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Poverty and Devotion in Mendicant Cultures
1200–1450

Edited by Constant J. Mews and
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The literature of the fraticelli in late fourteenth-century Florence

Antonio Montefusco

More than seventy years ago, in a classic article, Hans Baron observed:

Today many writers are skeptical of the uniformity of Renaissance culture, and even those who do not go so far as to doubt it, must admit that in the epoch-making works of the early Renaissance, both Dante's and Petrarch's, the quality of 'medievalism' was not merely the decaying remainder of a moribund culture.¹

Baron was referring to the Franciscan ideal of voluntary poverty. A typically medieval conception, it continued to be a point of reference for those intellectuals who, in the course of the fourteenth century, were preparing the affirmation of ideals of a new civic humanism. According to Baron, the new conception of the world and of human beings that gained ascendancy after 1400, drawing on the intellectual stimulation of the rediscovery of classical heritage, was not a violent wrench from the previous century. The vision of the Renaissance as an abrupt 'revolution', which historians inherited from Vasari, was to be replaced by a paradigm stressing continuity. From this perspective, the fourteenth century constituted an intellectual laboratory in which medieval elements were complemented by new themes to form new paradigms.²

The question of 'Franciscan poverty' illustrates this process in an exemplary fashion. A line of thought that stretches from Petrarch to Coluccio Salutati, slowly confronted Stoic ideals and political Aristotelianism, preparing the way for a new justification of civic wealth.³ The theoretical concern with 'active political life' in Renaissance thought marked (as the end of a long process) the final divorce from the Franciscan ideal of povertà.⁴ For this reason, the evolution of Franciscan-influenced vernacular literature in the late fourteenth century deserves our attention as a background to understanding the emergence of the Fioretti of St Francis in the dissident milieu of the fraticelli in Florence.

Social milieux and religious literature in Trecento Florence

During the seventy years of research since Hans Baron was writing, scholars have largely confirmed his view, expanding his analysis to other important
Poverty and the Rule of Francis

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and craftsmen classes. This feature makes this circle particularly interesting: chancery and popular circles met in the context of spiritual reflection and a relationship with the Franciscan spiritual tradition.13

The religious world of the fraticelli during the fourteenth century

My focus here is not on connections between Florence’s elite with the local Franciscan convent of Santa Croce – which did exist and were important – but more broadly with Franciscan spiritual dissenters, the so-called fraticelli, who defined themselves as ‘truly spiritual brothers’.17 In order to understand why they should distinguish themselves from other groups of dissenters, we need to understand something of the complexity of what was understood by the term fraticelli.

Before focusing on the specific group of the Florentine fraticelli, it may help to offer some general observations on the fraticelli as an historiographical category. It is not easy to give a specific meaning to the term. In an old and still useful article, Giampaolo Tognetti has shown that the word evokes a wide and diversified range of religious experiences, characterised by two elements: the practice of going back to the Rule of the Franciscan Order as equivalent to the Gospel, and preference for the eremitic life.18 In a more recent study, Roberto Lambertini has shown how a range of meanings is present not only in inquisitorial and papal sources, but also in documents produced by the men in question, who write of the word fraticelli in many different ways, sometimes giving it a positive sense, sometimes negative.19

In general, it is wise to avoid multiplying names through historical research. In this case, the term fraticelli is useful because it helps identify the complex religious world of Franciscan dissent over a long period, from 1316/18 to the affirmation of the Observant movement born with the group of Paoloucci Trinci around 1370, definitively established by the beginning of the 1400s.20 This world would be troubled by numerous internal conflicts, which put various groups in competition with each other as well as with the outside world, i.e. the ‘orthodox’ Franciscans. For this reason, researchers have pursued deeper and more specific research into individual groups and their sources that might offer both a history and geography of the movement. These smaller groups often exhibited notable variations in their relationships to local authorities, whether civil or ecclesiastical. These variations mean the fraticelli movement could be compared to a galaxy in which planetary bodies of varying nature, origin and development were held together only through the force of gravity constituted by the quest for authentic Franciscan teaching. These communities were not recognized as a homogeneous group either in their self-understanding or in that of their adversaries.21

