth, just as Rome controlled all of Western Christendom.⁹⁵ Finally, the prostitute has a mixed relationship with the beast and the secular powers. She is allied to the beast, which would make sense if the beast is the papal antichrist, and has power over the kings, but yet God will turn the kings against her, just as, according to Dolcino, a secular power will destroy the church with all her hierarchy.

Olivi also engaged the vision of Babylon, but his assessment was less clear-cut. Many of Olivi's references to those verses of Revelation in fact deal

ecclesiastici a Christo usque ad finem mundi futuri, satis decenter prima visio fuit ad litteram de septem ecclesiis Asie aptis ad figurandum septem status ecclesie generales, ut ex hoc quod est de septem ecclesiis esset clavis et signum quod liber iste de septem statibus ecclesie agit (et hoc Iohannes satis aperit cum unicuique ecclesiarum loquendo insinuat se omnibus generaliter loqui, dicendo: "Qui habet aurem audiat quid Spiritus dicat ecclesiis", iuxta quod Christus dicit: "Quod vobis dico omnibus dico: vigilate" [Mr 13, 37]); ex hoc vero quod est de specialibus ecclesiis Asie clauderet prefatum generalem intellectum." 248.

⁹³ *RIS Historia*, "Item, quod ecclesia romana est illa meretrix que a fide Christi apostatavit de qua scribit Iohannes in apocalypse." 26.

⁹⁴ Revelation 17:6, "I saw that she was drunk, drunk with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus; and when I saw her, I was completely mystified."

⁹⁵ Revelation 17:18, "The woman you saw is the great city which has authority over all the rulers on earth."

with the condemnation and end of Babylon more than the actual character of the prostitute, as the city's downfall is one of the events that must occur in a renewal of Christian life.⁹⁶ As well there is a parallel between the two female characters the prostitute and the bride of Revelation 19, as the bride (the church) and the bridegroom (Jesus) may only be joined and reign when the previously reigning powers—the whore and her 'consort' the beast—have been defeated. As per this concentration on the destruction of Babylon as a necessary event preceding the blessed union, it would seem almost counterintuitive to imagine the church as part of the rise of Babylon, yet, Olivi makes this connection between the lady of God and the lady of sin as well. The gradual rejection of poverty within the church and greater acceptance of luxury, simony, and a host of other sins brought the carnal church into the corner of the woman of Babylon, in effect creating her power as much as did the secular world.⁹⁷ But, and as Burr also noted, the carnal church was not synonymous with Babylon, Olivi was careful to avoid that particular heresy.⁹⁸ Olivi, unlike Dolcino, had been censured but not declared heretical during his lifetime. Protection of his career (in addition to genuine belief) was reason for Olivi to avoid Dolcino's 'whore of Babylon' attribution to the church, though he clearly felt it had fallen into temptation and sin through the recent decisions regarding poverty and *usus pauper*.

Conclusions

The two apocalyptic friars Dolcino and Olivi both referred to the same Old Testament prophets and even some of the same verses from them in much the

⁹⁶ Peter John Olivi, "Sexta autem, que est de dampnatione meretricis et bestie habentis capita septem, et de novis nuptiis Agni et sue sponse post meretricis dampnationem fiendis, directius respicit reiectionem vetustatis babilonice et renovationem forme Christi ac septiformitatem prefate reiectionis et renovationis. Nam in occisione primi capitis bestie fuit prima renovatio, in occisione secundi secunda, et sic de aliis," 252.

⁹⁷ Peter John Olivi, Ad istum autem reditum valde, quamvis per accidens, cooperabitur non solum multiplex imperfectio in possessione et dispensatione temporalium ecclesie in pluribus comprobata, sed etiam multiplex enormitas superbie et luxurie et symoniarum et causidicationum et litigiorum et fraudum et rapinarum ex ipsis occasionaliter accepta, ex quibus circa finem quinti temporis a planta pedis usque ad verticem est fere tota ecclesia infecta et confuse et quasi nova Babilon effecta." 262.

⁹⁸ Burr, *Peaceable Kingdom*, 93.

same way in composing their tracts on apocalypse. But that is not surprising, as both are emerging from the same religious milieu of mendicancy and Joachitism that found in the author's time a call for change and a warning of an end, which in their minds was in accord with the times of the Babylonian and Edomite threats to the Jews. Thus both see their movements as the spiritual descendants of Jacob, the house of Israel that is under attack. Unfortunately, the true extent of the comparison cannot be ascertained as the record of Dolcino's letters is only fragmentary and passed down through a hostile source.

It is in the use of the New Testament visions that the Franciscan and the Apostolic are rather different. This may have been the result of disparities in theology or training, or perhaps the two men referenced the apocalypse differently because of their respective statuses as censured versus declared heretical. It is conceivable, given their other similarities, that if Dolcino had not been a heretic he may have seen the church as merely sinful, while Olivi, as per the escalating nature of his criticism of the church after the *usus pauper* controversy, would have castigated the mother church more harshly had his censure been more serious.

Regardless of the possibilities, the leaders of the rigorist Franciscans and the Apostolic Order were not the only persons who became increasingly apocalyptic in outlook as the result of persecution. Their friar brethren and third orders shared their doctrine, and in Dolcino's case, their fate as well.

Chapter 3-- The making of confession: How the Confession manuals of Franciscans spoke to the Issues of the Spiritual Franciscans, Renegade Mendicants and Their Controversies

Mendicant controversies led to an evolution in the Franciscan conceptualization of such things as poverty and obedience, as seen through writings produced by friars. Fra Dolcino's letters as quoted through Bernard Gui stand in for the Apostolic Order's defense, at least insofar as what they perhaps believed, in a fashion that is parallel to Angelo Clareno's *Tribulations*, Peter John Olivi's *Tractatus de Usu Paupere*, and Ubertino da Casale's *Arbor Vitae*. The other side of these controversies is represented by the exempla exhorting Christians to obey the councils, the pamphlets that argued the Franciscan conventuals' side in the early 14th century controversies, and inquisitorial manuals. These obvious sources are not the only contemporary works that address the various controversies; theologians also responded to these issues of their times through another sort of work that seemed superficially untouched by them, their confession manuals and summae. In this chapter, the evolution of these concepts will be discussed through four works—Guido of Orchellis' *Tractatus de Sacramentis Ex Eius Summa de sacramentis et officiis Ecclesiae*, Clarus Florentinus' *Tractatus Varii in Jure Canonico*, Jean d'Erfurt's *Summa confessorum*, and Jean Rigaud's *Formula Confessionum*.

At first blush, the confessional work would appear the least likely religious work to be touched by polemic; manuals and summae are tools for the priest who receives confessions that he may be better prepared to address the sins of his parishioners. The confession manual can be seen as an extension of the theological writings from the 12th century regarding the sacrament of penance. At the same time, the confession manual informs the intimate relationship between priest and parishioner, one that due to Lateran IV, had also become required. According to Alexander Murray, confession, due to the fact that it was instant, secret, and unscripted, is the medieval priestly function that is most outside study in that it (typically) leaves no record.¹ At the same time, confession perhaps requires the most wisdom, and because of its intimate and

¹ Alexander Murray, "Counselling in Medieval Confession" in *York Studies in Medieval Theology II: Handling Sin, Confession in the Middle Ages*, eds., Peter Biller and A. J. Minnis, (Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk: St Edmundsbury Press Ltd, 1998), 68.

unscripted nature, was a priestly function that could be subject to the parishioners' concerns that perhaps the cleric did not have the wisdom, education, or experience to properly handle their troubles.² The confession manual is a development that could enhance the individual cleric's reputation, providing him with the tools to determine level of sin and what sort of penance is most appropriate, but also in that it speaks to a secret unquantifiable religious transaction it is one of the few entry points to confession.

Penance had been an interest since the days of Augustine of Hippo, but the medieval Christian notions of the sacrament had gone through a period of further development in the 1100s within the northern French schools, during which more individualistic notions such as inner contrition and the circumstances of sinner and sin came to the fore.³ But penance can only be properly determined through confession, thus, as the sacrament became more important and more institutionalized, the act of confession did as well. The end result of confession's increasing formalization was *Omnis Utriusque Sexus* from the IV Lateran Council of 1215, by which all laypersons were required to make annual confession to their priests. *Omnis* both coincided with and contributed to the growing interest in confession throughout the 13th century, which was a matter of canonical requirement, but as well the act of confession was popular with the laity. The combined church legislation and interest did for confession what the interest in penance in the 12th century had done for that Christian requirement; according to Peter Biller, tracts on confession were written to define and develop the act, and were then sometimes included in the statutes of synodal legislation.⁴ What grew from this was the field of confession literature, ranging from smaller works outlining good confession, to the summae as developed by Raymond of Peñafort.

Summae presented cases in administering the sacrament, and then offered canon law in expounding on a solution to the case.⁵ These summae could be lengthy and thick with doctrine requiring a high degree of theory of

² Murray, "Counselling in Medieval Confession," 68.

³ Peter Biller, "Confession in the Middle Ages: an Introduction" in *York Studies in Medieval Theology II: Handling Sin, Confession in the Middle Ages*. Eds., Peter Biller and A.J. Minnis, (Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk: St Edmundsbury Press Ltd, 1998), 8.

⁴ Biller, "Confession in the Middle Ages," 9.

⁵ Pierre Michaud-Quantin, *Sommes de Caustique et Manuels de Confession au Moyen Age—XII-XVI siècles* (Montreal: Librairie Dominicaine, 1962), 39.

canon law, though at root they were designed to aid the confessor in his work of considering sins and doling out penance. Summae, despite their length and detail, were, like confession manuals, works designed for aiding the working priest, but perhaps more importantly, these works represent opportunities to influence future preaching friars. They themselves may not read the summae, but their lectors most likely did, and their teachings would be reflected in the work of their students.

While the basic ideas of confession, sin and penance remained the same across the spectrum of writing and were circumscribed by canon law, works were not replicas of each other, even those that were written in the same time period. Authors could put more emphasis on one point over another, or choose particular cases in explaining an idea that gave the possibility of providing a particular slant. Confession manuals and summae also show evidence of their writers reading one another and other contemporaries and referencing or responding to them through the manuals. Here in this chapter a case will be built for the argument that Jean d'Erfurt read Thomas Aquinas and Peter John Olivi, and though he clearly referenced the former, he was responding to the latter. That some of the confession manual and summae authors wrote in response to other authors meant that they could very subtly--or not so subtly in the case of Jean Rigaud--join a controversy.

The possibility of engaging in the argument over a controversial issue through a confession manual was one that was heavily influenced by the association of the authors. Prior to the creation of the mendicant orders, the field of confession and penance writing did have a few monks such as Abelard, but many secular clergymen authors as well, due to the fact that they would have had more experience receiving confessions. Controversy was minimal, or at least stifled. When the mendicant orders were subsequently given the privilege of hearing confession, Dominican and Franciscan friars also became involved in the experience of hearing confession and wrote their own confession manuals. Writers in the Dominican Order such as Raymond of Peñafort were widely read, very orthodox, and not particularly controversial; these latter two qualities he indeed shared with the rest of his order. Dominicans were not known for their quarrels or controversies, a fact that is also readily apparent from their confession manuals. The Franciscans, by contrast, were from the

1270s into the 1330s embroiled in intra-order controversies that involved several popes and were known even to the laity. Thus it is not surprising that some of the better-known works by Franciscans from this time period (and even some of the works on Francis) touch upon the controversies, such as Gerard of Bergamo's *Eternal Evangel* in the 1250s and the *Tribulations*. This public fight led those outside the order to lump the rigorist minority within Franciscan order with other renegade mendicants. Every Franciscan felt obligated to on some level address this situation, to distance them from heresy, so they did so even in works such as confession manuals.

In this chapter, the argument will be set forth that Franciscan authors did address some of the underlying issues of their order's disagreements over apostolic poverty through the confession manual. Some chose specific wording that was unusual for the time or the subject, such as Clarus Florentinus' writing on heresy. Others made clear in various sections of their works that while what they said on a particular matter such as obedience of the religious was essentially orthodox, that their views on the matter might make loopholes in the orthodox view meaningful, such as Jean d'Erfurt. Yet others frankly joined the controversy as did Jean Rigaud, and from a position of safety within the majority, could attack the other side using a confession work as a medium. Here these three possible means of joining the struggle will be considered as they relate to the three major themes surrounding apostolic poverty of the Franciscans and heretical mendicants—heresy, obedience, and mendicancy.

I: Franciscans and Confession

In 1281, Martin IV formally extended the privilege of hearing confession to the mendicant orders. The pope's delegation of authority to hear confessions was just part of the process that pressed the Franciscans into service across the gamut of duties relating to confession.⁶ Franciscans, who informally heard confession before that, had previously traveled to hear confessions and some came to serve as confessors to the elite. But Franciscans also served in other

⁶ According to Moorman, this new privilege caused some friction in the Franciscan order, as the rigorists determined that accepting privileges was a violation of the founder's legacy, which put them at odds with the rest of the order. Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order, From its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 182.

capacities in which they were called upon to respond to confessions, such as papal penitentiaries. Clarus Florentinus OFM (mid 13th century) was a papal penitentiary of the mid thirteenth century, but was also the author of a work on confession; it was his position as penitentiary that was the impetus for his work as he gathered information on matters of conscience and jurisdiction.⁷ German born and University of Bologna trained theologian Jean d'Erfurt, lawyer and prominent Franciscan canonist, was known predominantly known for his theological, judicial, and philosophical manuals such as the *Tabula de Verborum Significatione*; his Summa on confession was to some extent an interdisciplinary work covering all three subjects. Jean Rigaud (died 1323) was a provincial minister of Provence in 1305, papal penitentiary to John XXII, and then became bishop of Tréguier in Brittany. He wrote a work on confession for reasons that were similar to Clarus', he was called upon to judge matters of conscience that resulted from confessions.

But Franciscans did not just encounter confession from contrite sinners. They were also party to confessions extracted from the more reluctant, namely, those brought before the inquisitions. Franciscans, like Dominicans, were named as inquisitors in the thirteenth and fourteenth century inquisitions into heretical depravity, though their role is less well known than their fellow mendicants. That this is the case is most likely the result of the simple fact that fewer Franciscans were called upon to be inquisitors, but also because Franciscan inquisitors do not seem to have left any inquisition manuals as did the Dominicans such as Bernard Gui. At first glance, the lack of manuals seems to perfectly follow from that situation, except that Franciscans maintained another relationship with inquisitors, as the subjects of the inquisitions.

Franciscan renegade groups such as the Celestine V's Order of Hermits, the Tuscan spiritual Franciscans and other related mendicant groups such as the Apostolic Order were brought before inquisitors as early as the 1290s and later those who struggled for supremacy in the Friars Minor such as the French spirituals were targeted for their possible heretical leanings. The Conventual Franciscans had little or no reason to defend their more radical brothers. As Duncan Nimmo has suggested, the debate over poverty within the Franciscan

⁷ Michaud, *Sommes de Caustique*, 52.

order that seemed to be at the root of disagreement between the ascetics and Conventuals was only part of the bigger battle over reform within the order and claims to the legacy of Francis that pitted brother against brother. This meant that if reform within the order were to go forward, it suited the needs of the Conventuals to rid themselves of the ascetic remainder still clinging to a past that did not suit the order's current requirements. That these men were schismatic and perhaps even promoting sectarianism and even heresy only made the work of their Conventual interlocutors easier in designing their destruction as would become clear in the propaganda during the opening volleys of the Council of Vienne (1311-1312) and later before the trial held by Pope John XXII.⁸ Could there be an easier way to rid oneself of a potentially heretical enemy than to involve one's order heavily in all aspects of the church's tool for dealing with heresy, the inquisitions and following this line to write the manuals that would present the schismatics as heretics? Yet, there is little evidence that they did, or at least, in inquisitorial sources with the possible exception of Jean Rigaud's collaboration with Bernard Gui.⁹

The reasons why Conventual Franciscans did not engage more in that particularly obvious way of reining in one's enemy are elusive. Despite the lack of Franciscan inquisitorial manuals the Franciscans cannot be said to have been silent on the matter of heresy.

II: Heresy

The matter of heresy was not one of the more common issues to face the confessor as heresy is not found in all places at all times, but was one of grave importance to the church. Homicide was a more potent issue to the secular authorities, but no crime could trump heresy in an ecclesiastical sense for sheer danger to the church or the soul of the Christian. In places where heresy did gain a strong hold, such as in Languedoc and northern Italy, the church often found herself unable to promote the prevailing notion of orthodoxy and the supremacy of the parishes with respects to tithes as so much of the support for the church relied on consent and support of the secular arm for enforcement.

⁸ Duncan Nimmo, *Reform and Division in the Franciscan Order (1226-1538)*, (Rome: Capuchin Historical Institute, 1987), 111.

⁹ N. Valois, "Jean Rigaud, Frere Mineur." *Histoire Litteraire de la France* 34 (1914): 282.

And as for the soul of the heretic, it was in grave danger for its treasonous behavior against its very maker.

Yet the soul, despite its terrible crime, could according to legal theory be saved. With the aid of penance carried out with a contrite heart, the now-formerly heretical sinner can be brought back into the fold. Through confession, the sin of the heretic is discovered, and then his case can properly be passed on to the bishop, who has the authority to determine penance for the heretic, but prior to that moment, the priest must be able to identify heresy and then be familiar with the next appropriate steps in deciding his fate. Thus, heresy was sometimes discussed in confession manuals, despite the fact that it was not common.

But heresy as traced through confession manuals was not a static matter. In the waning days of the Western Roman Empire, heresy was the product of churchmen who were in disagreement first with one another and then with the decision of a council. These men could properly be called ‘heresiarchs’ and they had followers who upheld their doctrine, but they were still within the bounds of Christianity in that the most basic tenets of Christianity—belief in one creator God, salvation through His Son Jesus—were not dismissed by the heresiarchs, but points of theology and church practice were debated. The exception here is Arianism, as its followers disagreed on the fundamental nature of the Trinity. Several centuries later, heresy was a far more mixed collection. Some like the Valdenses did have a heresiarch who fit the old pattern in that he believed in a basically orthodox view of the Trinity, but unlike the old ‘anti-fathers’ Valdes was a layman, not a theologian. The heresy of Catharism was even further from the old paradigm; here there was no heresiarch, but a number of different preachers who espoused a variety of dualisms. Indeed, dualism represents a fundamental disagreement on God, and as such the Cathars were not in the bounds of Christianity. The mid 13th/ early 14th century mendicant heresies such as those of the Franciscan rigorists and the Apostolic Order were more similar to the early heretics in that they were essentially orthodox in their beliefs on God, Jesus and the Trinity. Their heresy was instead grounded in interpretation of text, obedience to papal and council decisions, and apocalyptic. Confession manual writers recognized that the arc of change in heresy had real consequences for the practice of confession, a fact that can be

seen in considering three manuals written between the 1220s and the turn of the 14th century. The differences in these three examples demonstrate an evolution in the way that heresy was presented, and will serve as a non-mendicant-oriented test case to prove that writers' experiences and their situations have a direct effect on the confessional works.

The first example, the *Tractatus de Sacramentis Ex Eius Summa de sacramentis et officiis Ecclesiae* by Guido of Orchellis can be viewed as the bridge between the reality of heresy in the earlier period and that of the high and late medieval era. Guido was a French canonist, possibly at the church of Meaux, writing most likely between 1210 and 1220, given his death around 1230 to 1233.¹⁰ Though he was not a Franciscan, his work will suffice as an example from this early period for two reasons; there was little written by the relatively-new Franciscans at this point, he also was a contemporary of Francis and his associates, and thus will serve as an example of the prevailing current of opinion on heresy with which the mendicants most likely would have been familiar.¹¹

This particular author makes careful distinction between the heretic and the schismatic. The heretic is 'deceived of the church (is misled on matters of doctrine), advised and corrected, and still contradicts the articles of faith' even after that point at which he is taught or reminded of the church doctrine, or alternatively after a decision on doctrine is made by a council and the heretic's perspective on doctrine is not only rejected, but that he refuses to submit to the decision. But the canon focuses on the first point, as by the 13th century, little was up for doctrinal debate. By contrast, Guido then states that the schismatic 'meets the mandates (doctrine) of the church' but does not obey on matters of outside of doctrine.¹² That is the only appearance of obedience in all of his sections on heresy.

He also addressed the issue of whether a heretic could undertake the sacrifice of mass or distribute the Eucharist; at first Guido states that the

¹⁰ PP Damiani and Odulphi Van den Eynde O.F.M, *Prolegomena, Tractatus de Sacramentis ex Eius Summa de Sacramentis et Officiis Ecclesiae*, Franciscan Institute Publications, Text Series no. 4 (New York: The Franciscan Institute, 1953), X-XI.

¹¹ Francis himself says nothing of heresy, but as he did travel to France surely he was aware of Catharism.

¹² Guido of Orchellis, *Tractatus de Sacramentis Ex Eius, Summa de Sacramentis et Officiis Ecclesiae*. Editors PP Damiani and Odulphi Van der Eynde, OFM. Franciscan Institute Publications, text series number 4, series editor Eligius M Buytaert, OFM. (New York: The Franciscan Institute, 1953), 101.

sacrament cannot take place outside of a church.¹³ Here he takes the literal translation of “outside” rather than that the heretic is ‘outside the church’, which he also includes.¹⁴ That he intended to take the literal meaning of outside is clear in that he then notes that if the heretic were secretly disobedient, an ordained priest, and using the location of a church, that the sacrament would be valid.¹⁵ This estimation of sacraments given by heretics represents a nuanced version of Augustine of Hippo’s discussion of sinners and sacraments in his *Against the Manicheans*. The church father concludes that God can choose to be present in any sacraments, even those given by a heretic.¹⁶ There are no caveats here, though it can be assumed that Augustine would have presumed that the holiness of sacraments could apply within or without the physical church, as it would have been unlikely that a heretic could have ‘reared an altar’ inside a church.

Another feature of Guido’s work that puts him in the earlier period is something that he does not mention, the inquisition. His work is in fact pre-inquisition. All of the other confession manuals studied here refer to the inquisition, even those that are relatively short, such as Clarus’. This is also a particularly meaningful point in that the tools that had been devised prior to the inquisition for combating heresy, the ones with which Guido would have been familiar, were during his time proving themselves inadequate. All of the efforts to fight Catharism—the polemics on infant baptism (a matter that the canonist also discussed) written with Cathars in mind, the preaching tours of Cistercians and later Dominic and Diego, the revision of notions of heresy in confessional manuals, the crusade—all had little effect on the continuing survival of Catharism. But the inquisitions, as will be demonstrated in the next chapter, would become a highly effective tool in destroying the support base of a

¹³ Guido of Orchellis, *Tractatus*, 101.

¹⁴ Guido of Orchellis, *Tractatus*, 101.

¹⁵ Guido of Orchellis, *Tractatus*, 102.

¹⁶ “But I cannot tell why it should be, that while God can “sanctify the oil” in answer to the words which proceed out of the mouth of a murderer, “He yet cannot sanctify it on the altar reared by a heretic,” unless it be that He who is not hindered by the false conversion of the heart of man within the Church is hindered by the false erection of some wood without from deigning to be present in His sacraments, though no falseness on the part of men can hinder Him,” Augustine of Hippo, Chapter 20, *The Writings Against the Manichaeans and Against the Donatists*, translated by Philip Schaff, <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf104.txt>, accessed 6/9/2011.

heretical group, and thus the inquisitions would also receive support from the orthodox in their confession manuals.

While the canonist is clearly influenced by past writings on heresy, Guido also bridges the pre and post popularist heresy divides in that he does discuss these new heretics of his time with accuracy, and not as followers of a heresiarch. Though he does not use the word ‘Cathar’ that his heretics deny the Eucharist, reject resurrection, and a host of other things suggests that these are indeed Cathars. Indeed he uses an entire section to argue against the views of heretics. Here, Guido explains that the heretics argue from the words “hoc corpus quod videtis non estis manducaturi” that there is no real presence in the Eucharist, a patently Cathar view.¹⁷ That he chose to specifically refer to them is a matter of time and place—Catharism was the big, threatening popular heresy in France at this time.

Clarus Florentinus, by contrast, said nothing about doctrines of heresy in his clearly later work, though heresy does receive direct mention. The manuscript under consideration is the *Tractatus Varii in Jure Canonico* at St. Isidore’s College of Rome, catalogue number 1/133.¹⁸ It contains sixty-eight sections, begins with an index in alphabetical order, and each section is headed by red inked words. Though Clarus’ work is clearly recognized as later than Guido of Orchellis (that he mentions the inquisition supports that thought), there is some debate as to when Clarus lived and wrote. The date ascribed to the manuscript at St. Isidore’s College was 1308. A Florentine manuscript that was investigated by Wadding in the 17th century perhaps may be the same manuscript,¹⁹ but other manuscripts understood to be this same manuscript at Florence, Padua, Siena, and Venice have all be identified to have a mid-13th century provenance.²⁰ Michaud suggested that the work was probably written after the pontificate of Innocent IV, which would place it after 1254.²¹ The text itself reveals nothing as the year it was written, except that it is clearly written after the beginning of the inquisitions.

¹⁷ Guido of Orchellis, *Tractatus*, 85.

¹⁸ This manuscript has been moved to the Franciscan Curia’s archive due to renovations on St. Isidore’s as of January 2009.

¹⁹ F. Henquinet, “Clair de Florence. O.F.M., Canoniste et Penitencier Pontifical vers le milieu du xiii siècle,” *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 32 (1939): 17.

²⁰ For the full discussion on the identity of Clarus of Florentinus, see F. Henquinet’s article in *Archivum Franciscanum Historia*, 3-48.

²¹ Michaud, *Sommes de Caustique*, 52.

Michaud gave two possibilities as to why Clarus wrote his confession manual. The work could have either constituted a collection of questions brought before the pope and the responses that followed, a reason that would easily follow from his responsibility as a papal penitentiary, or it could have been a scholarly exercise through which he gathered and considered confessional practice across the gamut, including those of Dominicans and Franciscans.²² Either could explain the structure of the work, which is rather different from the other works on confession considered here. The Isidore script is much shorter and lacks the discussion that is standard to other tracts on issues of confession; the case is set out and the result, but there is no discussion on the remarks of Augustine or Chrysostom on the matter, or disagreements with the solution and rebuttals. This could be a work designed for canon lawyers, but there is another possibility that seems more likely. That there was a shorter version suggests that the work had a ‘field use’; a priest dealing with confessions would have no use for the long involved discussion. The only statement to this effect on heresy was that Raymond (Raymond of Peñafort, presumably) was the leader of an opinion contrary to what Clarus had elaborated.²³ This, however, may be a matter of the manuscript—other manuscripts found in Padua and the now lost copy in Venice were described as longer.

What Clarus does say of heresy is of interest in that unlike other confession manuals, which speak directly of the heretic through a separation of heresy and schism, he speaks of heresy in terms of those who knew of heretics and their duties. Clarus speaks of the third party, he who knows of a heretic, or sees a priest being beaten, and who was not the focus of a confession manual, but rather the inquisitional manual. The situation of Clarus’ described case would have been more common than the actual situation of the heretic; those who knew heretics would have outnumbered those who were willing to step completely outside of Christian communion. Many of these persons with information may not have been willing to step forward to give information to an inquisitor, and needed the encouragement of the priest during confession to take appropriate action.

²² Michaud, *Sommes de Caustique*, 52.

²³ “Raymundus fuerint oppinionis contrarie dux esset hoc dicere,” Clarus of Florentinus.

Clarus does speak to conventions of the heretic's status, though in a highly truncated fashion. Of course, the heretic is excommunicate, he is not part of the community. But he also notes that someone who holds public office must be removed from it as per Lateran III, and indeed that the public person who is involved in heresy is more dangerous than the private person, as not capturing a "private heretic" is not necessarily a mortal sin.²⁴ That this clearly follows from the situation of the Occitan in the early 13th century and Northern Italy in the 1240s and beyond is beyond doubt. Occitanian nobles connected to Catharism fought the crusading army, incited rebellion, and financially supported the perfects of the heresy while Ghibelline Italian communes such as Florence actively hindered the inquisition. Ultimately dealing with heresy is also a matter of Christian duty; that one is held to capture a heretic but also that one must free the innocent, and that it is a mortal sin not to do so.²⁵ Here lies the recognition that the church relied upon her faithful to police belief. The inquisitions could be a threat, and in some cases in southern France inquisitors held enough power to summon entire towns, but inquisitors really relied on the consent of the people who were called and the capacity and support of the French royal government and local officers to enforce the summons. In times of conflict with the monarchy or the local justice system, the only weapon against heresy that the Church had at its disposal was the good will of her people. The examples of the Italian communes make this clear—when the town's leadership was against the imposition of ecclesiastical power via the inquisition, it could effectively prevent it. The good will of believers was a potent tool not just in identifying heretics, but as well in preventing the inquisitors from unjustly punishing those who were wrongly accused.

Clarus is one of the few Franciscan confession manual writers in the 1250, but his work is more the product of his time than his order. The people are not the just "the lump" as they had been in previous opinions of theologians on heresy; they were valuable witnesses.²⁶ As well the identity of the 'heretic' was

²⁴ "Si est private et singulare persona. Non tenere ita quod peccet mortaliter," Clarus of Florentinus.

²⁵ "Si vero est pro publica quo habeat officium et posit ac debeat predicta ex officio facere dico quod semper tenet, et peccat mortaliter si non capit hereticum aut non liberat innocentem," Clarus of Florentinus.

²⁶ For more on the change in attitudes towards the laity because of heresy, see John Arnold, *Inquisition and Power, Catharism and the Confessing Subject in Medieval Languedoc* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001).

no longer clear; there was a proliferation of thinkers and religious groups that challenged the conventions of heresy and orthodoxy.

The final example dealing with confession manuals and heresy is the work of Jean d'Erfurt, the *Summae confessorum*. This Italian-educated Franciscan first wrote his *Summae* on confession sometime between 1295 and 1300, and redacted it twice more in the eleven years following the turn of the century. The timing here is as important as that of Guido of Orchellis; Jean's *summae* follows twenty years after Lyons II, wherein the smaller mendicant orders that had derived inspiration from the Franciscans were suppressed (the Order of the Penitents of Jesus Christ and the Apostolic Order). Further, in this very period the variant strands of Spiritual or rigorist Franciscan—Beguins, Liberato's branch of the Poor hermits of Celestine, the Tuscan rigorists—were subjected to heightened persecution, in much the same way that those of the Apostolic Order were. Some of this was the result of the intra-church rivalry between Boniface VIII and the Colonna family, who overtly supported the spiritual Franciscans and may have covertly supported the Bolognese Apostolics, but that some of these strands of rigorist mendicant were legitimately disobedient to the church played no small role. Yet it was also possible to be Franciscan rigorist in outlook and not be disobedient but merely ascetic, and it was because of this that the definition of what is heretic took on such great importance.

Jean d'Erfurt devotes great care to defining what makes a heretic. In his titulus 21, he sets out to differentiate heretics, schismatics, simoniacs, and notorious fornicators. That simoniacs are perverters of the sacraments by selling them is simple enough, but the heretic can be any one of several things.²⁷ Those who understand scripture differently are heretics.²⁸ As well are those who do not believe the Roman Church is head of Christianity, though it is difficult to determine whether Jean included members of the Greek Orthodox Church in that description.²⁹ Those who simply did not believe in the articles of faith and instead believed those of another faith such as Judaism were, according to Jean,

²⁷“*Perversor sacramentorum, scilicet, symoniacus, qui sacramentum emit vel vendit,*” Jean d'Erfurt, *Die summa confessorum*. Teil 3: Liber I., Liber II, Editor, Norbert Brieskorn (Cirencester, Frankfurt am Main, Bern: Europäische Hochschulschriften. 1980), 972.

²⁸“*Qui scripturam aliter intelligit quam spiritus sancti sensus flagitat, licet etiam ab ecclesia non recesserit,*” Jean d'Erfurt, *Summae*, 973.

²⁹“*Qui romanam ecclesiam dicit, non esse caput nec posse condere canonem,*” Jean d'Erfurt, *Summae*, 973.

heretics.³⁰ He also separated heresiarchs from simple followers in that heresiarchs conceive of the doctrine while those who follow them are mere heretics.³¹ Intellectuals and scholars cannot be 'just heretics'; masters who are in error are heresiarchs.³² He then differentiates heretics from schismatics in that the heretic holds 'perverse dogma' while a schismatic is separated from communion with the church, and can be a heretic, though all heretics are schismatics.³³ But the way that a schismatic ultimately becomes a heretic is through adherence to a sect.

Jean's definition of heretic was significantly longer than that of Guido of Orchellis when the latter's arguments against heretical doctrine are ignored; this is because the heresy, schism, or orthodoxy of the Franciscan rigorists and other mendicants is far less clear-cut than that of the early 13th century Cathars. With the rise of persons like Dolcino, there was once again a 'heresiarch' with followers. He needs to be disassociated from Peter John Olivi, as he also had followers, however, Olivi did not produce doctrine in his *Quaestio* or *Tractatus* per se but an interpretation of the Franciscan Rule.³⁴ Indeed Nicholas IV referred to Olivi and other rigorists as 'schismatics' when in 1290 he gave special instructions to the minister general to take up proceedings against certain friars in Provence.³⁵ As well, the trouble with the Tuscan rigorists, Beguins, and Apostolic Order was not that they completely rejected traditional Christian views of salvation through Jesus or the Trinity as the Cathars did, but that they had rejected the authority of the pope, or in the specific case of the Tuscans, the power of their order's superiors. But once again, as with the Cathars, heresy can also to be found in an incorrect interpretation of scripture. This is a very basic definition of heresy, but yet, it is also very applicable to the disobedient mendicants in that they tended towards apocalypticism; their

³⁰ "Omnis qui non credit articulo fidei et secundum hoc iudei et gentiles dicuntur haeretici large," Jean d'Erfurt, *Summae*, 973.

³¹ "Errans in fide; augustinus: haereticus est ille, qui alicuius commode temporalis et maxime vanae gloriae principatusque sui gratia falsas ac novas opiniones gignit, ut haeresiarcha, vel sequitur, ut simplex haereticus," Jean d'Erfurt, *Summae*, 972.

³² "Unde qui magister est erroris, non tantum haereticus, sed etiam haeresiarcha est dicendus." Jean d'Erfurt, *Summae*, 981.

³³ "Haeresim perversum dogma habet, scisma post episcopalem discessionem ab ecclesia partier separate; ceterum: nullus scismaticus est, nisi sibi aliquam haeresim confingat, ut recte ab ecclesia recessisse videatur," Jean d'Erfurt, *Summae*, 973.

³⁴ That D'Erfurt was most likely a supporter of Peter John Olivi will be discussed in the following section.

³⁵ Decima Douie, *The Nature and the Effect of the Heresy of the Fraticelli* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1932), 90.

reading of a contemporary or near-event apocalypse and their choices of casting certain persons or groups in the roles of the seven churches, the harlot, or the antichrist often verged into the heretical.

Yet despite the fact that Jean's definition of heresy seems to encompass all the persecuted mendicants and their supporters, his final separation of schismatic from heretic instead makes it possible to sift some out of the mix. His determination of the Calabrian abbot and mystic Joachim is specific; Joachim was not a heretic because his writings were submitted for correction.³⁶ In Jean's own time, this same statement could have been applied to Peter John Olivi, who was censured, but was also obedient to the church. One particular group, the followers of Liberato, was out of communion with their order, and thus was schismatic, but this alone was not heretical (though whether they were a sect is debatable).

Much of the rest of Jean d'Erfurt's seventeen-point discussion on heresy is devoted to matters of inquisition and punishment. Some of these points are directly drawn from the 1234 council of Tarragona and subsequent decrees regarding heretics—heretics cannot make a will, or inherit—but he also considers the problem of priests who are heretical. Here Jean takes the hard line; the heretical priest must be deposed, cannot be given sacraments, cannot be buried in the church cemetery, and can only be given charity by the priest.³⁷ But whether or not these punishments would be doled out depended on the power of the inquisitions, and here Jean circumscribes their capabilities in inquiring of the church. He discriminates between the simple priests and the bishops and other church superiors, such that the simple priests can be imprisoned and punished for heresy,³⁸ while inquisitors cannot inquire of the crime against bishops or other superiors unless they are clearly known to have been guilty of heresy.³⁹

³⁶ "Ubi abbas Joachim non reputatur haereticus, quia scripta sua commisit corrigenda." Jean d'Erfurt, *Summae*, 973.

³⁷ Jean d'Erfurt, *Summae*, 978.

³⁸ "Possunt compescere sacerdotes, qui instruunt haereticos citatos de celanda veritate vel dicenda falsitatem capiendo eos vel alias puniendo, *ibidem*," Jean d'Erfurt, *Summae*, 987.

³⁹ "Non possunt de hoc crimine inquirere contra episcopos, nisi expresse sit eis commissum, si tamen episcopos, vel alios superioris invenerint crimine haeresis commisisse aut de hoc eos infamatos vel suspectos, tenentur papae nuntiare," Jean d'Erfurt, *Summae*, 987.

Heretical priests were not new subjects for confession manuals and *summae*. The earliest of the confession manual writers in this section, Guido, also broached the topic of the possibly heretical priest, but his conclusions reassert the validity of the properly performed sacraments, even those given by heretics, and then reassure the reader that the heretic cannot be ordained. Jean d'Erfurt, by contrast, accepts that there are heretical priests, a fact that is borne out by that some of the rebellious Franciscans were priests, that priests supported the Beguins, and that priests were involved in the Apostolic Order and sheltered its priests. Following from that acceptance is that inquisitors are within their powers to imprison them just as they would any other heretic, though this power does not extend to the upper ecclesiastical echelons. The upper ecclesiastics of Jean's time also included supporters of heretics, but inquisitors simply did not have the power to deal with the Colonna cardinals. Jean does not even consider the topic of sacrament validity; by the 14th century church theology has moved beyond that Donatist concern. But perhaps that follows well from that unlike Guido's 'hidden heretics', Jean's heretical sacerdotal contemporaries were heretical not by theology, but by obedience.

III: Obedience

Heresy's ultimate determinant is obedience, or rather, the lack thereof. Though one may initially hold a completely heterodox vision of any aspect of Christian belief, if the holder submits to a church council or papal ruling and rejects the incorrect thoughts, all will be forgiven and he will be reconciled with the mother church. That the Penitents of Jesus Christ were suppressed but still orthodox while the Apostolic Order and Beguins were heretical is the direct result of the former holding to submission while the latter two did not. But obedience is not as simple an issue as these statements would lead one to believe; throughout the waning years of the 13th century and into the 14th, obedience became the subject of interpretation, particularly with regards to monastic vows and conflicting papal decisions.

Obedience itself had evolved since the days of the Benedictine Rule. Benedict's rule discussion on obedience did not revolve around the rule, but

around obedience to the abbot and to one another.⁴⁰ Benedict never specifically mentions the rule, because obedience is the reason for his rule; he intended the document to bring his fellows back to God through obedience. In the Augustinian Rule, obedience is more a general virtue than a specific activity. The canon is commanded to ‘obey with fidelity’, honor God, to obey superiors and particularly the priest who is charged with responsibility over the canon.⁴¹ Just as in the Benedictine Rule, the Augustinian canon is commanded to obey his superiors, but in the latter rule the order of obedience is reversed—a canon is to obey his direct priest first in all matters. In both texts, obedience is linked to ecclesiastical superiors, but this is almost a matter of organizational logistics. The Franciscan Rule, by contrast, admonishes the friar to obey first the Gospel, then to obey Francis and his successors.⁴² Francis has promised to obey Pope Honorius III and his successors, so the path of obedience flows directly from pope to Francis to successors to individual friars. Friars are still to obey their superiors, but only when complying with their orders is in accordance with following the Rule or to the soul.⁴³ The crucial difference between this rule and the previous rules (and the Dominicans essentially hold the Augustinian rule) is that paramount concern is the Rule, not the interpretation or determination of the superiors. It is because the friars are subjecting decisions of their superiors to their own interpretation of the Rule that it is with the Franciscans and no other order that the matter of obedience can become so contentious.

⁴⁰ “Not only is the boon of obedience to be shown by all to the Abbot, but the brethren are also to obey one another, knowing that by this road of obedience they are going to God. Giving priority, therefore, to the commands of the Abbot and of the Superior appointed by him (to which we allow no private orders to be preferred), for the rest let all the juniors obey their seniors with all charity and solicitude. But if anyone is found contentious, let him be corrected,” *Rule of St. Benedict*, Chapter 71, <http://www.osb.org/rb/text/rbeaad3.html#71>, accessed 6/7/2011.

⁴¹ “Fideliter obediens; patrem suum post Deum honoret; praeposito suo deferant sicut decet sanctos. Praeposito tanquam patri obediatur, honore servato, ne in illo offendatur Deus; multo magis presbytero qui omnium vestrum curam gerit,” *Rule of St. Augustine*, <http://www.domcentral.org/trad/domwork/domwork21.htm>, accessed 6/7/2011.

⁴² “The rule and life of the lesser brothers is this: To observe the holy gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, living in obedience without anything of our own, and in chastity. Brother Francis promises obedience and reverence to the Lord Pope Honorius and his canonically elected successors, and to the Roman Church; and the rest of the brothers are obliged to obey Francis and his successors,” The Third Rule of St. Francis, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/stfran-rule.html>.

⁴³ “Brothers who are subject to authority must remember that they have surrendered their own wills for the sake of God. Thus I strictly order them to obey their ministers in all those things which they have promised the Lord to observe and which are not contrary to the soul and to our rule,” The Third Rule of St. Francis.

The matter of obedience to vows was the subject of controversy both between the Dominican and Franciscan orders and within the Franciscans. In his *Summa Theologica* (Secundae Partis, Reply to Objection Three under the sixth article of question 104) respected Dominican theologian Thomas Aquinas stated that the religious are bound to obey superiors only in things that pertain to a regular mode of life (i.e., the life they choose upon joining an order), and that anything beyond that is perfection, but not necessary.⁴⁴ Of course the rule and constitutions of any order generally demand a level of Christian morality that would make any requirements of obedience above that superfluous, and obedience is also one of the vows that any religious would take.

This particular line of thinking would become orthodox and common enough that it found its way into confession works. Despite the *Correctorium Controversy* of the late 1270s, Jean d'Erfurt echoes Thomas Aquinas generally in the section of his *summae* that he devoted to the disobedience of religious. He also defines perfect obedience that this sort of submission would hold no end and no know measure, and under it the religious would obey the prelate in all things.⁴⁵ But Jean also acknowledges that what is necessary differs from what would be perfect; the friar must obey his vow in what it explicitly contains, and obey the prelate because of it, but must not stray from his vow as the result of following a prelate's orders.⁴⁶ At root, just as in Thomas Aquinas' paradigm, obedience is understood to be one of the vows, and as well that perfect obedience is the ultimate goal.

But what exactly it means to take a vow of obedience and to obey a rule was not as uncontroversial as the agreed opinion on what obedience entails

⁴⁴ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, *The Summa Theologica of St. Thomas Aquinas*, Second and Revised Edition, 1920, Literally translated by Fathers of the English Dominican Province, Transcribed by Kevin Knight, 2008, <http://www.newadvent.org/summa/3104.htm>, accessed 13/3/09.

⁴⁵ "Perfecta: quae non habet mensuram et terminum; de hoc b: perfecta oboedientia finem nescit et perfectus oboediens non solum in his, quae mandate praelatus, sed etiam supra ea, quae mandate, promptum habet affectum desiderans illum imitari, qui humilians se factus est obediens patri usque ad mortem; unde etiam, si praelatus praecipit impossibile, acceptat illud," Jean d'Erfurt, *Summae*, 74.

⁴⁶ "Necessaria: quae habet terminum et mensuram secundum magnitudinem voti; non enim tenetur religious oboedire amplius praelato, nisi in his, quae vovit, et non sunt contraria animae; unde oboedientia de necessitate tantum extendit se ad promissa et ad ea, quae in illis implicite continentur, sicut sunt illa, sine quibus religionis perfectio servari non posset, ut mutual obsequia et official et ad poenam transgressionum statutorum et huiusmodi; unde si praelatus praecipiat aliud, quod sit supra votum, subditus non tenetur oboedire," Jean d'Erfurt, *Summae*, 74.

would suggest. It should be noted that the opinion of Thomas Aquinas and other Dominicans was that a friar should not be demanded to observe a rule but that a friar should live according to a rule, and that taking a vow of obedience to live by a rule was the best option.⁴⁷ While the possibilities look similar, the differences between them could be critical. Aquinas' second two options permit interpretation of a rule to suit the circumstances of the religious, but more generally the opportunity to live by a rule allows the follower to determine what the founder meant for the spirit of the rule to be. Additionally, it was argued that requiring a friar to observe a rule could be dangerous in that if a friar did not meet the obligation, he may have committed a mortal sin and be damned.⁴⁸ The consequences of these interpretations were not missed by Franciscan rigorists like Peter John, who wished the rule of Francis to be followed to the letter, though he did add the caveat that most of the transgressions of poverty were venial sins and not mortal. He countered that a friar should obey the rule he vowed; simple enough, except that what the rule actually is needs be universally understood by its adherents.

The exact nature of the Franciscan rule became an explosive debate resulting in condemnations and polemic on either side. Throughout the 13th century, papal decisions increasingly permitted the Friars Minor to circumvent the vow of poverty with rulings that gave them use of dwellings and items that would be considered to belong to the pope, and to use a third party to receive donations. But even before these abridgements of poverty, Gregory IX's 1230 *Quo elongati* claimed that the Franciscans were only obliged to follow the rule and not the testament of Francis. The general community of the Minorites agreed with and supported these decisions, but men like Peter John and Angelo both argued that the combination of the rule and the testament constituted the rule, and that the rule could be equated directly with the gospels, all of which would put a very strict vow of poverty on the brothers.