From the mid-fourteenth century there existed in the region of Latium communities of fraticelli under the protection of the local bishop. There were other groups living in isolation within the central region of the Franciscan

topics ranging from political rhetoric to law. At the same time, however, humanism has lost its earlier ‘homogeneous’ character, especially when considered from a geographical perspective. Scholars such as Guido Billanovich and Ronald Witt have elucidated nuances in a cultural movement which often reacted to different local situations, albeit in parallel ways. Within this geography, Florence holds a special place. It is precisely within the context of this city that continuities with medieval tradition reveal themselves to be the most significant, perhaps in part because literacy in the vernacular was widespread in Florence, as was solid comprehension of Latin. The literary scene between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was more complex and varied than anywhere else. Alongside the great chancellors Francesco Bruni, Coluccio Salutati, and Poggio Bracciolini, who all actively supported a renewal in classical studies, two other rich (and parallel) Florentine literary traditions can be detected: one secular vernacular, cultivated by writer–merchants and studied in depth by Christian Bec and Vittore Branca, the other much more consciously religious in character.2

These three milieux – the chancery, the merchants, and the religious orders and fraternities – were in fact deeply intertwined with one another. This is what constitutes the great originality of Florentine humanism (even if the general picture requires more precise distinctions).20 At a religious level, the Dominican Order was particularly dominant. Their intellectual rigour allowed them to take the lead, previously held by the Franciscans, in preaching and devotional writing.31 The Pisan friar Dominico Cavalcà (c. 1270–1342), author of Vita de’ Santi Padri (Lives of the Fathers), and the Florentine Jacopo Passavanti (c. 1302–57), author of Lo Specchio della vera peenente (The Mirror of True Penance), are to be credited with a major achievement. They managed to redevelop and modify the literary forms and style favoured by the urban public, producing religious prose of orthodox devotion that bridged the gap between contemporary spiritual and vernacular literature.14

The religious landscape of Florence was varied. Religious circles were able to express their own literary styles in open competition with the Dominicans. I refer first to the Augustinian milieu, centered at the convent of Santo Spirito.32 There, Friar Luigi Marsili (1342–94), Master of Theology, focused simultaneously on traditional Augustinian spiritual literature and on recent literary works in the vernacular. The Augustinian convent appears to have been a privileged meeting point, enabling us to explore the spiritual concerns and interests of the Florentine elite. Santo Spirito preserved and disseminated the most important works of recent vernacular literature (including Petrarch and Boccaccio) while at the same time promoting contact between different social and spiritual milieux.14 The group that gathered around the Vallombrosan hermit Giovanni delle Celle (c. 1310–1395) illustrates this observation well. A true spiritual authority of the time, Giovannì exercised his magisterium through many semi-public lectures, which were later collected in manuscript. A heterogeneous group gathered around Giovanni, including some of the most prominent figures of the city’s Guelph elite, as well as members of the merchant
movement (as in the hermitage of the Casceri at Assisi), including a community of Italian and Provençal brothers that perhaps traced its descent from the followers of Peter of John Olivi (1248–98). Still more communities existed, each with their own 'Minister'. All looked back to the Rule and Testament of Francis of Assisi in the sense identified above, but they did not all interpret these texts in the same manner. Almost all viewed the pope following John XXII as heretical, but some gave an eschatological significance to this figure that others denied or interpreted in different ways. The local origins of these various groups are explained by the great variation, already signalled and studied by Raoul Manselli, between those descending from followers of Olivi in northern France (strongly implanted in lay society), and those diffused in the March of Ancona, where more radical brothers were in the minority and where they took refuge in remote places. This did not prevent some communities from developing as followers of Angelo Clarenco (1247–1337), described as Clareci in the valley of Spoleto. Alternatively, following a model initiated by Ubertino da Casale and Angelo Clarenco, some fraticelli joined other mendicant orders. Among these, the most immediately welcoming was the Augustinian movement. One should also remember those brothers who returned from hiding in fraticelli communities to rejoin the Franciscan Order, and the other way round. In this context, to speak of 'orthodox' and 'heretical' Franciscanism over the fourteenth century does not accurately describe a situation which involved much interaction and confusion between various groups.