By 1279, there had been a papal ruling on the matter in *Exiit qui Seminatus* by Nicholas III that included the specific warning that his decree closed the

⁴⁷ David Burr, "The Correctorium Controversy and the Origins of the Usus Pauper Controversy" *Speculum* 60 (No. 2 April 1985): 337.

⁴⁸ For more on this argument, see David Burr's "The Correctorium Controversy and the Origins of the Usus Pauper Controversy", his book *The Spiritual Franciscans*, and his introduction to his transcription of Peter John's *Usu Paupere*.

debate on the rule of Francis and poverty under pain of excommunication, but the general debate of adherence to a strict form of poverty against the more lax interpretation of the stricture continued, forming fault lines throughout the Order. Often, the interlocutors have been demarcated by those who study Franciscan history as either that of the Southern French Olivi-ites/Tuscan rigorists/Poor Hermits versus the Community, and the former appears to have involved themselves with little other than the controversy. Thus this begs the question as to which side of the controversy Jean d'Erfurt would have stood.

At no point in Jean's *summae* does he state explicitly that he rejects the direction that the majority of his own Order has taken, or denounces the rigorists. But he does insert a few interesting clues in his text suggesting that he was aware of the controversy. First was that he specifically notes in his section on heresy that Joachim was not a heretic. This seems of little consequence unless this statement is put into the perspective that Hugh de Digne, John of Parma, and other respected Franciscan rigorists were quite Joachite in outlook. Joachim's works were condemned at Lateran IV, which should mean that those who followed them were also heretics, but according to Jean, Joachim himself was not to be viewed as a heretic, presumably because he did submit to correction. That he specifically references Joachim suggests that he was speaking to that intra-order controversy, yet that he carefully avoided discussing the works and instead commented on the man protected Jean's writings from accusations of heresy while he subtly lent support to the Joachites. Jean also includes nineteen points on use and usufructus, and finds that in many matters, such as that the cleric cannot succeed in inheritance and cannot will any fruits he has gathered from a church benefice, that churchmen are essentially given bare use with few exceptions.⁴⁹ Yet, the canon can also be compared to the usufructuary if he realizes the 'gathered and reconditioned fruits' as his own, and his blood relatives inherit from him.⁵⁰ At root, Jean is addressing notions of use and *usus fructus*. Our author even takes this a step further by noting that in fact, use and *usus fructus* cannot be perpetually separated from dominion; that

⁴⁹ Jean d'Erfurt, *Summae*, 1455.

⁵⁰ Jean d'Erfurt, *Summae*, 1455-1456.

this would destroy the owner's benefit of dominion.⁵¹ This is a novelty in that Jean is the first Franciscan to do so. Peter John Olivi accepted that *usus* and *usus fructus* were different as well, but did not consider the argument further in terms of a loss to the church's benefits of dominion through Franciscan perpetual use. When considered on its own merits, this is a non-controversial argument, almost common sense. But a closer look notes that the words bare a striking resemblance to the text of *Exiit qui seminat*, in which Nicholas III declares:

“Nor is it discerned to resist these things that in human things civil providence humanely prevails, namely that it is not possible for use or usufruct to be separated from perpetual dominion; and lest the dominion of the owner always be rendered useless by surrendering its use, the one providing these things [should have] declared in [the act of] bestowing [them] only a temporary use. Since the retention of the dominion of such things, when by concession [their] use has been granted to the poor, is not unprofitable to the owner since it is meritorious for eternity and opportune to the profession of the poor, which as much as it is judged more useful for himself, so much more that he exchange temporal for eternal things.”⁵²

Except that in his work, Jean d'Erfurt is arguing the opposite of what actually happened. That the papacy owned all the movable and immovable goods of the Franciscans while they declared their absolute poverty through simple use had permitted the order to develop and clericalize just as any other—the Minorites had houses, books for study, and the trappings of rank befitting those Franciscans created cardinals or bishops. The only restraint that Nicholas put on Franciscan use of things was that the use should be appropriate to the vow, but that the custodians and ministers general could determine how that constraint would be applied. Jean's argument cuts through this legal fiction of

⁵¹ “*Usus vel fructus non potest a dominio semparari perpetuo, ne dominium dominis semper absente usu reddatur inutile; hoc fallit in concessione usus facta pauperibus retento dominio quae est aeternorum meritoria,*” Jean d'Erfurt, *Summae*, 1458.

⁵² *Exiit qui seminat*, translated and transcribed from the Latin texts of the registers of Nicholas III, 232-241, found at <http://www.franciscan-archive.org/>, referenced 24/03/2009.

ownership and use, perhaps suggesting that the order ought truly own nothing as per the vow of poverty, as though he were a rigorist himself.⁵³

If Jean d'Erfurt's vision of poverty and ownership put him closer to the rigorist camp, then his discussion on obedience takes on a new possible slant. As per the near-perfect quote of Aquinas, Jean may well have meant obedience to carry the same connotations, but he could also have thought of obedience in the same fashion that Angelo or Peter John Olivi did, in that one should obey what he believed to be the rule exactly and adhere to strict poverty, even if the ministers general had been given the power by the pope to determine what would constitute a seemly adherence to the vow of poverty, and they established a vision that seemed less impoverished.⁵⁴

Ultimately, what is at stake in the minds of the late 13th century and early 14th century Franciscans was not obedience but the matter of poverty. No one on either side of the rigorist or Community divide argued for disobedience towards the church, though Angelo and Liberato's vision of their obedience may have been rather creative in light of Boniface's treatment of his predecessor's decrees. What was hotly contended, however, was the issue of the vow of poverty and how it would be interpreted; it was on this issue that the rigorists would lose ground.

IV: Poverty

The mendicant orders had been the church's response to threats from both Catharism and from critics of her riches. The earlier but lesser known Carmelites, Franciscans, and Dominicans were popularly received for their adherence to apostolic poverty as by supporting them, the more prosperous late medieval person could assuage the guilt brought on by exposure to the grinding poverty next to their own success. But the mendicant orders may have also enjoyed success as the result of a growing Christian social conscience through education and the teaching of history that led to an increased interest in the

⁵³ Alternatively, Jean could have been a forerunner of John XXII's views on apostolic poverty and papal ownership, but this seems highly unlikely given his other statements.

⁵⁴ For Peter John Olivi's interpretation of Exiit qui seminavit's determination of use, see his *Tractatus de Usus Pauper*, *Italian Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 4, (110-115) Transcribed and edited by David Burr, (Perth: University of W. Australia Press, 1992).

early church and the poverty of the apostles.⁵⁵ This would have amounted to not only an increased interest in supporting these apostle-like groups, but also developed interest in middle and upper class young men in joining those already established orders or creating their own, thus, the Penitents of Jesus Christ (Saccati), the Pied Friars, and the Apostolic Order.

Unfortunately, apostolic poverty is also a burden. For Christian society at large, supporting a proliferating number of mendicant groups meant choosing carefully the recipient of alms, and not having the capacity to give to every mendicant order. Salimbene's example from the lady Guileta de Adelardi that "have already had so many sacks and scripts emptying our barns that we had no need of these brothers of the sack" may have been a purposeful exaggeration, but the possibility that this was a real sentiment felt by others should not be ignored.⁵⁶ The growing weight of mendicant orders may have been one of the reasons for the decision at Lyons. But for the Franciscans specifically, apostolic poverty was not only a burden in terms of competition, but also in the rift that controversy over it had formed.

The beginning of the 14th century was a turning point for the Franciscan order. It could not truly return to its roots of begging and complete poverty; the nucleus of the order had become clericalized, its membership was educated and these scholarly Franciscans were actively participating in the discourse on confession and theology. Yet there was still this small but vocal group of brothers who would hold out against accepting property, who were loyal to what they perceived as Francis' discomfort with education, and who like Angelo of Clareno would not be ordained. The existence of this dissident group within their midst certainly caused scandal and some degree of embarrassment for the greater Community, but it also presented a very real alternative to the evolution of the Franciscan order. If the Minorites had attempted a return to their origins as men like Angelo and Ubertino of Casale counseled, it is beyond doubt that all these innovations in the order would have fallen away, and the Minorites would have more resembled the Apostolic Order than their fellows the Dominicans. Thus the order had to move forward, to come to grips with the concept of

⁵⁵ Barbara Rosenwein and Lester Little, "Social Meaning in the Monastic and Mendicant Spiritualities" *Past and Present* 63 (May, 1974): 19.

⁵⁶ Salimbene, *Chronicle*, 249.

poverty that was one of the vows and as well address those rigorists who propounded it.

After thirty years of attempting to deal with the small vocal minority through intra-order discipline, the means employed to address the rigorists was to approach the papal throne with an issue of disobedience. The decision at the council of Vienne was a partial victory for both sides—yes, the Tuscan rigorists had ventured outside obedience when they captured convents in Arezzo, Asciano, and Carmignano, and as well the French rigorists must obey the decisions of their superiors, but Clement V did recognize the danger in handing over the minority in the order to the will of the majority. He did demand that the Italians return to their respective convents, but also allowed for the existence of rigorist convents and removed those Franciscan superiors who were most guilty of cruelty. Of course this settlement would not last; when Clement V died the Franciscan Community returned to persecution of rigorists, though even amongst the rigorists there was strife as Angelo of Clareno also attacked the activities of the Tuscan rigorists in a 1313 letter.⁵⁷

Unfortunately for the Community, bringing the rigorists under control was not simply a matter of laying aside papal decisions in the interregnum; it was a matter of convincing their lay supporters of the wickedness of their actions. The rigorists had a strong base of support in lay society in both Italy and southern France, as their adherence to the mode of life created by Francis proved popular and indeed were the reason for the order's amazing growth. Demonstrations of lay ill-will towards the evolution in the Franciscans can be historically traced; Bonaventura writing in 1257 and 1266 informed his brothers that they were the objects of contempt because of their growing avariciousness. Whether this was true greed rampant throughout the mid-century order cannot be proven, but it is probable that a change in the rules of the order that allowed for abrogation of poverty may have been viewed as greed. Thus those who did not hold with the changes in the order would have been the ones who inherited Francis' popularity.

The better known means employed to dispel that popularity were twofold: one was to assert the disobedience of rigorist Franciscans in sermons

⁵⁷ David Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans, From Protest to Persecution in the Century after Saint Francis* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 165.

read in all of the churches of an area (which should by extension drive their supporters away and into the arms of the inquisition); two was the threat of inquisition. Of these two, the latter was more effective breaking down the support network through fear. But there was another way, and that was to malign the image of the rigorists through the characteristic most notable, their espousal of poverty. This was the methodology utilized by papal penitentiary-cum-archbishop Jean Rigaud in his *Formula Confessionum*, written sometime in the critical period before the decision at the council of Vienne, around 1309 to 1312.⁵⁸

According to the author himself, this confession work was in response to a request from a layman who asked about the proper means of giving a good confession. In his studies on the work in manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale of France, Vienne, Toulouse, Munich, Prague and others, Valois found that statement to be in agreement with the style of the work; the author is straightforward in his discussion, most of the work is devoted to what must precede, accompany and follow confession, and he does not cite authorities.⁵⁹

But here is not just a simple treatise on how to give confession, as Jean also states rather baldly his opinion on arrogance and mendicants. In his section on 'superbia' (arrogance) Jean notes that arrogance is not just the product of riches and abundance of temporal things, but is caused as well by voluntary poverty.⁶⁰ Indeed, the 'vain' religious mendicants are frequently haughty.⁶¹ But all Franciscans are by their vows religious mendicants, so is this statement a humble claim iterated against his own or an attack against the spirituals as Valois thought? In the particular manuscript under consideration in the Arundel collection at the British Library, item 406, folio 17 (starting),⁶² Jean makes clear that his statement is not a blanket accusation against his order, but against specific mendicants, who will not accept property or gifts, out of vanity.⁶³ As well these holdout mendicants are not just vain, but arrogant, and "ex superbia

⁵⁸ A Teetart, OFM Capuchin, "La formula confessionis du frère mineur Jean Rigaud," *Miscellanea Historica in Honorem Alberti de Meyer* (Louvain-Brussels 1946): 671.

⁵⁹ N. Valois, "Jean Rigaud, Frere Mineur." *Histoire Litteraire de la France*. 4 (1914): 287.

⁶⁰ "Superbia causatur etiam quandoque ex divitiarum et aliarum temporalium ubertate..." causatur etiam interdum ex voluntaria paupertate," Jean Rigaud quoted in Valois, 287.

⁶¹ "Et de hoc frequenter superbiunt vani religiosi Mendicantes," Jean Rigaud quoted in Valois, 287.

⁶² This particular manuscript was not studied by either Teetart or Valois, and is attributed along with another manuscript to 'Jean Rigandi', though the other manuscript's authorship cannot be proven.

⁶³ Jean Rigaud, *Formula Confessionum, un epistle*. BL Arundel MS 406, Folio 26 r.

procedat non gloriam,” rather, that this arrogance leads to contempt, presumptuousness, disobedience, and a host of other vices.⁶⁴

The basis of this description does seem to fit the rigorist Franciscans, who first came into conflict with the Community in the 1270s in Italy over the issue of accepting property. Because of this characterization, it seems most likely that Jean was on the side of the Community, and that this was his attempt to convince a layperson that the rigorists were in the wrong by recasting their commitment to poverty as flowing from their arrogance. If he had been successful (something that cannot be proven or disproven) then the individual for whom the confession work was written may have used his influence to convince others of the arrogance of these rigorists, furthering the Community’s case more than any sermon on disobedience could have.

Conclusions

If any one fact can be drawn from the above discussion, it is that confession manuals are not written in a vacuum; their contents were affected by current situations, their author’s opinions, and as well their intentions. Heresy as a concept evolved over the century between the Albigensian Crusade and Jean d’Erfurt’s final redaction of his Summa—Guido of Orchellis, Clarus Florentinus and Jean d’Erfurt each tailored his confrontation of heresy in response to the times. Obedience is a vow, but even Thomas Aquinas left loopholes that could be exploited, and as well the vow is dependent on the definition of what and who must be obeyed. And complete poverty, though it was the vow closest to Francis’ heart, was also a proverbial thorn in the side of his changing order at the turn of the 14th century.

But there is another common thread that runs through the confession works on the subjects of heresy, obedience, and poverty, and that is the power of the laity. Though the troubles of the mendicant orders may have seemed purely a matter of the religious the laity played a pivotal role. With the advent of Catharism and Waldensianism in the west, heresy was no longer a product of a well-educated heresiarch but a challenge to the church; heresy had no clear creator but did have broad support across a portion of the laity. Obedience may have been subject to vows or council decisions, but as was clear in the support

⁶⁴ Jean Rigaud, BL Arundel MS 406.

the spirituals and heretical mendicants enjoyed, the lay supporters could provide enough collaboration such that disobedient mendicants could continue despite inquisition and intra-order persecution. Finally, as will be shown in the next chapter, that collaboration and lay commitment to apostolic poverty even in heretical groups was not easily destroyed by sermons against disobedience or even fear of the inquisition, but would take the interference of non-allies or extra stress on weak ties.

Chapter 4: A Confused Relationship of Burnings and Support-- The Church and the Rigorists

Persecution of the Apostles and rigorist Franciscans/beguins by the Church escalated in a parallel and related arc to the way that confession manuals evolved in response to the key aspects of Church-rigorist dispute. Four Apostles' supporters had been burned in 1296 in Parma and four years later their first leader followed them to the pyre. Between Segarelli's death and the 1307 final battle in the crusade called against them, Apostles and their brethren were persecuted throughout Northern Italy. The Spiritual Franciscans also faced systematic persecution. Those in the Marches of Ancona struggled with the rest of their order since the council of Lyons, and a few decades later suffered the same fate in the Midi.¹

Yet victimization through persecution and hatred was not the only course that the renegades' relationships with the church took. Zaccaria of Santa Agata, a small town north of Bologna, was one of the preachers of the Apostolic Order with a well-known history with the sect, and he recognized that in the fourth status of the church in which the true church would rise, those who would be left would not be just of his own order. Some of those within the Franciscan and Dominican orders and amongst the clerics and monks who were good men and remained in the state of poverty would survive as well.² Zaccaria knew that Dolcino in his letters explicitly claimed that only the Apostolic Order was worthy of claim to being the true, spiritual church, yet the testimony of this experienced preacher clearly demonstrated that he felt a kinship with others within the church that followed from their similar principles and futures. Even more concretely, the preachers had allies amongst the churchmen that were hailed before the inquisition for their actions that amounted to sustained

¹ Duncan Nimmo, *Reform and Division in the Franciscan Order (1226-1558)* (Rome: Capuchin Historical Institute, 1987), 109.

² "Item dixit quod quartus status ecclesie est status paupertatis; qui status iam incepit et presencialiter est in eo ipse Zacharias et consimilles sibi et in fratribus predicatoribus et minoribus et in clericis et monachis et hoc solum in bonis et spiritualibus et dixit quod ista quinque genera bonorum virorum spiritualium erunt in uno eodem velle et maxime hii qui tunc temporis vivent, scilicet in statu paupertatis," Act 611.

relationships of aid and protection, which Orioli determined to be compromises “out of a Christian sense of good will.”³

The spiritual Franciscans and their beguin allies as well enjoyed some allegiance with representatives of the orthodox church. Both Angelo and Ubertino found refuge with an assortment of churchmen and even amongst monks; the relationships of patronage that they cultivated were key to their survival. There were even priests who had joined with the cause of the beguins, and for it faced the inquisition in the Occitan.

In this chapter, the nature of the relationships between the orthodox church and the Apostolic Order and rigorist Franciscans will be analyzed. In both sets of associations the relationships were complex, and influenced by factors ranging the full gamut from competitiveness to friendship to admiration, and even in some cases a shared interpretation of events as apocalyptic. While the rigorist Franciscans were known to have garnered support amongst churchmen and indeed this has been the subject of study, so did the apostles. The remarkable similarity between the rigorists and the Apostles in this aspect has not been asserted before now, but here this similarity will be emphasized as pertains to three categories of churchmen: the mendicants, the priests and canons, and the bishops and cardinals.

The intra-order struggle over the legacy of Francis represents a competition between mendicants, but as well letters written by representatives of the Bolognese commune suggest competitiveness between the Order of the Servants of Mary and the Apostolic Order, and this antagonism then played out during the inquisition. Some canons and priests in Emilia Romagna and the Midi, by contrast, could be considered helpful to the Apostles or the Spirituals and some even agreed with the rigorists’ interpretations, and the textual evidence from some inquisitorial depositions even suggested a certain level of friendship between the two groups. Finally, those that wielded power of their own—cardinals and bishops—could be said to have had launched a defense of these rigorists that stemmed from a mixture of their admiration of them and their principles and the need for pawns in political maneuverings.

³ Raniero Orioli, *Venit Perfidus Heresiarcha: Il Movimento Apostolico-Dolciniano Dal 1260 al 1307* (Rome: Institute Palazzo Borromini, 1988), 185.

I: Fighting Back-- The Textual Vengeance of the Embattled Rigorist

Throughout the apocalyptic mendicant thought continuum—from the radical renegade Apostolic Order to those that represented the radical Fraticelli and beguins, through the more moderate Olivi and Angelo—some or all branches of the church were identified by the rigorists’ spokespersons as the ultimate enemy, the carnal church that clashed with the true spiritual church in the apocalypse that was upon them. And certainly, this conflation seemed entirely believable at the end of the 13th and beginning of the 14th centuries as the persecution escalated. As a means of bolstering the morale of their faithful, authors amongst the radicals engaged in a certain amount of ‘textual vengeance’ against their persecutors, eliding them with the enemy of God and in some cases proclaiming their impending demise.

In the text of Dolcino’s first letter, he stated his opinion of ‘the church’ rather baldly that:

“adversarios suos et ministeros dyaboli asserit esse clericos secularis in multos de populo et potentibus et tyrannis et omnes religiosos, specialiter predicatorum et minorum et etiam aliorum qui ipsum dulcino et suos persequabantur qua dictum sectum, quam vocat congregationem spiritualem apostolicam,”⁴

There were no exceptions, no special circumstances for any branch or member of the prevailing congregation to be amongst the elect during the End Times; all were diabolical. Some, such as the Franciscans and Dominicans, were even guiltier than others due to their involvement in the persecution of Apostles via the inquisitions and propaganda. In his letter, each one was associated with a church listed in the Apocalypse of John, and from these associations his followers could presume the specific crimes of which Dolcino found them guilty, and the punishment that God would deem fit for them. But Dolcino’s apocalypse is not just grounded on the destruction of his persecutors, rather, it entails a complete defeat and destruction of the Church by a secular authority—a world emperor in the guise of Frederick III--after which his own sect would rise and reassert Christianity as the spiritual church.

⁴ Bernard Gui, “De Secta Illorum qui se dicunt esse de Ordine Apostolorum”, in A Segarizzi, ed., *RIS*, Volume 9, “Historia Fratris Dulcini Heresiarche” (Citta di Castello, 1902), 20.

Some of the most well-known Spiritual Franciscans also painted the church as their adversary, though some of their more educated spokesmen did so in the most oblique of terms. In his *Lectura in Apocalypsim*, Peter John Olivi referred to a battle between the carnal church—those within Christendom who are evildoers--and the spiritual church, those who adhered to the notion of poverty. He did not make clear who comprised each of the two sides, but just as important, the corruption that overtakes the church in Olivi's writings is a necessary evil, as a harbinger of the third age.⁵ A reader familiar with his other works would not find it difficult to extrapolate that Olivi's spiritual church is made up of those who hold that the text of the Franciscan rule and Testament were to be obeyed as precepts and not counsels, and upheld doctrine of *usus pauper* as though it were part of the Rule. The carnal church are all those who attacked his doctrine in his lifetime.

It is not clear when Olivi believed this apocalypse would occur.⁶ That determination is left up to the reader, though in his Joachite vision of time, he saw the church at his time as being between the fifth and six periods of the New Testament's age.⁷ While the exact length of the sixth age or that of the interim between the sixth and the final seventh age was the subject of speculation, one could read the signs of persecution around him and determine that the end was indeed at hand. If the reader was a Joachite rigorist Franciscan or a beguin, then the time of the Apocalypse has come, and as an object of persecution, clearly he is of the spiritual church destined to survive and then to rise and convert the world in the aftermath, while his persecutors are the carnal church.

This is not to say, however, that all spiritualists' writings were devoid of specific attacks. Some authors responded to their persecuted status by attacking both their persecutors and those who were conflated with them in their persecutors' writings. In Angelo's estimation, his enemies "were soiled and stained by the bruising, corroding, and devouring rust of the malignant vice, envy," and in particular these enemies were those Franciscans who had the

⁵ It could be argued that the corruption of the church and the persecution of the faithful was also a necessary evil in Dolcino's theology.

⁶ Bernard McGinn, "Angel Pope and Papal Antichrist," *Church History* 47 (June 1978): 166.

⁷ Louisa A. Burnham, *So Great a Light, So Great a Smoke: the Beguin Heretics of Languedoc* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 19.

rigorists of Provence arrested in the time of Boniface VIII.⁸ He also claims that Gerardo Segarelli brought the sect of the free spirit to Italy, and that when Leo, companion of Francis, laid eyes upon Dolcino, was “terrified and stupefied.”⁹ Ubertino of Casale, an Italian rigorist who wrote in less cautious vein than Angelo, claimed that those brothers who did not hold to Olivi’s *usus pauperis* had rejected the Christian gospel because they rejected Christ’s poverty and thus should be considered heretics.¹⁰

The early fourteenth century pseudo-Joachite writing the *Liber Flore*, a work popular with some spiritualist followers, brought together the attacks on the Conventual brothers and the radical renegades in a description of the Franciscan order as broken into four blocs. The first bloc were the ‘completely relaxed’ brothers who were the persecutors, the second was made up of those who wished to obey their vows but were prevented by their cowardice, the third were those who were rigorist and faithful, and the fourth were those who wished to hold to their vows but in despair broke away from the order and joined renegade sects like the Apostolic Order.¹¹

Here too in the *Liber Flore* was the idea of the good and holy pope and the evil pope. Spiritualist writers were even harsher on popes and the papacy than they were on their brothers. The *Vaticina de Summis Pontificibus*, a text dating between 1294 and 1304 and most likely a product of Angelo of Clareno’s circle, listed predicted occupants of the papal throne.¹² Reeves found that the popes portrayed began with Nicholas III and went up through Boniface VIII, and that most of these men with the exception of Celestine V were depicted in a rather unforgiving light.¹³ But the *Vaticina* went further in that the work notes that some of these popes would be angelic popes after the Judgment, and that the subjects of the unflattering portraits were evil popes, one of which was generally understood to be Boniface VIII.¹⁴ 2 Thessalonians gave the first

⁸ Angelo of Clareno, *A Chronicle or History of the Seven Tribulations of the Order of the Brothers Minor*, trans. David Burr and E. Randolph Daniel, Franciscan Institute Publications (New York: The Franciscan Institute, St. Bonaventure University, 2005), 180.

⁹ Angelo of Clareno, *Tribulations*, 185.

¹⁰ Duncan Nimmo, *Reform and Division*, 103.

¹¹ Decima Douie, *The Nature and the Effect of the Heresy of the Fraticelli* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1932), 44.

¹² Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages, A Study in Joachimism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 58.

¹³ Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy*, 193.

¹⁴ Bernard McGinn, “Angel Pope,” 164-165.

statement of such a possibility; that the Enemy would come to occupy a throne and command worship just before the Second Coming; spirituals interpreted this to be the papal throne.¹⁵ But the more radical spiritual Franciscans reached beyond this, and took the opportunity to attempt to name this interloper as part of their justification through history and prophecy.¹⁶

II: Mendicant Wars

Angelo of Clareno determined that intra-order strife could be found as early as the late 1250s, when, as he claimed, Gerard of Borgo San Donnino (author of the *Eternal Evangel*) and minister general John of Parma were ‘tried’ because they were the voices of reform and Joachites.¹⁷ But even before this event, Hugh of Digne prophesied the order’s internal strife that would lead to this, that the brothers would be divided.¹⁸ David Burr envisioned the conflict as beginning with the *Usus Pauper* controversy around 1279, though Angelo informs us that he and some of his brethren were imprisoned in the Marches of Ancona for their rigorist views around 1274.¹⁹ The determination of the primary source will be given priority here. Duncan Nimmo connected the strife to the changes in how poverty would be enacted within the order, and the increased clericalization beginning in 1239 that subjugated the lay members to the role of laborers for an increasingly scholarly order.²⁰ It could be said, however, that division really began with *Quo Elongati* in 1230, whereby Pope Gregory IX released the brothers from obedience to Francis’ Testament. If the issue had not been raised within the order by then, Gregory would have had little reason to issue a bull deciding the matter. While this was not necessarily the beginning of an intra-order schism, the fault lines of disagreement had formed.

Regardless of how or when it began, the Franciscan conflict has been studied and debated at great length. The point that is not often made is the extent to which the Franciscan hierarchy was involved in the rigorist brothers’ persecution beyond the intra-order disciplinary action taken in both Italy and

¹⁵ 2 Thessalonians 2:4.

¹⁶ McGinn, “Angel Pope,” 165.

¹⁷ Angelo of Clareno, *Tribulations*, 123.

¹⁸ Angelo of Clareno, *Tribulations*, 122.

¹⁹ David Burr, “The Correctorium Controversy and the Origins of the *Usus Pauper* Controversy,” *Speculum* 60 (April 1985): 322.

²⁰ Nimmo, *Reform and Division*, 51-54.

France. Dominicans were commonly associated with the inquisition, and indeed, the inquisitor who undertook a campaign of torture against Liberato's followers and their supporters was a Dominican who took issue with the Brothers Minor as a whole.²¹ But Franciscans served as inquisitors as well, in France where they shared the duty with the Dominicans, and in Italy where they were the heads of inquisition in the Marches of Ancona and in Tuscany during the era of conflict.²² In Tuscany and across the Languedoc many spirituals were imprisoned and denied habits, breviaries, and sacraments, but the division is unclear as to how many of them were formally questioned by the inquisition and how many were subjected to the order's discipline because of the order's inquisitorial involvement.

In the aforementioned strife, Franciscans of various doctrinal stripes were essentially fighting for control of the order's future and the legitimate claim to the founder's legacy. But conflict was not found exclusively within the order, but with the other orders as well. Between the Franciscans and Dominicans there was the Correctorium controversy and the differing opinions on whether it was better to live according to a rule or to follow it to the letter.²³ Frances Andrews found evidence that there was tension as well between the Franciscans and the Bonites (who would be subsumed under the Augustinian Friars soon after) when in the early 1250s Franciscan brothers recruited some of Giovanni Boni's followers out of his nascent order.²⁴ Then there is the sense of competition that dwelt between the Franciscans and the Apostolic Order. This competition surfaced most plainly in Salimbene's description of Gerardo Segarelli's antics; the Franciscan recorded any gossip related to the Apostles and highlighted that Segarelli was ignorant and foolish, yet, his mendicant lifestyle was inspired by the Franciscans of Parma.²⁵ As discussed earlier in the history of Emilia Romagna, there was a competitive atmosphere for alms collecting, but

²¹ Angelo of Clareno, *Tribulations*, 175.

²² Mariano d'Alatri, *L'Inquisizione Francescana nell'Italia Centrale del Duecento* (Rome: Istituto Storico dei Cauppuccini, 1996), 19.

²³ For more on this conflict, please see chapter 6.

²⁴ Frances Andrews, *The Other Friars: The Carmelites, Augustinian, Sack and Pied Friars in the Middle Ages* (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2006), 78.

²⁵ "Cum enim in ordine fratrum minorum habitarem in parmensi convent sacerdos et predicator existens, venit quidam iuvenis natione parmensis, de vili progenie ortus, illiterati et laycus, ydiota et stultas, cui nomen gerardinus segalellus, et petiit ut a fratribus minoribus reciperetur in ordine." Salimbene de Adam, *Cronica*, Volumes I and II ed. Giuseppe Scalia (Bari: Laterza, 1966), 369.

also for attention for their messages of penance. Salimbene noted that the Apostles converted a boy who was in training in a Minorite convent.²⁶ The boy became a preacher, and was rather successful in luring away the crowds of Ferrara who gathered to listen to a Franciscan preach at the convent there.²⁷ Nicholas IV, the first Franciscan pope, was the pope to directly condemn the Apostles in a bull dated March 7, 1290, building on Honorius IV's recommendation to them to disband and join other orders.²⁸

Despite the clear connection between the two orders through the Apostles' foundation story and their similar apocalyptic notions, the Apostles and the Franciscans, including the Spirituals, were rivals, though here it should be noted that an Apostle was found amongst the followers of Liberato in Regno.²⁹ This conflict, however, did not prove as dangerous to the Apostles or their supporters as did the one in Bologna between their Order and the Order of the Servants of Mary.

On 4 July 1304, Friar Andreas of the Order of the Servants of Mary and prior of the order's convent in the parish of Sant'Elena (northwest of Bologna in Calderara di Reno) was invited by the inquisition to give testimony on the Apostolic Order in that region. He proved to be quite aware of the presence in Sant'Elena; he named Salvatore Petricoli and Giovanni Osti receivers and fautors of the preachers, and reported a second hand account from a Petrus Saccho that around Easter of that year seven apostles had stayed in the home of receivers Damiano Bianchi or Guglielmo Bianchi or Giovanni Osti, and that the others had come to visit them there.³⁰ A conversus in the monastery of Sant'Elena,

²⁶ Salimbene de Adam, *Chronicle*, 261.

²⁷ Salimbene, *Chronicle*, 261.

²⁸ "volens talium prevaricatorum insolentem audaciam refrenari et predictam non tam religionem quam periculosam sectam penitus aboleri, ne forte mentes fidelium simplices falsa sanctitatis eorum ymagine seduci contingeret, vobis per suas dedit litteras districtius in mandatis ut quoscumque de predictis in vestris civitatibus et diocesibus inveniri contingeret, eos ad deponendum huiusmodi habitum, monitione premissa, per censuram ecclesiasticam, appellatione postposita, congeretis, monentes eosdem ut, si religiosam vitam deducere cuperent, ad aliquam se transferrent de religionibus approbatis, et, si aliqui eorum consuram predictam contempnerent, vos contra ipsos ad penam carceris seu aliam, prout videretis expediens, procedere curaretis; invocato adversus eos, si opus existeret, auxilio brachii secularis." Ernest Thorin, ed., *Les Registres de Nicholas iv* (Paris: Ecoles d'Athenes et de Rome, Second Series, 1887).

²⁹ Angelo of Clareno, *Tribulations*, 170.

³⁰ "Item dicit quod quidam qui vocatur Petrus Saccho, Castaldio domini archipresbiteri de Gallutiis, dixit sibi in diebus Paschatis resurrectionis modo devolute, parum post Pascha, quod ex septa appostolorum aliqui debebant venire in domo Damiani sive Guillielmi fratrum de Blanchis sive in domo dicti Iohannis Hoste; qui dominus prior dixit sibi quod deberet se custodire et

Hugolinus, admitted to Andreas that before he became a conversus, he was a barber, and had shaved Zaccaria of Santa Agata while the preacher was ill and staying with Giovanni and Bona Osti.³¹

Andreas was an important churchman in this zone so frequented by the preachers and as an active leader of an order that provided sacraments was informed of the activities of locals, thus, he was specifically called upon to provide leads into heretical activity. The importance of these leads should not be underestimated; in the following month, all of the men listed in Friar Andreas' deposition that were still in the region were hailed before the inquisition, and subsequently found to be receivers and fautors. Others of his order were called before the inquisition in August of 1304, not on suspicion of heresy, but as friars whose testimony could be trusted. Friar Formentinus knew of the heretics because Pietro Saccho, who went with the Apostolic Friar Rolandino Ollis to the home of Guglielmo Bianchi, had received the confession of Giunta, Guglielmo' wife.³² He had heard from Friar Iacopo Pistori that Damiano Bianchi had defended an executed Apostle,³³ who was confirmed to be Zaccaria by Iacopo.³⁴ Two days after Formentinus testified, Friar Bertoldo volunteered that he saw Rolandino in the house of Guglielmo.³⁵ In between the testimonies of Friars Andreas, Formentinus, and Bertoldo, each member of the Sant'Elena group was questioned and then questioned again, most likely presented at their second and third appearances with the testimonies of the OSM friars, the existence of which most likely prompted their confessions.

On the surface, this situation appears simple enough; the orthodox friars of an order that has a strong presence in a region are called before the inquisition to give testimony regarding the heresy of those who lived near them and confessed to them. But what do not seem to be present in the time period of these depositions are testimonies of secular clergy from the region. Further, the brothers called upon after Andreas were not listed in other testimonies, which beg the question why the inquisitors chose them. There are no

facere quod videret si aliqui irent ad domos dictorum Damiani, Guillielmi vel Iohannis aut alterius eorum..." Act 676.

³¹ Act 676.

³² Act 702.

³³ Act 702.

³⁴ Act 737.

³⁵ Act 733.

testimonies from friars who knew nothing. Did Andreas perhaps direct the inquisitors? Or did they volunteer their testimonies? If the latter is true, then they may have simply been obeying the church, but it is also likely that the brothers volunteered the information in an effort to finally eliminate a rival in the newly acquired territory of Sant'Elena, a rival that had plagued them in the region of Bologna since 1289.

In 1289 on May 8th, the commune of Bologna agreed that its trustee of the house of grain would give offerings to Friars Zagnibono and Iacopo of the Apostles and Friars Ugocionus and Samuelus of the Order of the Servants of Mary.³⁶ Two years before, Honorius IV had condemned the Apostles in the bull *Olim Felicis Recordationes*, while in the same year he wrote nine letters to a single convent of Servites in Bologna, yet the OSM was still competing for alms with the now heretical Apostolic Order.³⁷ Three years later, the commune is called upon to adjudicate troubles associated with the giving of alms by a city official on behalf of the city. The commune determined that presiding officers of the office of grain must give to Friar Guido and Friar Zagnibono of the Apostles and Friars Ugocionus and Iohannis, OSM--now said to be located in the Burg of Santo Petronio--nine libras bolognese according to the measure of two sums for those very said brothers and for that very day for three months, notwithstanding said reform.³⁸ The city had not condemned the Apostles, and indeed recognized the two orders on equal grounds as recipients of alms, inciting a level of competition between the two as neither was capable of asserting that group's claim to offerings over the other group.

But the rivalry between the Apostolic Order and the OSM was not simply about offerings, it was about legitimacy and care of souls. The Apostles could

³⁶ "Ugolinus quid. Guidotti de medicina, depositarius domino rum bladi, de omni pecunia et avere communis bononiae teneatur dare et solvere omnibus et singulis officialibus, inter alia, fratri zagnibono et fratri iacobo, ord apostolorum, et fratri ugucioni et fratri samueli, ord servorum b mariae, et cuilibet eorum duos solidos bononinorum pro tribus mensibus," Archivio di stato, riformazioni del consiglio del popolo. 1273-1290, f 222r-223r, found in Franco Andrea Dal Pino, ed., *I Frati Servi di S.Maria, Dalle Origini All'approvazione (1233-1304) Volume II: Documentazione* Recueil de Travaux d'Histoire et de Philologie Series, Fascicule 50, (Louvain: University of Louvain, 1972), 372.

³⁷ Franco Andrea Dal Pino, *Spazi e Figure Lungo la Storia dei Servi di Santa Maria (secoli XIII-XX)* (Rome: Herder Editrice e Libreria, 1997), 181.

³⁸ "Dictus marsilius et socii teneantur dare de omni pecunia communis bonon dictis fratribus et cuilibet eorum novem libras bononinorum ad rationem duorum solidorum pro quolibet dictorum fratrum et pro quolibet die pro tribus mensibus, non obstante reformatione praedicta," Riformazioni del consiglio del popol, II, 1291-1293, f 208v, found in Dal Pino, *I Frati Servi di S.Maria*, 415.

not claim legitimacy through papal approval, rather, they were one of the several groups that were theoretically disbanded by the decision at Lyons II at 1274. But neither could the Servites. Lyons II left the Servites, the Augustinian friars and the Carmelites in a sort of limbo—they did not have the official sanction as did the Dominicans and the Franciscans, but they were not destroyed either. Instead, the decision was left for a later time or a later pope, perhaps to await the orders' further development. The Carmelites, as Andrews found, established themselves as a fully clericalized order in the 1280s by prohibiting the entry of laymen into the order and requiring all its members to speak Latin, following the path that the Franciscans followed almost a half century earlier.³⁹ The Augustinian friars as well could claim an educated membership, as they had established a studium in Bologna in 1264, but they also laid claim to a long history supposedly stretching back to 10th century in Italy, and thus were an older group than the decision prohibiting new groups at Lateran IV.⁴⁰ But the Servites were founded in Florence in 1233, and had only established themselves in Bologna in 1267.⁴¹ By comparison, the Dominicans and Franciscans have histories with the city, and while the date of the Apostles' arrival in Bologna is not known, the Penitents of Jesus Christ founded a house there in 1256.⁴²

Without a long history, a saintly founder as the Dominicans and Franciscans had, or a speedy clericalization, the Order of the Servants of Mary had one more option as a path to eventual acceptance; grow the order and make it indispensable to society in places where the order established a convent. One way to build an order is to acquire the unused houses of others, such as those of the observant Benedictines and Augustinian canons, or to absorb houses from a disbanded order, such as the Penitents of Jesus Christ.⁴³ Indeed, after the official statement of Lyons II, many of the houses of the Penitents of Jesus Christ were transferred to the OSM, such as those at Parma, Asti, and

³⁹ Andrews, *The Other Friars*, 20.

⁴⁰ Andrews, *The Other Friars*, 148.

⁴¹ Dal Pino, *Spazi*, 92.

⁴² Gabriele Giacomozzi, *L'Ordine Della Penitenza Di Gesu Cristo*, Contributo alla Storia della Spiritualita del Sec. XIII (Roma: Institutum Historicum Fratrum Servorum Sanctae Mariae, 1962), 42.

⁴³ Dal Pino, *Spazi*, 16.

Alessandria.⁴⁴ In Bologna specifically, the order acquired a second convent, this one in the area of Sant'Elena.

Unfortunately for the OSM, there was competition for souls in this region of the contado. Several well-known Apostolic preachers—Zaccaria, Rolandino, Pietro dal Pra, Iacopo Petricini—frequented the region and the Ostis, Petricolis, and Blanchis formed a strong network of supporters. Already the commune had proved itself unwilling to confront the Apostles, or indeed to even treat them as heretics, thus the inquisition's efforts to destroy the Apostles in 1303/1304 represented a chance for the OSM to assist in the elimination of its heretical rival.

The OSM and the Franciscan moderates were ultimately both fighting for the same thing—their own legitimacy. While the Franciscans were a fully recognized order, the claim to what Franciscanism was or would be was a matter of conflict. The Servites, by contrast, were prior to February 1304 fighting to remain an accepted order within the church and even for survival and due to those reasons certainly had motive to eliminate any rivals that made them by association seem less acceptable or less indispensable or laid claim to the charity that they desperately needed. In relations such as those between secular clergy and the spirituals and beguins or Apostles where one side had less effect on the other's survival or power, however, antagonism was less likely to surface and instead the possibility of friendly relations arose.

III: The Secular Churchmen and their friends the Rigorists

The Bolognese inquisition of 1291-1310 and the Languedocian inquisition of 1318-1329 uncovered an unusual and parallel characteristic in the heretical activities of the Apostles and the beguins/spiritual Franciscans; members of both groups were aided and abetted by priests and/or canons, some of whom were considered members of the group. These men, according to their depositions, were virtually all aware of the excommunicated status of these individuals, but this did not stop them from acting according to their convictions and, just as likely, their friendships.

⁴⁴ Giacomozzi, *La Ordine della Penitenza*, 39.

In Bologna alone, five priests of parish churches were questioned by the inquisitors, while six priests were hailed before inquisitors of the entirety of Languedoc and were subsequently martyred.⁴⁵ Of the five in the region of Bologna, one of them, Iacobus, priest at San Salvatore, assisted the inquisition in the capture of a heretic, while Corvolo, priest of Sancto Sigismondo in Mongiorgio and Gerardino, priest of Sancto Iohannis (Santo Giovanni) in Monte Marvo (in the region of Mongiorgio) were defrocked and made to do penance for their activities. Ventura, priest and prior of Sant'Antonio; and Giovanni, priest and canon of the Sant'Antonio were excommunicated and fined.⁴⁶ Corvolo admitted in his only deposition that he held friendship with the Apostles, and had received them in his house, particularly Guizardinus and Pietro Bonito, both preachers and both executed for heresy, and others as well.⁴⁷ Gerardino as well stated in his sole appearance that he knew many of the Apostles, and admitted to sheltering Zaccaria, Chiara of Sellis, and Ansvysia of Modena.⁴⁸ In addition, Gerardino stated that he heard Guizardinus preach, but regarding what Guizardinus preached or what each priest knew of the Apostles' doctrine, their testimonies diverge.

Corvolo claimed that he could not explain their doctrine (*respondit quod nesciret explicare et dicere*), though he had heard his friend Guizardinus speak many times. Gerardino, by contrast, could accurately recount Dolcino's four status of the church, and the basic gist of his apocalypse, i.e., that the church would be laid low and the Apostolic Order would be raised by God, or at least,

⁴⁵ Louisa Burnham lists in the appendix to her book the Spiritual and beguin martyrs of the inquisition in Languedoc as drawn from a contemporary martyrology. Though it does not provide a complete list of all who were tried by the inquisition, six priests were listed amongst sent to the stake for their faith. Louisa Burnham, *So Great a Light, So Great a Smoke: The Beguin Heretics of Languedoc* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008).

⁴⁶ In Act 580, Corvolo and Gerardino were punished, but in Act 583, mercy was extended towards the two, and they were absolved and permitted to be reinstated as priests, though they could never again hold a benefice in the areas frequented by the Apostles, particularly in the mountains around Bologna. In Act 766, Ventura and Iohannes were fined and excommunicated, and then in Act 768, the punishments were lifted from Ventura, while Giovanni appears to have been absent while their sentences were announced.

⁴⁷ "*Respondit quod ipse bene cognovit et noticiam habuit, conversationem et amicitiam dictorum apostolorum et aliquos receptavit in domo sua, quia cognovit fratrem Guizardinum et Petrum Bonum Agucolum de districtu Mutine et eos receptavit in domo sua pluries et dedit eis comedere et bibere et eciam interfuit predicationibus dicit fratris Guicardini pluries,*" Act 606.

⁴⁸ "*Item dixit quod receptavit scienter in domo sua Zachariam de Sancta Agata, et sunt duo anni. Item Charam de Sellis et est unus annus vel circa. Item Ansvysiam et possunt esse duo anni,*" Act 607.

this was as Chiara was taught.⁴⁹ Following from each man's discussion of what he knew of Dolcino's prophecies, Gerardino said he was not a believer, but Corvolo claimed he himself was, which suggests that either he did not fully understand the question, or he knew far more than he admitted. Yet both, regardless of whether they supported the doctrine, claimed the Apostles were good men, and that both Segarelli and Dolcino in particular were good men, despite the fact that Gerardo had been burned just a month before the depositions were taken.