In general, the various groups of fraticelli can be classified according to a division among themselves that went back to the 1320s. This fracture relates to their relationship to the Spiritual Franciscans, the movement within the Order that developed in 1274 and was then guided by Peter of John Olivi, Ubertino da Casale and Angelo Clarenco. At the same time as the execution of four 'Spiritual' brothers in May 1318, the leaders of the Order (referred to as the communitat by Angelo Clarenco and Ubertino in the period of the Council of Vienne), entered into conflict with Pope John XXII. The Pope and his canon lawyer condemned as heretical the belief that Jesus and the Apostles did not possess property either singly or in common, thereby attacking the very foundations of the identity of the Franciscan Order. Minister General Michael of Cesena and a group of other leaders replied to the Pope with the famous Manifest of Perugia of 1322, and then gathered around Louis of Bavaria in Munich. This situation created chaos within the Order. Individuals like Ubertino and Angelo, already persecuted by these same leaders, no longer felt any connection at all to those friars who gathered around Michael.

Despite these nuances, most of the historiography refers to both these groups as fraticelli, customarily distinguishing fraticelli de opinione, followers of Michael, from fraticelli de paupere vita, dating back to the position of Angelo Clarenco. There remains a major problem with this classification. The formula fraticelli de opinione, for example, was first used only in 1418 to indicate all the groups who expressed views opposed to the Bull of John XXII. On the other hand, Angelo and many others at the end of the fourteenth century resisted the label of fraticelli, preferring formulae that went back to the teaching of Francis. In general, one can say that the group that gathered around Louis of Bavaria dissolved quickly but left an important legacy of controversial texts against the papal position. The other groups of fraticelli developed and diversified throughout the century through contact with different social and political environments, including Provence, Naples, Sicily and the Abruzzo. One of the defining elements in this story was persecution, which was not regular but sometimes very violent. It might be absent for a long period and then become very intense again, as in Florence. There was never any doctrinal unity between the different types of fraticelli, but there were interactions between their texts. There were also attempts at reunification. John of Rupecissa speaks of a meeting that took place at Sora in 1352 with 5000 fraticelli from different places and with different ideas. There is reason to think that this meeting was not isolated. In fact, the mid-century seems to have been a significant moment for the fraticelli, both in their thinking and in their arguments. Only by the late fourteenth century, however, with the development of the Observant movement would the texts of Olivi and the Spirituals (probably transmitted by the fraticelli) gain recognition, even if in the process the fraticelli would themselves be attacked and suppressed as threats to orthodoxy by some Observant preachers, like James of the Marches (c. 1391–1476) and John of Capestrano (1386–1456).

**The fraticelli in Florence**

The fraticelli considered Florence as an important mission territory. This estimation was not just because two leaders of the movement, Peter of John Olivi and Ubertino da Casale, taught in the local studium of Santa Croce during the late thirteenth century. Their spiritual tradition, and in particular the writings of Angelo Clarenco da Cingoli (1255–1337), found a precious channel of transmission through individual charismatic figures not related directly to the Franciscan world, such as Simone Fidati da Cascia (c. 1295–1348). This Umbrian Augustinian led several preaching campaigns that had a strong impact on mid-fourteenth-century devotional practices, as is evidenced by the foundation of churches and lay confraternities. Converted by Clarenco to 'pauperist' views, Simone Fidati helped to spread Clarenco's ideas and texts during a difficult time for the Spirituals. The bitter dispute with the pope about the poverty of Christ and the apostles had been largely resolved, however, especially with the disappearance of the followers of Michael of Cesena from the Italian scene.

Florence provided a fertile and welcoming environment for religious dissenters because of its difficult relationship with the Inquisition and with the Church, as we will see below. The fertility of this spiritual ground was also related to internal Florentine city politics. From 1348, Florence had suspended its anti-heretical statutes. The atmosphere became even more advantageous for the fraticelli in the 1370s, when Gregory XI, during the War of the Eight Saints (1375–8), imposed an interdict on the city. Masses were suspended and
Religious literature by the Florentine fraticelli: history and hagiography