As well both Corvolo and Gerardino were aware that the Apostolic Order had been condemned, and that they were excommunicated, but this did not prevent them from administering the sacraments to friars as though they were their ordinary parishioners. Corvolo heard the confession of Benedetto Mulnarii, one of the locals and a preacher of the Apostles, and then absolved him and gave him penance.⁵⁰ Benedetto had also sought to lighten his spiritual burden with Gerardino, who also absolved him and gave him penance; Gerardino too had heard that the apostles were excommunicated, but apparently did not give much thought to it.⁵¹

What the priests did not say or alluded to in their testimonies may be even more important. Both listed only preachers amongst the Apostles that they knew; here perhaps the parallel can be drawn between these testimonies and those of Damiano and Guglielmo, who in their first testimonies only named receivers who had already disappeared and preachers who were already dead. As the apostles did preach in the area, there were other supporters of the Order in the priests' parishes, yet neither priest could name a single one. This may have been an effort to protect the other supporters, or it could be that the priests were familiar with friars of the Apostles because they were public personalities and begged for food as committed mendicants, and not because they were truly immersed in a heretical network. Both had also heard the preaching and doctrine of the Order. Corvolo admitted to believing it, but Gerardino may have also had some faith in the dogma. Taking the risk of giving

⁴⁹ "...ut dixit, et predicta audivit fieri vidit et designari et doceri a dicta Chara de Sellis et potest esse unus annus vel circa, ut dixit, et fuit in domo ipsius presbiteri," Act 607.

⁵⁰ "Benedictus petivit penitentiam a dicto presbitero Corvolo et ipse presbyter Corvolo audivit eum in confessione et fecit ei absolutionem et penitentiam dedit, cum tamen ipse Benedictus sanus esset et non infirmus," Act 606.

⁵¹ Act 607.

support and friendship to heretics should by all right seem too dangerous if one does not believe in what they say.

Ventura and Giovanni, in contrast to the previously discussed priests, had little connection to the sect. Ventura readily admitted in his deposition that he knew Zaccaria quite well, and that he had received Zaccaria and Rolandino on occasion, but the only instance cited in his testimony in which he could have heard of their beliefs was a visit from Rolandino in which he talked of his sect with the priests and an apostate Franciscan.⁵² The inquisitors chose not to follow up this statement with a question of Ventura's beliefs, thus, it is unclear as to whether he believed or not.⁵³ Giovanni admitted that he had heard Zaccaria preach, and that he spoke of the Order, the doctrine of Dolcino and of the future, but like Ventura did not comment on the order's credibility.⁵⁴ He did, however, say they were good men, but yet he would not absolve them after confession.⁵⁵ Clearly some of the friars of the Apostolic Order did believe in penance, so they would have accepted it in order to be absolved, but Ventura did not offer penance or absolution. Though Ventura may have felt they were good men, apparently the priest felt their heretical status put them beyond his forgiveness.

It is unclear whether Corvolo, Gerardino, Ventura, or Giovanni would have listed themselves as Apostles' brethren or if they were included in the networks of members that sprang up around Bologna, networks that served the vital purpose of aiding Apostolic preachers and disseminating information about gatherings and doctrinal interpretations.⁵⁶ None of the priests is named by persons deposed by the inquisition other than Apostolic preachers, and none named any person other than preachers in his testimony. This could mean they were only peripheral to the networks, or that the priests benefited from the possible practice undertaken by the heretical supporters under deposition, and

⁵² "Item dixit quod dictus Rolandinus de quadregesima proxime elapse fuit ad dictam ecclesiam Sancti Anthonii receptatus per dictos presbiteros et ibi contulit de fide et septa sua cum quodam apostate fratrum minorum et cum dictis presbiteris et cenavit et iacuit una nocte," Act 723.

⁵³ That the inquisitor did not question Ventura's beliefs follows the pattern established in this inquisition in which few people after 1300 were asked whether they believed the doctrine of the Apostolic Order. Ventura and Iohannes were questioned in late 1304.

⁵⁴ Act 726.

⁵⁵ "Interrogatus si predictum vel aliquam eorum audivit in confessione, respondit quod audivit eos in confessione quia credebat eos esse bonos homines sed eos non absolvit," Act 726.

⁵⁶ Networks of the heretics will be covered in more depth in chapter 7.

that was to avoid naming those who one did not suspect had been implicated. Corvolo and Gerardino were clearly more involved in the sect's activities than were Ventura and Giovanni, but involvement is one aspect of membership and an externally imposed one at that, while belief is an internal acceptance of membership. Nevertheless, all four were found to be involved as heretical receivers by the Bolognese inquisition, and were punished in the same fashion as other non-clergy heretics, with fines and penance.

The priests involved in the networks of the spirituals and beguins were also punished as were other involved heretics, but their self-described membership in the sect is significantly clearer. Their membership is particularly unusual in that by all accounts, priests and friars were rivals for the attention of the laity. Salimbene recounted that the priests complained the friars had usurped the office of preaching, which they regarded as their obligation.⁵⁷ And this is just the summary of the debate. Yet some priests were joined in common cause with the rigorist friars, and were willing to be martyred for their faith. Bernard Peyrotas traveled across Languedoc, visiting beguins and bearing witness to their martyrdom, but before this, he had been tried by the inquisition in Lodève, where he had abjured his beliefs and was subsequently absolved.⁵⁸ Apparently he changed his mind. Later Peyrotas was burned as a relapsed heretic for amongst other things, his visitation circuit, his beliefs, and the reverence he showed the relics of burned heretic Esclarmonda Durban.⁵⁹ He was not just a supporter; Peyrotas was a fully subscribed member of the community. Bernard Maurini, a priest of Narbonne, was another cleric to be ultimately martyred for his beliefs, and it could be argued that he was even more involved than Peyrotas.

Burnham found that Bernard Maurini had been not just a mere secular priest who felt kinship with the beguins and Spirituals, but was involved in their struggle with the rest of the Franciscan order in an official fashion in that he was a procurator for the Franciscan convent in Narbonne, and friend of rigorist Guilhem de Sant-Amans.⁶⁰ For his connections, he earned the dubious honor of being amongst the first non-friars to be arrested in 1319, and spent six months in

⁵⁷ Salimbene, *Chronicle*, 415.

⁵⁸ Burnham, *So Great a Light*, 74.

⁵⁹ Burnham, *So Great a Light*, 79.

⁶⁰ Burnham, *So Great a Light*, 86.

prison. When he was released, Bernard fulfilled most of his penance—though he failed to visit all the local churches that he had been sentenced to visit—and then went into hiding for three years. In 1326, the priest was once again captured for the inquisition, and was subsequently questioned six times and found to be a relapsed heretic worthy of being relaxed to the secular arm.⁶¹

Bernard's 1326 testimony is instructive in several aspects, the first of which is that he speaks of his membership in the underground support network of beguins who hid one another and still gathered even in hiding. Bernard took refuge in Apt with a Berengarius Hulardi, and in the "domo hospitalis" he encountered Marinus (a fellow beguin) and a well-known beguin, Peter Trencavel, with whom he spoke at some length.⁶² Peter asked Bernard to travel with his daughter Andrea and some women to and from some of the places where they would take refuge, which he did, presumably for their protection and possibly as guide, as one of them was from Catalonia.⁶³ Bernard took his responsibility to the women seriously, as when Alasaicia, one of the women, died; he remained to see her buried in the cemetery of the parish church.⁶⁴

Bernard was loyal to his sect, but not necessarily willing to fully admit to his beliefs in his testimony, thus he was transferred from Vinassan to Avignon and questioned several times. In his first questioning at the Franciscan convent in the diocese of Vinassan, Bernard claimed that he no longer believed the disobedient brothers burned in Marseille and Capitestagnus to be good or saintly. Yet, at his last questioning, he claimed that through divine revelation he was made aware of the fact that the friars had been punished unjustly.⁶⁵ Early in Bernard's depositions, he also attempted to circumvent the issue of Peter John Olivi and his works by claiming that the friar's doctrine was neither destroyed

⁶¹ Complete transcribed text of Bernard Maurini's testimony is printed by Raoul Manselli in his Appendix III of *Spirituali e Beghini in Provenza* (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1959), 328-345.

⁶² Manselli, *Spirituali*, 332.

⁶³ "Item Petrus veniens de Sancto Martino praedicto ad ipsum loquentem ad Sanctam Catharinam rogavit ipsum qui loquitur quod associaret Andream, filiam ipsius Petri, a dicto loco Sancti martini usque Avinionem. Quod et fecit ipse loquens et cum ea et Sicilia, social dicte Andree, rediit ab Avinione usque Aptam, ubi invenerint prefatum Petrum Trencavelli, patrem eiusdem Andree, et eas dimisit in eodem loco Aptam cum dicto patre suo et inde ipse qui loquitur recessit et rediit ad dictum locum Sancte Catherine.

Interrogatus ad quid ivit dicta Andrea Avinionem et ad quod hospicium declinaverunt tres muliers de partibus ultrarodanis et ad domum earum declinarunt, que morabantur prope monasterium carmelitarum de Avinione in quodam vico sine traversa." Manselli, *Spirituali*, 333.

⁶⁴ Manselli, *Spirituali*, 334.

⁶⁵ Manselli, *Spirituali*, 340.

nor damned but he knew no more of it,⁶⁶ but in his last questioning he admitted to knowing Olivi's doctrine enough to say that he knew the martyred friars were in Paradise because of Olivi's writings, which of course was as heretical as claiming as saintly the friars burned for heresy.⁶⁷

Unlike association with the Apostolic Order, The southern French inquisition measured connection with the beguins and spirituals by assent to certain beliefs. That the heretical friars were martyrs and in Paradise rather than in hell was one such belief, but knowledge of and agreement with Peter John Olivi's works in general was another. In Bernard's second testimony, he admitted to other beguin beliefs when claimed that the Pope could not change the Rule of Francis and that he had heard that pope John XXII was the mystical antichrist, though he claimed that he did not necessarily believe this, but that Peter Trencavel said it.⁶⁸ Indeed when Bernard's testimony is taken as a whole, it is clear that he was a rigorist and beguin, not just by actions but by beliefs as well, the latter of which were just as strong a motivation as were his friendships with Spirituals and beguins.

Friendship without a common spiritual doctrine, in contrast to the common ground sustained between the beguin priests and the beguin laity, seemed to have been at the root of the relationship between the canons of Bologna and the Apostolic Order. The 'family' of canons at Sancta Maria Majoris (Santa Maria Maggiore) within the city—specifically canons Bondi, Tancredus, Pax, and Ubaldinus—were found to have offered lodging and sustenance to Zaccaria and other heretics from around 1296, and were willing to lie to the inquisition to avoid sharing this information.⁶⁹ The parish church of Santa Maria Maggiore has little historical record of importance—it was known to have been dedicated in 1137, renovated in the early 13th century, and then given to the canons in 1243, but other than this, Maria Maggiore is a parish church. Except that it was the parish church nearest to the likely location of the gate of Lame, which was the gate linking the area of Lame (where many supporters lived) to Bologna. Not every canon at the church was involved in receiving heretics; Bondiucius claimed in his testimony that he knew no heretics, did not know

⁶⁶ Manselli, *Spirituali*, 335.

⁶⁷ Manselli, *Spirituali*, 344.

⁶⁸ Manselli, *Spirituali*, 339.

⁶⁹ The year 1296 is drawn from the testimony of Tancredus, Act 663 obtained in 1304.

Zaccaria, and that he was not aware of anyone coming to the church seeking refuge. But the others were certainly involved, and all confessed they knew Zaccaria was a heretic and that his order had been declared at odds with the church, yet offered him refuge anyway.

Clearly the canons did not participate in this dangerous undertaking because they believed in the doctrine of the Apostolic Order. Tancredus claimed that he had not heard anything of Dolcino from Zaccaria, but did hear of an apocalypse from a Bernard, and ignored him.⁷⁰ Pax knew specific doctrine of the order, as he had heard from Zaccaria that Frederick III of Sicily would be emperor and that the church would be destroyed, but did not say whether he believed this doctrine.⁷¹ Bondi did not mention doctrine in his testimony, while Ubaldinus did not even admit to being involved in receiving Zaccaria, though he knew him.

That all these canons knew Zaccaria and received him yet did not know or believe his doctrine makes it difficult at first consideration to explain their involvement with the Apostolic Order. Zaccaria was in fact the canons' primary contact with the Order; according to Rolandino, Zaccaria told him that he had friends at the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, and invited him to come to that church.⁷² So there was an acknowledged friendship between the preacher and the canons, but this begs the question how they knew him, as Zaccaria was a known heretical preacher, whose circuit lay in the contado, rarely venturing into the city. Orioli could only trace Zaccaria as a member of the sect as far back as 1290.⁷³ Before this, the preacher may have been a friar in another rigorist order, such as the Order of the Penitents of Jesus Christ and joined the Apostles when the Saccati disbanded. Or he may have been one of those friars established in a convent in Burgo Lama, a suburb west of Bologna that was established in the 1220s. That he was recognized at a gathering to hear Dolcino preach by an Apostolic supporter city dweller, master Iacopo Mantighelli,

⁷⁰ "Item interrogatus si audivit dici a dicto Zacharia aliquid de aliquibus revelationibus ei dictis et datis a Dolcino de Novaria, audivit dici a quodam nomine Berardus de appostolis quedam, que ignorat, de Apochalipsi et de scripturis divinis et ignorat quantum tempus est." Act 663.

⁷¹ "Respondit quod audivit dici a Zacharia de Sancta Agatha, forsitan annis citra, quod Fredericus de Sicilia debebat esse imperator et debebat clericos destruere et ista nostra Ecclesia decrescere," Act 662.

⁷² "Deinde dixit quod Zacharias de Sancta Agatha dicebat se habere amicos in civitate Bononie sacerdotes Sancte Marie Maioris et invitabat ipsum ut veniret ad dictos sacerdotes," Act 715.

⁷³ Orioli, *Venit*, 153.

suggests that he was known by name in the city by educated persons and that he held friendship and not just mere knowledge of the canons, contributes to the idea that he had been a respectable individual.⁷⁴

While the canons of Santa Maria Maggiore were most likely defending their friend Zaccaria, canon Vivianus of Sancta (Santa) Maria of Montebellio appears from his testimony to have been more concerned for the locals than the preachers that he encountered. In his first testimony that has survived, Vivianus has returned to the inquisitors to change his testimony. Here he admitted that he had been contacted by Rolandino through Iohannis, who brought a book of the evangelists to Vivianus from Rolandino, and that he went to hear the preacher speak.⁷⁵ He did know that Rolandino was a heretic and fugitive, but when asked by the inquisitor why he did not report Rolandino, he said that he feared that Vitale, who had hosted the preacher, would be punished by the inquisition.⁷⁶ The meaning in the text here is unclear; Vivianus may have feared for himself, that he may have been threatened. In a later deposition, Vivianus reiterated some of the doctrine of the order as it had come down through Rolandino,⁷⁷ but said that he did not know the person who repeated this to him, but thought him ill or mad.⁷⁸ Certainly he recognized the roots of the doctrine as Rolandino's, as he had heard him speak of much the same things, but does not report on whether he believed it or not. Thus, it would be difficult to count Vivianus as a supporter of the order, but rather one was concerned with the safety of those locals who he considered to be good men.

All of the priests or canons who have been discussed in this section felt somehow moved by friendship to provide for and shelter their friends associated with the heresies of the Spirituals, beguins, or Apostles. Yet ultimately none of them had any effect on the punishments doled out to friars, preachers, or

⁷⁴ Master Iacobus specifically remembered Zacharias, while there were others who were present that he simply counted as presented but whose names he did not remember.

⁷⁵ Act 642.

⁷⁶ "Interrogatus quare non cepit vel accusavit dictum Rolandinum inquisitori predicto, respondit quod hoc non fecit eo quia dictus Rolandinus erat in domo dicit Vitalis et ne idem Vitale reciperet de hoc dampnum et quia timebat de dicto Lano et etiam quia timebat quod non peccaret si dictus Rolandinus moreretur," Act 642.

⁷⁷ Rolandinus' preaching tended to focus on God's remaking of the world with the flood, with the ten commandments, with the coming of Christ, and that God would flood the world again.

⁷⁸ "Item interrogatus quare non detinuit et capi fecit dictum hominem sibi ignotum, cum loquebatur talia verba per que credidit eum esse de septa apostolorum, respondit quod hoc fecit demencia sui," Act 698.

laypersons, as they lacked the influence to do so. Those churchmen considered in the next section, however, did have that power, though some were more successful than others.

IV: Bishops and Cardinals

The relationship between a few select church superiors and the rigorists throughout the continuum has been heavily discussed, and usually portrayed as one based on political maneuvering and self interest, such as that of the Colonnas and the Spirituals and between Bishop Obizzo Sanvitale of Parma (bishop between 1258 and 1295) and Gerardo Segarelli.⁷⁹ But based on evidence, it is probably more valid to claim that admiration of these strong-willed religious factored into the equation just as much as did any less noble intentions, as some of the cardinals and bishops went to great lengths to defend the rigorists.

The alliance between the Colonna cardinals and the spirituals could very easily have been motivated entirely by the family's political maneuvering against Boniface VIII. After the sudden abdication of Celestine V, Benedetto Caetani's succession to the throne was highly contested due to the questionable legality of a papal abdication and Caetani's possible involvement in that abdication, Giacomo and Pietro Colonna were amongst those who contested that succession. Supposedly this was the root of dissension between the Colonnas and the pope that would lead to several losses on the Colonna side: an attack on a convoy carrying money to the pope (the money was returned), inquisitorial persecution of the followers of the Colonnas in places like Bologna, the excommunication of the Colonnas via the 1297 bull *Lapis abscissus*, and the destruction of the family's best-known fortress of Palestrina.⁸⁰ That they were in conflict with a powerful figure like the pope who they could not defeat in a military sense meant that the Colonnas would need to be victorious in other fields of battle and for this they allied with the spirituals. The spirituals were popular amongst the laity in Italy because of their adherence to the memory of

⁷⁹ Brian Carniello, "Gerard Segarelli as the Anti-Francis: Mendicant Rivalry in Medieval Italy, 1260-1300" *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 57 (April 2006), 228.

⁸⁰ David Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans, From Protest to Persecution in the Century after Saint Francis* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 105.

Francis, which gave their supporters a vicarious popularity for supporting them. Liberato and Angelo's group, the Poor Hermits of Celestine, had been created by Celestine V and thus they could serve as a connection between the Colonnas and the saintly pontiff through their defense of them.

The length and depth of involvement with the Spiritual Franciscans and beguins contradicted the notion that Giacomo and Pietro chose to associate with them merely because it was politically expedient. Indeed, Giacomo was a friend of John of Parma, the proto-spiritual, and as well knew Claire of Montefalco, Franciscan lay mystic and darling of the spirituals.⁸¹ The cardinal met Angelo of Clareno at Perugia and shortly after became his patron and brought him to Avignon during the papacy of Clement V, and around this same time Pietro Colonna extended his protection to Bernard Délicieux, Languedocian agitator against the inquisition and friend to the spirituals.⁸²

Giacomo, the elder Colonna, continued to involved himself in matters concerning the spirituals in the interregnum after Clement's death and before John XXII's accession. When accusations of apostasy and disobedience were leveled at some of the Spiritual friars in Narbonne and Beziers in early 1316, Giacomo wrote a letter to the rectors of the churches in those cities.⁸³ In the text of the letter, he states he is concerned about the possibility of false testimony against the brothers, and tried to explain the position of the Spirituals in that they were not disobedient, but called for a return to obedience to the Rule of Francis and rulings of Clement V.⁸⁴ In this matter, the old cardinal was successful in that the archbishops of the cities came to agree with him and did not take action against the rigorists.

While Giacomo lived, the Colonnas were fairly successful in their efforts to protect the Spiritual Franciscans. The success of Bishop Obizzo Sanvitale of Parma in defending Gerardo Segarelli and his Apostles, by contrast, was only effective when the full weight of the papacy and the inquisition was not brought to bear on the situation. Salimbene dismissed the bishop's patronage of Segarelli by claiming that the bishop kept the man about and permitted him to

⁸¹ Burr, *Spirituali*, 112.

⁸² Burr, *Spiritual Franciscans*, 193.

⁸³ Manselli, *Spiritual Franciscans*, 118.

⁸⁴ Manselli, *Spiritual Franciscans*, 119.

eat at his lower table because he was interesting, and more of an entertainer than a religious man.⁸⁵ Yet, Salimbene also related an episode in which the bishop invited a prophet named Asdente to dinner, and he predicted amongst other things the fall of Parma and Reggio; Salimbene praises this man as understanding the words of the Sibyl, Joachim, and Merlin.⁸⁶ Thus it is probable that the bishop considered Segarelli in this same vein, as entertaining, but also as an enlightened religious person.

The totality of Obizzo's other actions regarding Segarelli and his followers suggests that he and the commune both extended favor to the Apostles as though they were a group on par with the Franciscans or Dominicans. The bishop and the secular clergy permitted the Apostles to preach in public, and Obizzo extended a remission of penance to those who made an offering to the sisters of the Apostolic Order.⁸⁷ Orioli compared the Parmese efforts to support the Apostles with communal sanction and nurture of local saints' cults; that it was a symbol of the 13th century nature of a religious sentiment that combined civic pride with Christianity.⁸⁸

That the bishop showed both personal interest in Segarelli and undertook the corporate fostering of the Apostles placed Obizzo's patronage in a grey area of motives, as he seems at once to be motivated by personal admiration of the founder but also by his diocese's need for their own local religious cults. Yet these two drives were not dependent on one another. After the Apostles were condemned by name by Honorius IV, the commune of Parma could no longer overtly support the order, but Obizzo did not feel constrained to keep Segarelli in strict incarceration, rather, he maintained him in his own incarceration, which permitted the Apostle the freedom to remain in the main piazza.⁸⁹

Ultimately, Segarelli's freedom and life did not just rely upon the bishop's interest, but also on the decisions of the popes and the mechanism of the inquisition. When Obizzo left the city as he had been elected to the bishopric of Ravenna, Segarelli was condemned to prison by the new bishop,

⁸⁵ Salimbene, *Chronicle*, 260.

⁸⁶ Salimbene, *Chronicle*, 541.

⁸⁷ Brian Carniello, "Gerard Segarelli as the Anti-Francis" 240.

⁸⁸ Orioli, *Venit*, 67. For a more complete discussion on the meeting of civic pride and religion, see Augustine Thompson's *Cities of God: The Religion of the Italian Communes 1125-1325*.

⁸⁹ Orioli, *Venit*, 75.

Oppeconis.⁹⁰ Thus the bishop played not just a role in Segarelli's survival, but a key one.

Conclusions

Relationships between elements of the church and those who exist on their fringe can prove to be consequential to both the 'true heretics' (preachers) and their larger base of supporters. Angelo Clareno found refuge in the power of the Colonnas and he lived to an old age, dying peacefully at a monastery; Gerardo Segarelli lost his patron and was consigned to the flames. Yet, the influence of the more potent did not necessarily correlate to influence over the outcomes for the laity. The powerful protectors of Clareno or Ubertino of Casale had little influence over the punishments meted out to rank and file Franciscan spirituals or their allied tertiaries, which went to the pyre in significant numbers. While it is true that the bishop of Vercelli was able to successfully press for crusade against the Apostles, the Apostolic tertiaries who remained in Bologna were simply fined, and may have even been ignored had it not been for the competition between the Servites and the Apostles. It is upon a comparison of these two groups that the next chapter will focus.

⁹⁰ A Segarizzi, editor, *Chronicon Parmense*. RIS IX (Citta di Castello, 1902), 67.

Chapter 5: To believe in the Apocalypse--The Third Orders of Heretical Poverty

At the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries, strict adherent friars of mendicant orders had reason to fight for their apostolic poverty and then to turn to bitter apocalypticism as the conflict turned from their favor—they were defending vows that they regarded as sacred, and for which they had given up everything. Yet the heretical friars were not alone in the stoic defense of their beliefs, like-minded members of the third orders attached to the Apostles and the Franciscans joined them. But the laity, unlike the friars, had not forsaken their secular lives; while they could not take oaths or bear arms, they worked, accumulated possessions, and had homes and families. In short, the tertiaries had more to lose than just their own lives for their disobedience; they could do lasting damage to their families' lives and livelihoods for adherence to principles.

The following chapter will be a discussion of these tertiaries turned apocalyptic heretics. The first section is devoted to a discussion of the development of the orders of penance. While there is evidence for the Franciscan third order, there is no concrete evidence for an Apostolic third order. This does not mean, however, that some of those punished by the inquisition were not tertiaries. As it will be shown, it took many years for the Franciscan penitential groups to establish themselves enough to accumulate a recorded history; whereas there were half as many years between the likely start of an Apostolic tertiary group and its destruction at the hands of inquisitors. Regardless, the tertiaries associated with the Apostolic Order and the rigorist Franciscans occupied the same role for their respective friars as supporters, and were treated by the inquisitions in a comparable manner, therefore, these groups warrant comparison. Following from this is a comparison of the Bolognese and Tridentine third orders of the Apostles and the Languedocian Beguins across five characteristics—location, socio-economic status, gender, marital status and family involvement—gathering evidence from the Bolognese inquisition records, the Tridentine inquisition records, the sentences of Bernard Gui, the *Colpe dei Beghini di Lodève*, and the Beguin martyrology, analyzing and accounting for both similarities and differences. The statistical analysis demonstrates that the two groups, despite the fact that they

both occupied the same role with regards to their respective mendicant friars, were quite different in a demographic sense. To understand these differences, Carlo Ginzberg's findings in *Night Battles* are informative and will be referenced here.

I: Penance as Life—the Third Orders

The third order or order of penance was not a revolution in lay religious life but a step in evolution building from developments in religiosity. The usual model for the order of penance is often given as the humiliati, who came about in the 12th century. Theories abound as to why people were attracted this new form of life that was focused on austerity, prayer, penance; Grundmann saw the movement as essentially religious, while Zanoni and Volpe saw it as a social action on the part of the poor attempting to escape a system that reinforced their poverty. Ultimately what matters in this context is that the humiliati provided a template of sorts for a lay religious life that would be taken up by mendicant third orders. According to Frances Andrews, some of the humiliati may have been unofficial tertiaries, but this is difficult to confirm. What can be confirmed is that the humiliati had a presence in Emilia Romagna; there were humiliati in Parma perhaps as early as 1211 but definitely by 1246 and in Bologna as early as 1218.¹ The humiliati could be found in the same neighborhood of Lame as the Apostles by 1272, where they had a prior at the church of SS Filippo e Giacomo.²

According to John Henderson, what Francis was really building on were not necessarily humiliati but laymen living apart from the world under vows of voluntary penance. These men and women acted independently, but had full acceptance of the church.³ What were particular evolutions in Francis' order of penitence from these penitential communities included their location, their infrastructure, and their continued secular involvement; Francis' penitents attached to an order, were urban as opposed to rural, adopted a common statute (a memoriale) and many continued to practice their professions. There is evidence from papal records of the existence of a lay group attached to the

¹ Andrews, *The Early Humiliati*, 167.

² Andrews, *The Early Humiliati*, 149.

³ John Henderson, *Piety and Charity in Late Medieval Florence* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 23.

Franciscans from 1221 when Honorius III wrote to the bishop of Rimini instructing him to protect the tertiaries of Faenza.⁴ As a result of the lay demands, the poverello was supposedly inspired to create a rule for a lay order of Franciscans, one that, according to Moorman, was only taken up by a few groups in Italy.⁵

Unfortunately for the tertiaries, their loose and often uncoded status made relations between them and both communes and Franciscan friars difficult. By ecclesiastical privilege penitents could not take part in government or defense of the communes, which put them at odds with secular society. The friars, who had since the 1230s been pushing the laity out of the first order, were disinclined to include the tertiaries.⁶ Thus, the penitents took matters into their own hands. A confederation of northern Italian penitents gathered in Bologna in 1289 to draw up a constitution for their order.⁷ Tertiaries of Emilia Romagna were well-represented at this gathering—Bologna, Parma, Ferrara, Modena, Reggio, and Imola sent delegates to represent their communities.⁸ Included in the seventeen points of this constitution were articles that established a government of the allied penitents; each of the regions with houses of penitents (which included Bologna) would choose a provincial minister who would oversee his region independent of the Franciscan order.⁹ It was determined that no one would wear the habit of the penitents unless he or she professed to follow the rule given to them by Nicholas IV.¹⁰ Prior to this meeting there had been an effort by (presumably) these tertiaries to beseech Nicholas IV to draw up a new rule for them that would apply to all Franciscan third order communities. The result of this action was the bull *Supra Montem*, in which Nicholas set out how the tertiary was to be received into the order, as well as their way of life. According to Bert Roest, it is unclear as to how rapidly the many penitential communities adopted this rule, but from the last decade of the 13th century onwards, the communities became more organized and subsumed

⁴ John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order from its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 217.

⁵ John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, 216.

⁶ Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, 218.

⁷ Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, 219.

⁸ H. Golubovich, editor, "Acta Gen. Capituli III Ordinis Poenitentium Bononiae 1289," *AFH* 2 (1909): 67-68.

⁹ H. Golubovich, "Acta Gen. Capituli III," 68-69.

¹⁰ H. Golubovich, "Acta Gen. Capituli III," 69.

into the church.¹¹ The smaller communities gathered into federations, held chapter meetings, and worked more closely with the friars.¹²

From this history it is obvious why there are few records regarding the third orders. Beyond the under-subscribed first rule written by Francis himself, the friars had little else to do with the tertiaries until they had a rule and were self-governing. They did not necessarily discourage these communities from forming, but they also did not encourage them. Tertiaries were also not of any great importance to the communes; references to them in the laws of communes were part of an effort to define who was ineligible for civic duty. The only occasions that the tertiaries surface in papal decrees or letters were when the tertiaries asked for the pope's intervention to protect them or make them appear more legitimate. But some of the communities did keep their own records—the records of Bologna inform that there were fifty-seven tertiaries in 1252, and that that the number had increased to eighty almost thirty years later. The community had a long history by then, and was affiliated with a papally sanctioned order.¹³

Considering the paucity of records regarding the Franciscan third order, it is not surprising that there is little clear evidence for a third order of the Apostles. The first order never received papal recognition and had only a forty-year history when it attracted inquisitorial attention. But the information that there was popular support for the mendicants, evidence for established houses of both first and second orders, and communally sanctioned charity, suggests that it would not be a far reach to assume that those individuals who would have been most active in supporting the Apostolic friars were a third order. While the Apostles had likely not become as clericalized as the Franciscans in their short history, the lifestyle of their friars or sisters were still more akin to that of other friars and sisters than the seculars, thus, those who wished to maintain the living situations would have gravitated towards the in-between status of the penitent/third order.

¹¹ Bert Roest, *Franciscan Literature of Religious Instruction Before the Council of Trent* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2004), 199.

¹² Roest, *Franciscan Literature*, 200.

¹³ Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, 221.

The tertiaries of the Apostles were at first ignored by the papal rulings against the order. The decision at Lyons II 1274 was specific that those orders that were in violation of the Lateran IV prohibition against new ‘forms of religious life’ must disband; the target was specifically those who lived a mendicant lifestyle, not the tertiaries. While Honorius IV in his *Olim Felicis Recordationis* did reinforce the Lyons II decision regarding the prompt destruction of the Apostles and other post Lateran IV groups, he did not address the lay order or the communes that gave the Apostles charity. It is likely that the pope was aware of the popular support for the Apostles, but believed that the order could be eliminated simply by condemning the friars. Nicholas IV was the first pope to address the issue of lay persons involved with the Apostles. He demanded the people stop providing aid, support and charity, but in that Nicholas declared the disobedient friars heretical, this meant that the lay supporters were heretics as well.¹⁴

Much like the third order of Apostles, the Franciscan third order was not properly a focus of inquisition until the fourteenth century. Burr found that by 1290s when the French and Italian rigorists were facing disciplinary action, there was an alliance forming between some portion of the lay followers (the Beguins or bizzochi) and the embattled friars.¹⁵ The laity was not the primary focus of persecution, they were a support effort, and did not embody the same danger that the friars did, as the friars had through their position and literacy the capacity to garner allies with power. But just as in the case of the third order of the Apostles, the utility of the Beguins was not to be overlooked, as when inquisitor and leader of the Conventual party Michel le Moine and Pope John XXII took up the persecution of Spirituals in earnest in 1317, the Beguins formed the network that provided refuge and aid to fleeing Franciscans. Thus on December 30th of that year, John XXII turned the church’s attention to the rigorist third

¹⁴ *Les Registres de Nicholas IV.* Ernest Thorin, editor. Paris : Bibliotheque des Ecoles Francaises d’Athenes et de Rome, 1887, “Et, ut predicti eo facilius a sua insolentia resilirent quo magis a christi fidelibus se viderent abici et contempni, voluit dictus predecessor honorius ut, huiusmodi mandatum suum vestrarum civitatum et diocesum populis iteratis vicibus publicantes ac facientes per alios publicari, eosdem populos auctoritate sua monere ac inducere attentius curaretis ne aliquem de predictis prefatum deferentibus habitum recipere hospitio attemptarent, vel eis aliquas elemosinas elargiri nec ad deferendum habitum ipsum, seu ei consilium, impenderent consilium, auxilium vel favorem.”

¹⁵ David Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans, From Protest to Persecution in the Century after Saint Francis*. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000, 108.

orders of Italy and France, including them in the list of unauthorized religious groups who could then by extension be prosecuted by the inquisition.

II: Heretical Third Orders by the Numbers: Comparative Analysis

The direct and intended consequence of the inquisitions' extensive efforts to root out the third orders that were providing support for rogue friars was to crush them and the accompanying first orders. But the persecutions also resulted in records; the inquisitorial registers of Bologna and Trento, the sentences of Bernard Gui and the *Colpe* were the official records designed to stand as formal witness to the depositions and punishments, while the martyrology of the Beguins is a self-reported document, collected by Beguins to witness the deaths of their comrades.¹⁶ Regardless of reason for compiling the information, these records permit statistical comparative analysis of the two third orders separated by time and location, but before endeavoring to complete this effort, some of the constraints of each of the record sets should be considered.

The primary entry point—other than Muratori's compilation of short works in his *Historia Fratris Dulcini*--for modern historians into the world of the Apostolic Order are the registers of the inquisition of Bologna and in Trento. Inquisitorial records are plagued with a variety of problems in their use as accurate accounts of heretics, but these will not be discussed in this chapter.¹⁷ What is cogent to this discussion is that these inquisitions only cover two dioceses and thus limit the purview of the study to these two areas independent of whether they were the ones most densely populated by the Apostles' third order. Further, the Trento records, or at least by Muratori's estimation, only contained approximately nine depositions of interest, all of which were gathered twenty-five years after the destruction of the order.

Gui's Sentences, by contrast, cover a larger region, including several dioceses of Languedoc. Unfortunately, despite the fact that Gui tried many persons; only around nineteen of them were Beguins. The *Colpe*, like the

¹⁶ The martyrology of the Beguins is reproduced in full as an Appendix by Louisa Burnham in her book, *So Great a Light, So Great a Smoke: The Beguin Heretics of the Languedoc*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008).

¹⁷ Some issues with inquisitorial processes will be discussed in chapter 7.

depositions of Bologna or Trento, covers only one small area, the diocese of Lodève. Many more are listed in the martyrology, but this document is troubled with methods of reporting. Some of the persons recorded by the martyrology are not named but simply recorded as “a Beguin”, while others are not identified by full name but rather are “another Bernard”. Other more characteristic-specific problems in all of these records will be noted throughout the analysis.

From these four sets of records, two tables can be compiled. The table including the Apostolic third order has 102 records, while the table of Beguins has 109 entries. For the purposes of this analysis, the eleven canons and priests deposed by the Bolognese inquisition have been omitted, and as well the priests found in the martyrology, because these men were the subject matter of chapter five. Members of the first orders are also not numbered amongst the entries. Finally, individuals found in the testimonies of Rolandino, Zaccaria, and other Apostles that were simply regarded as other Apostolic notables were omitted from the sample, because there is not enough information available to determine if they should be listed amongst a third order, as other supporters, or if these persons were friars or sisters.

Location

Sant'Elena and Piumazzo

In 1293, Bernard Benceumus, a Dominican friar from Imola, gave a long sermon warning of the presence in the suburbs of Bologna of ‘fautors’ of a heretical order that dressed like the apostles of old.¹⁸ This document is rarely cited by other research on the Apostolic Order—possibly because it is in a large box in Bologna’s archives labeled only by date, but this one simple statement in a long sermon supports an important finding on the order’s history. Analysis of the inquisitorial records shows that the friar was indeed correct; the phenomenon of the Apostolic third order was by and large a suburban one. The town of Piumazzo, a fortified town now part of Castlefranco Emilia, twenty-five kilometers west of Bologna, was home to thirty-seven supporters, while the parish of Sant'Elena de Sacerno near Calderara de Reno, ten kilometers

¹⁸ Archivio of Bologna: 440, Busta 1. Commune-Governo I.1, 1293.

northwest of the city, accounted for twelve depositions.¹⁹ Both regions contributed men to the defense of the city in times of war or unrest (St'Elena sent nine men, while Piumazzo sent twenty-one) under the banner of the quarter of the Porta Stiera, but here is where the resemblance ends.²⁰

Piumazzo was created a town in 1203 around the old church of San Columba on the Via Emilia, between Modena and Bologna, as a means of fortifying the defense of Bologna.²¹ Apparently the town was of great strategic importance, as the combined forces of Modena, Cremona, and Parma captured it in 1228 in their ongoing skirmishes with Bologna.²² The commune took back Piumazzo, but lost it again in 1239, this time to a force of knights from Reggio and troops from Parma and Modena led by Emperor Frederick II.²³ By 1256, Bologna had once again assumed control the town, and it was now listed in documents as a place of great importance, with the right to reclaim goods stolen by Frederick II.²⁴ Repossessing items taken by a dead emperor may not have been possible; more likely, this would have been restitution or repossession from those communes that assisted him in taking Piumazzo. Thus, this permission would have been an open permission to attack rival communes.

When the violence that wracked Piumazzo frequently throughout the first half of the thirteenth century waned, the townspeople appear to have been relatively prosperous. In 1256, there were seventy-three hearths noted in a tax assessment, with a combined worth of 39,176 lira.²⁵ The value of the region had fallen to 37,746 lira by 1291, probably due to bad harvests that had troubled the region in the last years of the previous decade.²⁶ Yet still the region must have been thriving, as it supported a mendicant order even in its years of heresy.

The Apostolic third order of Sant'Elena, however, had very different reasons for turning to the mendicants and supporting them even in heresy. The region of Sant'Elena was not financially prosperous; there were eighty-nine hearths in 1256 and a comparable number is assumed for later dates, while its

¹⁹ Some of the tertiaries that were part of the Piumazzo circle were in fact living in Montebellio, but will be counted amongst the Piumazzo persons for the sake of their activities.

²⁰ Luigi Casini, *Il Contado Bolognese Durante il Periodo Comunale (Secoli XII-XV)*, Bologna: Arnaldo Forni Editore, 1991, 48, 35.

²¹ Casini, *Il Contado Bolognese*, 34.

²² Salimbene, *Chronicle*, 8.

²³ Salimbene, *Chronicle*, 157.

²⁴ Casini, *Il Contado Bolognese*, 35.

²⁵ Casini, *Il Contado Bolognese*, 35.

²⁶ Casini, *Il Contado Bolognese*, 36.

assessed value in 1286 was 3,331 lira, and five years later it was 3,237 lira. Not only was the region troubled fiscally, it was also troubled religiously. The Benedictines had been responsible for the church at Sacerno since 1035, but throughout the thirteenth century, the church fell into decline.²⁷ The region suffered greatly in the frequent warfare, and as the Benedictines could not defend themselves, they abandoned the church and it fell into the hands of bandits.²⁸ It was during this time that the Apostles settled their house in the burg of Lame where at least some of them were still at the time that an inventory of Bolognese churches, monasteries, convents and hospitals was taken.²⁹ These may have been the friars who had agreed to no longer preach or recruit members, but instead were simply allowed to live there. Other friars may well have moved into Sant'Elena and drew with them Giovanni and Bona Osti from their supporters in Lame and who joined the circle of supporters of Sant'Elena.³⁰ The Order of the Servants of Mary were given nominal control over the monastery in 1289, and had assumed effective control by 1297, but by this time the people had turned elsewhere for their pastoral care. That the people of Sant'Elena turned to the friars was part of a greater trend. Palmieri found that in the mountains of Bologna, while monasteries and convents often held the parishes, there were also priests without parishes that wandered through the territories, preaching.³¹ These travelling priests were present, and available to support the rural people, unlike the absentee monks, clerics and friars who held the parishes but did not serve them. Additionally, the people respected the travelling preachers' way of life probably because it mirrored that of the apostles, thus, the relationship was forged.

²⁷ Angelo Gatti, "Sant'Elena di Sacerno." *Atti e Memori della R. Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Provincie Romagna*. Volume 13 series III, 1895, 123.

²⁸ Gatti, "Sant'Elena," 125. Gatti did not discuss whether these 'bandits' were in fact the Apostles observed after they were declared heretics.

²⁹ P. Sella, "La diocese de Bologna nel 1300," *Atti e Memori della R. Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Provincie Romagna*. Volume 18 (1928): 112.

³⁰ Orioli, *Venit Perfidus Heresiarcha: Il Movimento Apostolico-Dolciniano Dal 1260 al 1307* (Rome: Institute Palazzo Borromini, 1988), 180. The circle of believers will be discussed in depth in the next chapter.

³¹ Arturo Palmieri, *La Montagna Bolognese nel Medio Evo*. Bologna: Arnaldo Forni Editore, 1977, 261.

Lodève and Narbonne

In many traits, the towns with the two largest populations of Beguins in this study—Lodève and Narbonne—were much more like Piumazzo than Sant'Elena. Lodève claimed twelve Beguins, while Narbonne had nine. Lodève was geographically close to Montpellier, which had become a commercial center after the assertion of French power, while Narbonne was associated with that major city rather than Toulouse.³²

Narbonne had been on a steady course of growth since the 11th century. By 1032, a small neighborhood of houses outside the walls of the city had become known as the Bourg.³³ At the end of the century, the Bourg was 38 acres of inhabited space. According to Jacqueline Caille, in the 13th century, the known city of Narbonne enclosed by walls was around 88 acres, up from the 42 acres of the diminished Roman city in the 10th century.³⁴ In the 1340s, the city housed around 30,000 people, thus it can be presumed that the population at the time of the Beguin persecutions was probably close to that. The city was not only growing, it was apparently prosperous, as it also supported seven major convents.

Yet the people of Narbonne, like those of Sant'Elena, did have reason to be displeased with their pastoral care. The Cistercian monastery of Fontefroide had throughout the 1280s and 1290s taken a more active role in secular matters in the city; it had in 1288 disputed with the city's consul over grazing lands, and in 1296 had taken from the city a quarter of the rights of measuring and weighing grain that came into Narbonne and presumably the accompanying tariffs, and neither of these actions had been popular.³⁵ The secular clergy were no better. Guillaume of Narbonne simultaneously held four canonries, two churches in Toulouse, and one in Beziers, while Berenger Fredol held six positions in different churches including one in Narbonne.³⁶ Pluralism may have been common in the 13th century throughout Europe, the inhabitants' view of

³² Philippe Wolff, editor, *Histoire du Languedoc* (Toulouse: Editions Privat, 2000. Originally printed in 1967), 216.

³³ Frederick I. Cheyette, *Ermengard of Narbonne and the World of the Troubadours* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 58.

³⁴ Jacqueline Caille, "Urban expansion in the Region of Languedoc from the Eleventh to the Fourteenth Century: The Examples of Narbonne and Montpellier," *Urban and Rural Communities in Medieval France Provence and Languedoc, 1000-1500*, edited by Kathryn Reyerson and John Drendel (Boston: Koninklijke Brill NV, 1998), 61.

³⁵ Richard Wilder Emery, *Heresy and Inquisition in Narbonne* (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1967), 118.

³⁶ Emery, *Heresy and Inquisition*, 114.

the problem in Narbonne and the rest of Languedoc the problem was exacerbated by the increased papal interference in the region since the crusade and of course the inquisition.

Unfortunately, the actual number of Beguins from Narbonne and Lodève cannot be established. For 32 persons listed in the martyrology, no town of residence was listed, and because of this it is uncertain that Lodève and Narbonne were the two largest sites of Beguin population. As well, not all the Beguins appear in these records due to their restricted nature. But there is also reason to believe that there were even more Beguins in these two places. Burnham found over twenty-five members of the third order community of Lodève listed in other documents,³⁷ with eighteen Beguins listed in depositions. Narbonne was of course the major focus of the Peter John Olivi cult, and the location of his tomb, thus in all likelihood the population of Beguins was much higher. Finally, the Franciscans had a long history in both cities; the convent at Lodève was founded in 1227, while that of Narbonne was established in 1231, and generally enjoyed widespread support throughout southern France.

Socio-Economic Status

Tertiaries of both the Apostolic Order and the Franciscans were drawn from almost all the socio-economic classes (except paupers). But at the point where there is a divergence within the group whereby one portion becomes apocalyptic and the other does not, it appears there may be a separation on class lines, such that the upper and upper-middling classes either follow a less radical line or do not fully commit to it, while the lower classes may be more inclined to take the radical notions to their conclusion. That it would be true, that well-off or at least middling persons would associate themselves with mendicant organizations at first seems counterintuitive. Their success would appear to reaffirm and is the result of the economic climate. Sociological research conducted by Rodney Stark in modern and medieval religious communities, suggests that the religious asceticism of mendicancy has always had its roots in the upper and upper-middle classes.³⁸ These are the persons who are affluent enough to see asceticism as religious renunciation and not an

³⁷ Burnham, *So Great a Light*, 72.