At this point, two fundamental questions must be addressed: first, what texts were the Florentine fraticelli writing? And second, who gathered the scattered elements of their works? The texts that have survived – and there must have been many others – form a portable library of resistance and dissent articulated for a wide urban audience. The proselyte activity of the fraticelli developed at first through letter writing in the vernacular. In these letters, the individual friars debated points of doctrine, asserting the correctness of their positions. Assuming, however, that many letters have been lost, it would seem intuitively obvious that their main goal was to evangelise the faithful. The surviving letters often tend to take the form of doctrinal treatises, and we can speculate on the circulation of certain individual letters in such a form. Such transmission can be reconstructed from the exchange of letters between the fraticelli and Giovanni dalle Celle, which took place around 1379–81, in the period immediately after the War of the Eight Saints. The reconciliation with the Holy See required a normalisation of religious life in the city, as is made clear by an event recorded in the letters: sometime in this three-year period, the bishop of Florence, Angelo Ricasoli, forbade a debate in San Pier Schieraggio between the fraticelli and the teachers of the city. This correspondence is in fact an exchange of pamphlets, and it documents the efforts on the part of Giovanni and Joachim da Fiore to articulate their position on the quaestio prosperiatis using the books kept in the Franciscan library of Santa Croce, that probably belonged (ad usum) to friar Tedaldo della Casa. Most of the documents preserved in these two collections are openly directed toward evangelising the faithful, and towards the attempt to maintain a circle of lay devotion around the fraticelli in times of difficulty. The models that come to mind are those of Angelo Clareno and Catherine of Siena.

With the Storia di fra’ Michele Minorita, however, we find a type of storytelling, in open competition with Dominican writings. This work, a narrative of the seizure, trial and burning at the stake of the man who accepted martyrdom by Michele di Calci in 1389, is told in the usual structure of hagiography but with a deliberately simple and evangelising style, in which the protagonist is described as an alter Christus at the moment of the Passion, while the city takes part in the event. This collective participation stands in sharp contrast to the grim and exemplary style of the Dominican Jacopo Passavanti; rather, it recalls the tradition of city chronicles.

On the other hand, the hostility to the Dominican friars is unmistakable: they are the ones who, armed to the teeth, capture the poor Michele (who had fallen into a trap laid by some hypocritical women). The Dominicans – perhaps as an allusion to their black cappe – are called corti or ‘crows’, just as in another work contained in the same volume. This hitherto little-known and unpublished work is a kind of vernacular synthesis of the cultural and doctrinal identity of Florentine fraticelli. Episodes in Franciscan history, ranging from the origins to 1360, are accompanied by a discussion of the major points of controversy regarding the heretical position of John XXII on the poverty of Christ.

Unlike the Chronicle of Angelo, which is definitely organised as a history, the author (or authors) seeks to provide the reader with the tools for further study, in a sort of manual of Franciscan dissidence. The author’s concern is clearly expressed in a passage of text: ‘the collection of these things in the vernacular is made for simple people who cannot and do not know how to seek these books and the people who abundantly demonstrate our arguments.’ The reader to whom the work is addressed is thus either illiterate in Latin, or unable, out of shyness or fear – as the anonymous friar ‘C.’ in the Storia di fra’ Michele Minorita, who eventually recants – to search for the books and friars who could direct him towards the true spiritual life. Due to the circumstances, this approach to writing in the vernacular is much more mature than the one inherited from Francis by earlier Spiritual Franciscans such as Jacopone da Todi, who directed his contribution toward more ambitious Franciscan ideals. For Peter of John Olivi, who had written short devotional works in Provençal, devotio had become an instrument through which members of the laity could order their inner spiritual life in imitation of Francis, leading to virtuous behavior.

The author of this collection (or radicota) was thus keenly self-conscious of his own identity as a Franciscan dissident, as well as of the utility of the ‘reference’ library which he was presenting to his readers. In another passage, he suggests, along with a canon of the heroes of Franciscan Observance, a well-defined literary canon. In it, we find not only Conrad of Offida, Angelo
Clarenzo and Peter of John Olivi, but also the prophetic Laude of Jacopone da Todi and the Fioretti of St Francis. This reference, significantly, not only underscores Jacopone’s prophetic authority, but also confirms the circulation among the fratielli of a group of prophetic poems. They are assigned different titles by various copyists (including Jacopone himself), but they seem largely related to the figure of Tommasuccio da Folgigno (c. 1319–77), a penitent with close ties to the fratielli, who preached in Tuscany.

Florentine religious literature: the Actus and the Fioretti

The reference to the Fioretti of St Francis hides, in reality, a very complex dossier that must be reopened. As Paul Sabatier explained in his 1902 edition, the Fioretti are a translation, or rather a vernacular translation (volgarizzamento) of a Latin text whose correct title is Quaedam notabilis de beato Francisco et sociis eius et quaedam actus eorum mirabilia, known also by the title of Actus beatI Francisci et sociorum eius, which is registered in the catalogue of the Library of the Sacred Convent of Assisi by Giovanni di Iolo in 1381. Composed between 1327 and 1341, the Actus is a collection of about seventy episodes of Franciscan history from its origins to the beginning of the fourteenth century. The structure of the collection is at least two-part: in the first part, Francis is the protagonist along with a little group of companions, from Giles and Bernard to Clare and Conrad of Offida (para. 1–47). The second part, however, concerns the friars of the March of Ancona (para. 48–74). Neither part is a unity (as they each comprise four sections in all), nor do they follow any chronological order. As regards the author, the name of Ugolino Boninsegna di Montegiorgio is usually indicated on the basis of certain passages in the text which are not clear at all (Chapters IX; LV; LVIII). In two of them, Ugolino is explicitly mentioned as a witness of the facts narrated. In my opinion he was not the author but a source, and more precisely a source among others and not the most important one. There is no evidence to suggest, then, his authorship in the work of the collection, being more likely the editor of one or two stories of which he was witness. In addition he gave some information to the anonymous author who adapted the long tradition of the discovery of La Verna by S. Francis (an episode already present in the Vita beati Francisci by Thomas of Celano, and then resumed in vernacular in the Considerations on the Stigmata).

Compiled in the 1330s, the Actus is a response to the profound and dramatic historical experience lived by the Franciscan Order in that decade. Aside from being concerned with important elements in the struggle of the Spiritual Franciscans, its narrative discourse is deeply characterized by the prominence of the Order (the religio). Consequently the early companions are not just restricted to witnessing the holiness and conformitas Christi of Francis, but they are also an important source of providing a clearer idea of the evangelical model. This strict and unequivocal link between founder and community is also present in the second part, where the friars from the March of Ancona repeat and reaffirm the Christian experience of Francis, so that his holiness is articulated as promoting their native region (the March of Ancona) as the privileged place of realisation of Franciscan ideals. This community dimension, which goes back to the tradition of ‘companions’, is of prime importance in the historical context given here. Consequently, the compiler of the text wants to offer to the reader, who is not necessarily a Franciscan friar, a collective, epic, and rigorous view of the history of the Order, with a particular narrative style totally different from that used by other writers at the same period, like Dante and Jacopo da Varazze.

The passage from the Actus to the Fioretti is complex, and cannot be described simply in terms of a personal and isolated initiative. The manuscript tradition of the two texts is perfectly parallel because even the tradition of the Actus is composed of codices dated between the end of the fourteenth century and the fifteenth century. This means that the two texts were perceived by readers as being related to each other, but separate. In fact, in the Fioretti, a significant choice is made (with some exclusions) in regard to the episodes assemled in the Actus. This structural choice is very significant because the vernacular version of the selected texts is, in general, very faithful in comparison with the other volgarizzamenti of the age. The result of the choice of episodes made by the ‘author’ of the Fioretti is, according to many scholars, that of a text in which criticism of developments in the Order are attenuated.

To understand properly the choice of stories presented in the Fioretti, we must enlarge our framework. When compared to the earliest textual witnesses, it is clear that the Fioretti grew out of a rich collection of texts that is not limited to the Considerations on stigmata, but includes also the lives of Egidio and Ginepro, as well as other vernacular versions, such as the Legenda Maior of Bonaventure, the Minuetio, the Regula Bulata, and other texts. Such a reception shows that, from the outset, the Fioretti fits into a precise and little known tradition of vernacular translations that have their origins in the Spiritual Franciscan circles of the fourteenth century. Thus, we can offer an interpretation of the Fioretti only if we compare it to its sources (the Actus) and parallel traditions: we can then see how this ‘library of texts’ encountered a mixed reception, ranging from disagreement and condemnation to simple ‘devotion’. In general, this story can be described as one that oscillates between protest and piety. A rich and layered series of episodes, produced in a ‘spiritual’ context, were collected with con-solatory interest at a time of serious difficulty within the Order (the 1330s). A dissident milieu at the end of the same century (the fratielli of Florence) offered a vernacular translation of this text within a broader project of translations designed to take root in the dynamic social context of Florence and Tuscany, ensuring the book achieved extraordinary success as a text of lay devotion.