³⁸ Rodney Stark, "Upper Class Asceticism: Social Origins of Ascetic Movements and Medieval Saints," *Review of Religious Research*, 45 (September 2003): 4.

accident of misfortune, and are able to see to spiritual concerns as their basic life needs are met. As well their families were less likely to rely on their labor for their survival. At the same time, these people had enough invested in their lives to effectively prevent them from committing to an apocalyptic path. The mark of status that accompanied asceticism then flowed down to the middle and artisan classes, who while they could not necessarily forsake their trades or lives out of consideration for their families could still in some way become involved and support those who could. These people may have been more likely to commit to that radical course completely. Thus, just as Francis drew many of his followers and their supporters first from the middle class in his first order and third order and in the artisan class in the portion that became Beguins, so to probably did the Apostles draw theirs from the same echelons of society.

Evidence for the socio-economic status of the supporters of the Apostolic Order is scarce and scattered, but what is preserved points to a member base that was at least as prosperous as other Italians. Merlo commented that the Apostles had amongst their number in Firenze members of the military and the aristocracy, and that indeed some of the Apostolic friars were known to speak Latin, suggesting that they were educated.³⁹ Amongst the surviving supporters in Trento, two notaries and one magister (master) were listed out of seven deposed persons. The notaries Bartolemi of Tyono and Armanus Benvenuti were deposed in December 1332 and January 1333 respectively, while Master Bertvamis Lirugicis came before the inquisition in 1333. Nicolas Nicolay remembered the involvement of Master Alberto of Cimego. No occupation is listed for the other four persons, but the two women mentioned in depositions were remembered as a wife of a master, and a wife of a man important enough to be called 'dominus'.⁴⁰ It is important to note here that none of these persons joined Dolcino when he called his followers to the mountains, and thus, while they were involved, they may have had either less involvement or were less inclined towards radicalism.

The records for Bologna are less detailed than those of Trento in matters of occupation. Occupations were listed for Master Iacopo Mantighelli of Bologna, and Salvatore Petricoli of Sant'Elena, who was noted as a land laborer. But beyond these individuals, deductions must be made. Orioli posited that,

³⁹ Grado Merlo, *Eretici ed eresie medievale* (Bologna: Societa editrice Il mulino, 1989), 124.

⁴⁰ Segarizzi, *Historia Fratris Dulcini Heresiarche*, RIS IX (Citta di Castello, 1902), 81.

following Violante, the followers were drawn from the artisan class and small landed proprietors.⁴¹ Certainly the third order of Sant'Elena had small holdings, considering the assessed value of their region, but it is notable that in Sant'Elena, no home was inhabited by more than one family unit. Damiano and Guglielmo Bianchi, two brothers who figure prominently in the Apostles' supporters in Sant'Elena, each held his own home, as did their other three brothers—there was no need to share to survive.⁴² This meant that while the region overall was certainly poor in comparison to Piumazzo, a significant portion of Apostolic Third Order was somewhat prosperous. In Piumazzo there is evidence--based on the prosperity of the region--of support from middle class Italians. As well the family of the Boccadiffero, who make up a portion of the supporters in Piumazzo, were of the upper class; Orioli found the Boccadifferos listed as magnates in 1288.⁴³ Once again, these people, like those of Trento, were not at the level of radical engagement.

Followers of the Franciscans followed much the same pattern of economic status that was detected amongst the Apostolic third order as a whole. Kings and queens counted themselves amongst the Minorites' tertiaries, but most of the committed Beguins were small merchants and craftsmen. Neither the sentences of Bernard Gui nor the martyrology record the occupations of sentenced Beguins, but the *Colpe* of Lodève do for five of the deposed persons. Bernard Durban was listed as a carpenter or smith (faber),⁴⁴ Bernard Malaura was a purveyor of foodstuffs,⁴⁵ Berengar Rocha made parchment,⁴⁶ Berengar laoul was a trader,⁴⁷ and Bernard Peyrotas was a priest.⁴⁸ Not men of great means, but not beggars or day laborers either. Those of Narbonne included some of the influential citizens, but most of them were also tradesmen just as in Lodève—candlemakers, an innkeeper, a shoemaker, a tanner, three weavers and two drapers.⁴⁹

⁴¹ Orioli, *Venit*, 177.

⁴² Damiano and Gulliellmus will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

⁴³ Orioli, *Venit*, 183.

⁴⁴ Manselli, *Spirituali*, 309.

⁴⁵ Manselli, *Spirituali*, 312.

⁴⁶ Manselli, *Spirituali*, 311.

⁴⁷ Manselli, *Spirituali*, 313.

⁴⁸ Manselli, *Spirituali*, 315.

⁴⁹ Emery, *Heresy*, 133.

Gender

Unlike the similar socio-economic status of the third order Apostles and Beguins, the difference in gender statistics was marked, with the female to male ratio amongst the supporters of the Apostolic Order more closely resembling an orthodox church parish than did the female to male numbers amongst the Beguins. Amongst the Apostles questioned or noted in the depositions of Trento and Bologna, forty-four were women and fifty-eight men, which meant that women were forty-three percent of the recorded supporters. The martyrology, the sentences of Gui, and the *Colpe*, by contrast, when combined list a total of twenty-nine women and eighty men, with a percentage of twenty-seven for women.

All of the records for the Apostolic third order are to some extent skewed. Those of Bologna demonstrate that in that one of the friars, Zaccaria, was more likely to remember the male heads of household who received him in situations where both a man and a woman were present.⁵⁰ He was a prolific and well-traveled preacher, thus, quite a few names can be drawn from his testimony. In records gained from tertiaries and supporters, however, women were as equally present as men. When couples were both suspected of heresy, frequently only the husband was tried—neither of the wives of Damiano or Guglielmo was questioned, though both were involved. Women who were more heavily involved or were unmarried were questioned, and tended to be remembered in men's depositions. The Tridentine records transcribed and edited by Muratori only include the testimonies of men; this may have been a bias of the historian, or the inquisition simply may have focused on the men, as they were more likely to incur fines as punishment. But, one of the men did attest to the membership of women in his testimony. Master Bertvamis remembered that Domina Floriana and Domina Rivana were members of the sect, and that one of three persons he saw burned for heresy was a woman.⁵¹ As well these records were of thirty-year-old memories, thus, the likelihood is high that there was a significant number of female Apostolic supporters in Trento.

Records for the Beguins were even more skewed. The percentage of women involved was so low amongst those sentenced by Gui (11 percent), that

⁵⁰ Acts, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615.

⁵¹ Muratori, *Historia*, 81.

the numbers led the translator/transcriber of the inquisitor's records to say that the Beguins were a primarily male sect.⁵² Out of his sentenced Beguins, only two of them were women. The martyrology also included fewer women than men, though when the secular priests and the friars were removed, the numbers were more gender-balanced than Gui's, but with sixty-eight men to sixteen women (women were 19 percent), equality is not reached.⁵³ Only when adding the persons questioned and remembered from Lodève and those noted in the testimony of Bernard Maurini does the percentage of female Beguins reach near a third of the total. It is possible that there were simply more men in the sect, but other factors could have affected the total. Women may not have been as likely to be sentenced to death, which would keep them off the martyrology. Married women may have also been less likely to be questioned unless they were heavily involved.

As well, the depositions of Bologna contained many depositions of Apostolic supporters that were 'meliorandos', which tended to include more evidence about the witness's family, which he/she would not reveal without some sort of pressure.⁵⁴ 'Meliorandos' were gathered under some amount of duress (prison or or perhaps threats) and were used by the inquisitors to draw more information from reluctant subjects. If a subject's family was the object of the inquisitor's questioning, he/she may have been very unwilling to reveal any information without the external pressure of greater punishment. The records used to compile the table of Beguins, by comparison, contain few of these sorts of depositions, so it is possible that the witnesses may have been more able to protect their female comrades because they were questioned fewer times.

Marital Status

The third order of the Franciscans was founded on the intent of supporters to remain in their secular lives, and for some of them that included marriage. Those who were not married—widows/widowers and virgins—were not permitted to remarry or marry but had to remain celibate if they became

⁵² Bernard Gui, *Sentences*, 34.

⁵³ Some of the persons sentenced by Gui appear in the martyrology, though more of the men than the women he sentenced appear in the martyrology.

⁵⁴ The matter of meliorandos will be the subject of the next chapter.

tertiaries. Official, sacramental marriage was a developing lifestyle norm for medieval people outside the religious orders. Sacramental marriage was encouraged by the church hierarchy and as well by the secular powers in Northern Italy, who did so, according to Andrew Roach, for the 'sake of legal clarity'.⁵⁵ Yet, this does not tell the whole story with regards to marriage and the church, as lower clergy did not necessarily wish to interfere to that extent in their parishioners' lives.⁵⁶ Thus there would have been a significant portion of people who would not have technically been 'married' according to church definition of sacrament. Orioli posited that for the Apostles this was certainly the case, that by and large they did not live in ordinary family units.⁵⁷ Franciscan tertiaryes, by contrast, were supposedly more similar to their non-tertiary neighbors. The actual data, however, reveals quite the opposite.

Much like the female to male gender statistics, those known to have been married amongst the Beguins were of a significantly smaller percentage of the total Beguins than those amongst the Apostolic tertiaryes and supporters. Only seventeen of the 109 Beguins were noted to have been married, 16 percent, while thirty-seven of the 102 supporters of the Apostles, 36 percent, were cleared espoused. The marital status of women was more reported than that of men—about 50 percent of both female Apostolic tertiaryes and Beguins were known to have been married—as many were listed as 'wife of' in their own depositions, or remembered as someone's wife. But also much like the gender statistics, the marital status statistics has many influencing factors.

Tertiaryes and supporters of the Apostles were statistically more likely to be married, but the total number of married persons may have been even higher for reasons that were not taken into account by Orioli. Of the sixty-five entries in the table that were not known to have been married, thirty-four were not questioned and thus were noted as 'unknown' because not only were they not questioned, they were not remembered as married or unmarried. This seems to have been the case particularly for men who were semi-remembered. Even amongst those who were hailed before the inquisition, the records were not necessarily revealing in these terms. While female witnesses were identified not just by name, but also by closest male (husband or father), men were not

⁵⁵ Andrew Roach, *The Devil's World, Heresy and Society 1100-1300* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2005), 177.

⁵⁶ Roach, *Devil's World*, 177.

⁵⁷ Orioli, *Venit*, 181.

identified as ‘husband of’. The marital status was known only of those males whose wives were heavily involved in the Apostles’ support network or when others had revealed their wives.

As there are no records for a rule of the third order of Apostles, the key official determinant of whether marriage was sanctioned is not available. As per Zaccaria’s testimony, the Apostles supposedly did not consider it a sin for two unmarried adults to engage in sexual relations, but this may have been extracted under pressure or a notion that could be attributed to Zaccaria alone.⁵⁸ Peter John Olivi did not believe that marriage had sacramental value and was censured for it. Despite the fact that he was regarded highly by the Spirituals and Beguins, this particular belief did not reoccur frequently in the works of other authors.⁵⁹

The Beguins’ table entries were affected by some of the same factors as the Apostles’ table; some individuals are recorded through remembrance of others, and that memory was not likely to note the marital status of men, while deposed women were identified by closest male just as in Bologna. The records of Gui did record whether the sentenced man was married in four out of the nineteen total processes, but one of these men was Raimond d’Antusan, whose wife Bernarde was a heavily involved Beguin.⁶⁰ The *Colpe* followed the same pattern as the Bolognese records, in which none of the men were noted to be married. But the single greatest influence on the total of married persons in the Beguins table was that the martyrology did not include that particular piece of information for either gender. Therefore, the actual marital status of many persons recorded is unknown, and may well have been closer to fifty percent, though that some Beguins took vows of virginity or chose to live in houses of poverty as enclosed third orders would have prevented the number of married Beguins from rising to the norm for secular culture.

Family Involvement

Similar affiliations in a family with regards to religious orders have always been common. This seems to have held true particularly for those affiliated with

⁵⁸ Act 618.

⁵⁹ David Burr, *Olivi’s Peaceable Kingdom: A Reading of the Apocalypse Commentary* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), 66.

⁶⁰ Pales-Gobilliard, *Sentences*, Index I.

the Franciscans, perhaps because the Franciscan orders were markedly different from other orders because they had their own rule and emphasized living the rule. Amongst the first and second orders there is evidence to the veracity of this statement—Salimbene’s brother also joined the first order of Minorites, and he claimed to have written his chronicle for his niece who was a Franciscan nun, while Clare’s sister followed her into the Poor Ladies. The situation of the ordinary Franciscan tertiary should mean that the level of family involvement would be even higher—spouses would both be likely to be involved, and then rear their children with like beliefs. Based on the similarity of stress on poverty, the same should hold true for the Apostles. According to the statistical analysis, while this assumption about the supporters of the Apostolic Order is true, the Beguins had relatively low family involvement.

Analysis of the Apostolic tertiaries and supporters indeed supports this notion. Seventy out of 102 persons involved were part of couples who supported the Apostles, or had family members—brothers, sisters, parents—that were also supporters. The cell of supporters in Sant’Elena parish demonstrated some of highest levels of family involvement; Damiano, his wife Giunta and daughter Vivelda, Guglielmo, Damiano’s brother and his wife, and Giovanni brother of Damiano were all supporters. Benvenuta, her brothers Corbellus and Aldrevandinus of Montebellio (but all members of the Piumazzo circle) were involved, as were Benvenuta’s husband Iacopo and Corbellus’ wife Beatrisia. Giovanni and Bona Osti were brother and sister sharing a home, while their sister Maria had married Salvittus, another supporter. Orioli also found this trend, stating that there were families in specific areas who gave support, such as the Albertini, Balugani, and Boccadiffero in Piumazzo.⁶¹ But he also claimed that the wife tended to follow the heresy of the husband, for which he did not consider other possibilities.⁶² As the Apostles had established themselves in the 1280s in the region, it is probable men and women seeking marriage partners found them amongst their fellow supporters. He also commented that there was an apparent lack of the nuclear family, but that the rate of known married persons amongst the tertiaries was over one-third, combined with the ‘dark figure’ of unknowns around 30 percent, and that men were not identified by marital status, suggests that far more probably lived in a normative couple

⁶¹ Orioli, *Venit*, 179.

⁶² Orioli, *Venit*, 181.

status. It is also possible that, as the group by the 1300s believed in the imminence of the apocalypse, some had taken vows of chastity and thus produced no children who were not already grown, or that those who had children had simply become less visible as members of the sect or less engaged.

The Beguins, by contrast, showed a lower level of family involvement. Twenty-eight out of 109, or twenty-six percent, could count relatives or spouses amongst their comrades. Esclaramonda, Bernard and Johan Durban were siblings and all Beguins in Lodève, as well there were Beguin couples like Bernarde and Raimond d'Antusan of Cintegabelle. Both the situation of couples or siblings being involved appear to have been more common than transmission of Beguinism from parents to child, as was the case of Pierre Trencavel to his daughter Andrea. Indeed, this was the only notable parent-child link amongst the Beguins recorded on the table. That the martyrology is such a bare-bones document may be some of the reason why family involvement is not more notable, but there are other reasons why this may be the case. As noted before, that some Beguins took vows of chastity would lower the family involvement rate, and certainly prevent them from producing another generation. Also, by the time that this information was compiled, the notions of absolute poverty had already resulted in persecution for three decades in Languedoc, possibly convincing some less resolute Franciscan tertiaries to side with the Conventuals. The Beguins were only a part of the total tertiary group, and a minority at that, thus it is not surprising that they were only the most resolute of supporters.

Conclusions

Comparing the third order of the Apostles and the Franciscan Beguins across six characteristics has yielded mixed results. In terms of their histories, while it is true that the Apostles were never recognized by the papacy, they were treated as orthodox by the communes and thus had the opportunity to hold convents and build up a third order. The Franciscans and their tertiaries were since their beginnings sanctioned, but had much difficulty with the communes and as well there was conflict between the first and third orders. The Apostolic order's supporters were primarily located outside the major cities of Bologna and Trento, while the Franciscan tertiaries were found in the cities, particularly where there were Franciscan convents, but the regional qualities of prosperity and dissatisfaction with monastic and secular clerical pastoral relations were

common ground. Where the two groups came together most closely was in terms of socio-economic status of their members, as both followed a general trend of the mendicant orders appealing to the upper and middle classes, though the beguins particularly seem to have been of the working class. In terms of gender, marital status of members, and family involvement, however, the Apostolic supporters and the Beguins diverged noticeably. The Apostles' supporters more closely followed a pattern that one would expect to find within other third orders in that the membership was almost balanced in gender, while many were known to be or possibly were married and came from families that were also involved. By contrast, the Beguins were more anomalous; this could have been a product of records used in this study, or they could indeed have strayed further from the general populace of tertiaries. But there is another possible explanation for significant statistical differences.

Where the evidence differs the most sharply is when in the history of the respective heretical group it was gathered. Most of the records for the Apostolic Order's tertiaries and supporters were gathered in 1303-1305, only three to five years after the first persecutions of Apostles began. The group had been condemned in 1290, but the commune of Bologna was still actively supporting the Apostles in 1295. Thus, those who were involved near Bologna were a people who had seen very little persecution and were not terribly connected to other groups of tertiaries; for them, the most serious outcome of the persecutions was that there had been a change in leadership of the first order. The group had become apocalyptic, but the motives to live a life centered on apocalypticism had not yet taken hold.

The Beguins, by contrast, were already quite conscious of the fact that their views on poverty could easily be subject to persecution. The like-minded friars had been suffering in Languedoc for many years, and had steadily turned apocalyptic over a series of decades. They were already living in that mode, and then they too were subject to persecution. That years of persecution and systematic efforts by the church to 'demonize' their targets can have a destructive effect on the target group has been asserted already by Carlo Ginzberg. In his *Night Battles*, Ginzburg's study of peasant society in the sixteenth/seventeenth centuries revealed that despite the fact that the peasants believed their agrarian cult of the Benandanti was essentially good, inquisitorial efforts to assimilate it with witchcraft were effective over the years

of persecution.⁶³ But not just the cultural interpretation changed—those who were known to the inquisition as Benandanti also morphed over the years from men and women who were upstanding people with a particular affiliation to at the end of the persecution individuals who self-reported to the inquisition, people of low esteem in the eyes of their fellows, people who believed themselves to be demonic witches.

There is also the matter of intra-family strife as the result of continued external stress; of the two groups considered here, only the Beguins truly suffered this situation. The martyrology was a product of a persecution that the Apostolic supporters of 1303-1305 had not seen because ordinary Beguins were captured and burned. The effect of this lengthy period of apocalypticism and then harsh persecution could very well have had the same effect that inquisition had on the Cathars; they strained and prevented family ties.⁶⁴

Despite the fact that the comparison presented here has yielded results showing two rather different groups, it is possible that this consideration of the Beguins may shed light on a later time period and different location for the followers of the Apostles; those who were involved in the last stand in the mountains between 1305 and 1307. Of the Apostles who actually went to the mountains little is known other than the method of their demise, and a history told in terms of propaganda. By this time the group was overtly persecuted and fully apocalyptic. They too may have had few family ties amongst the group, have been of a lower socio-economic class, and less likely to be married. This is the near-textbook description of the political/religious rebel—a person who has little to lose and everything to gain through a system that validates sufferers of intense persecution as more holy. Thus what has survived in inquisitorial records regarding Apostolic supporters is not about the religious rebels who took to the mountains with their leader, but the the remainder of resolute believers who stayed in place, because their engagement in the world was greater than their commitment to the developments in their respective orders.

⁶³ Carlo Ginzburg, *The Night Battles, Witchcraft and Agrarian cults in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, translated by John and Ann Tedeschi (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1966), xvii.

⁶⁴ James Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society, Power, Discipline, and Resistance in Languedoc* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), 125.

Chapter 6: Sifting through the Past—Inquisitorial Confessions

Inquisitions exist in an interstitial space between sacred and secular, between the temporal and the ephemeral, due to the fact that heresy is both a religious crime equal to treason against God and a secular crime through inclusion of it in the statutes of both communes and empire at the behest of the church. This meant that while the inquisitorial confession could result in fines or even the confessing subject's death at the hands of the secular arm, it was still a religious act meant to unburden the soul, and could and would result in penance-like penalties that brought the confessed back into the flock. Yet this melioration is almost a religious fiction, because the penalty stakes were so high that it took a legal proceeding to extract these confessions, and staff to capture the contumacious. So in effect the nature of the inquisitorial confession is that it is a forced confession that existed halfway between a case formed through a judicial proceeding and a religious act, an utterance that will live on parchment or paper as a record while other confessions slip the bonds of memory or importance, and one to which the confessed can be held accountable in the future as though it were a secular crime.

Inquisitorial records provide an excellent field research resource for analyzing and understanding this group that left none of its own self-referential works. Records give us dates, names, events, and even beliefs. They can tell us that lay persons organized their own gatherings for the purposes of hearing preachers, that whole families were united in their adherence to the doctrine, and that either beliefs were fuzzy in the minds of believers or that they were simply better at protecting them than protecting their associations. But the mechanism that caused these revelations, the inquisitorial process, and how it was realized here in Bologna is just as important as the information revealed because, as John Arnold determined, the mechanism to a large extent determines how and why information will be revealed.¹ Due to the near-equal importance of the process and the revelations of the individuals, the meeting of this process and the confessing subjects creates its own textual reality, the

¹ John Arnold, *Inquisition and Power, Catharism and the Confessing Subject in Medieval Languedoc* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 55.

same kind of reality that by Pegg's analysis 'created' the Cathars.² That these subjects also understood the power of the inquisition is evidenced by that they were slow to reveal themselves or others, almost recalcitrant, because either they feared the outcomes and that they wished to protect their families from the possible outcomes, or perhaps that they genuinely felt they had done nothing wrong, that they were good Christians following a new revelation. Yet reveal they did, and how this process and the people met to reveal the activities of the Apostolic Order begs serious analysis. In the following chapter, the concept of game theory and how it applies to the inquisitions will be discussed, and following that an analysis of the confession strategies of the Sant'Elena and Piumazzo groups and those of Bernard Maurini, priest and beguin.

I: Game Theory and the Bolognese Inquisition

The process of inquisitions and the confessing populations have been a subject of study for several historians of the mid and late thirteenth century and early fourteenth century French inquisitions, but their findings tend to be ill-suited for the purposes of understanding or analyzing Italian inquisitions. James Given analyzed the relationship in terms of structures of resistance such as towns, lordship, and kin, determining that the town was the most effective structure of resistance.³ But in Bologna, a similar analysis would not work because of two aspects: one, that the inquisitors working in Bologna did not at any point cite large populations of any given region of the contado but rather specific individuals who were involved which prevented large scale community ire, and two, that the inquisitors tended to follow chains of events which would nullify virtually any other form of resistance except that of membership. John Arnold asserted the growth of importance in the confessing subject from the early Languedoc inquisitions to that of Jacques Fournier, and that related to this was that the act of confession was one of social control designed to internalize within the confessing subject the means of seeing oneself through the Church's notions, but that the inquisitor was a necessary fixture in the process to

² Mark Pegg, *The Corruption of the Angels: The Great Inquisition of 1245-1246* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 19.

³ James Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society, Power, Discipline, and Resistance in Languedoc* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), 128.

legitimate it, and ensure veracity.⁴ This seems a reasonable enough conclusion, but not particularly applicable to the Bolognese situation as the confessions sought by these inquisitors were not focused on belief, or internalizing any church mores. Rather, they had a bit more in common with the 1250s inquisitions in that they sought names, locations, and events; presence at the event made one a heretic, and once that had been asserted, all that mattered was that the heretic was caught, questioned, and punished. It is also possible, however, that the inquisitors already knew what beliefs these Bolognese followers of the Apostolic Order held, or that they sensed that there was little chance that the beliefs of these Order members would change through inquisition. Arnold's theories do not broach the activities of the confessing subjects in concert with one another, or even their choices in confession of what to reveal and what not to reveal.

But if these other means of seeing the confessing subjects and the inquisitions and the methodologies they entail do not suffice for analysis of the Apostolic Order in Bologna, then a new method needs be employed. Here game theory is proposed as a means of analyzing and to some extent, predicting, how the supporters of the Apostles would react as subjects of the inquisition. Modern game theory, according to sociologist Duncan Watts, was the brain child of John von Neumann, a theorist who attempted to explain in his book *Theory of Games and Economic Behavior* that in all economic opportunities one person must lose while the other wins, and that all strategy is based on optimizing this success.⁵ Moving into the field of psychology, this basic premise was even further defined, this time with Prisoner's dilemma as the basis of the game. The premise of the game is thus: two criminals are accused of the same crime and have been arrested, but are held separately. Each is interrogated, and neither will know what the other said. In the interrogation, each criminal is promised that if he implicates his partner, he will receive a lesser punishment and the partner will bear much of the weight of the crime. At this point, the criminal has options: he can cooperate with his partner and not the police, or he can blame the other guy. The outcomes here are the following—if both cooperate with one another and not the police, they will probably receive a punishment for some other

⁴ John Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 93.

⁵ Duncan Watts, *Small Worlds: The Dynamics of Networks Between Order and Randomness*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999, 200.

minor thing, because the actual crime cannot be proven; if one keeps quiet while the other talks, the individual who has kept his peace will bear the weight of the crime in its entirety, and if both talk, each will be punished for the crime, but it will be a lesser punishment than if one had been silent and the other not. The crux of the dilemma is not actually the punishment; it is whether one man can trust the other. If both believe yes, then they can beat the rap, or almost. If not, then each man's best strategy is to implicate the other, thereby reducing his chances of bearing the full punishment. But this game is contingent on just one "turn", one opportunity to formulate a strategy. When the game is expanded but the premise remains the same and the number of turns is unknown—though according to expert on the Prisoner's dilemma and author of *The Evolution of Cooperation* Robert Axelrod, the number of turns must remain unknown for the resolution to occur in any other way than the original game—then a new strategy becomes possible, tit-for-tat, in which players modulate their responses on a cooperative-retaliatory-forgiving-transparent cycle.⁶ When the game is played across the network, the total number of players per game, two, remains the same, but now players can optimize their actions based on what they see elsewhere, such as copying the strategy of the nearby most successful player (win-stay/lose-shift).

The prisoner's dilemma has much in common with an inquisitorial confession—the confessing subjects do not see others in confession, they may or may not have time to consider a strategy before the capture, and options like cooperation and implication of the other both remain. But the context of an inquisition is also unique and is played out in "real time" rather than on a computer simulation, thus, an analysis of the game of the inquisition is instructive in furthering a new extension of game theory--the multiplayer game played across a network in which everyone has a move, the move is not necessarily at the same time, but each player can "engage" every other player in a single move through naming them or refusing to name them. To fully explain this, let us return to the two social groups of the network analysis, the Sant'Elena group and the Piumazzo group.

⁶ Watts, *Small Worlds*, 203.

II: Confession Strategies of the Damned

Sant'Elena and Piumazzo

On August 17th, 1304, Guglielmo Bianchi, Damiano Bianchi, and Vivelda Bianchi were hailed before the inquisition and all admitted obliquely that they knew at least two heretics, but did not suggest any further involvement.⁷ The next day, Salvatore, another individual in the group, admitted he knew Zaccaria, who was already dead. On the same day, Maria, Damiano's wife, claimed she knew nothing of heresy.⁸ Yet by the 27th, Guglielmo, Damiano and Vivelda had revealed themselves and each other, as well the rest of their circle and their chief preacher, Rolandino. The change over this seemingly short period of time between first and third testimonies is instructive on the nature of cooperation, the complexities of a multiplayer game across a network, and the reasons why former theories on heretical networks need be reevaluated.

The first most obvious facet of the interaction between subjects and between subjects and inquisition is cooperation in the game theory sense. Family was clearly the primary tie in cooperation in the Sant'Elena circles, and it became the means of resistance. Given found that heretical sects tended to organize resistance to the inquisition through pre-existing ties, one of which was the family.⁹ Families would cooperate to agree to say as little as possible, this cooperation tended to be covert and defensive.¹⁰ Here in Bologna family resistance meets sect-based resistance on a rather surprising scale. All of the extended family of Guglielmo and Damiano were clearly aware of the plan not to say anything about the family's involvement in heresy. Guglielmo and Damiano had three other brothers—Gerardo, Guido, and Giovanni—all of which were hailed before the inquisition between August 19th and August 24th, and none named his brothers as receivers. In fact, all of the known descendants of Benvenuto and several wives testified in August, and not one revealed a family member in their first testimonies. They named only Giovanni and Bona Osti,

⁷ Acts 633, 634, and 635, Lorenzo Paolini and Raniero Orioli, *Acta S. Officii Bononie—ab anon 1291 usque ad annum 1310* (Rome: Institute Palazzo Borromini, 1982).

⁸ Acts 636 and 638. For a description of these acts and others in the circle, see Appendix A. section 1.

⁹ Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society*, 117.

¹⁰ Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society*, 122.

who were by public fame known to be receivers.¹¹ It is possible that these two had taken flight, because Damiano is asked about the whereabouts of their household goods presumably such that the inquisition could seize them, and he is unable to answer.¹²

They did not, however, simply say nothing. The family knew they had been somehow implicated in the heresy and that simply naming a pair of fugitives who were known by public infamy to be receivers would not satisfy the inquisitors. Thus, the Sant'Elena cell acted in complete cooperation to receive the lesser punishment of knowing the heretics but not implicating themselves or one another in direct involvement. Guglielmo, Damiano, and Vivelda all admitted to knowing a host of heretics such as Bernardino, Benedetto, Pacifico (Paxolinus) and Ugo of Clochis. These persons had most likely fled, as they do not appear in person before the inquisition in Bologna so they were a safe admission as they would not bear any punishment as outcome from this inquisition, nor would they ever find out about the confessions. Additionally both Damiano and Vivelda admitted to knowing Zaccaria in their first testimonies;¹³ this is clearly planned as they lived in the same house, and inquisitors would have assumed they would have met the same person. But this is also a safe choice, as Zaccaria was already dead by 1304. No one reveals any knowledge of Rolandino until the 24th, when three persons outside the family circle had identified the receivers within the family. Even then, when Guglielmo, Damiano, and Vivelda all admitted to their involvement as receivers of Rolandino, each takes care to say nothing of any other non-revealed family member's involvement, though they were most likely aware of their nephews', brothers', or cousins' doings. This may well be cooperation at its most simple and yet powerful levels. Simple in that the cooperative agreements were such that no one would reveal anyone else within the family, and yet this is cooperation at its highest level in that despite the fact that Guglielmo and his wife, Damiano and his wife, and Vivelda were all forced to confess themselves, they all maintained silence on the rest of the family.

¹¹ Giovanni B, Gerardo and Guido all identify Giovanni and Bona as receivers, as does Benvenuti, Giovanni's son, but Francesco, Giovanni's son, said he knew nothing. See appendix A.

¹² Act 643.

¹³ Acts 633 and 635.

What collapsed the success of the cooperation were four persons whose testimonies were clearly not anticipated by the family. The inquisitors were clearly very careful here—they amassed four testimonies (three of which were given by people who were not heretics) as to the involvement of two receivers in the circle, and then most likely presented them with that information, of course without the names to prevent retribution. On the 15th of August, Martino Menaboi, “massarius terre, communis et hominum Sancte Helene” (a member of communal government, most likely treasurer) testified against everyone in the circle, and also shared with the inquisitor Guido of Parma the rumor that Vivelda had spent the night in her father’s barn with two heretics.¹⁴ Three days later, Brother Bartolomeo of the Order of the Servants of Saint Mary testified against Guglielmo and his wife, revealing that they were knowing receivers of Rolandino.¹⁵ The following day, another brother of the Order of the Servants of Saint Mary, Formentinus, repeated the charge against Guglielmo and spouse, but added Damiano and his wife, Salvatore Petricoli, and a host of others.¹⁶ Finally on the 22nd, Iacopo Petricini, a traveling companion of Rolandino and perhaps a preacher in training, spontaneously came before the inquisition and revealed everyone he knew.¹⁷

There are certainly things to note about these four persons. The treasurer was neither remembered as being present by any of the circle, nor was he truly implicated. The companion of Rolandino may have been coming forward as the prisoner in the prisoner’s dilemma who implicates his partner for a lesser punishment, or perhaps the fear of being caught simply drove him to reveal himself. The two friars were probably confessors to the local people; the OSM had been given rights to hear confession first in June of 1256 by Alexander IV and then again in 1260.¹⁸ Very few orders were given the right to hear confession against the will of the local priest, but by this point the Servites had been given the church of Sant’Elena, and as there was no parish priest, this made them the orthodox representatives in that parish. Their involvement in the inquisition has been discussed earlier in chapter 4, but it should be

¹⁴ Act 699.

¹⁵ Act 733.

¹⁶ Act 702.

¹⁷ Appendix C and Act 703.

¹⁸ Franco Andrea dal Pino, *I Frati Servi di S. Maria: dalle origini all’approvazione (1233-1304), Volume II-Documentazione*, (Louvrain: University of Louvain, 1972), xii.

reiterated that the Servites had reason to destroy the Apostolic network in their new parish, and that they were simply using the inquisition in the same fashion that civilians used the Bolognese legal system, as a weapon against an opposing faction.¹⁹ There is more proof that these two friars probably heard confessions of the locals. Brother Bartolomeo knew Guglielmo well enough to know the man was aware that Rolandino was a heretic, and Formentinus could retell conversations he had with several of the persons. Formentinus is even remembered as present by Guglielmo.²⁰ But none of these men appeared to be persons that the sons of Benvenuto or their children ever suspected of revealing them. That this is the case, that players can be unaware of each other's involvement and that there are players that can be exempt from punishment is where game theory needs to be amended with respect to the inquisitions.

Game theory does not permit the possibility of a game being judged in which one player was not aware that another player was competing with him. Most game theory isolates each act into essentially this game—there are two players, and each must anticipate the other's action. This becomes a series of two player games across a network, with each player attempting to respond to the movements of the games he is playing simultaneously. No game properly pulls in another game, and each is resolved in one turn between the two players. But inquisitorial processes are not played like a series of two player games; they are essentially multi-player games in which persons can be active (cooperative or self-serving), passive, or unaware. Each game can pull in multiple players by naming them in the process, as each person hailed before the inquisition is asked to name all participants at a particular event. The process in effect dictates the number and identity of the players, and the persons named in a process is a combined effort of inquisitor and confessing subject. There are also differences in the rewards of strategies, because here revealing another person can result in your own imprisonment when that person is brought before the inquisition and reveals you, and that others in fact were never under threat of punishment, such as Brother Bartolomeo or Brother Formentinus. Unlike a theoretical game in which there are no consequences

¹⁹ Sarah Blanshei, "Criminal Justice in Medieval Perugia and Bologna," *Law and History Review* 1(August 1983): 270.

²⁰ Act 641. Though in this same deposition, Guglielmo claims that a brother Francesco of the very order of Formentinus and Bartolomeo said to him that Rolandino was a good man.

that carry beyond the individual act in the game, the outcomes of inquisitorial activity had real consequences. Each “turn” (each process) is not an isolated event turn, rather, what is revealed in later processes can result in the outcomes of the first processes effectively being rescinded, nullified by additional information. This all means that the continuing process of inquisition in Bologna was a very nebulous game in which the strategies of the witness could be highly effective as they were for the Servites, or only temporarily effective as they was for the Sant’Elena Apostolic supporters, but the possible outcomes shifted with the inclusion of players.

It was when the information from these other players in the game in the Sant’Elena circle was revealed to Guglielmo on the 24th of August that he ‘cracked’ and admitted that he knew Rolandino.²¹ This is when they all cracked, and revealed one another on August 27th. Interestingly enough, though, the preacher whose mention was so sought by the inquisitor had not been captured or at least had not been brought before the inquisition. Certainly the inquisitors were clearly seeking the preachers first and foremost—they asked subjects if they knew or had seen Zaccaria, Rolandino, Pietro Bonito, and others, but not if they knew Vivelda, or Alberto of Lirano—but here it was not the supporters who had to fear the preacher’s revelations, as Given found amongst the Cathars, but the preacher who had to fear the supporters’ depositions.²² Granted, Zaccaria had already named Rolandino as involved, but that was in December of 1303, and he was still unfound as of August. Thus it was not just about taking out the head of the Order, but the body as well.

Revelations of the Sant’Elena group were not the only ones that Rolandino had to fear. He was well known in Piumazzo as well. In Piumazzo, the situation was more complex. The network analysis of this region suggests that the people were not as socially interlinked as the group in Sant’Elena, and this is recapitulated in their strategies in inquisitorial procedures. Here too we find cooperation, some of which was drawn along family lines. Giovanni Albertini, brother of Ugolina, Roberta, Michele, and Maria, in his first deposition before

²¹ Appendix C. It is not written in the inquisitorial process that information was revealed to Guglielmo, but it can be assumed by the fact that a) he revealed knowing Rolandino only after these other persons came forward, and b) suggesting to the confessing subject that the inquisitor had information upon him was a common practice in other inquisitions and still is in criminal investigations.

²² Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society*, 87-88.

the inquisition denied his sister Roberta (who had been captured by Nascimbene, assistant to the inquisition) was a heretic.²³ In his second appearance, he did reveal that his sisters, Ugolina and Roberta, carried food to Rolandino, but then claimed later that he said these things under torture, and that the most involvement that his sisters had were that they were domestic servants to Guilielmina, a known heretic.²⁴ In his fourth appearance, Giovanni admits his sister Roberta's involvement. Clearly, at least Giovanni had some intent to follow a cooperative strategy, and was probably cooperating in strategy on this with his sister Ugolina. Ugolina in her first deposition on the 2nd of August reveals no one, then on the same day reveals a few persons, but no one who was related to her.²⁵ But then on October 7th, the same day her brother Giovanni admitted Roberta's part in the congregation, Ugolina also identified Roberta.²⁶

But not every family in the Piumazzo group was as protective of its members as the children of Albertino of Lirano. Vitale Controli declared his brother Giovanni's involvement in his second confession on August 6th.²⁷ But that it took two confessions to solicit this information from Vitale suggests at least some family cooperation. Benvenuta of Ferrara, a 'frequent flyer' with an amazing number of connections (as will be fully explained in the next chapter),²⁸ named both of her brothers Corbellus and Aldrevandinus in her first testimony on October 8th.²⁹ Corbellus returned the favor; in his first testimony on October 9th he named his sister and brother, and his wife as well, and admitted that he was a receiver.³⁰ For Aldrevandinus there is no recorded deposition; it was either lost or he fled. The siblings may have presumed that they had already been named by reliable witnesses and thus could not choose silence as a strategy, at which point, it may have an altruistic cooperative tactic to name one another as simple occasional participants, as this role would earn them a lesser punishment.

²³ Act 686.

²⁴ See Appendix C.

²⁵ See Appendix C.

²⁶ Act 717.

²⁷ Act 692. Vitali's first deposition appears to be lost.

²⁸ See the table for the Network Analysis for a comparison between her outdegrees and those of other supporters.

²⁹ Act 722.

³⁰ Act 724.

Between families in Piumazzo there was very little or no cooperation. In the first round of depositions taken from the group in early August, three members—Giovanni Albertini, Ugolina Albertini, Viviano the canon—all reveal Vitali and Giovanni Controli in their second depositions. This could be attributed to a lack of concern for those who were not kin, but it is also possible that Vitali and Giovanni Controli's involvement may have been like that of Bona and Giovanni Osti; they may have been known by public infamy. If they were known through public infamy, this would suggest that the strategy employed here was much the same as amongst the Sant'Elena group, except that Vitali and Giovanni were still located in Piumazzo. Nevertheless, some forms of cooperation and a lack of interest in engaging others in the inquisitorial processes can be found. This strategy amongst confessing subjects was to change. In the second round of depositions taken between the 5th and 9th of October in 1304, eight supporters were hailed before the inquisition and all of them identified other members of the congregation in their testimonies, including family members.³¹ The difference between the first and second rounds can be attributed to an important factor that did not arise during the Sant'Elena group depositions—the capture of Rolandino and Pietro dal Pra, both of whom testified in this time period to their receivers and other supporters. These two were the preachers named by the Piumazzo group as active in their area, thus, it is not surprising that the fear that their testimonies engendered in their supporters forced a change in strategy amongst them. Now the strategy shifts from cautious semi-cooperation to a preemptive strike, the fallback in the prisoner's dilemma in which each player thinks for himself and out of fear of the greater punishment, names the other players.

But was strategy and concern for family or self the only reasons why the supporters of the Apostolic Order did not reveal themselves when first brought before the inquisition? These are certainly strong motivators in responses to the inquisitions, but not the only ones. Strong religious convictions are also motivators; note that Beatrice and Gualandus felt strongly enough about their convictions that they went to the region of Trento to find Dolcino,³² while others did indeed heed his call to come to the mountains. Intertwined with the

³¹ Appendix C.

³² Acts 756, 727.

strength of these convictions was the idea that the Apostolic Order and supporters were truly Christians, and the true Christians at that. Cathars also to some extent felt this was true about themselves, but their behaviors—they had their own blessings, their own cemeteries, refusal to acknowledge the old testament—suggests a debatable form of separatism in which they recognized they were not the heirs to the faith of the apostles and Paul, but a new entity. But according to both inquisitorial records and Gui's account of Dolcino's letters, the Apostolic Order believed they were truly following the faith of the original Christian church. So here in Bologna within the Apostolic Order we do not find a Cathar-like separatism, but a continuation of accepted Christian behaviors, such as celebrating the Eucharist and confession.

The Confessing Apostolic

It seems a paradox that members of a Christian sect that believed by most accounts that the church in its current status had fallen far from its pure roots would participate in confession to representatives of that very status instead of confessing their sins only to their own friars, yet they did. While it is true that confession was a popular sacrament, evidence from Cathar and Waldensian testimonies suggests that it was not uncommon for Christians who felt they were differentiated from the mainstream of Christianity to confess to one another instead of to orthodox clergy.³³ But Apostolic Order preachers and supporters alike confessed their sins, accepted penance and received absolution from orthodox clergy, and it was from these orthodox clergymen, and not the accused heretics, that we know of their confessional activity.

The life of the preacher was as itinerant as that of many early Franciscans, thus, they tended to confess to priests and other religious who were not in their home parish. For instance, the priest Gerardino, rector of the church of Santo Giovanni of Monte Marvo, admitted he gave penance and absolution to Benedetto of Mongiorgio in 1302.³⁴ Gerardino's church was not Benedetto's home church, yet, he felt compelled to unburden his soul on his travels and found a friendly ear. Benedetto confessed to the priest Corvolus at

³³ Peter Biller, "Confession in the Middle Ages: an Introduction" in *York Studies in Medieval Theology II: Handling Sin, Confession in the Middle Ages*, Peter Biller and A. J. Minni, editors (Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk: St Edmundsbury Press Ltd, 1998), 19-21.

³⁴ Act 607.

Saint Sysmond in his own territory the following year; Corvolus “audivit eum in confessione et fecit ei absolutionem et penitentiam dedit, cum tamen ipse Benedetto sanus esset et non infirmus.”³⁵ He also stated that he gave penance to others of the sect, and that he did not believe they were excommunicated, but were good men. The priest Giovanni, canon of the church of Santo Antonio on the road of Santo Vitali, said something very similar in that he also admitted to hearing the confessions of traveling preachers of the sect, including Zaccaria and Rolandino, and said he did it because he believed they were good men.³⁶ And Giovanni was not alone at his church in hearing confessions of heretics; in a general sermon released by Guido of Parma in 1305, another priest named Ventura at the church was also a willing participant. All three priests who confessed to hearing confessions admitted they knew of the doctrine that these men espoused, and Gerardino and Giovanni knew Gerardo Segarelli had been burned for heresy, yet they still received them and engaged them as they would any other Christian.

Not only did the preachers remain confessing Christians, but as well did their congregation. The probable relationship between those of the Order of the Servants of Saint Mary and some of the receivers has been discussed earlier, but there were others both in that order and in other branches within the church that either saw the Apostolic Order as good or supported and protected the supporters. Francesco, unlike Formentinus and Bartolomeo, but also a friar of the Order of the Servants of Saint Mary, believed the preachers were good men and told Guglielmo as much.³⁷ In order for this conversation to come about in which Francesco would be discussing the preachers with a layperson, the layperson would have perhaps brought up the topic with him, seeking his reassurance, or more likely, was confessing his involvement. There is also evidence of confession from the other circle of believers in the Bologna region. Friar Viviano, a canon of Santa Maria of Montebellio, claimed that he felt that the hermitess of Piumazzo, probably Bona, was saintly because he had received confession from her and came to his own conclusions based on that.³⁸

³⁵ Act 606.

³⁶ Act 726.

³⁷ Act 641.

³⁸ From Bitinus son of Cannis’ testimony, Act 696. “que erat santa et hoc sciebat quia confessionem receperat ab ea.”

The full involvement of the clergy and their relationship with the evolving Franciscan order and its offshoots was discussed in another chapter, but even this brief overview highlights a few very important aspects of that association. First is that while some clergy agreed with the inquisitors that these persons were heretics, many did not. They knew what they preached, some knew that the sect originated with Gerardo Segarelli, who had been burned as a heretic by 1303, and yet, they judged them to be good men. But perhaps even more important than that the preachers were good men was that they appeared to be good Christians who adhered to the notions of apostolic poverty and humility much like the Franciscans. Because of this, the responses of churchmen to the Order was more akin to their responses to those early mendicants; some wholeheartedly supported the cause, while others felt distinctly threatened by their presence. If inquisitors in Bologna had realized that this parallel had existed, perhaps they would have questioned all of the clergy. But they did not; their work in rooting out and ending heresy ended with finding the preachers and bringing them to justice, which in Bologna was relatively easy due to the small number of preachers. Heresy was not a threat to the Dominican inquisitors, just a matter to be attended. Those that did realize this connection were those for whom the heresy of the renegade Franciscans and other offshoots of the order were a danger, the Franciscan writers. When they saw that the clergy accepted these individuals as good Christians, they attempted to recast these renegades as guilty of grave sins through a medium that would have been read by the front line of the church's orthodox defense, the ordinary churchmen.