Conclusion

We can now return to the fratielli collection (or nacola) transmitted by the codex Florence, National Library, Magliabechi XXXIV.76. The author of
the valetudina refers to the Fioretti very soon after it was written (in the 1370s). He does so by including it in the canon of the 'reference library' of the fraticelli. The temptation, therefore, to attribute the translation to the group itself is very strong. This theory finds some confirmation in the relationship that the Fioretti displays with Angelo Clareno's writings, in the special way I have just explained. But are there other elements which confirm this supposition?

One such element, though faint and difficult to interpret, does in fact exist. We must return to the second question noted above; who collected and preserved this collection of texts? The manuscripts tell us, quite unambiguously, that the documents were not collected by the friars. The person who clumsily assembled these texts was primarily interested in preserving the memory of a time when Giovanni delle Celle finally distanced himself clearly from the dissidents. A reference, written in the margins of the manuscript, is made to the name of Agnolo Turini: he may well have been responsible for collecting those items. Agnolo was a wealthy craftsman and the author of a mediocre religious work that displays a deep knowledge of Angelo Clareno's texts. He represents the grey area between dissident fraticelli and the circle of devotees around Giovanni delle Celle and Santo Spirito. This circle of devotees not only included semi-wealthy people, but provided an interesting foyer where such individuals could mingle with magnates such as Guido del Palagio, or influential merchants such as Francesco Datini. It is significant, therefore, to recall that one of the oldest traces of the Fioretti (Florence, National Library, Paterno 144) was copied in Catalonia by Amaretto Manneli. Amaretto was a magnate who had been exiled from Florence in the 1380s during the Ghibelline purges because he participated in the government which followed the popular revolt of the Ciompi (wool carders) in 1378. His connection to the convent of Santo Spirito is certain; his son, Francesco, was an important copyist of Boccaccio's Deamorosi at the library of the convent. His relationship with Francesco Datini can also be easily demonstrated: I have found letters written to Amaretto from his son Raimondo, working in Barcelona for Datini. Amaretto thus belongs to a milieu that was, in the second half of the fourteenth century, one of the most open to the preaching of the fraticelli.

In conclusion, to return to the paradigm proposed by Hans Baron, it is most important to underscore the complex and intense interactions, on a broad social and cultural scale, between 'medieval' traditions and the rising currents found in late-fourteenth-century humanism. This phenomenon is illustrated by the fact that Coluccio Salutati could propose in 1380 a very clear eulogy of the vow of poverty (votum pauperitatis) and of the poverty of Christ, in his treatise De seculo et religione, written for the Florentine Vallombrosian Convent of Santa Maria degli Angeli. If we examine the framework of cultural exchanges briefly elucidated here, we can overcome the superficiality of the categories deployed by many interpreters.
guardare, ché vi sbucciola, e spesso volte vi s'anniega dagl'incanti e curiosi e vani cercatori.\footnote{Pietro Vasari, \textit{Vite de' pittori, scultori, ed architetti}, ed. by F.-L. Poldianni (Florence: Le Monnier, 1886), pp. 278–9. In it we see a slight but significant change of point of view towards a lay public and society when compared to the previous generation, in which such personalities as Giordano o Remigio de' Gioberti were deeply intertwined with the lay culture of cities. See Emanuele Coccia and Sylvain Piron, \textit{Poésie, sciences et politique. Une génération d'intellectuels italiens (1290–1330)} (1998), pp. 549–80. For more detail on this change of perspective within devotional literature, see Francesco Bruni, \textit{Appunti su movimenti religiosi e il volgare italiano tra Quattro-Cinquecento}, \textit{Studi Linguistici Italiani}, 9 (1983), pp. 9–17 and C. Mésionnat, \textit{Poëtica theologii. La \textit{lucca' societ} di Giovanni Dominici e le dispute lette relative tra 300 e 400} (Rome: Edizione Storia e Letteratura, 1984).}


14 It is uncertain whether vernacular works were also preserved in the ungar and parvis librarii of the convent. However they circulated and were read by the friars. I am referring to Marsili, who commented on Petrarch's poems; about the legacy of Doccacio -- who donated his books to the friar Martino di Signa -- see Maddalena Signorini, \textit{Considerazioni preliminari sulla biblioteca di Giovanni Boccaccio}, \textit{Studi sul Boccaccio}, 39 (2011), pp. 367–95.