The Amazing Bernardo Maurini

As noted in chapter 4, priest of Narbonne Bernard Maurini was captured by the inquisition in 1326, the second time that he was deposed by the inquisition. This later questioning, however, was divided over six sessions, and two locations, Vinassan and Avignon, and resulted in his execution. While it was noted previously that in the course of his testimony he moved from simply admitting to knowing heretics to believing the condemned apocalyptic notions of Peter John Olivi, what is important here is the strategy that he seemed to have employed and the reasons for it.

In his first testimony, Maurini gave an account of his travels, named a few of his co-religionists, and established his history of heresy, but not in a fashion that satisfied the inquisitors for his evasiveness. Maurini admitted to having heard Pierre Trencavel, but cannot clearly remember if he said anything about the mystical antichrist, or whether or not this entity was Pope John XXII.³⁹ Trencavel was already known to the inquisition, thus, Maurini was not revealing him, but he went on to name Marin (Marinus), Alasaica, Andrea, Jacqueline (Jacoba), and Sicilia. But even here the information was piecemeal at best, as Marin was already dead, and he did not know the last names of Alasaica or Jacqueline.⁴⁰ He also did not know where any of these persons were, including Trencavel.⁴¹ In the matter of his beliefs, Maurini claimed to have made a drastic change; though he had been imprisoned for heresy along with the disobedient Franciscan brothers of Narbonne, by this testimony he believed that disobedience to the church was a mortal sin.⁴² He also had moved from his previous position of believing Peter John Olivi to be a good and saintly man to following the church condemnation of him and his works.⁴³

The inquisitor Friar Guillaume Astre apparently suspected Maurini to be insincere and kept him incarcerated. Bernard appeared before Guillaume again, but later was brought to the Franciscan house in Avignon for further questioning. In subsequent depositions, Maurini was not asked further on the names or whereabouts of other Beguins, but was asked about Pierre Trencavel and his own beliefs. Trencavel had been captured by the inquisition and may have not volunteered any information, thus, the inquisitors may have intended to use Maurini's testimony against him. However, no deposition for Trencavel remains, and he escaped his captors' clutches. What Maurini did say about Trencavel's

³⁹ Manselli, *Spirituali*, 333.

⁴⁰ "Interrogatus de nominibus dictarum mulierum dixit quod una earum vocabatur Alasaicia, cuius cognomen ignorant, ut dicit, et erat de Narbona, alia vero Jacoba vocabatur, cuius etiam cognomen ignorant, sed erat secundum linguam sive idioma de Cathalonia, nomen vero tertie et cognomen, ut dicit, totaliter ignorant," Manselli, *Spirituali*, 333.

⁴¹ "Interrogatus sis cit ubi sunt dictus Petrus, Bertrandus et Andrea et eius socia Sicilia, vel si suspicatur vel cogitate ubi sunt, dixit quod non," Manselli, *Spirituali*, 334.

⁴² "Interrogatus si credit vel unquam credidit predictos pseudofratres, qui relictos fuerunt per inquisitores heretice pravitatis curie seculari Massilie et in Capitestagni et alibi et deinde combusti, sanctos vel martires et salvos vel in via salvationis vel credit eos esse dampnatos in infernum tanquam hereticos et inobedientes, dicit quod hactenus scilicet quando fuerunt recenter combusti, ipse credebat eos esse mortuos bonos martires Dei et in via salvationis, sed nunc, ut dicit, credit eos, pro eo quod errant inobedientes et rebelles Ecclesie Romane, dampnatos et malos homines," Manselli, *Spirituali*, 331.

⁴³ Manselli, *Spirituali*, 335.

‘preaching’ in his second testimony was that the itinerant preacher did claim that the pope was the mystical antichrist.⁴⁴ But he made it clear that he did not believe Trencavel; in his fourth appearance he said that while he had previously believed Trencavel that now he believed his words were heretical and against the faith.⁴⁵

In his second testimony, Maurini made an admission that vindicated his prosecutors’ suspicions about the sincerity of his previous abjuration. Maurini claimed that neither the pope nor a prelate could change the Franciscan rule, nor could they force a change to be made to the rule.⁴⁶ This statement rather directly addressed Pope John XXII’s attacks on the issue of poverty and *usus pauperis* in the Franciscan order, but also his elevation of obedience over poverty in *Quorumdam exigit*. According to Burr, this matter of obedience was one of the roots of intra-order conflict as some rigorists claimed to follow the Franciscan rule literally while ignoring the decisions of their general and provincial ministers, and that this was the grounds on which John XXII released first *Sancta romana* and *Gloriosam ecclesiam*.⁴⁷ Thus after Maurini made this statement, the inquisitors decided to press him on the other key quality of the Beguins, a continued faith in the doctrine of Peter John Olivi. In his last testimony, Maurini admitted that in fact he had not changed his original opinion regarding Olivi, that indeed his words regarding the Scriptures were true, and that what he had heard from Pierre Trencavel was also true, which would presumably include both the words of Olivi and other Beguin notions.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ “Interrogatus si audivit exprimere a dicto Petro Trencavelli causam quare ipse Petrus vocabat dominum nostrum papam, qui nunc est, Antichristum mysticum, dixit se audivisse dici a dicto Petro Trencavelli pluries et diversis diebus in istis partibus citraordanis et postquam ipse loquens abiuravit, u test dictum, quod dominus papa ideo erat mysticus Antichristus et nullam habebat potestatem quia destruxerat et destruebat quidquid erat de Deo in terra persequendo et condemnando dictos fraters et alios, qui eis adhibebant,” Manselli, *Spirituali*, 339.

⁴⁵ “Interrogatus si credebat vel credit vel unquam credidit verba per dictum Petrum Trencavelli prolata hereticalia vel contra fidem, dixit quod tunc ignorabat, cum proferebantur a dicto Petro Trencavelli, an essent hereticalia vel contra fidem, sed nunc credit quod sunt hereticalia et contra fidem,” Manselli, *Spirituali*, 341.

⁴⁶ Manselli, *Spirituali*, 338.

⁴⁷ David Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans: From Protest to Persecution in the Century after Saint Francis* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 198.

⁴⁸ “credebat esse vera, sicut dictus Petrus ea proferebat, sed nunc credit ea (non) esse vera et dicit quod non solum credebat tunc dicta verba esse vera ex eo dicebantur per dictum Petrum, sed etiam ex verbis que de scripturis dicti fratris Petri Johannis allegabat tunc Petrus Trencavelli predictus,” Manselli, *Spirituali*, 344.

Conclusions

The two different aims of the inquisitions—the southern French inquisition sought information about beliefs from Beguins, while the Bolognese inquisitors wanted names from Apostolic supporters—meant the inquisitors’ tactics, the subjects’ strategies, and the results would be very different. Franciscan tertiaries were generally known and certainly recognizable by their habit, but those who were Beguins amongst them was not clear by characteristics other than belief, and it was those beliefs that had been specifically condemned. Belief is something that is intrinsic to the person and not created by a relationship, so the Occitan inquisitor had to question each individual personally to determine his or her guilt, and could not easily ascribe it through witnesses. The Beguin could do as Maurini did, and attempt to obfuscate his affiliation by lying about beliefs, or he/she could just admit to it. The tertiaries and supporters of the Apostles, by contrast, likely had no habit, so the inquisitors concentrated on identifying them through the depositions of those who were named by trustworthy others. Subjects’ responses varied, but those who were most closely tied to others within their particular cells of Apostolic involvement tended to cooperate with one another in concealment, while those who felt less allegiance to their fellows more quickly revealed them. The depositions of those quick to reveal heretics were used to break down strategies of concealment and force supporters to reveal themselves and their networks. This was not, however, an outcome solely from the testimonies of the Apostolic supporters. The depositions of the Beguins, while not focusing on their behaviors, inadvertently revealed some of the same information, just as the Apostles’ supporters occasionally discussed their beliefs. It is these networks of Apostles’ supporters and Beguins that will be the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 7: Network Analysis--A New View of the Apostolic Order in the Diocese of Bologna and the Beguins of Lodève

In chapter 5, it has been established that a fair portion of the supporters of the Apostolic Order were tertiaries and were comparable to the Beguins, but perhaps more akin to the general population. A solid profile of the adherents is useful in that graphing and comparing their marital status, families, and economic level permits understanding to which the belief innovation appealed in medieval society. But religious movements and to whom they will appeal is not solely determined by characteristics, but by social networks. Doctrine required person-to-person transmission in late 13th/early 14th century Emilia Romagna and southern France, particularly when that doctrine was increasingly heretical. That transmission of religious doctrine happened between members of a social network, one that as demonstrated by this chapter was organized into small cells, loosely connected by a few people.

Little has been said about the social relationships and networks of the Apostolic third order and supporters, while the research on the Beguins has been descriptive but anecdotal. In the case of the Apostolic Order, it is not that these people were completely ignored by most scholars, but that the analysis of them has been directed towards forming a profile, a generalization about the followers, or to identify the exceptions to a profile. Orioli's characterization of the followers of Dolcino' has become the accepted one—that they were small time proprietors with a few notable exceptions, but social outcasts with unusual family situations.¹ Merlo took a different angle in his discussion on the subject by highlighting the doctors and masters who were affiliated with the sect, but according to him the appeal of the Apostles' message to the middling and upper classes was not actualized until Dolcino took the helm of the group.² The Beguins, by contrast, have been fleshed out as individuals but the overall picture of their networks has been overlooked.

Recreating these relationships requires a very different means of analysis than that which is often employed in considering the inquisitorial records. Most of the prior consideration of the supporters has been done in the form of

¹ Raniero Orioli, *Venit Perfidus Heresiarcha: Il Movimento Apostolico-Dolciniano Dal 1260 al 1307* (Rome: Institute Palazzo Borromini, 1988).

² Grado Merlo, *Eretici ed eresie medievale* (Bologna: Societa editrice Il mulino, 1989), 124.

anecdotes—slices of the text verbatim that are corroborated with other documents found in archives to create miniature biographies for individuals. But this methodology does not clarify how the individuals were connected to one another; anecdotes do not reveal how a sect really worked. Thus another means of considering these acts must be utilized, one that can be used to analyze the limited evidence and create a big, quantitative picture of how individuals in a group related.

Analysis of the social networks of medieval heretics such as the supporters of the Apostolic Order and the Beguins has a greater purpose beyond study of those groups. Studies have been done on various kinds of modern social networks; these usually concentrate on qualities like stability, cohesion, integration in terms of the network.³ But these are typically networks that are not enduring systematic attacks from a powerful authority, so the network can form cross-network ties. In situations such as prohibited religious orders, underground political movements, terrorist organizations and high-risk activism, the network must act differently—it must be organized into smaller cliques or cells that are loosely connected.

Some research has been done on high-risk activism, but it focused on recruitment into the Mississippi Freedom Summer Project, a project designed to increase racial equality in the politically turbulent year of 1964.⁴ The Freedom Summer Project, while it did promote something that was technically legal, was in fact dangerous just as the participation in the Apostolic Order was heresy. Several participants were kidnapped and/or killed, and the racist “Citizens’ Councils” presented an ongoing threat to the activists. What McAdam and Paulsen concluded was that “ultimate network structure for a movement would be one in which dense networks of weak bridging ties linked numerous local groups bound together by means of strong interpersonal bonds” much like what will be demonstrated here to some extent by this analysis.⁵

³ John Scott, *Social Network Analysis, a Handbook: Second Edition*, (London: SAGE Publications, 2000), 19.

⁴ Doug McAdam and Ronnelle Paulsen, “Specifying the Relationship Between Social Ties and Activism,” in *The American Journal of Sociology* 99 (Nov 1993): 640-667.

⁵ McAdam and Paulsen, “Specifying the Relationship,” 655.

To reach this new conceptualization of those involved in the Apostolic Order and the Beguins, in this chapter I will analyze the inquisitorial acts of Bologna and *culpi* of Lodève through the modern graphing methods of sociological network analysis. As this sort of analysis follows scientific rather than standard historical methods, the first section of this chapter will contend with the nature of network analysis, the methods, and the limitations. Following that will be a section comparing the relationships within two different regions in which the Apostolic Order's preachers operated that have already been discussed in chapter 7, and these will be compared with the Lodève Beguins.

I: Network Analysis

Sociological analysis in the field of history is not a new idea. In fact, if it were not for the use of modified sociological technique, social history for any time period would be the poorer, as it is one of the few means of knowing the peasantry, the poor and women from pre-widespread literacy periods apart from the rare preserved diary is the study of data in the form of criminal, tax, will and property transaction records. This data, as opposed to the polemics and treatises written by the churchmen and secular scholars, provides an image of the people and their relations, in a manner that is as close to firsthand as can be gained in the circumstances. Here in this data is presented not their prescribed role according to those who hold higher socio-economic rank, but what these people were exchanging with one another, owning, or doing to one another. Some of the analysis of these sorts of records is presented in a more quasi-sociological fashion—narrative and personal account is intermingled with information reduced as demographic surveys, which take the information found in documents such as tax surveys and reformulate it to give statistical descriptions. This is a useful and effective means of considering a population, but it sees the people through an essentially Weberian paradigm, in which the hierarchy of rank and economic status are ruling factors in social relations.

By contrast to these demographic surveys, a network analysis can be used to concentrate on the social relations of the individuals, the subjects of study. The inquisitorial records are not just admissions of guilt; they are lists of people

participating in a sort of community, a network. A network analysis can then graphically demonstrate how individuals are linked by connecting the individuals (represented by nodes) through lines that represent a relationship through identification of one another in depositions. This utilizes a reputational approach where actors are identified by themselves and others, and to this is added the additional possible link of mutual presence at an event. Events are one of the means of defining a network, and as the events of heretical preaching are the events that define heresy in Bologna, those links of mutual presence are also relationships.

Social relations as viewed through the lens of the heretical or orthodox religious structure, however, have been thus far underdeveloped as a field of network analysis. Augustine Thompson presented in his *Cities of God: The Religion of the Italian Communes 1125-1325* a depiction of the orthodox commune through the manner in which citizenship and membership in the church parish were so intertwined that latter in effect made the former, but his sources were primarily drawn from hagiographies of local Italian saints and communal laws, which gave little indication of how the parishioners interacted with one another. There is also no quantitative component to his work, which is usually at the root of a network analysis. How or even if the people knew and related to each other can only be imagined as a law or hagiography describes an idealized form, not the reality. Membership roles of third orders and confraternities are one source for quantitative analysis of orthodox believers, but these sources encompass only a small portion of the total population. To study the members of the heretical sects on that level, however, there is a unique source in the form of inquisitorial records.

The Inquisition as a Network Analysis Field Study

The inquisition, the very tool set out by the church to crush any pockets of heterodox thought and bring those erring persons back into lockstep with the rest of the flock, has inadvertently produced testimonies in which the data describes the social networks of lay people, and in particular, scale free networks where some individuals were more connected than others. The remainder of this chapter will highlight a scale-free network, which is a network that expands constantly by the addition of new nodes, and those nodes tend to

make connections to those nodes which are already well-connected.⁶ The well-connected nodes are called hubs, and are structurally equivalent enough in terms of their relationship to the network that a portion of the network that includes hubs and other nodes can be studied and the results can be applied to the rest of the network. Further, a scale-free network is resistant to collapse up to a point, because according to Barabasi, a significant number of nodes can be removed from the network and this will not endanger the network.⁷ Hubs, however, are different, in that removing fewer hubs will destroy the network.

In laymen's terms, a heretical group acts as a scale free-network because the group is not closed to new membership but rather expands with conversion, and members are not equally familiar with one another or connected to the same equal degree across the network. Rather, heretical followers are more likely to know or at least have met a heretical preacher (and thus be connected as nodes on a graph) than a follower who is in another cell of the same overarching network.

According to Mark Pegg the inquisitors focused on relationships because the inquisition saw people as only existing through those relationships they had or would have.⁸ While a subject's heresy might stem from beliefs, those beliefs only became truly heretical when the subjected acted upon them through preaching, listening to preaching, or sheltering those who would disseminate those beliefs. This view highlights the notion that one's relationship to heresy and to heretics is established at key events, and was not to be found in similarity of doctrine. Before that moment in time, the individual was not a subject of inquisitorial curiosity, and therefore, not an individual.

Thus the inquisitors, not just in Pegg's Languedoc but also in medieval Bologna, focused their interrogations on elaborating relationships. According to Paul Ormerod and Andrew Roach, inquisitors knew that they were dealing with

⁶ Albert-László Barabási and Réka Albert, "Emergence of Scaling in Random Networks," in *Science* 286 (15 October 1999): 509.

⁷ Albert-László Barabási, , *Linked, How Everything is Connected to Everything Else and What It Means for Business, Science, and Everyday Life* (New York: PLUME, a member of the Penguin Group, 2003), page 113.

⁸ Mark Pegg, *The Corruption of Angels: The Great Inquisition of 1245-1246*; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001, 51.

scale-free networks.⁹ That inquisitors would recognize what they were dealing with as a scale-free network seems entirely plausible. Ormerod and Roach pointed out that indeed, the social network as a whole was essentially scale-free in that a small number of individuals exerted a great deal of power, that ideas traveled quickly through the network of educated persons, and that heresy could last for prolonged periods in small pockets like an epidemic.¹⁰ It stands to reason, therefore, that heretics would in of themselves be a scale-free network. The two authors argue that the inquisitors recognized this because they tended to focus their search and question methods on the guides and messengers of the heretical leaders instead of the leaders themselves, thereby collecting information and creating ‘acquaintance immunization’.¹¹

The inquisitors in Bologna did not act in the exact same way, in that the followers were questioned to find the leaders, but the punishments would have had the same effect of inoculating them against the ‘infection of heresy’ by making the costs of involvement too high. To find the leaders and properly sanction the followers, the inquisitors had to gather enough information to understand the network, but first, the inquisitors had to understand that it was a network that supported the heresy. Thus the work of the inquisitors of Bologna in their efforts to root out the congregations of the Apostolic Order was a field data collection in network analysis. The interrogation process was designed to collect names for future interrogations, to place persons in the context of their relations within the heretical sect such that finding the heterodox was accomplished in a simpler and more methodical fashion than randomly rounding up every individual in the very large and very populous diocese of Bologna. Mass summonings such as were performed in Languedoc were not feasible in the Emilia Romagna, as evident from the riots the citizens were capable of violent large-scale action against inquisitors. The form of punishment was even dependent on the subject’s relationship to the network—a preacher was more likely to be burned as an unrepentant, a receiver may incur a heavy fine and be forced to wear the crosses of penance, while a mere listener who simply attended one event could simply be fined some small amount.

⁹ Paul Ormerod and Andrew Roach, “The Medieval Inquisition: Scale-Free Networks and the suppression of heresy,” <http://www.paulormerod.com/pdf/heresyinquisitionPhysicaA.pdf>, page 6.

¹⁰ Ormerod and Roach, “The Medieval Inquisition,” page 5.

¹¹ Ormerod and Roach, “The Medieval Inquisition,” page 6-7.

To facilitate their work, the inquisitors worked out a system of interrogation that essentially used the reputational approach—one preacher (who would be a major node) or believer was brought before the inquisition, and was questioned about activities and associations and others who the processed knew to be connected to the sect.¹² Following from this gathered data, which is essentially a nomination of individuals in a group whose membership was not widely known or commonly available, the inquisitors could then follow up by hailing into their presence some of the individuals named, but not necessarily all of them. Some were clearly selected for reasons known only to the inquisitors, but by and large the inquisitorial process is a logical one. The process continued in the next interrogation when the newly hailed individual gave a similar list, which were simply more leads in constructing the network from the inquisitor's point of view.

From the ongoing interrogations of the Bolognese inquisition, a network is hauled forth into the light of study and can be compared with that of nearly contemporary Beguins. In a manner unusual for the time period's records, the analyst has available information on circles of subjects from around the greater Bolognese area that mutually or exclusively admitted to knowing one another. By considering the naming patterns amongst depositions, some of the extent of their relations can be discerned and where the focus points of their congregations were. By way of preachers' and other well-travelled faithfuls' testimonies a researcher can see how the individual cells of the faithful were often linked. Unfortunately, however, the inquisitorial records of the years 1299 through 1310 in Bologna are not all-revealing and using the *Culpi* requires some assumed connections, a challenge which is coupled with more standard difficulties in sociological analysis that should be also duly noted.

Limitations of Network Analysis

Though sociological analysis can provide valuable insight into the workings of people, even people seven hundred years in the past, there are challenges and limitations to it. Subject selection, types of data collected, means of

¹² It should be noted here that the process of creating this system of interrogation was a trial and error effort, unlike modern sociological method, but perhaps more akin to the first network analysis studies. The gathering of reputational data was considered in chapter 6.

displaying it and other processes of the research all circumscribe the capacity of the researcher to fully understand the machinations of the social group. But historical research has additional challenges beyond those that are inherent in this type of study. The most obvious of these is that there is no possibility of revisiting the subjects of study with additional questions. Time elapsed does not nullify the relevance of the data, but it certainly does preclude new raw data from being gathered.

The reliance on previously gathered data with no recourse to pool expansion means that the analyst is likely to find that the records are incomplete for his or her own purposes. One of the reasons for this has to do with a natural cause that can affect modern data as well and eventually affects all historical network analysis—death of the subjects both before the information could be gathered during the course of investigation and of course long before the modern analysis. Guilielmina of Piumazzo, mother of Bartholomea and receiver listed by no small number of the processed, died sometime in 1302 or 1303, before the inquisition could question her.¹³ Thus, there is no extant record in which Guilielmina recounts her own actions, or names others involved in the sect. Guilielmina can only be known by the records of others. Bernard Maurini listed two persons in his deposition that died before he was captured; that they met their ends outside of prison or the auto-de-fe suggests that they left no record in inquisitorial processes.

The chronology of events for both the Apostolic Order and the Beguins also influences the pool of subjects available to the Bolognese inquisition beginning in late 1304 and the southern French inquisitions throughout the period. Some of the members of the Apostolics removed themselves by fleeing to the mountains, and were most likely either killed there, or were processed through the inquisition there after the battle. Several of the Beguins fled to Sicily and Tuscany, where they could take refuge as the inquisitions in those areas did not know them and little effort was made to track them. And some subjects were simply not investigated—the wives of Damiano and Guglielmo Bianchi, for instance, do not seem to have left any records, though their presences at events was noted by Rolandino and also by the their husbands.

¹³ Lorenzo Paolini and Raniero Orioli, editors, *Acta S. Officii Bononie ab anno 1291 usque ad annum 1310*; Rome: Istituto Palazzo Borromini, 1982, Act 617.

Perhaps the role they played in the sect was too insignificant for the inquisitors to concern themselves with interrogating these women, or perhaps because they were present always with their husbands meant that they were considered an extension of Damiano or Guglielmo.

Further, the data is also affected by the manner of collection. Self-reporting is far more rare in periods that did not enjoy widespread literacy, thus, the data available has been filtered through “field researchers” who wrote in their archival language (Latin), which was not the same as the one in which reports were made by the subjects. The “field researchers” are also not the modern analyst or individuals trained in sociological method, but are medieval people--in this case, Dominican and Franciscan inquisitors--so the data is skewed by the uncontrolled bias (uncontrolled, that is, by the analyst) of an individual who was not striving for academic objectivity, and was indeed collecting the data for some other purpose entirely different from scholarly research. In the case of much of the medieval demographic research, the data was gathered for taxation or tithing purposes, which resulted in a specific set of biases. For example, according to historical sociologist Richard Ring, the records gathered in a 9th century survey conducted by the monastery of Sancta Maria de Farfa tended to concentrate on the wealth of the households surveyed and a general feel for the structure of the households, but the monks did not look too closely for accuracy in describing gender of children.¹⁴ The Bolognese and French inquisitors had their own bias as well; their intention was to identify as many persons involved with heresy and prosecute them accordingly, with particular emphasis on catching those who disseminated the ideas.¹⁵ This means they would probably more fully record preacher/friars testimonies, while those of the lesser involved would be less complete. But even beyond the intentions of the inquisitors, the very nature of the inquisition tends to disrupt the accuracy of the data gathering. A climate of fear of punishment led to less than complete reporting, and in some cases, led the subject to flee the inquisition.

Finally there are the twin problems of time and disorder. The actual dates on which the individual acts were collected do not correlate the

¹⁴ Richard Ring, “Early Medieval Peasant Households in Central Italy,” in *Journal of Family History*, 4 (Spring 1979): 3.

¹⁵ Differences in inquisitions have been discussed previously.

numbering of the acts. In some cases, the punishment of an individual may even be listed before the act in which the individual recounts his or her heretical activities; one such example is Benvenuta from Ferrara, wife of Iacopone of Piumazzo, as the act outlining her punishment is act 588, while the act in which she describes her activities is act 722. That this sort of thing happened with the archived acts suggests that either the inquisitorial office was not so painfully ordered that some of the recorded data was not misplaced, destroyed, or lost, or that penances and punishments may have been recorded in a more prominent place in the collection of depositions for ease of referral. Any data misplaced before collation is unlikely to be found now due to the lengthy passage of time.

None of these limitations entirely precludes the possibility or fruitfulness of a network analysis study of the Apostolic Order in Bologna or a comparison to the Beguins. Instead, the data must be sifted carefully, considered in light of the biases inherent in the inquisition and the incompleteness of the records, and when possible, compared to other similar situations that are equally if not better documented.

Methods of Study

The rest of this chapter will entail a comparative analysis between the networks of the Apostolic Order and supporters/tertiaries as opposed to the Beguins. The data will be drawn from the records of sixty acts from the total 922 processed acts of the Bolognese inquisition of 1299 through 1310 and ten of the fourteen statements against Beguins gathered from Lodève in 1323. In both sets of data, some of the acts were left out for lack of relevance to this particular study. Amongst the Beguin records, four of the Lodève set included no names other than the subject of the *culpi*. Beguin data sets such as the depositions conducted by Bernard Gui and those in the Toulouse set used for population analysis are not included because they included no data regarding the network. Instead, the inquisitors involved in interrogating the subjects were attempting to ascertain specifically the heretical status of the subject. In these situations, the inquisitors most likely did not need the reputational reporting, as the group membership was known from other more reliable sources.

The winnowing process of the Bolognese depositions was somewhat more complex. Amongst these depositions, 127 processes simply dealt with punishments meted out or absolutions granted for those connected with the sect. While these acts are relevant to the overall image of heresy and punishment in late 13th/early 14th century Bologna, they divulge very little about relations between the Apostolic Order's supporters or the events in which they were involved, but rather identify a category of heretic (fautor, receiver, etc) and punishment. Some acts simply recorded that the processed knew no heretics, though many of these testimonies were later the subject of revision by the processed individual, a topic to be addressed in a later chapter. Most of the first 121 acts of the inquisition revolved around other disagreements with the church in doctrine or practice, the activities of two other movements in Bologna and its diocese at the time—Catharism and the supporters of the Colonna,¹⁶ followed by hundreds of short processes that followed a riot over the burning of two Cathars and an exhumed Cathar. Eliminating these acts from the pool of potential study subjects left around 100 possible subjects, from which 60 were chosen for their high degree of relevance to the depiction of the network of the Apostolic Order.¹⁷

These sixty processes derived from 44 individuals; Appendix A contains the tables that were formulated from these 44 individuals and the 10 gathered in Lodève. Each table for the Apostolics lists the act or act numbers that note the interrogations of the individual and the persons that they nominated grouped by events that they attended. These events will serve as a means of identifying cliques within the network. Only those who were interrogated have been listed as subjects of tables in the appendix, thus, there are a sizable number of people who were reported by others during the inquisitorial processes who do not have their own tables.

¹⁶ The Colonna were a well-known Italian family that opposed the election of Boniface VIII. David Burr addresses the strife between the Colonna forces and those of Boniface VIII in his *Spiritual Franciscans*.

¹⁷ Also left out of this study were the records that focused on one event in the course of persecution of the Apostolic order—the inquisition's capture of Roberga of Lirano, and her subsequent re-capture by her kin and associates. While this event was part of the overall picture of persecution and the Apostolic Order, this paper focuses on aspects of the congregational relationship between the members of the order as found in the gatherings, and not their specifically criminal actions related to their network under inquisitorial pressure. Orioli has covered this particular course of events in his *Venit Perfidus Heresiarcha*.

The tables of the Lodève group are far simpler; the *Culpi* have no numbers but the tables associated with them will generally follow the above pattern. Each subject, with the exception of Bernard Maurini—who was questioned several times during his captivity—contributed only one *culpa* and all of those names reported within each *culpi* are listed without differentiation. Only Maurini recounted multiple events in any detail other than knowing of the existence of events not personally witnessed, as most related to the key event of a heretic burning in Lunel.

A quantitative analysis of these tables yields appendix B—charts of the processed individuals that identify them by table, gender, position (preacher, receiver, or other)¹⁸, outdegrees, or the sum of individuals that were named by that processee’s record, and indegrees, or the sum of the number of times that the individual was named by others in their records. Each of outdegrees and indegrees is further broken down into two categories. Outdegrees 1 is the sum of all the preachers mentioned by the subject, while outdegrees 2 is the sum of all the supporters (non-preachers) mentioned by the subject. Indegrees 1 is the sum of all the preachers who nominated the individual as a member of the Apostolic Order or Beguins, whereas indegrees 2 is the sum of all supporters who named the individual in their testimonies. Each of the two outdegrees categories and two indegrees categories is then combined for a total outdegrees and indegrees.

The Beguin graph is modified from this pattern in that some relationships were assumed for the sake of a clearer image of the network. Bernard and Johan Durban are presumed to be connected because they are brothers, both were known to be Beguins, and both witnessed the burning of their sister. This relationship will be included in the sum of the indegrees for each brother, though it will not appear in the outdegrees, as neither was asked to identify his sibling. As well, those who travelled together, such as Alasaica and Jacoba, will be connected on the sociogram, but this does not affect the chart as neither was included in the *Culpi*. Finally, individuals named by Bernard Maurini as present

¹⁸ From herein, “preacher” refers to the friars who spread the doctrine of the Apostolic Order, rigorist Franciscans or priests who were Beguins, “receiver” is an individual who was reported to have sheltered a preacher overnight or permitted a gathering of the supporters/tertiaries in his/her home, and “other” is one who attended a gathering and may have led the preacher to another site, but did not himself/herself shelter the preacher.

at the same events are connected, but like the travelling companion relationships, these links will not appear in the chart.

To draw a clearer picture of the network relations between the individuals, some of the tables in appendix A have also been reformulated into node and line graphs, a fixture in network analysis research. Appendix D depicts the non-egocentric/universal networks (modified sociograms)¹⁹ of individuals in two separate regions that gathered around the preaching of Rolandino Ollis of Modena, and two graphs created from Beguin data. Graph 1 focuses on the network in the rural parish of Sant'Elena, Graph 3 depicts the network found in Piumazzo, graph 5 is of Beguins who gathered during the Lodève burning, and Graph 6 comprises networks associated with Bernard Maurini.²⁰ Each node is either self-reported or reported by another node. Direction of the line is not identified but can be inferred from Appendix A. Some nodes would have inward directed and outward lines which are singly directed, which means the reporting was not mutual, but that the individual named others and was named, while other lines would be two-way, as the subjects mutually reported one another. Some nodes are strictly the subjects of in or out lines—those nodes that are strictly connected to the network by inward lines were most likely not processed, while those with only outward lines were processed but not remembered or noted by others.

To clarify the networks that coalesced around activities and congregational gathering by Apostolic Order members, each of those graphs are followed by a Venn diagram illustration of three events that are cited by members of the network; the circles enclose those who were present at the gathering as self-cited or noted by another present there, and individuals present at two or more of the events considered are named in the overlaps. The Venn diagram that is Graph 2 is formulated from acts 618 by Rolandino,²¹ act 643 by Damiano of Sant'Elena,²² and act 644 by Vivelda of Sant'Elena,²³ while

¹⁹ These sociograms are modified in that unlike the ordinary sociogram, only some connections are assumed, as spouses, siblings, or children may or may not have chosen to belong to the Order.

²⁰ See chapter 5 for the locations of the parish of Sant'Elena and the town of Piumazzo and descriptions of the two regions within the diocese of Bologna.

²¹ Appendix A, table 2.

²² Appendix A, table 3.

²³ Appendix A, table 5.

Graph 4 is drawn from events described by Rolandino in acts 618 and 715,²⁴ and Benvenuta originally of Ferrara of Piumazzo in act 722.²⁵ The graphs of the Beguins are less complex and thus do not need Venn diagrams as the depositions from which they were drawn only consider discrete acts and not all the heretical activities of the subjects.

II: Analysis of the Network

Sant'Elena and Piumazzo v Lodève

Heretical leanings, particularly those of the Apostolic Order, seem to have been spread throughout the countryside surrounding Bologna, east towards Ferrara, west towards Modena and Parma, south in the mountains, and somewhat north as well. As Orioli stated, little is known about the Apostolic Order within the walls of Bologna, but that does not mean it did not exist, rather, that either it was well hidden, or that the inquisitors had little reason to concern themselves with it. This may have been for political reasons that perhaps the city's prior long-standing support for the Apostles would have made their persecution unpopular, or this could have been because of the fear of riots. But from the surrounding diocese, there is a relative wealth of data, so it is from there that this analysis will hail.

Much like the parishes of the orthodox church, the tertiaries and supporters of the Apostolic Order tended to be organized (though this was by their own doing, and not that of an overarching organization) into smaller units, which could be deemed parishes in a religious sense, or cells. These cells were informally bound as territories linked by visitations of preachers; gatherings occurred in the territories at the homes of the supporters and were attended by some if not all of the local believers. This is, however, where similarities between cells end—to illustrate this, the cells located in Piumazzo and Sant'Elena will be compared.

The Apostolic Order cell in Sant'Elena is a tightly knit group. The density of the graph in appendix D is .24 out of the range 0 to 1. This density is not high as calculated by the data that is available, but would have risen with

²⁴ Appendix A, table 2.

²⁵ Appendix A, table 18.

testimonies from those who were not interrogated but were closely within the group, such as Giunta, Guglielmo's wife, or if those who were simply listed as "some men and women" were known by name, as those who were not properly identified have not been included on these graphs. Additionally, some lines were in fact two-way, i.e., the members mutually reported one another such as the mutual reporting by Rolandino and Vivelda or Vivelda and her father Damiano, but the line was only counted once for sake of simplicity.²⁶ But even beyond these possibilities, the links are clearly more numerous between the persons involved in this cell than in that in Piumazzo.

The three events mapped in the event diagram of Graph 2 make the close ties even more clear. Of the ten persons listed, four are found in all three gatherings, three more are present in the first gathering and one additional individual was present at event two and two at three. The pure k-plexes (a k-plex is the measure of how connected each individual in a clique is connected to each other individual in the clique by taking the connectivity of the least connected individual as the measure) of the events as drawn from the tables are somewhat deceiving in that Bona and her brother Giovanni Osti, Giunta wife of Guglielmo and Bartholomea did not leave testimonies in the inquisitorial registers. But taking this into account, the k-plex of the clique for event one as gathered only from those who have left testimony is two out of three, the highest that can be noted for that size group, while the clique k-plex similarly reduced for event three is three out of four. Thus considering the overlap amongst the event circles and the high k-plexes, this group could be considered a proper religious associational cell, one in which the entirety of the group for the most part assembles at each religious gathering. Each member recognizes the others and does not necessarily remember the names of those who are not commonly associated with the clique.

But there are more linkages amongst this group than religion; this group is also highly linked by family ties, which was equally pivotal in this cell. Guglielmo appears with his wife at one of the two events where he is noted, Damiano is his brother, and Vivelda is Damiano's daughter and Guglielmo's and Giunta's niece. Bona and Giovanni are cohabitating sister and brother. This is

²⁶ All lines will be treated as though they are non-directed, and those that are two-way will be treated as though they were one-way.

unsurprising in a social network revolving around a heretical group because the climate of potential capture and punishment meant that this was a low trust environment, thus according to the work done by sociologists Chris Phillipson, Graham Allan and David Morgan, family relationships would figure prominently because of the high degree of control exercised by family.²⁷ It cannot, however, be an absolute assumption that all members in a family will be linked within a heretical sect and even if they are, in the same cell. Giovanni Bianchi of Sant'Elena,²⁸ brother of Guglielmo and Damiano, admitted in act 639 that he knew Ugo, Bernardo of San Felice, and Zaccaria, all preachers, and was aware that Bona and Giovanni were receivers, but denied he ever spoke to the brother and sister about the sect. The brothers had two more siblings, Gerardi and Guido, neither of whom appear in the inquisitorial processes. The unexpressed undercurrent here is twofold. The Apostles had previously been orthodox but were arcing towards an apocalyptic heterodox religious doctrine, which had an effect on the membership in that some followers had probably left the fold when the status changed, while others were slow to accept the new doctrine. Those that did remain in the group and fully participated were essentially early adopters (those individuals who incorporate an innovation before the majority of eventual adopters do). As well adoption of the doctrine is in fact dangerous due to persecution from the majority doctrinal support system; that these two elements are at play here makes the presence of five members of an extended family not sharing a home but yet still within the sect seem all the more surprising.

The cell of the Apostolic Order in Piumazzo is at best loosely connected. Perhaps this is because the town is more prosperous than the parish of Sant'Elena, and thus extended families are not as reliant on one another as they are in Sant'Elena. As well there is a greater presence of non-native residents, who may have weaker ties.²⁹ The network diagram (graph 3) has a density of .1 on a scale that ranges from 0 to 1. This is not a high density measure, but the full possible size of the graph has been reduced strictly to those who were sited at the three events of preaching—Rolandino's preaching at the home of Pietro

²⁷ Chris Phillipson, Graham Allan and David Morgan, ed., *Social Networks and Social Exclusion: Sociological and Policy Perspectives* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2004), 11.

²⁸ Appendix A, table 7.

²⁹ See Appendix A for home locations of individuals.

Zacharie, his preaching at the home of the *presbitiseras* or daughters of priests, and the gathering hosted by Guilielmina—and others who were commonly connected to a preponderance of members of the group.³⁰ If every outward line from Rolandino or Benvenuta from Ferrara were added the density would drop precipitously. There is a caveat in the other direction, however, to the density of the graph, and that is that no testimony survives from seven of the ten in attendance at event three, thus, the perhaps the connections would have been more numerous if more evidence existed. But even with the possible addition of data, the chances of the graph being particularly densely connected are probably nil.

The looseness of ties is recapitulated through the personal networks of the individual supporters and preachers of the Apostolic Order present in Piumazzo. The k-plex for the first event is only two for the seven individuals (the maximum k-plex is six), thus, each person was reported by only two others, while the k-plex of the second event is one and the k-plex for the third event is not even calculable from the evidence remaining. In addition, the overlap between the three circles is small. Rolandino, the preacher at two of the events, is the only complete overlap between the three events, while Roberta of Lirano is the only additional overlap between the second and third events and Ghixela and Benvenuta from Ferrara are the only additional overlaps between events one and two.

Within two of the three events, family links play a role, but not as great as that noted by Paolini with regards to the Bolognese Cathars.³¹ The first event is hosted by Pietro Zacharie, and of the other five non-preacher supporters gathered, two of them are related to him, his wife and daughter. At the second event, two sisters and a brother, Roberta, Ugolina and Michele, are in attendance, while one husband and wife pair also appears, Alberto Ollis and his wife Bonavixina. These relations, however, only link five of the twelve persons,

³⁰ The two women who were living together and described as '*presbitiseras*' have been commonly assumed by Orioli, Snyder, and others to be the illegitimate daughters of priests. Orioli theorized they may have been attracted to the Apostolic Order because they were socially marginalized. Orioli, 160.

³¹ Lorenzo Paolini, "Domus e Zona degli Eretici: L'esempio di Bologna nel XIII Secolo" *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia*, (Volume 35 1981), 371-387.

and much of this linkage shows up in the k-plex as they reported one another. Quite a few more people not linked by family or by the position of being a receiver (a guaranteed link in a heretical event) are present, so these roles are not paramount. Thus the question arises, how were the groups in these two places bound together?

The presence of two key figures in the diagrams—Rolandino and Guillielfina—are most likely the social glue that binds these event-groups. Rolandino's presence at the home of the presbitiseras was clearly enough to garner a fairly sizable audience for a preacher of a small sect, in a fashion more like an impersonal public gathering of individuals for a popular preacher. That the hometowns of the persons listed are variable further supports this claim, as persons from Piumazzo and the surrounds are amongst the listed and it is likely that some of them may have brought along some of their like-minded relatives to hear Rolandino. Rolandino is less obviously the draw to the home of Pietro Zacharie, but in that there was amongst them a few persons who were commonly known in the circle or knew those who were commonly known in the circle of the Apostolic Order in the region points to that once again, the preacher's presence is key. As for the tie that bound the third event's membership, Guillielfina, she will be addressed in the next section.

The Lodève Beguin network is more challenging for analysis. The *culpi* are sparse, thus to properly visualize the network many of the lines are assumed; these assumed lines create a density of .19 and k-plex of 1, which is not entirely drawn from the records, but only a shadow of the likely higher density.³² Once again, family plays a role in the makeup of the network—Bernard and Giovanni Durban were brothers of Esclarmonda, while Deodatus is the son of Bernard Bosc—and much like as it was for the sect members of Sant'Elena, this aspect of the network is due to familial transmission and not coincidence. But like the network of Piumazzo, the event (the burning of Astruga and Esclarmonda) played a prominent role in creating the network. Berengarius laoul specifically mentioned Astruga's name in his testimony, not Esclarmonda.³³ He may not have known Esclarmonda before her demise at Astruga's side; now because of the auto-de-fe he now knows her name.

³² Appendix D, graph 5.

³³ Appendix A, table 48.

Ormerod and Roach found a similar situation amongst the 16th century English Protestants in that the burnings of outspoken and influential protestants had profound influence over the latent network.³⁴

Hometown was the last controlling factor of the network. Berengarius was certainly more connected to one section of the graph, the portion of the network that gathered at Bernard Bosc's home afterwards and was from Lodève, as opposed to those of Claromonte.³⁵ Within each circle, members remembered the presence only of those in his circle, and each circle was attached to one of the two martyred women.³⁶ They most likely even gathered in two different places, as the name-reporting was drawn from the memory of gathering afterwards, and not from interacting during the executions.

The second graph drawn from Beguin records is the quasi-egocentric network of Bernard Maurini, priest and fugitive. Like the first Beguin graph, lines have been added to better visualize the interrelations between those who traveled with Maurini, sheltered him or met with him. The addition of these lines gives the graph a density of .20, which is rather high for a graph drawn from just five tables.³⁷ But on this graph also appear three individuals who did not know (or recollect) Maurini but rather who noted Pietro Trecavel, another fugitive and preacher.³⁸ They were not connected to Maurini's egocentric network, thus, Alarassus Biasse, Guglielmo Serralleri and Guglielmo Dominici Verrerii effectively lower both the density and the k-plex (1).³⁹ What is most notable about the networks that surround Maurini and Trecavel are that these are networks of temporary association, for which the closeness or looseness shifts with necessity, as per the subjects' states as fugitives or tied to preachers who are fugitives.

The network data drawn from the evidence for each graph of the supporters of the Apostolic Order and the Beguins are relatively comparable. The Beguin data sets had very similar densities, and both were similar to the

³⁴ Paul Ormerod and Andrew Roach, "Emergent Scale-Free Social Networks in History: Burning and the Rise of English Protestantism," *Cultural Science*.

³⁵ Appendix A, table 48.

³⁶ Appendix D, graph 5.

³⁷ Appendix A.

³⁸ Appendix D, graph 6.

³⁹ Appendix A, tables 50, 51, and 52.

Apostolic Order supporters. The people most likely lived in similar socio-economic situations, and their family ties were probably equally strong. Piumazzo's graph is the outlier in this set of four graphs, as it has a demonstrably lower density, and family ties were weaker in that family members reported one another in their first testimonies.

*Preachers, Receivers, Mavens and Frequent Flyers*⁴⁰

Much of the above discussion regarding individuals within the Orders and within their parishes does not take into account one glaring fact and that is that many of the nominations collected from inquisitorial processes are from a select few people, and that some people are nominated by many others. For instance, according to Appendix B, the outdegree for Rolandino was 93, while the cumulative average was 12.476; the indegree for Zaccaria was 19 while the cumulative average was 3.21.⁴¹ The same holds true amongst the Beguins as Bernard Maurini's outdegree was 14 while the average was 3.4, while Trencavel was connected by indegrees to 12 people.⁴² That there are certain people with more inward or outward lines than the average, and some far more at that indicates that these individuals are more connected. According to a theory by Albert-Laszlo Barabasi popularized in his work *Linked: How Everything is Connected to Everything Else and What it Means for Business, Science, and Everyday Life*, these individuals would be hubs, and that the linkage for the nodes in the network varies means that the individuals are not equivalent in their network roles. Much of Barabasi's work (such as "Emergence of Scaling in Random Networks") pertains to molecular biology or the World Wide Web, but in *Linked* he made the leap to human societies when he used the terms hubs and links with reference to viruses and fads, both socially transmitted.⁴³ Returning to the inquisitorial evidence, the link distribution to some large extent follows economist Vilfredo Pareto's 80-20 rule of distribution, with 20 percent of the nodes carrying 80 percent of the work (in this case, the links) in the network.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ 'Mavens' is a term used by Malcolm Gladwell (Malcolm Gladwell, *The Tipping Point: How Little Things Can Make a Big Difference* (New York: Back Bay Books, 2002).

⁴¹ Appendix B.

⁴² Appendix D, graph 6.

⁴³ Albert-László Barabasi, *Linked*, chapter 10.

⁴⁴ Barabasi, *Linked*, 72.

It could be said because the subjects display differential levels of connectivity to the network that it is essentially a scale-free network.⁴⁵

In the context of the Apostolic Order congregation of Bologna and the Beguins of southern France, these hubs can be divided into types—preachers, frequent flyers, receivers, and mavens. The first of these categories, preachers, displayed much higher outdegrees and indegrees sums than the average supporter (34 to 8.02 amongst the Apostles and 8.71 to 2.11 amongst the Apostles respectively); this shows that they both recognized and remembered more people, and they were more likely to be recognized or remembered. This is unsurprising in that they all lived under a vow of true poverty. The preacher did not have a home and had to rely on the followers for food and shelter. Further, to both spread his message and keep ahead of the inquisition, a preacher was in constant motion. Rolandino recounted his journeys in acts 618 and 715; he traveled from Modena to Cremona to Piumazzo, making a wide arc around the area.⁴⁶ Trencavel's network displayed a similar pattern in that as a preacher and fugitive he too made a wide circuit.⁴⁷ On their travels, these men met many people and stayed with them or preached to them.

The preaching lifestyle resulted in a relationship to the rest of the supporters that was peculiar to the preachers. These men were not conventional parish priests or even wandering hermits, these preachers were itinerants with periodic revisitations to the same cells. Their periodic visitations meant that they in effect had loose ties to many different cliques or cells. A given preacher may have been reported by most if not all in a clique, and was in fact structurally equivalent to other preachers; when Zaccaria was caught and then burned for heresy, preaching did not cease in Sant'Elena region or in Piumazzo, but was undertaken instead by Rolandino. Thus the preacher maintained a tie that was by the nature of his role weak and loose. However, as Mark Granovetter pointed out in his influential Boston study, these weak ties are important for transmission of knowledge, in this case, the original doctrine of

⁴⁵ The scale-free network is one in which a power law (which is distributed by a single, decreasing curve) is at work such that there is no characteristic node, but rather that all nodes are distinct, and that most of them have a few connections to the network, while a few nodes operate as hubs connecting much of the rest of the network.

⁴⁶ Appendix A, table 2.

⁴⁷ Appendix A, table 54.

the Apostolic Order and its permutations.⁴⁸ Much of the doctrine from Fra Dolcino was released in letters to his congregation, but in a non- widely literate society, this meant that someone who could read was vital to the transmission of faith. Further, it would have been more difficult to disseminate a letter to every small cell of the faithful, whereas edifying a few connectors who would travel was a more effective method of spreading the word.

That the preacher was such an important person in communicating doctrine via word-of-mouth meant that the influences on the preacher—i.e. other preachers and important persons in the sect who served as their instructors—determined what the congregants knew of the doctrine. Borgono noted that those who were questioned before 1300 often mentioned Segarelli but not Dolcino and that those who were questioned after 1300 spoke of Dolcino, and that some of the preachers such as Rolandino did not mention Segarelli in their testimonies, and surmised that the inquisitors had elided two separate movements.⁴⁹ But a line of transmission can be traced along with the change in leadership. As noted in Appendix A table Pietro Bonito, a well-known preacher, knew Gerard Segarelli.⁵⁰ Zaccaria, a preacher known to the Sant'Elena cell, knew Pietro Bonito, Dolcino, and Rolandino, a preacher known to both of the cells discussed here.⁵¹ Pietro Bonito may well have brought Zaccaria into the order, but even if he did not, the men knew each other and were recognized as being in the same sect by Blasius.⁵² Rolandino was a later addition to the sect, but he was the son of Gerardino, who was recognized to have been an Apostle, and he was also known to be in the same sect as Zaccaria.⁵³ Thus, not only do all these men represent the same sect, they would have all been able to share doctrine.

Even beyond this capacity to spread information, these preachers were by the term used by Malcolm Gladwell “connectors”, bridges between cliques that may share no members in common.⁵⁴ Without them, few cliques may have even

⁴⁸ Mark Granovetter, “The Strength of Weak Ties,” *American Journal of Sociology* 78 (May 1973): 1360-1380.

⁴⁹ Federica Borgono, “Dolcino da Novara: il problema delle fonti,” *Bollettino storico-bibliografico subalpino* 105 (2007), 184-185.

⁵⁰ Appendix A, table 41.

⁵¹ Appendix A, table 1.

⁵² Appendix A, table 39.

⁵³ Appendix A, table 2.

⁵⁴ Malcolm Gladwell, *The Tipping Point: How Little Things Can Make a Big Difference*. New York: Back Bay Books, 2002, 51.

been aware of the existence of other cliques, but clearly in that Bartholomea of Piumazzo attended an event in Sant'Elena indicates that some were aware of the other cells. These preacher-hubs were also linked to one another. Zaccaria of Santa Agata reported seventy-four members, of which twenty-one were well-known preachers and other notables of the sect.⁵⁵ Bernard Maurini reported Trencavel, as the two had several encounters. The links between these hubs would have meant that it took far less effort to disseminate an idea or new doctrine, or even the call to the faithful to retreat to the mountains.

There were few preachers, which meant that they were rarely in the same territory at the same time. This combined with the effort that would have to be made to gather the flock made their preaching events more memorable to the congregation. Thus, when asked to report members of the Order to the inquisition, the follower was more likely to be able to name a preacher, which meant that the indegree of the preachers was significantly higher than the indegree of most of the supporters. The preachers also seem to have had fewer family ties to the group; thus, the fear of revealing a blood kin relative did not play into the concerns over revealing a preacher.

Another group of individuals besides the preachers who were likely to nominate many members was what will be called here “frequent flyers.” These persons were not receivers—who are a separate category-- but they were frequently present at congregational gatherings and because of this had much higher outdegrees and significant indegrees as well. They may have led preachers to place of refuge, but this is not noted in their testimonies. What can be assumed about them is that they had the time to devote to travel for disparate events, and the connections to know when they would occur. Two individuals in this study fit this description rather well: Benvenuta wife of Iacopo of Piumazzo and Giovanni Albertini of Lirano. Benvenuta was present at seven separate listed events, from which she reported forty-one names.⁵⁶ Many of the individuals she named were women, some of which like Agnexia sister of Francesca were not mentioned by anyone else, but this may speak to some gender bias on memory in that many wives (of men involved) were known to be of the sect, but were not necessarily reported at an event where their

⁵⁵ Appendix B and Appendix C.

⁵⁶ Appendix A, table 18.

husbands were present, and some individuals such as Zaccaria seemed to rarely report women in their interrogations. Benvenuta also reported two different preachers operating around the same time in her region, which means that the territories of the preachers were not as strictly apportioned as parishes and that the territory is determined by the capacity of the individual to reach it and not the other way around.

That she was present frequently without her spouse certainly is notable. Perhaps that fact speaks to greater freedom of movement of women in the countryside of medieval Italy, but it is also worthy of mention that of the seven events, that four of them were hosted and primarily attended by women, and one was hosted by her brother, Corbellus. It was simply more acceptable for women to gather with other women to hear the Word, or to visit blood kin for this purpose.

Family remains a common thread for the other “frequent flyer”, Giovanni Albertini. In his interrogation, Giovanni listed a total of fifteen persons, twice as many as the average for non-preachers, and admitted to attending six events. Preaching at those events was divided between Rolandino and Pietro dal Pra, the same two that can be found in Benvenuta’s testimony. Also like Benvenuta, one (perhaps two, but the second is unclear as to location) of the events that he attended was hosted by a family member, but at a total of five events, a family member of his was also present. Giovanni’s sisters Roberta and Ugolina were frequently present at these events, but he also noted that his wife went with him to see Pietro dal Pra at the home of the presbitisseras.

After noting the high outdegrees and family connections, can anything be said about the role of these frequent flyers? In the first case, that of Benvenuta, her family ties (both of her brothers were in the sect) seem less important as they were not often present at the same gatherings. But that she reported many other persons, particularly women like Francesca and Marchexana, who when interrogated seem to have known few others, suggests that her role in the network was to gather others. She knew where assemblies would happen due to her frequent attendance, and also knew many other more reticent members who made appearances only when she or another frequent flyer was in attendance. In Giovanni’s case, this role seems to have been

reversed; Giovanni was a frequent flyer because his siblings were active in the community. That Roberta was well-known is easily discernible; that the inquisition managed to capture her indicates that she was known by them, and she was recaptured from them by her family members and friends implies that they knew of her associations. But Ugolina was also known and had a high outdegree and their brother Michele to a lesser extent made appearances. Additionally, his wife Bonavixina was noted at events without him, thus, it seems likely that she too brought him along when attending events. Giovanni, therefore, was linked to several frequent flyers, two of whom left no testimony, but together all three put his outdegree score at the same level as the one of the set that has an interrogation record, Ugolina.

Others played a somewhat different and more dangerous role in the sect, and those were the receivers. Receivers, who in inquisitorial terms defined by the Council of Tarragona were the individuals who held gatherings of heretics, had near average outdegrees, but they frequently had significantly higher indegrees.⁵⁷ This anomaly makes sense in that a preacher was more likely to remember the individual who hosted him than all of those in attendance. Further, those who attended the gatherings were also likely to remember the owner of the home more often than the identities of all the persons present. On the other side of this anomaly was that the receiver generally had less mobility; he or she remained in one location and may have attended few events that were far from his or her home and because of this could only name the preachers at his/her home and those who gathered there, thus, the receiver's outdegree score was not likely to be too far above average.

In the category of receiver, four receivers—Damiano of Sant'Elena, Alberto Ollis of Piumazzo, Tommaso hospital rector of Santo Stefano and Bernard Bosc—can be compared. Damiano fits the description of the receiver very well; he received preachers Zaccaria and Rolandino, and admitted to knowing Bernardo of San Felice, but the only events he attended were held at his home or that of his brother.⁵⁸ Thus five preachers, and three supporters, all of whom were family and attended events at his home, noted him. His

⁵⁷ Though not always, as some of the orthodox religious order members did not have particularly notable indegrees, though were remembered by preachers as receivers.

⁵⁸ Appendix A, table 3.

outdegree is average, but his indegree is very high at eight while the average for non-preachers was 2.11.⁵⁹ Alberto, on the other hand, has a significant outdegree at fifteen, though he attended two events that were not in his home and as he was part of the Piumazzo cliques region, those events did not have the highly linked cliques in attendance. But Alberto did also have the high indegree rating, though in this instance his indegree is brought up by that more of the supporters remembered him.⁶⁰ The final receiver of this trio was not a believing heretic, though this apparently did not prevent him from becoming involved in the Apostolic Order's events. Tommaso received Zaccaria, but he knew Bernardo of San Felice and Dolcino.⁶¹ Despite this unusual status of having met the leader, Tommaso also serves as a good representative for the overall relationship of the representatives of the orthodox system within the Order, and that is that he and they were not often found at events and did not host large events, but rather served as temporary refuge for individual heretical preachers.

Drawing representatives of the receiver type from the Lodève *culpi* is more difficult as none of the receivers was interrogated, but a few were remembered. Bernard Bosc was remembered by Berengere Iaoul as having opened his home to several of the Lodève beguins after the execution event.⁶² While the receiver usually hosts a sect event or preacher, in this situation the cliques were more clearly drawn from the gatherings after the event thus the host of that was remembered as a receiver. Little is known about Bernard other than that his home served as a meeting place, and that he was related to another member, Deodatus Bosc.

The final group in this quartet of more linked individuals is the mavens. According to Gladwell, the maven is someone who specializes in knowledge, but in this case is a receiver with personal knowledge of the notables of the sect and is highly known by notables of the sect.⁶³ This knowledge of the movers and shakers would have given these particular receivers more inside information on the workings of the sect, and could more readily accumulate them for a meeting as the odds that any given preacher or other notable had been through that

⁵⁹ Appendix B.

⁶⁰ Appendix A, table 8.

⁶¹ Appendix A, table 27.

⁶² Appendix A, table 48.

⁶³ Gladwell, *Tipping Point*, 62.

receiver's home recently was high. One such maven was Guilielmina, for whom we are reliant on the words of others to describe her role as she died before being interrogated. The third event of Appendix D graph 4, unlike the first two, is not inasmuch a gathering of local followers of the sect as of notables within the sect, an event that may well have coincided with the release of the second letter of Dolcino around 1302/1303. Here well-known preachers Rolandino and Zaccaria are just two of many notables, thus, the draw must have been someone or something else. The most likely draw for this gathered event in Piumazzo may have been the connectedness of Guilielmina, the receiver-hostess. Though we do not have a record for Guilielmina, she appears to have been a fixture in the region for the sect, known by older hands like Zaccaria and slightly less experienced persons such as Rolandino, as well as supporters such as Ugolina of Lirano and her brother Giovanni. Though she was not known to have been a preacher, Guilielmina was a powerful force in the Apostolic Order's networks, enough so that instructions could be given to meet at her home and all of the geographically distant notables knew where that was. Despite her death a year or two before the interrogations, she still has five inward directed lines, the only person on the graph in Appendix D to manage such a feat.

Thus it can be noted in the networks of these movements that like any other scale free network there are less connected supporters and then there are hubs, highly connected people. Some of these hubs are not at all surprising; that a preacher like Zaccaria or Rolandino or a receiver such as Alberto of Ollis had more links than the average fit their respective roles as preachers or receivers. Others, such as frequent flyer Benvenuta, are somewhat more unusual, though not as striking in light of the fact that the spread of a religious innovation depends on some to initiate others into this new knowledge and the accompanying sect membership. This consideration of hubs leads to the important query as to how Fra Dolcino or Peter John Olivi was connected, for it is from them that they receive religious guidance.

Where is Dolcino?

As the supposed charismatic head of a heretical sect, one would assume that Fra Dolcino would be a major hub, particularly in a populous region such as

Bologna, which had a large number of adherents. Peter John Olivi as such was not an involved leader of the Beguins and had been dead for a quarter of a century by the time of the interrogations, thus reports of his name will be considered to be handled by a later discussion on saints and relics.⁶⁴ Assuming this would follow from the example of the apostle Paul, who was in fact a connector for the diverse and distant circles of early Christianity. At least a few notables in his key areas—Rome, Corinth, Thessalonika—knew him and he knew them by name. But Dolcino in this network was a distant leader and at times an object of quest. Rolandino went to the region of Trento and remained with Dolcino for a month after he was hailed before the inquisition.⁶⁵ Gualandus of Montebellio traveled with Beatrixia, Michele of Ferrara and Sovranus to reach Dolcino as well, traveling through the Emilia Romagna and eventually to Novara, though no mention is made of whether they were successful.⁶⁶

Those who had some direct connection to Dolcino were few and far between, and tended to be influential members of the sect, the wealthy, and members of the religious orders. Zaccaria and Rolandino obviously knew him, though as noted before, Rolandino traveled to find him. Some of the new preachers, however, did not list Dolcino as a heretic that they knew—Iacopone Petricini of Mongiorgio did not include him, though he knew Alberto of Trento,⁶⁷ and neither did Pietro dal Pra, though he seemed to have known Primeria, another notable.⁶⁸ One of the earliest recorded preachers, Pietro Bonito, knew Gerardo Segarelli, and saw him many times before his incarceration; he did not report Dolcino, though this may have been because Dolcino changed his name or did not stand out.⁶⁹ But there were a few others who did report meeting Dolcino; Master Iacopone Mantighelli stated that he heard Dolcino at the home

⁶⁴ See Chapter 8 for this discussion.

⁶⁵ Act 618, "Postea vero recessit de dicto loco et ivit ad episcopatum Tridentinum et ibi invenit Dolcinum de Novaria et narravit eidem sicut fuerat detentus et abfugerat ab officio inquisitionis et ibi fuit cum dicto Dolcino per mensem et invenit in dicto loco quondam nomine Charam de Mutina, que morabatur cum dicto Dolcino."

⁶⁶ Act 727, "...et venerunt ad civitatem Bononie et postea iverunt per civitates provincie Romaniole usque ad civitatem Ravenne; postea iverunt Argentam et postea Ferariam et ad civitatem Mantue. Deinde iverunt per multas civitates usque ad civitatem Novarie..."

⁶⁷ Appendix A, table 13.

⁶⁸ Appendix A, table 16.

⁶⁹ Act 79, "item interrogatus, dixit quod bene cognoscit et cognovit Gerardum Segarellam de Parma, qui est incarceratus per dominum episcopum Parmensem et inquisitors et dixit quod antequam esset in carcere frequenter vidit eum et locutus fuit ei et dicit quod credit et credit dictum Gerardum esse et fuisse bonum hominem et credit quod Deus meritis dicti Gerardi miracula fecit."

of the baker Facioli of Novo Burgo.⁷⁰ This was Dolcino's only recorded visit to the city of Bologna, in winter of 1300/1301, according to Mantighelli. Blasius of Mongiorgio also claimed to know Dolcino, in addition to his local clique of those in Mongiorgio, preachers and notables, and the maven Guillielfina.⁷¹ Whether Blasius enjoyed a higher economic status is unknown, but that he had such a list suggested that he must have been rather prominent in his region in the group, and was most likely an early adopter. Of the last two individuals that claim to have met Dolcino, both Friar Bonifacio of an order of penitence and rector Tommaso of the hospital of San Stefano were both present at the same event at which Magister Iacopone heard Dolcino.⁷²

Through these six people, all of the rest of the subjects of study are connected to Dolcino. But though this seems like a small sample, in fact the path length or total number of links that must be travelled between points, was 2.18, of which the lowest was the lowest possible path length of one and the highest (calculable) was six.⁷³ This falls in line with the average degrees of separation predicted by Granovetter and later reiterated by Gladwell, though he put the caveat on it that proximity of persons outweighs similarity in age and race between persons.⁷⁴ As per the standard scale-free network, most persons are connected to this one individual, Dolcino, through a few well-connected persons, and for the most, those connections inevitably go through Zaccaria or Rolandino. It was from these two preachers, who were known to convene with other notables of the sect and most likely received the doctrine or changes to it at those conventions, that the letters of Dolcino came to be known in the contado of Bologna.

Despite this low path length, there remains still the sense amongst the followers that Dolcino is a distant figure. The reasons why this is, despite the theoretically close connection were two. First and perhaps foremost was that Dolcino was in hiding. It is not clear whether Gualandus and his associates ever

⁷⁰ Act 650.

⁷¹ Appendix A, table 39.

⁷² See Appendix A for Tommaso's and Bonifacio's tables; the first was the rector of San Stefano.

⁷³ Here it should be noted that calculating path length assumed all lines to be undirected, and that for one individual, Petrus of Monte Umbrario, that calculation is somewhat hypothetical in that it assumes that the other Petrus to whom Frater Gerardinus referred is Petrus, which links Petrus to Gerardinus to Petrus Bonus. The time period and the proximity of their testimonies in records suggest that this was probably the case.

⁷⁴ Gladwell, *Tipping Point*, 35.

found Dolcino, but as the inquisition stepped up its search for him and began to focus more of its efforts on the Apostolic Order, the leader would have had to make himself even less traceable to continue his ministry. Second is geography. It is known that Dolcino did preach at least once in Bologna, and probably even spent significant time there before that, but even the happenings of a nearby city seem to have been somewhat alien to those of the countryside. Though Rolandino was well connected to the entire network, he only knew through rumor from Magister Iacopone the doctor and Pietro, a scholar, that Zaccaria had many friends amongst the priests at the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, a large church within the limits of Bologna.⁷⁵ Dolcino's move to Novara region would have made him seem even more distant, and was visited by a very limited number amongst them. Yet the doctrine had a significant number of adherents in the region, which supports both the efficacy of it and the skill of the preachers in spreading and propounding it.

Conclusions

What the inquisitors found through their own investigations into the networks of heretics was that they conform to a particular model of scale-free network, one in which the network is not just hubs heavily connected to nodes, but a network of intra-connected cells that bridge to one another via hubs with weak ties, just as described in research into high-risk activism. The obvious reason that a network would consist of cells is that the cells are distant enough from one another that travel is limited. But there are other reasons why a group might tend towards organizing itself into cells. When a network is forced into secrecy through oppression or because its actions are illegal, limiting gatherings to small cells of people who are connected in other ways (such as family) helps the group avoid detection. In a tangential but not inconsequential fashion, having small gatherings also limits the number of persons that any member hauled before the inquisition would have to name.

Comparing the cells of Sant'Elena and Piumazzo revealed that not all cells are even structurally equivalent, and that differences between them can have serious consequences. The Sant'Elena cell was more densely connected; one

⁷⁵ Act 715.

possible result of these close ties is that as demonstrated in chapter 6, the members strove to avoid revealing one another. The Piumazzo cell, by contrast, was larger and less dense. Its members were less inhibited in revealing one another, possibly as a consequence of being relatively more independent of one another.

But this network analysis did not account for the nature of questioning in a medieval inquisition. The Apostolic third order and the Beguins did not report their associates and family members to indulge a research project; they were forced to do so by a social body that could inflict punishment for both cooperation and silence. Thus this entire analysis is the product of a contentious relationship that may have only revealed part of the truth from people who had a mixed relationship with one possible consequence of their heresy--death. It is upon the relationship between the heretics and their dead that the next chapter shall focus.

Chapter 8: The Reliquary—Sainthood, Martyrdom and Relic-Collecting amongst the Apostolic Order and the Spiritual Franciscans/Beguins

In the previous chapter, the social networks of the living Apostolic Order supporters and Beguins were analyzed and discussed, with a focus on roles within their networks. But this analysis leaves out a group of ‘participants’ who played a prominent role in Christian society both heretical and orthodox—their dead. Executed (or simply dead) group members maintained a presence in the minds and lives of the living as saints and martyrs, and it is upon this presence and the relationship that this chapter shall focus.

Sainthood and all of its associated aspects—martyrdom, relics, popular veneration—were highly contested ground throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries across the spectrum of Christian society. Canonization as the accepted means of bestowing the title ‘saint’ gained much ground; yet, in 1300 Boniface VIII was forced to intervene to halt the veneration of Armano Pungiluppo, a presumed Cathar.¹ Innocent III named slain legate Peter of Castelnau a martyr and pressed for his sainthood despite the fact that he lacked a popular cult, while the canonization processes of martyred Franciscan friars Berard of Carbio and his companions languished in a curial backlog despite their cult following in Portugal because the Church was hesitant to name mendicant missionaries as martyrs.² Lay sainthood enjoyed a victory in the canonization of HomoBonito (d. 1197), but the general trend of canonization throughout the 1200s and early 1300s was towards the mendicants.³

Considering the high visibility of all the aforementioned issues in popular religion and in particular amongst mendicants, it is not surprising that issues of sanctity would permeate the lives of the third orders of Apostles and Franciscans. Yet little has been said about the notions of sainthood within the Apostolic Order, despite the fact that there are depositions that describe relic gathering amongst the Bolognese supporters of the order, while others outline

¹Andre Vauchez, *Sainthood and the Later Middle Ages*, Jean Birrell, translator (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 89.

² James D. Ryan took up the matter of the martyred Franciscan saints in his article “Missionary Saints of the High Middle Ages: Martyrdom, Popular Veneration, and Canonization” in *Catholic Historical Review*, Volume XC (January 2004).

³ Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 357.

miracles attributed to Gerardo Segarelli. Orioli noted briefly that the term ‘martyrdom’ and the associated veneration and admiration was attached rather quickly to the executed preachers and that the arc of Apostolic relic cult followed that of the most intense persecution from 1295-1307, but no comparative context was provided to demonstrate that this behaviour was not at all unusual.⁴ In contrast, sainthood and relics amongst Beguins and spiritual Franciscans have been extensively addressed by leading scholars on the subject. Both Burr and Burnham have referred to their relic collecting, maintenance of a martyrology, and use of the word ‘saint’ in inquisitorial depositions as proof of a do-it-yourself sainthood through which the believers were electing their own saints.

In this chapter, the ideas of sainthood and relics within the sects of the Apostles and the Beguins will be analyzed. The previously little-discussed evidence of saints and relics amongst the Apostles is in fact fairly similar to that of the Beguins. Members of both sects tended to apply the term saint to their founders and leaders, complete with miracles and divinely inspired knowledge. The sanctity of the general martyred members, however, is less clear. In some instances, this assumed sainthood may be more a product of structural equivalence and the pervasive culture of local saint-making, while in other situations the chief evidence—relic-collecting—was the result of a spectrum of beliefs from intimate familial love to spiritual tourism.

I : The Sainted Leaders

Throughout the thirteenth century, one of the surest paths to canonized and popular sainthood was to undertake a prominent role in a mendicant or quasi-mendicant order. In addition to the near-instant sainthood of Dominic and Francis, another order’s founder, William of Maleval (d 1157, beat. 1202) founder of the Williamites, who became Augustinian Hermits was relatively soon after his death named a saint. Prominent persons within their orders such as Claire of Assisi, Anthony of Padua, Bonaventure, and the Dominican Peter of

⁴ Orioli, *Venit Perfidus Heresiarcha: Il Movimento Apostolico-Dolciniano Dal 1260 al 1307* (Rome: Institute Palazzo Borromini, 1988), 166. Orioli also stated that a devotional cult of Dolcino developed many years after the death of the movement.

Verona also received papal recognition, and indeed according to Vauchez mendicants made up a significant portion of completed canonization processes of the 1200s. Vauchez and others who followed him have cited the reasons for this particular trend in canonization to be the catalytic/ responsive relationship of mendicants to the growth of popular religiosity, a need for the curia to harness and direct community saint-making through acceptable orthodox outlets that were already popular, and the notion that canonized saints were one of the prongs of a response to the outbreak of heresy. These factors were significant aspects of not just the relationship between the orders and church hierarchy but also the one between the mendicant orders and the laity, and this relationship formed part of the background to the drama of the heretical mendicant saints and martyrs.⁵

While the Franciscan order and its related offshoots generally followed the mendicant saint trend, tendencies within part of the Franciscan spectrum also led to some peculiarities. The more rigorist, more ascetic Franciscans and their similar offshoots tended to prefer saints that mirrored their shared perception of Francis. Franciscans generally regarded Francis and their saints as leaders; one of the notable qualities of Anthony of Padua was that he could resolve disputes through the force of his leadership.⁶ According to the saint's *vita*, the commune of Padua was in a terrible uproar as Anthony and his companions arrived because they could not shelter the large crowd gathered to hear Anthony preach, but through the force of the friar's preaching, quarrels were reconciled, immoral persons chose to repent, and the public life of the commune was greatly improved.

Rigorists, as is clear from the Assisi compilation, saw Francis particularly as an embattled leader, thus, the persecutions of both Gerardo Segarelli and Dolcino and the censure of Peter John Olivi pressed them into a similar mold as

⁵ For more detail on the matter of 13th century mendicant sainthood, see Andre Vauchez's *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, John Coakley's "Friars, Sanctity and Gender: Medieval encounters with the Saints 1250-1325" *Medieval Masculinity: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), Michael Goodich's "The Politics of Canonization in the Thirteenth Century: Lay and Mendicant Saints" in *Church History* 44 (September 1975), Rosenwein and Little's "Social Meaning in the Monastic and Mendicant Spiritualities," *Past and Present* 63 (May, 1974).

⁶ John Cooper, ofm cap., "The Life of Saint Anthony," <http://www.capuchinfriars.org.au/saints/anthony.shtml>, accessed 26/09/2010.

Francis.⁷ Even the most flexible of Minorites considered the Poverello to be a charismatic figure, but for the rigorist he was superhuman. Within the stream of moderate Franciscan thought there was a belief that Francis was a Christ-like figure—Elias emphasized his stigmata, while Bonaventure supported the idea that Francis was a second Christ—but this vision of Francis was underpinned by a sort of passive holiness beyond his control. He himself need not desire to actively do holy things, Francis to the moderate Franciscans was holy because of what he represented and for the ways God used him. The actively superhuman Francis of the spirituals, by contrast, actively wrought miracles and the force of his sanctity was so potent that even wolves and birds bowed to it. The Apostles, Spiritual Franciscans, and their followers recognized in their saintly leaders the extraordinary qualities they saw in Francis—puissant saintliness during life, miracles, and a divinely granted knowledge of Scripture.

The Puissant Living Saint

Gerardo Segarelli was not often mentioned beyond the early depositions of Apostolics and certainly not by a majority of followers, but for many of those who did acknowledge him, the man was surrounded by an aura of sanctity. The first Bolognese deposition to describe Gerardo was that of Pietro of Monteombraro in the diocese of Modena (act 78). This deposition, gathered in November of 1299, described an event that occurred in 1294 when Pietro visited his parents' home in Modena and there encountered Bonavitta from Florence and some of her associates, who were either visiting or passing through as itinerant followers of the Apostolic order. He remembered that they praised Gerardo, and said that he was both good and a saint.⁸ 1294 was six years before Gerardo's death, thus, the founder had not earned his accolades through martyrdom, but was a living holy man, recognized not because he bore witness but because of his life and activities. This sort of power of personal sanctity is

⁷ While this particular quality of 'embattledness' of Gerard, Dolcino, and Peter John Olivi is shared, the inquisitorial evidence is rather inert in that those who were questioned on the leaders' persecutions simply replied in a formulaic manner that the persecution was unjust and that those inquisitors who persecuted them were evil. As this could be a presumed opinion of the committed Apostolic third order or Beguin, that quality will be left to stand without analysis here.

⁸ "Item dicit quod dictus Bonavitta et alii consocii sui commendabant et laudabant Gerardum Segarellum de parma, dicendo quod esset bonus homo et sanctus," Act 78.

not to be underestimated as at this time in Italy every town and faction chose its own saints, and those people commanded respect.⁹

Evidence gathered slightly later in Bologna alluded to an even greater reputation for Segarelli after his execution. In August of 1303, Blasius of Mongiorgio admitted to hearing Zaccaria preach even after he had been assigned the crosses by the Bolognese inquisition. In this instance, he remembered Zaccaria spreading the teachings of Dolcino that Gerardo was a good and saintly man, and that he should have been the pope before his death.¹⁰ Clearly his followers equated Segarelli's holiness with his capacity for leadership—he was a holy man, and thus could provide proper direction for the church—and this notion should be considered in light of works produced in the same time period that popularized the legend of the angel pope within Franciscan circles. The *Vaticina de Summis Pontificibus*, a Franciscan spiritual work most likely from Angelo of Clareno's circle, foretold a series of popes of which there were evil and holy and as to exactly who these were was the subject of much speculation.¹¹

While little evidence survives that included any 'Peter John Olivi as pope' references, the theologian was imbued with an aura of holiness. None less than Angelo of Clareno claimed that an angel honored the friar because of his intense virtue and incorruptibility.¹² Guillelmus Dominici Verrerii of Narbonne did not ascribe to Olivi such glory as did Angelo, but he did claim in 1327 that the friar was saintly, though uncanonized.¹³ This in of itself is a form of saintly potency, that this candlemaker would hold such an opinion twenty-nine years after Olivi's death and despite the weight of church censure suggests that the friar acquired a rather powerful reputation during his lifetime that could guarantee his

⁹ Augustine Thomson, *Cities of God: The Religion of the Italian Communes 1125-1325* (University Park: Pennsylvania State Press, 2005), 179.

¹⁰ "Interrogatus de doctrina et documentis eorum, respondit quod audivit eos dicentes et docentes et maxime dictum zachariam predicantem et docentem de ecclesiarum distinctes secundum doctrinam dolcini predicti, et quod gerardus segarella fuisset bonus homo et sanctus et quod debebat esse papa ante mortem suam," Act, 604.

¹¹ Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages, A Study in Joachimism*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969, 193. Also see Bernard McGinn, "Angel Pope and Papal Antichrist" *Church History*, 47 (June 1978), 155-173.

¹² Angelo of Clareno, *Tribulations*, 132.

¹³ "Item fratrem Petrum Iohannis Quondam ordinis minorum credidit esse sanctum in paradise non canonizatum et eius scripturam seu doctrinam credidit esse bonam et sanctam et approbatam fuisse asserit per concilium Viennense," Manselli, *Spirituali e Beghini in Provenza*, Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, Studi Storici, Fascoli 31-34 (Rome: Istituto Palazzo Borromini, 1959), 321.

holiness despite the opinions of popes. That reputation increased after Olivi's death, as according to Burnham, some of Guillelmus' fellow Beguins said that he was an angel whose face shone like the sun.¹⁴

Miracles

Salimbene and his malignant chronicle entries on the Apostolic Order, the most frequently cited source regarding Gerardo Segarelli, have so colored the overall perception of Segarelli that it is a challenge to imagine the founder as a truly respected holy man. Yet, that his order flourished supports the fact that laypersons considered him sanctified. In fact, Segarelli was known at least by some as embodying one of the most Christ-like qualities of sainthood, he was a healer. Pietro Bonito of Modena actually knew Gerardo, and said that before he was incarcerated by the bishop of Parma, that he saw and spoke with Gerardo frequently.¹⁵ In his testimony, Pietro (a friar of the Apostolic order) stated that he believed him to be a good man and that God had allowed Gerardo to do miracles. He heard but was not present for an event in 1287 during which Gerardo healed people from Mediolani, and at some point he also was said to have healed a sick child from Bologna.¹⁶ In that Pietro was an Apostolic friar—he was so committed that would not recant, and was burned for his faith—his claim that Gerardo was a miracle worker should be approached in the same way that one would consider tales from an enthusiastic Franciscan friar about a miracle-working Francis, but this does not completely invalidate the statement. As Pietro held this information as a second or third hand account, it was not a private event and was clearly known by others. As well, as he was a friar spreading the message of his order, Pietro had most likely shared this testimony of a saintly Gerardo.

In contrast to Gerardo Segarelli, who was known at least by some during his lifetime as a miracle-worker, no evidence on Dolcino or Olivi survives that is

¹⁴ Louisa Burnham, *So Great a Light, So Great a Smoke: The Beguin Heretics of Languedoc* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 64.

¹⁵ "Item interrogatus, dixit quod bene cognoscit et cognovit Gerardum Segarellam de Parma, qui est incarceratus per dominum episcopum Parmensem et inquisitors et dixit quod antequam esset in carcere frequenter vidit eum et locutus fuit ei," Act 79.

¹⁶ "...dicit quod credit et credidit dictum Gerardum esse et fuisse bonum hominem et credit quod Deus meritis dicti Gerardi miracula fecit. Interrogatus quod sit, respondit quod non fuit presens tamen audivit quod dictus Gerardus miraculose sanavit quosdam infirmos Mediolani et eciam Bononie quondam puerum infirmum, et ipse testis credit quod ita fuerit," Act 79.

comparable. If Olivi wrought any miracles during his lifetime, they were clearly overshadowed by his many works, and the controversy surrounding them. There is one testimony that speaks to a posthumous miracle; Prous Boneta in 1325 gave a lengthy confession to the inquisition and in it she described her visit to the tomb of Peter John Olivi as nothing short of miraculous. Here she was given the gift of a flood of tears over the Franciscan's sepulcher, and then smelled a great fragrance and felt a warmth.¹⁷ One of these three gifts—tears—more directly relates to Boneta, but the second and third gifts are more standard fare for proof of holiness of a deceased saint. The pleasant odor or odor of sanctity is of particular interest, as that would be a superhuman quality directly contradicting the normal state of a tomb containing a decaying body, and appears in other medieval *vitae* such as that of the beatified beguine Marie D'Oignies (d 1202). The holy body, the one that as described by Vauchez does not decay, smells sweet, or appears sleeping, and was a sanctity that could be experienced by the illiterate followers who may never have met their beloved Olivi.¹⁸

Holy Knowledge

Gerardo the miracle-worker was clearly parallel to Francis the other miracle-working founder who was supposedly his inspiration, but it was Dolcino (and Olivi) who would be known for holy knowledge. On December 16, 1303 Zaccaria in his testimony did not specifically say that his leader Dolcino was a saint, but other things he included suggested an 'aura' of holiness. He said that God had revealed doctrine to Dolcino, and that the prophet was also wise in matters of scripture.¹⁹ Almost thirty years later in Trento, Boninsegna domini Oddoric remembered Dolcino also bearing holy wisdom, as he could explain the bible and even prophesy on the future.²⁰ Further supporting this

¹⁷ "eadem qua ipsa fuit in Narbona supra sepulcrum dicit fratris Petri Joannis, ipse Dominus peperit eam in spiritu, et dedit sibi ipse Deus tria dona, scilicet fletum seu luctum quandiu stetit super dictum sepulcrum, secundo, maiorem fragrantiam vel odorem quam unquam ipsa sensisset, tertio et ultimo, unum calorem temporatum et ita dulcem ac si fuisset sibi proiectus unus mantellus super humeros et involuta fuisset circumquaque," William H. May, "The Confession of Prous Boneta, Heretic and Heresiarch" in *Essays in Medieval Life and Thought Presented in Honor of Austin Patterson Evans* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), 10-11.

¹⁸ Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 427.

¹⁹ "Dolcinus habebat doctrinam suam per revelationem a Deo et sapientiam scripturarum et proficiarum," Act 615.

²⁰ "Videbatur bones homo et dicebat pulca verba et habebat bibliam et exponebat evangelia et dicebat the futuris," *RIS IX*, 80.

characterization of Dolcino, though not intentionally, stands Bernard Gui's description of Dolcino's letters in his *de Secta*.²¹ As evidenced by those letters, Dolcino clearly knew and could discuss the prophets of the Old Testament and the Revelation of John. While Gui found the Apostolic leader's references to be 'perverse', his followers concluded them to be divinely inspired. Those followers clearly found the words of Dolcino inspiring or imbued with some sort of holy knowledge as the unfortunate Apostle caught by Gui almost three decades after the execution of the leader was apparently carrying the friar's letters.

In a fashion that paralleled the relationship of Dolcino to Segarelli, Olivi was the scholarly author to Francis' charismatic founder. Peter John Olivi was a prolific writer, but his works specifically on *Usus Pauperis* and his *Expositio Super Apocalypsim* became the ones for which he was best known to his followers. Olivi's writing subjects were not particularly novel for a scholar of his affiliation or time—matters of poverty were close to the hearts of many Franciscans, and in addition to these well-known works he composed commentaries on the gospels—but it was the particular rigorist Franciscan perspective from which he wrote and his increasing apocalypticism under the yoke of persecution that set his works apart from his contemporaries.²²

The Beguins and spiritual Franciscans, who lived in those difficult times following Olivi's death, came to see his works as prophetic and thus drew the conclusion that he was endowed with holy knowledge. According to the priest and Beguin Bernard Maurini, Pierre Trencavel carried with him books by Olivi, and claimed that Trencavel said the friar was saintly, an *evangel*, and good.²³ Though Maurini does not state in his deposition that he shared Trencavel's

²¹ See chapter 2 for a lengthy discussion on Dolcino's knowledge of the bible based on his use of it in his letters.

²² Kevin Madigan noted in his *Olivi and the Interpretation of Matthew in the High Middle Ages* that while Olivi did compose his theologically suspect commentary on Matthew following three exegetical strands from his time—scholastic, Franciscan, and Joachite—that it was his fusion of the three and his perspective on his own time that is uniquely Olivi. Kevin Madigan, *Olivi and the Interpretation of Matthew in the High Middle Ages* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2003).

²³ "dixit quod vidit quod dictus Petrus portabat secum libellos et scripturas editas per dictum fratrem Petrum Johannis, videlicet in spetiali quondam libellum in vulgari scriptum facientem mentionem de oratione et ieunio et alium libellum facientem mentionem de paupertate Christi in quibus dictus Petrus frequenter legebat et audivit dici ab eodem Petro pluries et diversis vicibus et in diversis locis quod doctrina dicit fratris Petri Johannis erat sancta et evangelica et bona," Manselli, *Spirituali*, 335.

opinion, he was at least if not more steeped in the cult of Olivi as he had been imprisoned with several rigorist Franciscans before he became a fugitive. Much like Gui's hapless Apostle and Maurini, Trencavel was a fugitive, so that he took on the additional weight and danger of being caught with these banned materials speaks to the idea that these works were not just regarded as 'good' but holy and necessary for informed preaching. Even the followers who did not own any of Olivi's books or could not read were at least somewhat familiar with his doctrine and believed it inspired. Returning to the testimony of Guillaume Dominici Verrerii, some of the support that he saw for Olivi's sainthood was his scripture and doctrine, which was good and saintly.²⁴ Guillaume did not seem to have possessed any of the heretical works, thus he probably came by the doctrine of Olivi in the same fashion that Maurini did; he provided refuge for Pierre Trencavel and heard him speak of the friar.

While the prophets and leaders of the Apostles and Beguins/spiritual Franciscans had been declared heretical by several popes, they still befitted a recognized and canonized pattern of sainthood. Unfortunately for them, they lived at the wrong time. Gerardo Segarelli may have been the charismatic Poverello saint if he had lived before Francis; if Olivi's works had been less threatening to an embattled Franciscan hierarchy he may well have been their Thomas Aquinas.

II: The Rank and File—Death, Sainthood, and Relics

The recognized leaders of the Apostles and the Beguins/Spiritual Franciscans were heretics and thus not permitted an orthodox cult of veneration as befit a saint, but they enjoyed a sainthood accorded them by the memories of their followers. Even after the disposal of Peter John Olivi's remains in September 1318 and the end of any regular festivities, he was known by the Beguins as the Angel of the Sun; Gerardo was burned to death, he was a holy man. Despite the fact that these saints were entirely popularly elected, however, they still enjoyed a sanctity that seemed more 'clerical'. No record exists in which a Beguin or an Apostle of the 1290-1325 time period claimed to hold any relics of the leaders, and they were saints for very clear reasons that

²⁴ See page six for the text of the deposition in footnote.

were not unlike orthodox mendicants of the 13th century. Their martyred followers, by comparison, were accorded a semi-actual, semi-textual sainthood in the inquisitorial depositions that seems based on a combination of familiarity, execution, and structural equivalence, while a related relic collection/veneration coexisted that was related but not necessarily motivated by the same urges.

Heretical sainthood has been generally understood as a popularist sainthood, but that analysis presumes that the manner in which Apostles and Beguins treated their executed dead was similar to but the heretical inverse of the orthodox veneration of saints. The 'saint-making' referred to here is not the process of canonization and accepted veneration/feast days, but more akin to Augustine Thompson's holy persons who were recognized and chosen to be patron saints for their communes. In fact, the relationship between the surviving Apostles and Beguins and their dead may have been more complex, falling into a pattern of mourning and remembrance intermixed with some of the same spiritual opportunism that affected orthodox saint cults. The following analysis will be broken down into two categories that do not easily separate by topic or by religious movement--relics and saints--and will be considered in light of another offered pattern of mourning amongst the persecuted.

The Reliquary of the Burned

All of the examples of devotion to members of the Apostolic Order are drawn from five depositions gathered across nineteen days one July (4th through 23rd) in Modena rather than Bologna. These interrogations took place a few years after the bulk of those from Bologna, and their ascribed year is 1307 in the month after the deaths of Dolcino, Longinus, and Margherita, and four months after the last battle of the crusade waged against the Apostles. The order had for all intents and purposes come to a dramatic end. More important for the context of this thesis and for this particular region, however, was that by 1307 all the preaching friars had been executed and most of the leading members had been killed on Mount Rubio or had become lost fugitives, thus, the work of the inquisitor had evolved into to a process of assuring orthodoxy by

eliminating any remaining devotion and sentencing any particularly recalcitrant followers.

The first of these depositions is taken from Friar Giovanni (no recorded order) on July 4, 1307. It is entirely possible that Giovanni was one of the few remaining Apostles, one who was not an active preacher or had left the order when the convent closed. That this was Giovanni's likely order could be inferred from that Friar Boniface the inquisitor did not entirely trust the man's testimony, and called him back to speak the truth twice more, after which there is no record of sentence.²⁵ Giovanni may also have 'remembered' more because he was subjected to torture, but due to the general tone of the Bolognese inquisition in which few people were executed, and most were fined only minor amounts, that he was perhaps held in confinement or was simply broken by repeat appearances will be assumed. In his first testimony, Giovanni was asked whether he knew anyone who kept heretical relics; he responded that he knew Betisia of the Boccadeferis (a wealthy family in the Bologna area) and stated that she had visited the 'damned heretic' Ugolina while the latter woman was staying in the hospital Domus Dey in the region of Modena. According to Giovanni, Beatrice sent a small glass bottle containing bone fragments from a burned heretic through her servant Romengarda to him, with instructions that these were not to be given away.²⁶ Giovanni did not know which of the friars had been reduced to these relics, but as Beatrice was from the Bologna region, it could have been any of the preachers who had been burned at this point. In his third appearance, he reconsidered this statement, and posited that the inventory of relics, which now in his testimony included either head hair or beard hair, were that of either Rolandino of Ollis from Modena or Ugolino of Solegnano, because Beatrice was particularly devoted to them.²⁷

²⁵ Frater Iohannes' first testimony ends with the words, "Qui inquisitor dicit quod non est contentus dicto suo et ideo imposuit et precepit eidem quod debeat sibi dicere veritatem."

²⁶ "Item dicit quod scit quod ipsa domina Betixia est devote et familiaris predictorum fratrum Appostolorum et quod circa finem mensis maii proxime preteriti, dicta domina Betixia misit per Romengardam, servitricem suam, ipsi testi quondam ampullam vitream, in qua errant ossa quedam combusta; quam ampullam et ossa dicta Romengarda, deponens apud ipsum, dixit et inposuit eidem fratri Iohanni quod nulli persone dare deberet nisi ipsi domine Betixie vel cui ordinaret," Act 728.

²⁷ "Interrogatus cuiusmodi ossa et capillos sive barbam esse credebat, respondit quod domina Betixia, que misit sibi dictas res positas in suprascripta bursa, era devote Rolandini de Ollis et Ugolini de Solegnano qui combusti fuerant et condempnati de crimine heresis," Act 730.

More evidence for a cult of relics amongst the Apostolic third order can be found in the depositions of Sister Lacarina (or Lazarina) of Modena. Like Giovanni, no order is given for Lacarina, but it is likely given the circumstances that she was a member of a second order of the Apostles, of which Brian Carniello found evidence in Parma.²⁸ Much of Lacarina's testimony was useless to the inquisitor as when questioned she named persons of public infamy (Bartholomea of Piumazzo, Bona of Sant' Elena, Roberta Scortighini of Piumazzo). She also named Faxanna, who was staying in Bertalia near Bologna some twelve years before the interrogation, and who had received several hairs of Friar Doctinus of Bologna, a preacher who stayed in her house. Faxanna believed Doctinus to be a living saint, and his bones and hair were therefore relics.²⁹ These relics appear to have kept for the same reason as those of Rolandino or Ugolino, that they were the remains of friend and admirer of the keeper.

At the heart of each of these groups of testimony were two factors—devotion to other persons within the same sect, and relics. Devotion will be discussed shortly, but first the matter of relics will be addressed. Both Giovanni and Lacarina recounted that relics were transported to either someone staying at the hospital or someone who was passing through; they were not simply collected and venerated by the collector. This sort of exchange was not outside the norm for the relic trade in the area. Giovanni remembered that two years before, Friar Gerardo of Monte Vallario of his order had come to the same hospital in Modena and gave him relics (a bit of beard and a piece of habit) of Brother Zaniboni of the Order of Hermits.³⁰ Zaniboni was most likely Giovanni Bono, a hermit whose followers were called 'Zanibonini' and who mid-thirteenth century were absorbed into the Augustinian Friars Hermits. That these were relics of the Northern Italian holy man was entirely possible, but the veracity of

²⁸ Brian Carniello, "Gerard Segarelli as the Anti-Francis: Mendicant Rivalry in Medieval Italy, 1260-1300" *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 57 (April 2006): 240.

²⁹ "Item dixit quod Faxanna vidua, que morabatur in Bertalia iuxta bononiam per miliare, erat devote, familiaris et receptatrix hereticorum et quod propter devotionem et amorem quem et quam habebat ad ipsos hereticos, tenuit et accepit de capillis fratris Doctini Bononiensis, qui morabatur in burgo Sancti Petri, et qui morabatur secum in eadem domo, qui erat de dicta septa, reputans ipsum fratrem Doctinum sanctum et eius ossa, capillos et alias res tanquam res sancti et boni hominis et ad eas habens devocionem, sicut essent reliquie sanctorum." Act 732.

³⁰ "Fratre Gerardinus de Monte Vallario, in loco dictorum fratrum in civitate Mutine, dedit sibi predictas res et dixit quod fuerant reliquie cuiusdam fratris Zaniboni de ordini fratrum heremitarum; et illi pili fuerant de barba sua et pannus de vestibus suis," Act 728. Giovanni Bono was not a canonized saint, but a Blessed.

Gerardo's claim is suspect as he also gave Giovanni relics of Saint Ursula. The commonly known and popular Ursula was the most likely apocryphal martyr saint of Cologne who met her death along with 10,000 virgin companions on dates variously ascribed in the 3rd century. It is also possible that Gerardo's Ursula was a local unrecognized and little-known saint, but there is no evidence of a Northern Italy local Ursula cult.³¹

The depositions of Beguins that mention relics and saints are much more common than those collected from the Apostolic third order; among Manselli's edited transcriptions of the Lodève *Culpi* from the Doat collection, eight of the subjects made statements that specifically related to sainthood and relics. Of these anecdotes, several related to the martyrdom and/or sainthood of the executed followers. Some show a perceived similarity between Beguins and the martyred Franciscans, while others discuss the collection, trade, and disposal of relics. Only two, however, are drawn directly from those who physically collected relics, while others mention collectors.

In this category of relic-gatherers are the brothers Bernard and Raymond Durban of Claromonte. They watched their sister Esclaramonda burn for heresy in Lunel with several of their fellow Beguins, and after the inquisitors abandoned the smoldering remains, they gathered what was left of their dear sister and carried these body parts home.³² One other collector is known from depositions; Bernard Peirotas remarked that a man named Helionis also went to the cemetery and gathered relics, bringing them back to the house of a Beguin.³³ The 'two others' who accompanied Helionis were not recognized by Bernard, but they presumably were the Durbans. As well it is unclear as to why

³¹ "De osse autem reperto dixit quod fuit sancte Ursule bene recepit eum a dicto fratre Gerardino," Act 728.

³² "cum audisset quod Esclaramonda eius soror et plures alii circa numerum decimum septimum inter homines et mulieres deberent comburi in Lunello, ipse ivit apud Lunellum cum quodam, quem nominat, et vidit dictos hereticos et eius sororem ibidem comburi et in crastinum ipse cum pluribus aliis, qui ibi fuerant, recesserunt et transierunt iuxta locum ubi dicti heretici fuerant combusti et fuerunt ibi plurima cadavera nondum totaliter combusta et cum ivisset quasi per quartam partem medie leuce venit quidam, quem nominat, cum quibusdam aliis et apportaverunt de ossibus et cadaveribus dictorum combustorum et ille, quem nominat, tradidit ipso Bernardo ad requisitionem ipsius Bernardi de Ossibus et carnalibus, quas dicebat fuisse de Esclaramonda sorore, ipsius condemnata et dicta ossa et carnes accipit et retinuit et ad domum suam apud Lodève..." Manselli, *Spirituali*, 309.

³³ "Helio et alii duo, quos nominat, apportaverunt ad dictam domum de ossibus et cadaveribus illorum begguinorum qui fuerant combusti die dominica precedent et de dictis ossibus dederunt eidem et vidit quemdam, quem nominat, dicta ossa osculari et omnia posuit," Manselli, *Spirituali*, 316.

Helionis Helyonis rather than Peirotas or some of the others to be mentioned later participated in this heretical activity; but perhaps the situation of the Durban brothers is instructional towards an understanding of Helionis. Their motivation for re-visiting the scene of execution was obvious—they loved their sister and that recovering and protecting her remains was a means of dealing with both their grief over her death and that she would never receive a Christian burial as a condemned heretic. It is possible that Helionis (for whom there was no *culpa*) was also family or at least held close association to one of the deceased, though he may have also been one of the relic collectors who did so simply for the chance to covet something of the sacred.

Even amongst those who simply collected relics motivations were not clear-cut. For example, Martin of Saint-Antonio accepted relics from a woman that he did not know because he believed that she lived a good life and was unjustly condemned.³⁴ Whether he believed the woman to be a saint was not addressed, but sanctity seems almost beside the point as Martin seems to have established for himself that this woman had something good about her that he wished to imbibe by maintaining her presence. Burnham also found evidence for this sort of behavior, though that Pierre Morier of Belpech kept bones next to the lamp he maintained near his crucifix suggests that some Beguins took part in more formal rituals of relic veneration.³⁵ He also stated that he knew people from Lunel who carried relics with them.³⁶ Others seem to be engaging in some sort of tourism and souvenir-collecting; Raimon travelled to Narbonne for religious reasons which may have been to visit the former site of Peter John Olivi's tomb, but also made the effort to see a burned torso of a virgin martyred in Lunel (collected by Pierre Arrufat), and he also had a collection of bones.³⁷

Not all relic-related activity undertaken by Beguins involved such honors for their dead. Berengere Rocha of Claromonte, most likely a friend to the

³⁴ "Martinus accepit cor sive renem dicte mulieris et dixit quod retineret illud et secum apportavit apud Claromontem et tenuit et adhuc habet in doma sua, ut dixit. Interrogatus quare magis de dicta muliere acceperunt quam de aliis dixit quod pro eo quia viderat ispan et cum ea perseveraverat et erat bone vite et audivit, cum vellet duci ad ignem, quod ipsa requisivit quod legeretur sibi dictum sum et noluerunt sibi legere et id circo credebat ipsam fuisse iniuste condempnatam, magis quam iuste." Manselli, *Spirituali*, 312.

³⁵ Burnham, *So Great a Light*, 65.

³⁶ Philipp Van Limborch, editor, *Historia Inquisitionis, cui subjungitur Liber Sententiarum Inquisitionis Tholosanae Ab anno Christi CDCCVII ad Annum CDCCCXXIII* (Amsterdam: Apud Henricum Netstenium, 1692), 305.

³⁷ Burnham, *So Great a Light*, 64.

Durbans, also kept a relic from that burning in Lunel ‘ex devotione,’ but then threw it away when the flesh did not remain uncorrupted as had been said of saints but instead rotted.³⁸ Whether he was the only Beguin to have such a crisis of faith resulting from relics is unknown, as no other records within the Lodève set make mention of one, but that the flesh of these ascribed martyr-saints did degrade would have in some part prevented the sect from gaining adherents in the time of persecution.

Heretics’ perspectives on and activities regarding relics clearly cannot be described by one label, but are better arrayed on a spectrum from intimate remembrance to spiritual souvenir-gathering. Yet this analysis still does not set Apostolic and Beguin relics in context of orthodox religious veneration and cults. Much has been written already about the use of relics in the medieval Church. Benedicta Ward stated that relics in the medieval period could be divided into three categories—those associated with the Bible and early church (the cross, the martyrs), those of founders, venerated abbots and bishops usually held by a church associated with them, and those of modern saints who may or may not have had canonized cults.³⁹ But even this represented an evolution in the cult of saints from the Late Antiquity/ Early Medieval period, when according to Marianne Sàghy, the legions of saints were elevated through imperial efforts from vaguely remembered martyrs to the focus of veneration through the eliding of imperial and supernatural powers.⁴⁰ Prior to Constantine’s involvement in Christian martyr cults, the notion of veneration had been present in Rome since the 3rd century, but the nature of veneration may have been more akin to that which Augustine of Hippo attacked, a raucous celebration of a powerful being who could not be imitated but was regarded as a protector like a god or goddess of polytheistic religions.⁴¹ Pope Damasus (366-384) then developed the cult of the martyrs even further by rebranding them with a new identity that was

³⁸ “dedit sibi quoddam frustum carnis quod fuerat de illis, qui combusti fuerant in Lunello, quod ipse loquens accepit ex devotione quam tunc habebat ad predictos hereticos propter vitam et conversationem sanctam, quam de ipsis fuerat expertus et ipsum frustum posuit in cortice maligranati in domo sua super quondam tabulam griosi et per duos vel tres menses tenuit eam et cum audivisset ab aliis quod predicta non poterant corrumpi, post dictum tempus respexit illud frustum et videns quod corrumpebatur proiecit illud extra domum suam in quodam campo, cum iret ad hortum suum.” Manselli, *Spirituali*, 311.

³⁹ Benedicta Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind, Theory, Record and Event 1000-1215* (London: Scholar Press, 1982), 33.

⁴⁰ Marianne Sàghy, “Scinditur in Partes Populus” *Early Medieval Europe* 9(2000, issue 3): 275.

⁴¹ Peter Brown, “Enjoying the Saints in Late Antiquity” *Early Medieval Europe* 9(2000, issue 1): 4-7.

essentially Roman, naturalizing them and ascribing to them the characteristics of the Roman aristocracy.⁴² By the time of Gregory the Great in the 7th century, the role of the saint was so innate to Christianity that Conrad Leyser wrote that relic exchange was part of the maintenance of friendships and allegiances and that even Gregory took part in this exchange, but the relics that he exchanged was the contact sort, a piece of fabric or item brought into proximity of the martyr.⁴³ This sort of trade expanded with Christianity's expansion throughout Europe and remained a constant as churches sought to acquire relics to meet the spiritual needs of the church seeking legitimacy or recognition.⁴⁴ Churches had to compete for the attention and money of their parishioners. One means of attracting these things were miracle-producing relics, as the most famous relics were the objects of pilgrimage. As well, during the northward spread of Christianity throughout Europe, relics were gifted to new churches either as purchases or as loot.⁴⁵ A saint could also be a powerful protector of a city; the government of Assisi sent guards to assure the return of the dying Francis to his hometown.

But what of the ordinary medieval person who kept relics? Depositions from Martino and Berengar follow the pattern of mentality that motivated the frenzied mob in Marseille who in 1274 descended upon the funeral of Blessed Douceline of Provence—Martino and Berengar were Christians whose religious outlook was miraculous-religious, which meant they believed that they believed that an item or body was imbued with certain spiritual properties. Those of Marseille believed they could acquire a tiny portion of Douceline's miraculousness or at least enlist her protection through a talisman sanctified by proximity to a holy person, a contact relic not unlike those given as gifts by Gregory the Great, but they did not necessarily know Douceline or were even moved to mourn her. Berengar had at first believed his lump of flesh also held special powers, but when it began to prove itself ordinary flesh he determined that it was not miraculous. Still others were a microcosm of the newly formed parish grab for legitimacy through the holy dead; though Pierre Arrufat was not

⁴² Dennis Trout, "Damasus and the Invention of Early Christian Rome" *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 33(Fall 2003): 522-523.

⁴³ Conrad Leyser, "The Temptation of Cult: Roman Martyr Piety in the Age of Gregory the Great" *Early Medieval Europe* 9(2000, issue 3): 300.

⁴⁴ Ryan, "Missionary Saints," 27.

⁴⁵ Abou-el-haj, *Medieval Cult of Saints*, 9.

seeking to establish himself as a religious authority, his mercenary collection and distribution of relics recapitulates that which went on throughout medieval Europe at the time, but had its roots in 4th century Christianity with Bishop Ambrose of Milan, who according to Augustine of Hippo ‘dreamt of the location of remains of martyrs Protasius and Gervasius’ and had then discovered them and had them dug up.⁴⁶

Then there were the few accounts of relic-keeping followers of the Apostles, who in impetus seem more similar to the Durbans than the other relic collectors. Betixia and Faxanna were not as such interested in the powerful, but in the remains of those preachers that they knew. The word often used here is ‘devoted’, which seems to go beyond passion for a sect or friendship with a person, it flows right into a deep caring and admiration that continues even after execution of one party for heresy. The Durban brothers collected their sister’s remains, not those of a stranger. Keeping the remains of a beloved friend who would never receive proper burial, despite the dangers could be seen as a form of veneration, but there is little suggestion that this was the intent, rather, that it could have been a form of mourning. But amongst orthodox Christians of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, little of this sort of friend-adoration has been recorded.

What is more likely the case is that the word ‘venerate’ is included in depositions in the same way that ‘hereticate’ was—as an attempt by inquisitors to explain a process for which there was no recognized label. Bishop Bernard de Castanet of Albi and Inquisitor Nicolas d’Abbeville’s inquisitorial records in Albi from 1299-1300 frequently included the word ‘hereticate’ to describe the process of becoming a Cathar perfect; as the deposed subjects would not have considered themselves heretics, they would not have used the word ‘hereticate’.⁴⁷ Associations could also be made for polemic devices. Alexandra Walsham found that while Catholic writers described the behavior of Protestants at the executions of their fellows as relic-gathering, what these reformers were really doing was gathering momentos of their departed; the Catholic writers

⁴⁶ <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf102.iv.XXII.8.html?highlight=ambrose#highlight>, Accessed 11/10/2010.

⁴⁷ Georgene Davis transcribed and edited the collection of these inquisitorial depositions. Georgene Davis, *The Inquisition at Albi, 1299-1300: Text of Register and Analysis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948).

were not so much describing events as attacking a supposed inconsistency within the reformer doctrine.⁴⁸ There are also references to the concept ‘venerate’ where that may not have described what actually happened, and instead was a polemic device. For instance, Pope Alexander III in a letter to a Swedish king decried the common people’s ‘veneration’ of a man who died in a drunken brawl.⁴⁹ Ward also described Guibert of Nogent’s account of a failed cult in Beauvais in which the townsfolk left candles at the grave of an armor-bearer who died on Maundy Thursday—this cult only lasted for one week, thus it may have just been a very public show of mourning for this deceased foreigner.⁵⁰ Much like those of Beauvais, the Apostles and Beguins were mourning people who were recently dead, but unlike them, the heretics knew their fallen and were connected to them through family or friendship. But these inquisitorial depositions are also unlike these situations above in that neither the pope nor Guibert were in the social networks of those who came to be venerated and the ‘saints’ and their cult followings had not been persecuted, even if they were perceived to have died a martyr’s death. Thus these inquisitorial depositions are unique in that they describe persecuted laypersons who are mourning their martyred dead, a situation that has no comparison in the Middle Ages.

Perhaps a better comparison for these heretical believers is with the early Christians of late antiquity. A comparison between the persecution martyrdoms of the Protestant leaders of the sixteenth century and the martyrdoms of the Apostles and Beguins is tempting, but there is a nuanced difference between the two network cultures in that the Protestant consciously avoided accessing the concept of the martyr saint, whereas the medieval heretical mendicants did not so much shy away from that trope as that it simply did not apply. The earliest Christians, however, were much like them in that they too were members of a small, persecuted cult and repeatedly witnessed the brutal execution of their friends and family. The late second century community of Smyrna in Asia Minor suffered the loss of their bishop Polycarp to execution. As per the martyrdom account by Iranaeus, the people were at first unable to carry off the remains,

⁴⁸ Alexandra Walsham, “Skeletons in the Cupboard: Relics After the English Reformation,” *Past and Present* Supplement 5 (2010): 133.

⁴⁹ Ward, *Miracles*, 186.

⁵⁰ Ward, *Miracles*, 127.

but then were able to gather the bones later to be moved to a safe place.⁵¹ Iranaeus initially stated that the reason those of Smyrna wanted to carry off their martyr's bones was to 'communicate with his holy flesh' but what that means is unclear. He continues with the account that the bones were eventually gathered, and taken to a place where the community could gather in good spirits and celebrate the anniversaries of the martyrs, presumably a regular meeting place, a forerunner of the church.⁵² All taken together, the relic gathering of Iranaeus' time does not represent veneration (the word is not even used) but a mixture of mourning and honoring the dead, one that recognizes loss while simultaneously reaffirming the Christian belief that a martyr was guaranteed entry into Paradise and this was to be celebrated. It is significant that amongst the Beguins (and likely amongst the Apostles) they too use the word 'martyr' and some even voice the logical conclusion of a heavenly reception, but this is not to say that their martyrs were understood to be saints even amongst the communities of unorthodox.

'To whom they were devoted'—the familiar saints of the Apostles and Beguins

Relic keeping, while rare amongst the Apostles, was at least traceable due to the memories of those who saw them transported. Sainthood as recognized amongst the third order and followers was more elusive; Friar Giovanni could only state that Beatrice's reason for keeping relics of burned preachers was 'because she was devoted to them.' Sister Lacarina also remarked upon the presumed sanctity of some of the sect members. She stated that when Martino, brother of a woman named Cilia (who was staying there in the hospital) came with news that the aforementioned Ugolina had been found guilty for the crime of heresy and been burned, that Iacomina, a woman also staying at Domus Dei, said she was a good and saintly woman.⁵³ This sort of sainthood is problematic from an analytical point of view—what exactly the

⁵¹ <http://www.earlychristianwritings.com/text/martyrdompolycarp-hoole.html>, accessed 11/10/2010.

⁵² <http://www.earlychristianwritings.com/text/martyrdompolycarp-hoole.html>, accessed 11/10/2010.

⁵³ "Item dixit quod, presente dicta domina Iacomina in dicta stipula, dum audivisset a Martino, fratre domine Cilie condam Iohannis Savii, de condemnatione facta de Ugolina heremita, que morabatur ad hospitale Domus Dei, et quod ipsa Ugolina pro crimine heresis fuerat combusta et mortua, ipsa testis dixit quod grande malum et peccatum factum fuerat de ipsa Ugolina, quod non erat heretica nec in mala fide; ymo erat ipsa Ugolina bona et sancta mulier et devota." Act 732.

criteria were upon which Beatrice and Iacomina determined that the unnamed preacher or Ugolina were saintly was not even hinted. Being ‘bona’ was not necessarily ‘sancta’, it was separated out, clarified. To earn the devotion of these women (who shall be presumed to be of sound mind) Ugolina and the preacher must have led lives equivalently faithful (devout or ‘devota’) to other local holy persons.

Mainstream holy persons—much like their heretical counterparts--were not necessarily recognized by the church, so there was a precedent for medieval Christians to uphold their own. One of Augustine Thompson’s important points is that the Christian of thirteenth century Italy was familiar enough with his/her faith to be discerning; they could and did consciously uphold their local faithful notables based on adherence to Christian behaviors.⁵⁴ The ‘saints’ were not just popular or wealthy (many were not), they were admired for their moral integrity and activities. Sometimes the people took the matter before the ecclesiastical hierarchy to have their saints canonized, but this was not deemed necessary by them in all cases.⁵⁵ Apostolic saints had the additional merit of martyrdom, but as will be discussed shortly, sainthood and martyrdom are not necessarily interchangeable.

But these particular Apostolic followers cannot be presumed to stand as representatives for the whole network in the Bologna area. Lacarina, Giovanni, Beatrice and Iacomina were most likely only weakly connected to the network. They were not involved enough to have been questioned when the vast majority of depositions were taken in 1303 and 1304, and Lacarina and Giovanni were never mentioned in any other deposition, while Beatrice and Iacomina were mentioned only once by Rolandino as women who came to hear him speak at one event.⁵⁶ It is therefore possible that their personal distance from the rest of the network meant that it was easier for them to perceive martyred members as saints.

With regards to the Beguins, the brothers Durban did not mention the word ‘saint’ in their *culpi*, but others who received relics and were not related to the burnt persons did use the word saint. Based on those testimonies, the

⁵⁴ Thompson, *Cities of God*, 179.

⁵⁵ Thompson, *Cities of God*, 179.

⁵⁶ See Appendix A, table 2.

word saint appeared to have a distinct meaning derived from a life and not a death. Berengarius laoul of Lodève referred to those Beguins and especially Astruga of Lodève as martyrs and saints, and it is probable he believed that the relics he was given from that burning were hers.⁵⁷ That he did not just make a blanket statement regarding unknown martyrs but specifically referred to a woman known for her vow of virginity (who he knew) suggests that he consciously made this connection of sainthood and martyrdom; in Berengere's mind it was not just the horrific death in the name of their faith that imbued sanctity, but the lives that the executed Beguins lived as well. By the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, sainthood had for the most part become a matter of a properly lived life of a holy person rather than just an outcome of death for the faith.⁵⁸ These particular Beguin women seem to have been known not just by Berengarius for their goodness but by a larger population of Beguins and associates. Bernard Pierotas, a priest in Lodève, was also present at the burnings of Lunel, and said that the same women were reputed to be condemned martyrs and saints.⁵⁹ Guillaume Serrallerii of Lodève, also present, claimed them as saints, and then extended the umbra of sainthood to the brothers at Marseille and the Beguins at Narbonne, perhaps assuming that these other persons led equally good lives.⁶⁰

As notable from Guillaume's testimony, not every Beguin who was given to bestow sanctity upon his or her burned comrades knew the martyrs, though some knew associates of them. In these cases, it is unclear as to whether the

⁵⁷ Item dixit quod quando begguini et beguine fuerunt combusti in Lunello fuit illuc et vidit eos conburi et in crastinum ipse et alii quos nominat mane iverunt versus locum ubi fuerant combusti et acceperunt et habuerunt de carnibus et ossibus eorum et secum apportaverunt et ipse Berengarius accepit etiam de carnibus cuiusdam mulieris combuse heretice et cum quodam alio, quem nominat secum apportavit Lodovam et tenuit in domo sua secrete ad hoc, ut dixit, quod si essent sancti vel reperirentur sancti, sicut per dictos begguinos sibi datum fuerat intelligit quod posset inveniri predicta; tamen carnes et ossa revelavit se habere cuidam quem nominat, in Lodova. Item dixit quod audivit pluries a quodam, quem nominat, quod dicit begguini combusti errant sancti et martires et specialiter de quadam nomine Astruga de Lodeva, quod erat sancta Astruga et martir," Manselli, *Spirituali*, 316.

⁵⁸ According to Barbara Abou-el-haj, the direction of saints' cults towards those who lived sainted lives began in the period of the sixth to eighth centuries with the veneration of missionary confessors. Barbara Abou-el-haj, *The Medieval Cult of Saints: Formations and Transformations* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 9.

⁵⁹ "Item dixit quod alia vice cum quibusdam mulieribus, quas nominat, habuit colloquium de predictis condempatis et ipse Bernardus cum eisdem mulieribus reputabant dictos condempnatos martires atque sanctos," Manselli, 318.

⁶⁰ "ab illo tempore quo fecit comburi predictos fratres minores Massilie, quos fratres minores et etiam predictos begguinos Narbone et alibi combustos reputat et credit esse sanctos Christi martires gloriosos in paradise et esse iniuste condemnatos," Manselli, *Spirituali*, 325.

deposed person actually believed them to be saints, or if perhaps the words chosen were influenced by the language of the inquisitors. Some seemed to elide the four rigorist Franciscans executed in Marseille and the Beguins in Lunel; Guillaume Dominici Verrerii heard Pierre Trencavel say that the brothers burned in Marseille and the Beguins of Narbonne were saintly martyrs in paradise.⁶¹ Yet later in same testimony Guillaume called the brothers and Beguins martyrs, not saints.⁶² Peter John Olivi was an uncanonized saint with (and perhaps for) his good, faithful, and catholic doctrine.⁶³ The sainthood of Olivi was as much a matter of popular cult and propaganda as it was a personal opinion in that prior to the sudden destruction of Olivi's relics, the Franciscans of Narbonne supported and encouraged the celebration of his feast day. Little consideration has been given to the possibility that Beguin-attributed sainthood may follow similar lines. Guillaume did not know these people, he did not know if they lived good and holy lives, all he knew was that they died a similar death to those Franciscans who were known to be rigorist and then to have maintained their faith despite pressures to recant in the face of death. Thus he may have made an assumption based on a presumed similar rigorist belief in poverty and in the works of Olivi. Or it is possible that the words themselves may have been derived from the inquisitor. Text of the questions was not included; the inquisitor may have asked from whence he heard that the Beguins were saintly and martyred, as Pierre Trencavel and his beliefs were widely known.⁶⁴

More support seems to fall on the idea of reputational sanctity as spread through well-known channels, the influential few nodes in a network that are better-connected. Bernard Maurini, a seasoned heretic and fugitive, also cited

⁶¹ "Petrus Trancavelli, quam a multis aliis, quos nominat, in diversis locis audivit reputari begguinos et begguinas Narbone et alibi condemnatos et fratres minors Massilie combustos fuisse bonos homines et esse iniuste condemnatos ipsosque esse sanctos martires in paradise et hoc idem ipsemet dixit frequentissime et credidit, sicut dixit; et specialiter quando adductus fuit captus per Avinionem et fuit excommunicatus et interrogatus per camerarium domini Pape et per dominum archiepiscopum Acquensem de mandato eiusdem domini Pape modo simili se credere respondit" Manselli, *Spirituali*, 321.

⁶² "Dixit namque se credere quod predicti fratres Massilie condemnati et etiam fratres de tertio ordine, scilicet nominate begguini, narbone et alibi condemnati et combusti, sint gloriosi martires." Manselli, *Spirituali*, 322.

⁶³ "Petrus Iohannis predictum credit esse sanctum in paradise non canonizatum et eius doctrinam esse catholicam et fidelem." Manselli, *Spirituali*, 323.

⁶⁴ John Arnold in his *Inquisition and Power, Catharism and the Confessing Subject in Medieval Languedoc* devoted considerable discussion to the idea that the discourse of inquisition had developed quite a great deal by the 1320s, and that there was a set vocabulary and procedures that guided the process and resulted in the recorded depositions.

Pierre Trencavel as a source of the belief that the burned Beguins and Franciscans were saints and martyrs.⁶⁵ Bernard was a priest like Pierotas, but he was a priest in Narbonne, and neither knew those burned in Lunel nor saw the burning. He was familiar with the Franciscans, he had been imprisoned with them. Thus both Maurini and Verrerri relied on the words of the influential Trencavel when accepting the sanctity of some portion of their extended network. They had no familiarity with some individuals, but could accept that they were saintly and holy. They knew others in the network that were executed and were willing to adopt the assertions of the ‘frequent fliers’ based on the reputation of their connections within their network cells.⁶⁶ Essentially, the martyred members have assumed positions of structural equivalence; they hold identical ties to other members in the graph of the network. During their lives, the martyred Beguins or Franciscans did not hold similar positions in their respective cells in the network; the friar as he stood in society was a mendicant, he lived by begging, while the third order affiliate was a producer, a worker and part of the economic chain. But in their deaths they come to occupy the same role, they have lost their respective earthly roles and now become objects of memory.

Conclusions

Despite the fact that both the Apostles and the Beguins had some amount of developed culture of sainthood and relics within their sects, adoption of these traditions seems to have done little to promote the former group, while the latter persevered for years under the weight of papal and inquisitorial aggression. This difference in group survival may be partly product of the relative level of saint-culture development between the sects; there is a distinct paucity of such activity amongst the Apostles, while the Beguins had their own martyrology and relic trade that was recognized by both participants and inquisitors. Whether this difference is attributable to size of groups cannot be determined—while the Franciscan third order kept records of membership, they

⁶⁵ “Interrogatus si scit aliquam seu aliquos qui crediderint vel credant dictos combustos esse sanctos et martires. Dei et in via salvationis dixit quod pluries audivit a petro trencavelli de biterri quod dicit combusti errant sancti et martires et amici dei in pluribus locis et tales eos reputabat.” Manselli, *Spirituali*, 332.

⁶⁶ See chapter 6 for a description of the frequent flier.

did not identify those who were Beguins, and no estimates were ever made as to how many members the Order of Apostles and the second and third orders amassed. But a surely a significant factor in the uptake of saint culture must have been the level of drama that pervaded the martyrdoms. The deaths of the four Franciscans in Marseille in 1318 were a well-known and well-attended event with a common understanding across the sect, and the deaths of the Beguins in Narbonne and Lunel, while not as prominent, were also emotionally affective. The power of these demonstrations of courage in the face of religious persecution and their influence on the religious sect has been explored by Paul Ormerod and Andrew P. Roach in their article, “*Emergent Scale-Free Social Networks in History: Burning and the Rise of English Protestantism.*” Here the authors determined that the burnings were particularly effective in attracting popular sympathy for the doctrine of these heroic persons, but equally as important was that there was a network of awareness by which knowledge of these martyrdoms could spread.⁶⁷

The Beguins, who were exposed to the gruesome deaths of their comrades just like the early Christians, underwent the same process of assimilating and comprehending these events in terms of reaffirmation of their righteousness while mourning their dead. In contrast, the death of Segarelli was noted only by inquisitors, and no deposition collected in Bologna or Modena contained any description of the martyrdoms of the preachers. These particular executions seem to have been accomplished without a crowd or fanfare, and the result was the martyrs did not become popular saints for the followers of the Apostles, but were simply erased.

⁶⁷ Paul Ormerod and Andrew P. Roach, “Emergent Scale-Free Social Networks in History: Burning and the Rise of English Protestantism” *Cultural Science*, 11.

Conclusion

The Apostolic Order in many ways resembled the Franciscan order. It too was the product of a late medieval spiritual renewal amongst the laity and was founded by a charismatic layman dedicated to poverty. Joachite thought had a profound effect on both mendicant orders as it travelled through the social networks of volatile Emilia Romagna and southern France. The Calabrian abbot's prophecies of a third status ushered in by 'monastics' became a reference to them in the minds of the friars and combined with aspects of the political scene, this became the impetus to become increasingly apocalyptic and heretical. These movements in the mendicant orders forced writers within the Franciscan order in particular to respond to them, and as demonstrated in chapter 3 this led to an evolution in how obedience, heresy and poverty were considered. While Joachite speculation was not considered heretical by authors within the order before the turn of the 14th century, by the time of the Beguin persecutions, the rigorist perspective was considered to be disobedient and heretical.

The Apostolic Order and the Spiritual Franciscans/Beguins both temporarily survived papal condemnation and inquisitorial attention for the same three reasons—both orders received official and unofficial assistance from accepted powers, strong ties within the orders made prosecution difficult, and the full force of ecclesiastical power was only brought to bear after years of half-hearted efforts. But this thesis has demonstrated that the effect of these characteristics was not necessarily equal. The Colonnas were powerful cardinals, but their veil of protection only extended to the friars, and ultimately not even to them. Bishop Obizzo could not protect Segarelli in absentia, but the Apostles flourished in Parma even after Lyons II. The mere priests, however, seem to have had the most effect. Even during the height of persecution in Bologna, Apostolic friars could travel from church to church receiving shelter, while in Languedoc Beguin priests such as Maurini could rely on the assistance of their contacts to remain out of inquisitorial clutches.

Both mendicant groups were strongly interconnected, but the Apostles' ties to each other were so strong that they were able to effectively resist implicating one another until put in a position in which they had no other

choice. The Beguins, by contrast, were most likely known by reputation, thus, they could not effectively use strategies of silence to avoid revealing one another, but could still serve as fautors and receivers for fugitives. When the supporters of the Apostolics and Beguins were forced to account for their actions, the information they revealed was essentially the data of their scale-free social networks. In these networks, as it was shown here, not all heretics occupied the same role—some were crucial to the system as ‘frequent flyers’ or receivers, and some were occasional visitors.

Ultimately what permitted both the Apostles and the Beguins/Spiritual Franciscans to continue even after their disobedience had been identified was a diffusion of attention. The Apostolic Order was one of several officially disbanded mendicant orders following Lyons II, but even dealing with these groups was a less important issue than the troubles over evangelical poverty within the Franciscan order. Boniface VIII was the first pope to concentrate extermination efforts on the order, but even his interest was diffused across several dissident groups including the Fraticelli and Celestines. Clement V chose to address the Apostles after pressure from the bishop of Novara, but at the same time pressed for peace between the rigorist Franciscans and the larger community, which left the succeeding pope John XXII to combat heresy and once again take up the issue of poverty with regards to the dissident Minorites.

That popes had to choose between dealing with the Apostles or the Beguins and rigorist friars on the same level and often with the same tools eludes to one of the main points of this thesis—that the Apostles and by extension their supporters were not exceptional, but similar to other mendicant groups. As well, though, the Apostles are a medieval example of a particular sort of religious zealot—the apocalyptic. If this is indeed the case, then this network research on them has implications. One of those implications is that as the Apostles and Beguins are each particularly easy to study at a particular point in their time line due to the captured data, complete analysis of one group at that particular point in time can be used to inform the equivalent period for the other group. As well, the understanding that was arrived at in this thesis that the Apostolic supporters were engaged at various levels with the network and that they were not necessarily even familiar with the doctrine imparts a new vision of modern heterodox religious sects in which not all members are tied to

the group through strong religious beliefs. Finally this study informs our notions of modern religious zealotry in that while it may appear that ‘the group’ was destroyed in a particular event such as the battle on Monte Rubello between crusaders and the Apostolics, there is often a remainder of believers who were not lured or will not be lured into participating in an a particularly decisive action, and while these people are not likely to become violently rebellious, they do serve as a support network for those that espouse the beliefs. One of the benefits of having this example of religious zealotry that did turn violent is that most modern history apocalyptic groups are not studied before they are destroyed, and at that point their social networks are lost to research.

This has left some unanswered questions that should be the focus of future research. During that entire period, they received support from from various allies, who knew these mendicants were disobedient; were these allies unconcerned with the transgressions, or were they not aware? This is not so much a question regarding the French Beguins, but rather the commune of Bologna and the contado, or the other Italians who supported the Fraticelli. Another unexplored question is whether the development of apocalypticism within the heretical mendicant sects had any effect on the membership of those sects. The depositions used for this study—with the exception of Prous Boneta-- gave no indication in any direction as to whether the followers were attracted or remained in the sect because of the apocalyptic bent, or in spite of it. As well it is not clear what the continued trajectory of these sects may have been. The Apostles and Beguins/Spiritual Franciscans may have faded away over time if the galvanizing threat of persecution had not been applied, or they may have evolved as early Christianity did away from a belief in immediately imminent Parousia and towards a more stable theology. Answering those questions has relevance for not just these subjects at hand, but for understanding other sectarian groups. While the Apostolic Order and the Beguins/Spiritual Franciscans have long been gone, the notions of sectarianism and apocalypticism are no longer incomprehensible at the borders of mainstream culture and religion.

Appendix A: Tables Derived from Inquisitorial Records Used for Constructing Networks

Part 1: Acts of the Inquisition of Bologna

Table 1, Zacharius (Zaccaria) of Santa Agnata
611

Names of members of the Order of Apostles/sect of Apostles

Dolcino

Rolandinus (Rolandino) Ollis of Modena

Frederichus Rampa of Novara

Frater Baldricus de Brisia

Bernardinus (Bernardo) Bononiensis of Sanctus Felicis

Petrus (Pietro) and Giovanni (Giovanni), brothers and sons of Gerardinus (Gerardo) Trughi of Mongiorgio

Iacobus (Iacopone) Magnoli of Mongiorgio--novice

Giovanni (Giovanni) of Zapolino--novice

Amedeus of Balugola, Modena

Chara (Chiara) of Modena

Ysa (Isa) of Modena

Iacobus (Iacopone) of Fregnano

Hugolinus (Ugolino) of Ferrara (letter carrier)

Michaelis (Michele) of Ferrara (who put letters in various places)

Yvanus of Ferrara

612

Thomax (Tommaso), rector of the hospital of San Stefano**knew

Nicholao (Nicola) of Migarano and wife Iohanna (Giovanna)

Berardus (Bernardo) Chalegari

Rodulfus Golletii (his son Giovanni is of the sect)

Gerardinus (Gerardo) of Monte Marvo, presbyter

Benvenuta of Mongiorgio

Guilliemus (Guglielmo) of Mongiorgio (here taught Pietro and Iohannus, sons of Gerardinus)

Huguitonis (Uguccione) of Samodia

(Gerardus) Gerardo and Guidinus (Guido) (brothers of Huguitonis, Samodia)

Geardictus notary of Samodia

Yvanus and Cecillia and her sister, daughters of Yvanus

Uguitonis (Uguccione) of Lisola of Mongiorgio

(Petrus) Pietro teste of Mongiorgio

Guillielma and her daughter, Bertholomea (present here were Deolay of Balugola, Ugo of Solegnano) of Piumazzo

Iohannucius of Sant'Elena (where Rolandino was staying)

Zaninus of Chosta of Mongiorgio

Salvittus (Salvatore) of Sant'Elena

Damianus (Damiano) Bianchi of Sant'Elena

Hugolinus (Ugolino) of Monte Chalvo

613

Canons Trachedus, Bondi and Ubaldinus (dominus) of Santa Maria Maggiore

Maglus son of domina Placidia

Bonavisina, niece of Phylippus of Ponzano

Desolus of Chocano (here present were his mother and nephew of archpriest of Galluciis)

Corvolus, presbyter

Virdiana of Mongiorgio

Gerardinus (Gerardo) Trughi of Mongiorgio and Maria, his wife

Bondus of Mongiorgio (and his brother Accones)

Bonagratus of Mongiorgio, presbyter

Alberto (Alberto) of Lolma of Mongiorgio and Blasius

Martinus (Martino) Valentinus of Santo Giovanni Impersiceto

Iohannis (Giovanni) Poli of the land/diocese of San Giovanni

Phylippus, tabernarii of Casi

Baldancinus of Casi

614

Brunellus of Bologna

Acconis of Bologna

Michaelis (Michele) Osti of Bologna (Sant'Elena)

Iohannis (Giovanni) Ribaldini Calzolaris of San Felice, magister

Aspectatus of Sant'Elena

Iulianus (Giuliano) and Ducius (Duccio), brothers, sons of Petrus (Pietro) of Puteo

Secundinus of Brisia, who wrote letters dictated by Dolcino, was in the villa Zeno Valdis Condinus, Trento diocese

Alberto (Alberto) of the same region

615

Petrus Bonus (Pietro Bonito) Agucolus

Deolay of Modena

Paulus of Modena

Table 2, Rolandino Ollis of Modena, brother of Gerardini Ollis

618

Receivers

Hugolinus (Ugolino) of Monte Chelvulus, Modena and his wife Vecosa

Ugolina, hermitess

Martinus (Martino) of Fredo, Modena

Melius of Cremona (here met Icholaus (Nicola) of Parma, Nicholaus (Nicola) son of Labelosa of Cremona, Ambrosinus, Guidonus, Ottoboninus of Cremona)

Carnelvaris of Sighicis of Fredo (here were Beatrice and Iacopina, Ysa of Modena, Horasay wife of Bonaparis of Modena and Bertea came to see him)

Hugolinus (Ugolino) of Monte Chabullus, his wife and son Petrus (Pietro) (Amedeus and Deolay of Balugola, Ansvysia of Fregnano, Giovanni of Serra, Nicola of Ferrara came to see him)

Rolandus (Rolandino) of Varana

Iohannus (Giovanni) and Iacobus (Iacopone), at the abbey of Frassinicho

Luchisia of Montis Cineris (Bartholucius, Giovanni Maroselli, Iacobus (Iacopo) of Fregnano, Guillieminus of Fregnano and Ieminianus of Fregnano came to see him)

Presbyter of Bonchonovo

Balugola—hermite

Manfredinus (Manfredo) of Bosco

Guidoctus of of Bosco

Ingrame of same place

Petrus (Pietro) and Bartholomeus (Bartolomeo) of Livicanus of Modena (Ysa, Hugolinus of Monte Calbullus and his wife, Rigus of Solegnano and his wife and Hugolinus(Ugo) his son, Zaccaria of Santa Agnata, presbyter of Livizano came to see him. Bonito of Bonacis also)

Enrico of Solegnano (Guizardina of Solegnano, Ysa, Thodesca of Panario, Guglielmo Ferrarius of Modena came to see him)

Rosa of Gaco (Iohanna of Pregnano came)

Guillielmina of Piumazzo (Zaccaria, Bernardo of San Felice, Giovanni of Ponzano, Rigus of Solegnano, Nicola of Ferrara, Bernardo of Monte Vallaro, Iacobus (Iacopo) of Fregnano and Roberta of Piumazzo came)

Alberto of Ollis of Piumazzo (Roberta and Ugolina came)

Richeldina (from Ferrara, Gisela of Piumazzo, Ugolina of Piumazzo came)

Vitale and Giovanni his brother (Vivianus came, brought bible)

Giovanni and Bona Osti in Sant'Elena (Bernardinus of Bologna, Zaccaria, Enrico of Solegnano, Bartholomeus, Pietro Dalpra, Hugolinus of Monte Chabulli, Ysa of Mutina, Chiara, Giovanni and Pietro, Iacopo of Mongiorgio, Michele of Sant'Elena and wife, Guglielmo of Sant'Elena)

Guglielmo Bianchi and Benvenuta his wife (Damiano his brother, Vivelda his daughter, Giovanni and Bartholomea Osti of Burgo Lama and a tonsured man came to hear him)

Damiano Bianchi of Sant'Elena (Giovanni and Bona Osti of Burgo Lama, Vivelda, Bartholomea present)

Wife of Salvatore of Sant'Elena (Salvatore, Iacobo of Mongiorgio)

Iohannis (Giovanni) Ribaldinus of San Felice

Heremitorio near Bologna in the burg of San Mammi, met Milancia, and three other heremitas

Symon of Gorzano, brother

(715)

Receivers and events

Iohannis (Giovanni) Ribaldini of the burg of Saint Felice (set up meeting with Master Iacobus doctor and Master Pietro scholar—they mentioned that Zaccaria had many friends in the city of Bologna amongst the priests of Santa Maria Maggiore)

Tommaso

Faciolus staying Bologna

Pietro Zacharie of Piumazzo (took him elsewhere, where he preached to Francesca and Marchexana) (also Sovrano, cleric of Piumazzo, was with Rolandino)

heard said in the land of Caxalicli to Zaccaria and Bernardo of Santo Felice that Dominus Michele, Order of the Brothers of Santa Maria was friendly to the faction of Dolcino

Maria wife of Raynerius (Raniero)

Bertholomea of Piumazzo (called Domina Francesca, wife of Francesco Petri Zacharie, and Domina Marchexana, sister of Pietro when Alberto preached)

Principles of sept? (from 618)

Dolcino of Novara

Margarita of Trento

Longinus of Pergamo

Albertinus (Alberto) of Trento diocese

Brother Baldrichus of Brisia

Frederichus Grampa of Novara

Dolcino

Chiara of Modena of Sellis

Giliolo of Foligno

Giovanni of Capolino

Table 3, Damianus (Damiano), son of Benvenutus (Benvenuto) Bianchi, Sant'Elena 633

Said he knew no heretics, nor helped them.

Zaccaria (received)

Bernardo

643—corrigere and emendare his words

Rolandino—he gathered in Guglielmo's house Damiano, Bona Osti of Burgo
Lame, Giovanni Osti, Guglielmo, Vivelda

751—meliorando his testimony

Didn't know Pietro dal Pra was of group, believed Zaccaria was good, etc.

Table 4, Guilielmus (Guglielmo), son of Benvenutus (Benvenuto) Bianchi, Sant'Elena, 634

He knew others of the apostles, but no heretics

Ugo of Santa Agata

Bernardo of San Felice

Pacifico of Bologna

Brother Alberto of Varignana

(later in 640 added) Rolandino of Modena

641

meliorando

Rolandino gathered Guglielmo, Benvenuta his wife, Damiano his brother, Giovanni and Bona Osti of Burgo Lame, Vivelda Damiano' daughter, others at his home

Table 5, Vivelda, daughter of Damianus (Damiano) Blanchi, Sant'Elena
635

Friar Ugo of Cloches

Zaccaria

Bernardo of Bologna

644

meliorando

Rolandino—he gathered at home of Giovanni and Bona Osti of Lame, Bertholomea of Piumazzo

Rolandino—gathered at home of Guglielmo (Guglielmo, Giovanni, Bona, Vivelda, and two others of the Apostles, Damiano)

In the barn of Damiano—Rolandino preached to Giovanni and Bona Osti of Burgo Lame, and two men and several women of the Apostles)

Table 6, Salvettus (Salvatore) Petricoli of the Burg Panigale, Sant'Elena
(husband of Maria Osti)

636

Bernardo

Alberto of Varignana

Ugo of Cloches, brother

Zaccaria (received)

Many others

Admitted to leading them to his house

750

Knew and received with his wife and family

Rolandino

Pietro dal Pra

Giovanni Osti of Burgo Lame

Table 7, Giovanni Bianchi of Sant'Elena, brother of Damiano, Gerardo, Guido, and Guglielmo; father of Benvenuti, Francesco, and Giovanni, 639 Ugo (Ugo)

Bernardo of San Felice (received)

Zaccaria

(said he didn't go to Bona and Giovanni Osti of Burgo Lame to talk about heresy)

knew Giovanni and Bona were receivers

Table 8, Alberto (Alberto) of Ollis of Piumazzo, husband of Bonvixina, 646

Rolandino Ollis of Modena (he received)

Vitale Controli of Piumazzo received Rolandino, he gathered— Giovanni and Michele, sons of Alberto of Lirano, Giovanni brother of Vitale, Vivianus, monk of Santa Maria

Enrico of Solegnano

Pietro Dalpra (received)

Richelda, daughter of Billina and of a priest of Piumazzo—here were Roberta of Lirano and Ugolina her sister, Giovanni their brother, and Benvenuta, wife of Iacopone ferrarii of Piumazzo

(from Henrico, heard) Guglielmo Bianchi and Iohanucii of Sant'Elena

Table 9, Dominus Master Iacobus (Iacopo) Mantighellis 650

Dolcino

Zaccaria

Longinus and Alberto of Trento

Perhaps Rolandino Ollis of Modena

Zaccaria

Tommaso

Domina Placidia

Dominus Nicholaus (Nicola)

Ubaldinus

Domina Iohanna (Giovanna)

Dominus Trancedus

776

Meliorando

Was at place of breadmaker Facioli of Novo Burgo

Dominus Tommaso, rector

Master Pietro de Uncola

(heard Dolcino)

Table 10, Dominus Frater Andreas (Andrea), Order of the Servants of Santa Maria, 676

Salvatore of Sant'Elena

Giovanni Osti of Burgo Lame

Damiano or Guglielmo brothers in Sant'Elena

Table 11, Ugolina, daughter of Alberto of Lirano, sister of Giovanni Albertini, Marie, Michele and Roberga

689

Giovanni, step-son of Manus (receiver)

Vitale (receiver)

Giovanni, his brother

Richelda presbiterissa

Rolandino

717

meliorando

Guillielmina (receiver) where gathered Benvenuta mother of Vitale, Berta Guarini of Piumazzo, Benvenuta feraria of Piumazzo. Heard Pietro dal Pra here

Pietro dal Pra

Sovranus (receiver of Pietro, she was fautor)

Alberto Ollis of Piumazzo (receiver)—met Roberta, Benvenuta, Margarita puppa of Piumazzo, where Rolandino preached

Table 12, Vitalis (Vitale), son of Manus of Piumazzo, 692

Meliorando

Rolandino (received him)

Giovanni, his brother, led Rolandino to his house

Ugolina Albertini of Lirano and Giovanni her brother, Alberto Ollis, Giovanni, brother of Vitale, Richelda of Piumazzo came to his house, heard Rolandino

Table 13, Iacobus (Iacopo), son of Petricinus of Mongiorgio, 703

Rolandino

Giovanni and Pietro, brothers and sons of Gerardinus Trughi of Mongiorgio

Longinus of Pergamo

Nicola of Regno

Nicola of Ferrara

Brother Gerardo of Tiglola

Gilius of Foligno

Ysa of Mutina

Bartholomea of Piumazzo

Primeria of Castro Novo

Alberto of Trento

Giovanni of Novara

Martino of Mediolano

Pietro dal Parto

Bartolomeo, brother of Pietro

Ricchus of Solegnano

Ugo, Ricchus' brother

Phylippus of Fredo, Modena

Benedetto of Mongiorgio

Bernardo of San Felice

Iacopo of Fregnano

Guglielmo his brother

Ieminianus of Fregnano

Giovanni of Fregnano

Bernardo of Monte Vallario

Saw Rolandino in Agnane, Modena at Aldrevandinus of Agnano's house.

Saw Pietro in terra Prato

Saw Rolandino in barn of Damiano, along with Bona Osti, and Vivelda. He ate at Bona's house.

Saw Rolandino at Salvatore's house.

Was received by Bonavisina in Mongiorgio.

Received by Guglielmo of Tramonti of Mongiorgio

Was received by Damiano and wife.

In place of Amecla, heard Longinus and met with Zaccaria, Blaxius of Mongiorgio, Guido of Panceris and others.

Bonagratias, presbyter, received him.

Table 14, Albergiptus, son of Gerardo Trughi of Mongiorgio, 704
Receiver?--Pietro and Giovanni, brothers, Iacopo Petricini, brother Gerardo of Montombrario.

Table 15, Benvenutus (Benvenuto), son of Giovanni Bianchi, Sant'Elena 709
Knew no heretics

Table 16, Petrus (Pietro) dal Pra, son of Domienico of Livizanus, 714
(Modenese, condemned with Rolandino)

Zaccaria

Deolay

Berga in Piumazzo--he gathered Beatrice daughter of Iordanus Bocchadeferri and Sovranus of same

Iohannellus, brother of Vitale of Piumazzo

Bartholomea of Piumazzo

Iohannellis Osti of Burgo Lame

721

meliorando

Guglielmo in Sant'Elena

Damiano of Sant'Elena

Salvatore

Alberto Ollis of Modena

Beatrice in the contado of Montis Fredus (present were Gualando Gerardini, Sovrano)

Bonamici, of terra Castri Veteris--Giovanni of Medola, Primeria of Castro Novo, Margarita, wife of Benedetto Sabadini of Solegnano, Bartholomea

Aldrevandinus of Aglano--Rolandino, Primeria, many others

Enrico of Solegnano and Ugolinus and Adelecta

Phylippus of Pallagano

Ugo of Monte Calvo

Table 17, Iohannis (Giovanni) Albertini of Lirano, son of Alberto of Lirano, brother of Ugolina, Maria, Michele and Roberta
691

meliorando

Saw Rolandino at Vitale's house—here were Giovanni brother of Vitale, Alberto of Ollis, Ugolina sister of Giovanni Albertini, Vivianus

Rolandino at Berga's home

Ugolina and Berga were domestics to Guilliellmina

718

Meliorando

Alberto Ollis, who received Rolandino (here were Alberto, Bonavixina his wife, Iohannello brother of Vitale, and Bartolino Balugano of Piumazzo),

Rolandino also stayed at/ preached in house of presbiterissa, present were Albertino, Sovrano, Iohannello, Roberta his own sister, Benvenuta Ferrara and Richelda and Francesca presbiterrissa.

Heard Rolandino later where Roberta, Richelda of Bazano, and Benvenuta of Ferrara were present.

Pietro dal Pra also received by presbitisseras—he and his wife visited

Table 18, Domina Benvenuta from Ferrara, wife of Iacobinus (Iacopo) of Piumazzo, 722

Guillilemina of Piumazzo—here gathered Bartholomea, Marchesana wife of Premartini, Francesca wife of Pietro Zacharie, Agnexia sister of Francesca, Ugolina and Roberta of Lirano, and Bonavixina, wife of Alberto Ollis

Domina Roberta of Lirano—received Pietro (here gathered Ugolina, Richelda, Tommasina, Margarita, Betixia, Ghixela)

Pietro Zacharie—received Rolandino (gathered here Pietro, Francesca, Marchexana, Pietro Clericus and Ghixela relative of Pietro)

In house of presbyterissas—Roland preached to Roberta, Alberto Ollis, Bonavixina, Iohannellus brother of Vitale, Michele brother of Roberta, Bartolinus baluganus, Ghixela, Maria Giunxii of Rastilino, and Richelda daughter of Prevedini of Piumazzo)

Richelda Scurtighini of Piumazzo—received Pietro dal Pra (here gathered Richelda, Tommasina wife of Bartholomeus of San Vito, Bartolinus)

Corbellus, her own brother—received Rolandino and Pietro (here gathered Beatrice wife of Corbellus, Aldrevandinus brother of Corbellus, Guidoctus of Ferrara, Zaninus and Boninsegna, Sovranus, Ghibertina Gerardini Maraschi and Gerardo.

Clerighinus, son of Corbellus

Giovanni Balugani of Piumazzo—Pietro (here gathered Bertolinus brother of Iohannis, Maxettus and Domenico, brothers of Giovanni, Ymelda their sister, Bellina wife of Iohannis and wife of Bartholinus, Beatrice wife of Stephaninus, Iohannellus, brother of Vitale)

Table 19, Presbiter Venturus (Ventura), prior of San Antonio, 723
Zaccaria

Rolandino

Giovanni, priest who received Zaccaria

Table 20, Ser Corbellus, son of Clericus of Montebellio, 724
Benvenuta, his sister

Pietro dal Pra (he received) (gathered Corbello, Benvenuta, Zanino of Ferrara notary, Bonisegna and Guidocto his siblings, Domina Beatrice, wife of Corbellus)

Sovranus Bochadeferri

Rolandino (received)

Gualandus Gerardini of Montebellio

Table 21, Presbyter Iohannes (Giovanni), son of Pietro de Cappolino, Canon of the church of San Antonio of Via San Vitale, 726
Zaccaria

Rolandino

And others

Table 22, Gualandus, son of Gerardinus Guaraschus of Montebellio, 727
Went on trip with Beatrice daughter of Iordanis of Piumazzo, Michele of Ferrara, and Sovranus son of Bocchadeferri to reach Dolcino—went to Bologna, Romagna province, Ravenna, Argenta, Ferrara, Mantua, various cities in Novara,

Rolandino

Pietro dal Pra

Beatrice

Corbellus (at his home, Pietro dal Pra, Michele Ferrara)

Sovranus (who came to Beatrice because he was trying to hide, fearing martyrdom)

Marchus Bonacii of Piumazzo came to them while on trip

Table 23, Frater Bartholus of the Mass of Saint Peter of the Order of Servants of Saint Mary, 733

Rolandino

Guglielmo Bianchi of Sant'Elena, and his wife, who were receivers

Table 24, Dominus Tranchodus, son of Rogerius of Musello, canon of the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, 745

Meliorando

Zaccaria, knew he was a heretic and reprobate

Table 25, Dominus Bondi, son of Belondi of Florence, canon of the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, 746

Meliorando

Zaccaria, knew he was a heretic

Table 26, Dominus Pax (Pacifico), rector of the church of San Benedetto of the burg of Galeria and canon of the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, 748
Meliorando

Zaccaria, knew he was a heretic

Table 27, Dominus Thomax(s) (Tommaso), rector of the hospital of San Stefano in the city of Bologna, 753
Meliorando

Zaccaria, and received him, knowingly

Bernardo of San Felice of Bologna

Faciolus of Bologna

Dolcino

Magister Iacopo Mantegellis, who was present when he heard Dolcino

A Master in the arts of the Notary

Other priests

Table 28, Betixia or Betisia (Beatrice), daughter of Dominus Iordanus of Bochadefferis of Piumazzo, 756
Berga (Roberta) of Lirano

Sovranus Bochadeferri

Pietro dal Pra

Benvenuta of Ferrara, wife of Iacopo of Piumazzo

Rolandino

Corbellus, brother of Benvenuta

Gualandus of Marascis

Imola and Ymola

Ugolinus of Solegnano

Vecosa of Modena

(also stayed at Saint Lazarus)

Table 29, Frater Bonifacius (Bonifacio) Brother of the Order of Penitence, son of Dominus Lambertinus (Lamberto) of the church of San Stefano, 777 Dolcino

Were present when Dolcino preached: Tommaso, Iacopo Mantegellis, Magister Pietro, Andreas son of Iohannis of the same brotherhood, Bertucius, Giovanni Ribaldini of San Felice, Zaccaria, and Bernardo of San Felice.1301

Table 30, Petrus (Pietro) son of Dominus Thomasinus of Rodiiano, 779 Gerardo Porcellus of Monumbrario

Margarita, wife of Jacob, who received Gerardo

Ymelda, wife of Aldrevandinus

Aldrevandinus

Stella Clara, wife of Campioli

Andaloa

Berta, sister of Andalois

Benedetto of Mongiorgio

Guidina, wife of Alberto

Symonis, son of Guidina

Table 31, Domina Francesca, wife of Francishi Pietro Cacharie of Piumazzo 793

Rolandino

Pietro Cacharie, her spouse

Pietro Clericus

Magister Antonio

Benvenuta of Ferrara now of Piumazzo

796

Bona, hermitess

797

Bona's name was Bartholomea of Savigno (was burned)

Table 32, Domina Marchesana, wife of Dominus Pomartinus of Piumazzo, 794

Rolandino

Pietro Cacharie

(didn't know any other names)

Table 33, Mancolus son of Bonacursius of Panigale, 800
Coleta, who was also called Zulittina Pelegrini

Table 34, Dominica, daughter of Stephanus of La Rovore of Rovoretoli near Bologna, 798

Knew Bona

Table 35, Soror Maria, hermitess in Panigale near Modena, 801
Bona, alias Bartholomea of Savigno

Bartholomea of Piumazzo

Table 36, Presbiter Gerardinus (Gerardo), rector of the church of San Giovanni of Monte Marvo, Bologna diocese, 607

Zaccaria

Bernardo of Bologna of San Felice

Pietro and Giovanni, brothers, sons of Gerardo Trughi

Benedetto Mulnarii of Mongiorgio

Amadeus or Hugolinus of Solegnano

Brother Guizardinus of Modena

Chiara of Sellis

Ansvysia of Modena

Sylva of Trento

Giovanni son of Rodulfi of Zapolino

Table 37, Presbyter Corvolus, Capelanus of the church of Saint Sysmondus of Mongiorgio, 606

Knew, held friendship, received, believed they were good men

Guizardinus, friar

Pietro Bonito Agucolus of Modena

Zaccaria

Giovanni son of Gerardinus Trughi

Benedetto mulnarii of Mongiorgio

Table 38, Ansalon son of Rolandino of Mongiorgio, 605

Guizardinus

Alberto of Modena

Ugo of Santa Agata

Pietro Bonito of Modena

Zaccaria of Saint Agata

Alberto of Olma

Guglielmo Mulnarii

Blasius son of Giovanni

Priest Bonagratia

Maria, his lover

Table 39, Blasius, son of Giovanni of Mongiorgio, 604
Dolcino of Novara

Pietro Bonito Agucolus of Modena

Deolaytus of Balugola

Zaccaria

Nicola of Ferrara

Sylva of Trento

Ansvysia of Modena

Chiara of Sellis of Modena

Pietro and Giovanni, brothers, sons of Gerardo Trughi

Iacopo son of Petricinus of Mongiorgio

Benedetto of Collina

Bartholomea of Piumazzo

Guillielmina of Piumazzo, mother of Bartholomea

Benvenuta hermita of Mongiorgio

Guglielmo of Mulnarii of Mongiorgio

Maria lover of Ansalon of Mongiorgio

Alberto of Mongiorgio

Presbyter Bonagratus, Mongiorgio

Presbyter Corvolus of Mongiorgio

Gerardo Trughi

Albergiptus, Gerardo son of Mongiorgio

Table 40, Petrus (Pietro) Bonito, formerly Zamboni of Modena, 79
(had been questioned before, by Aghisius of Pergamo, etc)

Guizardinus, who inducted him

Gerardo Segarelli (had been incarcerated, he saw him frequently before that)

Table 41, Petrus (Pietro) of Monumbrario, Modena, 78
(had been questioned before by Leo of Parma)

Information regarding mid 1290s, five years before from 1299

Bonavitta of Florence, who lauded Gerardo Segarelli

Table 42, Frater Gerardinus (Gerardo) (without order), 77
Pietro Bonito of Guzolo

Guido Cistela

Bernardo of Monte Valario in Modena

(another) Pietro

Table 43, Lambertinus (Lamberto), son of Martinus (Martino) of Mongiorgio, 700

Bonavisina, daughter of Rolandino of Ponzano

Albergiptus Gerardi of Ponzano

Giovanni Bernardo of the valley of Mongiorgio

Iacopo Petricini Magagnoli of Ponzano

Giovanni and Petricius, brothers and sons of Gerardo Trughi of Mongiorgio

Maria, wife of Ghibertini of Costa (knew her to be a receiver)

Zaninus, son of Maria (knew him to be a receiver)

Gerardo Trughi (knew him to be a receiver)

Gerarducius Petricini Magagnoli (knew him to be a receiver)

Table 44, Frater Formentinus of Mediolano, Order of the Servants and Santa Maria, 702

Rolandino

Pietro Sacchus, who instructed him that Rolandino was in the home of Guglielmo

Guglielmo Bianchi of Sant'Elena

Giunta, wife of Guglielmo, brought Formentinus to Rolandino

Damiano Bianchi and wife

Salvatore Petricoli of Sant'Elena and wife

Bona and Giovanni Osti

Bartholomea of Piumazzo

Part 2—Lodève Culpi

Table 45, Bernardus (Bernard) Durban of Claromonte

Esclarmonda Durban

Table 46, Berengarius (Berenger) Rocha of Claromonte

Priest Pierre Brunius

Jean Durban

Esclarmonda Durban

Jean Holerii

Table 47, Martinus (Martin) of Saint Antoine of Claromonte

Esclarmonda Durban

Table 48, Berengarius (Berenger) laoul of Lodève

Astruga of Lodève

Bernard Bosc, receiver

Helio

Pierre Arruffat of Narbonne

Table 49, (Bernardus) Bernard Peirotas, Priest of Lodève

Bernard Bosc

Deodatus Bosc

Jean Canut

Helionis Helyonis

Table 50, Alarassus Biasse, Nephew of Pierre Jean Olivi

Pierre Trencavel

Table 51, Guillielmus (Guillaume) Dominici Verrerii of Narbonne

Pierre Trencavel

Table 52, Guillielmus (Guillaume) Serrallerii of Lodève

Guillaume Verrerii

Pierre Trencavel

Table 53, Petrus (Pietro) Espere-en-Diu

Guillaume Verrerii

Bernard Maurini

Table 54, Bernardus (Bernard) Maurini

Pierre Trencavel

Berenger Hulardus of Narbonne

Marinus

Bertrand Anniati

Bertrand

Dominus Hugo

Andrea daughter of Pierre Trencavel

Alasaicia

Jacoba

Elis Castras

Raimunda Squirola

Guillelma

Hugone R

Guilelmo R

Appendix B

Chart of the

Apostolic Order

Name	Table	Gender	Position	outdegree 1	outdegree 2	sum outdegrees	indegree 1	indegree 2	sum indegrees
Zaccaria	1	Male	Preacher	21	53	74	3	16	19
Rolandino Ollis	2	Male	Preacher	15	78	93	3	20	23
Damiano Bianchi	3	Male	Receiver	4	4	8	5	4	9
Guglielmo bianchi	4	Male	Receiver	5	5	10	4	5	9
Vivelda, d Dam	5	Female	Other	4	5	9	2	2	4
Salvatore petricoli	6	Male	Receiver	6	1	7	2	0	2
Giovanni Bianchi	7	Male	Receiver	3	2	5	0	0	0
Alberto Lirano	8	Male	Receiver	3	12	15	2	4	6
M. Iacopo o man	9	Male	Other	4	7	11	0	2	2
Fr. Andrea, MM	10	Male	Other	0	4	4	0	1	1
Ugolina, d Alberto	11	Female	Other	2	13	15	1	4	5
Vitale, s Controli	12	Male	Receiver	1	6	7	2	4	6
Iacopo s Petricinus	13	Male	Preacher	26	12	38	2	3	5
Albergiptus, s Ger.	14	Male	Receiver	4	0	4	0	2	2
Pietro dal Pra	16	Male	Preacher	6	20	26	2	8	10
Giovanni Albertini	17	Male	Other	2	13	15	1	1	2
Benvenuta Feraria	18	Female	Other	2	39	41	0	6	6
P. Ventura	19	Male	Receiver	2	1	3	0	0	0
S. Corbellus	20	Male	Receiver	2	7	9	0	3	3
P. Giovanni	21	Male	Receiver	2	0	2	0	0	0
Gualandus s Gerardinus	22	Male	Other	3	5	8	1	1	2
Fr. Bartholus	23	Male	Other	1	2	3	0	0	0
C. Trachedus	24	Male	Receiver	1	0	1	1	0	1
C. Bondi	25	Male	Receiver	1	0	1	1	0	1

C. Pacifico	26	Male	Receiver	1	0	1	0	0	0
R. Tommaso	27	Male	Receiver	4	2	6	2	2	4
Beatrice, d Iordanus	28	Female	Receiver	2	9	11	1	3	4
F. Bonifacio	29	Male	Other	3	6	9	0	0	0
Pietro, s Thomas	30	Male	Other	1	9	10	0	0	0
Francesca, w Pietro Marchesana, w Pomartinus	31	Female	Other	2	4	6	1	1	2
	32	Female	Other	1	1	2	1	1	2
Mancolus, s Bon.	33	Male	Other	1	0	1	0	0	0
Dominica, d Steph.	34	Female	Other	1	0	1	0	0	0
S. Maria	35	Female	Other	1	1	2	0	0	0
R. Gerardo	36	Male	Receiver	11	0	11	1	0	1
C. Corvolo	37	Male	Receiver	5	0	5	0	1	1
Ansalon, s Rol.	38	Male	Receiver	5	5	10	0	0	0
Blasius, s Iohannis	39	Male	Receiver	13	9	22	0	1	1
Pietro Bonito	40	Male	Preacher	2	0	2	1	4	5
Pietro of M umbr	41	Male	Preacher	1	0	1	0	0	0
Lamberto	43	Male	Other	1	10	11	0	0	0
Fr. Gerardo	42	Male	Preacher	4	0	4	0	0	0
Fr. Formentinus	44	Male	Other	1	10	11	0	0	0
Name	Table	Gender	Position	outdegree 1	outdegree 2	Sum outdegrees	indegree 1	indegree 2	Sum indegrees
						535			138
			1=preachers 2=others						
	535		Av. Outdegrees	12.16	138	Av. Indegrees	3.14		
	238		Av. Out Preachers	34	61	Av. In Preachers	8.71		
	297		Av Out Others	8.02	78	Av. In Others	2.11		
	210		Av Out Men *	8.4	53	Av In Men*	2.12		
	87		Av. Out Women	10.25	23	Av In Women	2.88		

*non-preachers

Beguins

Name	Table	Gender	Position	outdegree 1	outdegree 2	sum outdegrees	indegree 1	indegree 2	sum indegrees
Bernard Durban	45	Male	Other	0	1	1	0	1	1
Berenger Rocha	46	Male	Other	1	3	4	0	0	0
Martin	47	Male	Other	0	1	1	0	0	0
Berenger Iaoul	48	Male	Other	0	4	4	0	0	0
P. Bernard Peirotas	49	Male	Preacher	0	4	4	0	0	0
Alarassus Biasse	50	Male	Receiver	1	0	1	0	0	0
Guillaume Dominici	51	Male	Other	1	0	1	0	2	2
Guillaume Serrallerii	52	Male	Other	1	1	2	0	0	0
Pierre Espere	53	Male	Other	1	1	2	0	0	0
P. Bernard Maurini	54	Male	Preacher	1	13	14	0	1	1
						Sum outdegrees			sum indegrees
						34			4
				Average		Average			
				34	Outdegrees	3.4	4	Indegrees	0.4
				18	Av. Out Preachers	9	1	Av. In Preachers	0.5
				16	Av. Out Others	2	3	Av. In Others	0.375

Key

S.=Soror
Fr.=Friar
C.=Canon

s=son of
d=daughter of
w=wife of

R=Rector
M=Master
P=Priest

Appendix C

Timeline—Accusations and confessions of the Sant'Elena and Piumazzo groups

Sant'Elena

1304

15th August

(699) Martino names Giovanni Osti, Salvatore Salvitti, Damiano Bianchi, Vivelda, Bartholomea of Piumazzo, Bona Osti, Giovanni Iohanni, Francesco Iohanni, and Benvenuto Iohanni, Guglielmo Bianchi, Gerardo Benvenuti, Guido Benvenuti, Remedie wife of Gerardo. Guglielmo, Damiano, Giovanni, Francesco and Benvenuto were named as receivers.

17th August

(633) Damiano admits that he knew Zaccaria and Benedetto.

(634) Guglielmo admits he knew Alberto, Pacifico, Ugo of Clochis but not Zaccaria.

(635) Vivelda admits she knew Ugo, Zaccaria, Bernardo.

18th August

(636) Salvatore admits that he knew Zaccaria, but not Rolandino.

(638) Maria, wife of Damiano, pleads no involvement in heresy.

(639) Giovanni Benvenuti admits he knew Zaccaria, but not Bernardo, and claims he did not go to Bona and Giovanni to discuss heresy. Bona and Giovanni were the only receivers with whom he was familiar.

(733) Bartholus of the Order of Servants of Santa Maria, identifies Guglielmo and Damiano as receivers.

19th August

(702) Frater Formentinus identifies Guglielmo, Giunta (wife of Guglielmo) and Damiano, Salvatore Petricoli, Bona and Giovanni Osti, and Maria wife of Salvatore as receivers of Rolandino Ollis.

22nd August

(703) Iacopo Petricini comes spontaneously before the inquisition and identifies a long list of individuals as involved in the congregation, including Damiano, Vivelda, Giovanni and Bona of Ostis, Guglielmo and his wife as receivers of Rolandino.

24th August

(709) Benvenuti Iohanni, nephew of Damiano and Guglielmo, identifies Giovanni and Bona of Ostis as receivers.

(710) Gerardo Benvenuti, brother of Damiano and Guglielmo, identifies Iohannis and Bona of Osti as receivers.

(711) Francesco Iohanni, nephew of Damiano and Guglielmo, claims to know no receivers.

(712) Guido Benvenuti, brother of Guglielmo and Damiano, identifies Giovanni and Bona as receivers.

(640) Guglielmo, threatened with penalty, admits he knew Rolandino

(712) Guido, Guglielmo and Damiano's brother, identifies Giovanni and Bona as receivers.

27th August

(641) Guglielmo reveals that he received Rolandino, and admits his wife's, Damiano's, Vivelda's, and Giovanni and Bona's involvement

30th August

(643) Damiano reveals that he received Rolandino, and admits his wife's, Guglielmo's, Vivelda's, and Iohannis and Bona's involvement, as well that he saw Zaccaria and gave Bernardo food in his home. Saw Rolandino in Guglielmo's home in 1303. Asked about goods and things of Giovanni and Bona Osti, didn't know.

(644) Vivelda admits to her and her family's involvement in the congregation; her uncle and her father received Rolandino, claimed she feared her mother and father in telling the truth.

16th September

(616) Rolandino comes before the inquisition, speaks of beliefs, and his previous hailing before the inquisition.

22nd September

(617) Rolandino reveals Guglielmo, Damiano, Vivelda, Giovanni and Bona Osti as receivers.

4th December

(750) Salvatore Petricoli names Rolandino, Zaccaria, Pietro dal Pra as involved. Admits he received Rolandino. Identifies Giovanni Osti as a receiver.

(751) Damiano Benvenuti admits he knew Rolandino was a heretic, Guglielmo was a receiver, and that Giovanni and Bona Osti and Vivelda were involved.

Piumazzo group**1304***1st August*

(686) Giovanni Albertini of Lirano claims his sister Roberta is not a heretic.

(687) Giovanni Albertini of Lirano, *meliorando*, admits that six months before his sisters Roberta and Ugolina took food to Rolandino, and identifies Vitale Controli as involved in the congregation.

2nd August

(688) Ugolina denies involvement, reveals no one.

(689) Ugolina, *meliorando*, identifies Vitale (the receiver), Giovanni Vitale's brother, Richelda Presbiterissa, Rolandino, Brother Enrico as involved at a gathering around Easter that year.

(691) Giovanni Albertini, *meliorando* number 2, said he said those things under torture. Here he identifies the presbyter Vivianus, who was at the house of the presbiterissas 4 years before, and also remarks that Ugolina and Roberta were domestics of Guillielfina, who was known to be a heretic.

6th August

(692) Vitale, *meliorando*, identifies Giovanni his brother, Vivianus, Ugolina, Alberto and Richelda as being involved in the congregation. The record of the first appearance is lost.

(693) Giovanni Albertini, *meliorando* number 3, claims that he heard Rolandino and Vivianus speak (around Easter of that year) in a way that he couldn't understand.

8th August

(694) Vivianus, the priest admits to nothing.

14th August

(698) Vivianus, *meliorando*, admits the involvement of Giovanni and Vitale, brothers as present at a gathering.

5th October

(714) Pietro dal Pra, (first visit), names Beatrice daughter of Iordanus, Sovranus son of Iordanus, Gualandus, and Beatrice's and Gualandus's families as involved in the congregation. Named Bartholomea as receiver, as well Iohannellis, brother of Roberta and Vitale.

6th October

(715) Rolandino names Pietro Zacharie, Marchesana sister of Francesco, Francesca wife of Francesco son of Pietro Z, and Bartholomea. Pietro, Francesca, Marchesana named as receivers.

7th October

(717) Ugolina, meliorando number 2, names Guillielfina and Alberto Ollis as receivers. Named Marchexana, Pietro Zacharie, Francesca, Benvenuta mother of Vitale, Benvenuta Ferraria, Richelda and Francesca daughters of the priest, and Roberta as involved.

(718) Giovanni Albertini names Alberto Ollis as receiver of Rolandino. Names Bonavixina wife of Alberto, Iohannello brother of Vitale, Bartolino Balugano of Piumazzo as involved. Names Francesca and Richelda daughters of the priest as receivers of Rolandino. Names Sovranus son of Iordanus, Roberta, Benvenuta of Ferrara.

(720) Rolandino names Richeldina amica of Iordanus as receiver, and Maria wife of Raynerius. Names Roberta as involved.

(721) Pietro dal Pra, meliorando, names Guglielmo, Damiano, Salvatore, Beatrice daughter of Iordanus as receivers. Names Gualandus Gerardini and Sovranus son of Iordanus as involved. Aldrevandinus named as receiver.

8th October

(722) Benvenuta from Ferrara, in her one and only testimony, names all that she knows to be involved, including her brothers Corbellus and Aldrevandinus.

9th October

(724) Corbellus son of Clericus of Montebellio and brother of Benvenuta, names Benvenuta his sister, Pietro dal Pra, Bonisegna and Guidoctus brothers, his own wife Beatrice, Beatrice daughter of Iordanus, Sovranus son of Iordanis, Alberto Ollis as involved. Admits to being a receiver.

(725) Guidoctus, Boninsegna, and Giovanni, brothers, name Corbellus as receiver, and Benvenuta as involved.

11th December

(756) Beatrice daughter of Iordanis identifies Roberta as receiver of Pietro dal Pra, and Corbellus as receiver of Rolandino. Identifies Benvenuta and Sovranus her own brother as involved.

1305*23rd May*

(727) Gualandus admits he knew Rolandino and Pietro. Claims Corbellus was a receiver. Identifies Beatrice and Sovranus as involved.

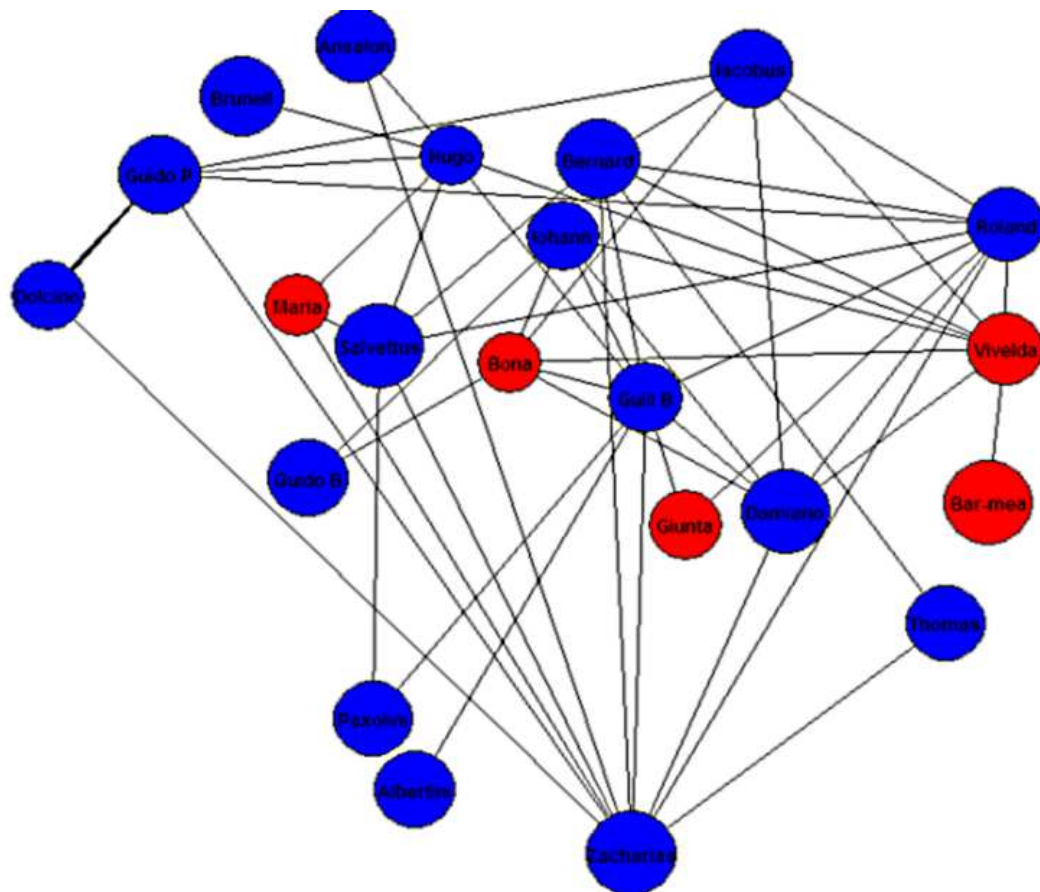
28th May

(793) Francesc, wife of Francesco Petri Zacharie, identifies Pietro Zacharie as a receiver of Rolandino, and Pietro Clericus, magister Antonio and Benvenuta of Ferrara as involved.

(794) Marchesana, wife of Pomartinus, identifies Pietro Zacharie as receiver of Rolandino, remembers no one present.

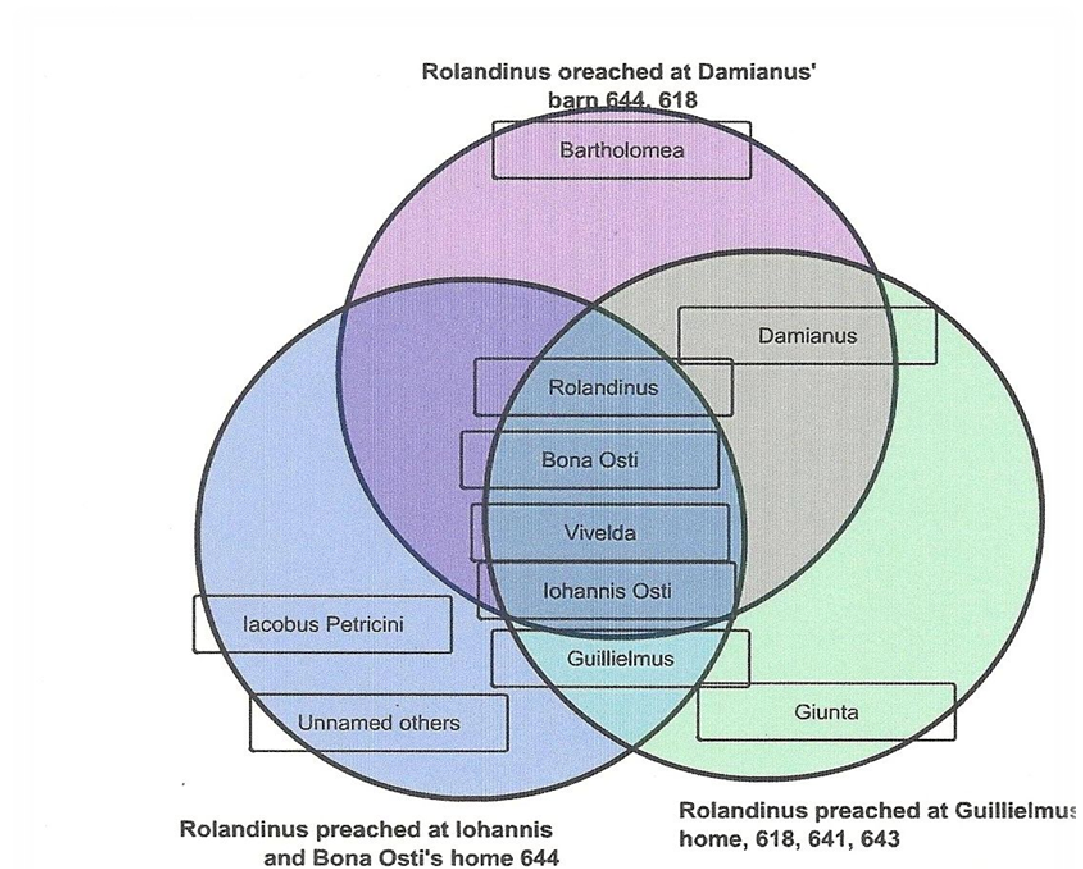
Appendix D

Graph 1: Sociogram of Sant'Elena Network



Appendix D

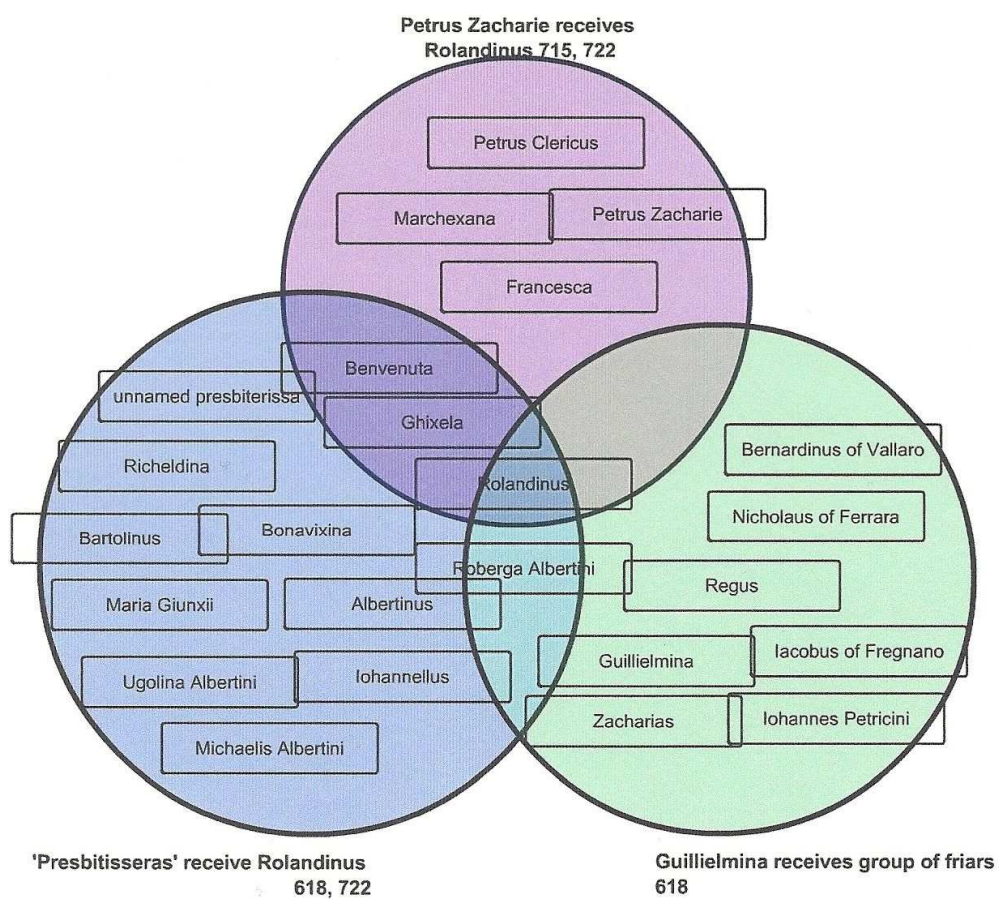
Graph 2 Event Diagram Sant'Elena





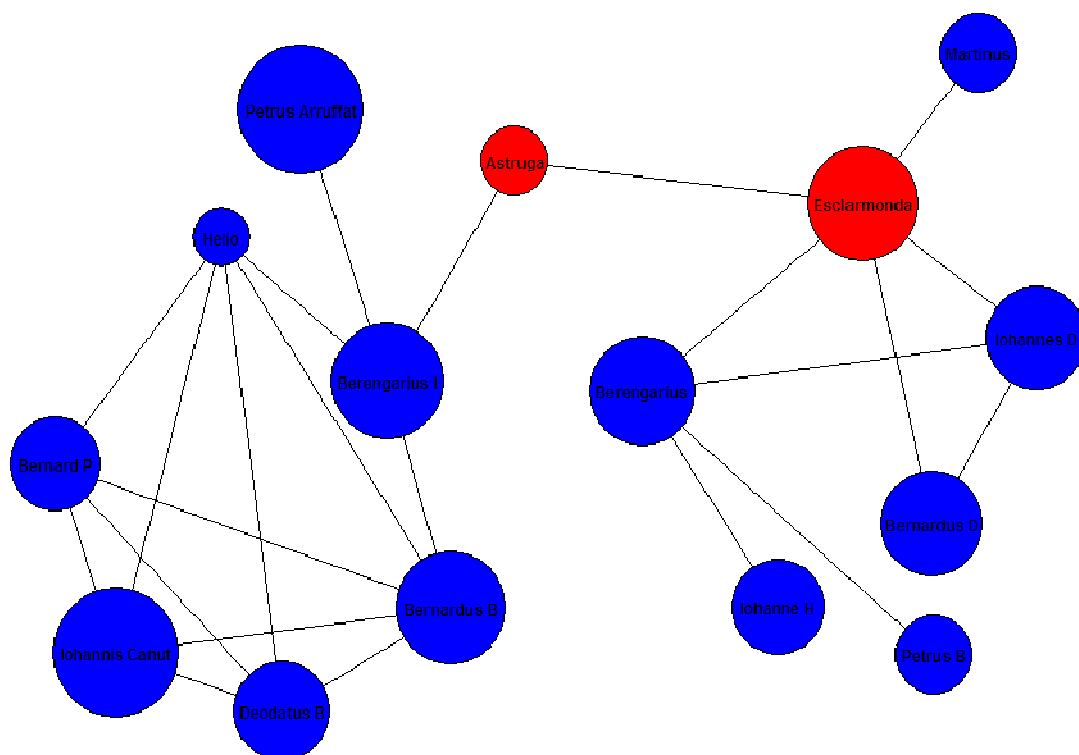
Appendix D

Graph 4 Event Diagram Piumazzo



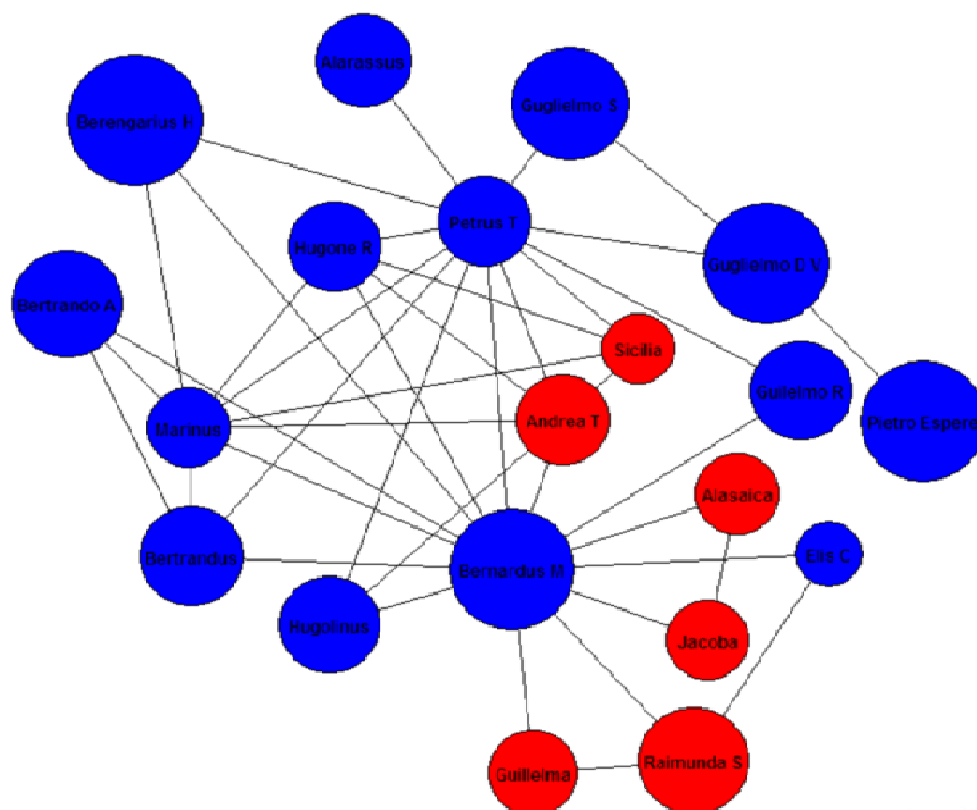
Appendix D

Graph 5: Sociogram of Lodève Beguin Network



Appendix D

Graph 6: Sociogram of Bernard' Network



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