15 For a richly documented study of these milieu, see Simona Brambilla, \textit{Biblioteca alla Pieve di Pietro Trento fra Giovanni delle Celle e Luigi Marsili} (Milan: Edizioni Cusl, 2002). The letters of the two authors are printed in: Giovanni delle Celle, Luigi Marsili, \textit{Lettre}, ed. by F. Giambonini (Florence: Olchati, 1991).

16 The best example of these connections was the humanist friar Tedaldo della Casa, whose books were preserved in the Franciscan convent of Santa Croce in Florence; see F. Mazzolini, \textit{La biblioteca francese di S. Croce e fra Tedaldo della Casa}, \textit{Studi Francescani}, 57 (1960), pp. 254–316.

17 We can find a definition of \textit{truly spiritual brothers} (\textit{fatti veramente spiritual}) in a text transmitted in Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Migliabichi XXXIV,76. The unpublished text is discussed below.\footnote{Giampaolo Tognetti, \textit{I fratelli, il principio di povertà e i secolari}, \textit{Bollettino dell'Unione Storico Italiano per il Medioevo e Archivio Munizionario}, 90 (1982–1983), pp. 77–145.}


19 In general, see Decima L. Douglis, \textit{The Nature and Effect of the Effigy of the Fraticelli} (Manchester University Press, 1932).


22 Sylvain Piron, \textit{Le mouvement clandestin}, pp. 54–7, n. 21.
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43 See the following letters: Giovanni delle Celle, Lettere, nos. 31, 32, 33; the remaining letters of the Inveri are published in the same book, Appendix, n. 1, 2, 6. An article against the Inveri was inserted in the Statutes in 1382.

44 Giovanni delle Celle, Lettere, Appendix, App. 6, pp. 44-60. "Tutti" maestri di Firenze furono a San Piero Schierarigo per commendamento de Signori, e il vescovo pregò e fe' pregar che non dovessero disputare e partitioni come pietre, senza dire parola. Se avessero la verità ci avrebbero già mangiati, però che non cercano altro.

45 In the new Lament against the Inveri - Giovanni refers to several books, especially of Francesco d'Appignano, which he could read in the neighbouring Library of Santa Croce: "E lo maestro Francesco Roso della Marca, del quale costoro dicono chi egli iscrive contro a papa Giovanni, andone a Vignone e ricogrono il suo errore. Potenziolli, uno sottoil trattato della Croce, la figura delle digregati del papa Nicolao e le digregati del papa Giovanni e confessò che non erano contrarie (e che vole quello trattato vada a' fiati de santa Croce, che l'hanno); e confessò che le digregati del papa Giovanni nullo conteverano errore. E questo recita il maestro Lodovico di Castello Lionne, il quale leggeva Oratore, e dice che viva voce usi lo maestro Francesco Roso dire le sopraddette parole. In fact the Library preserved the texts of Tedaldeo della Casa, among which we can remember the following as the sources of Giovanni's Treatise: Pius. XVII. dext. 9: texts about the quarto panpeterit (documents of Louis of Bavaria and John XXII); texts of Michael of Genoa and Hugo of Digen; Pius. XXXI. sin. 3: Collectio questionum de panpeterit Christi. Brannibba, Itinerarii, pp. 17-19.

46 Reading the exchange of letters, we can understand that Giovanni delle Celle decided to take action promptly in response to the general of Vellumbrosian Ordre, because of a group of devotees (among whom there was Maeso Lagnaiaulo) approach to the preaching of the Inveri. This creates a very strong competition between the group of S. Spiriti (and the circle of Giovanni delle Celle) and the friars, who intervene with a sort of apologists treat to defend Maeso.

47 For a reason of the events and the text, see: Andrea Piazza, "Il santo eretico." in Francesco in volgare (secoli XIII-XIV) (Spoleto: CISAM, 1997), pp. 271-99.

48 Fatta la mattina, quelle figlie di Giuda, insinuandosi che quelle due, che' erano russe a confessar quella notte, aveva avuta molta battaglia di mente, e poi dissero: come voii che avete detto, queste non sono cose da pigliare per leggere. E mostravano di volere dare indugio, affrettando le loro uscite di casa ... E usciti che furono fuori (che si comincia a fare di, uscirono, di una casa dirimpetto, loro addossò molti berreguari e mancuchini, interi quali, ebbero a dire i frati corvi, che ve' n'erano stati da 16 di loro, armati. Piazza, "La passione di frat Michele", p. 238.


50 The text is transmitted by Florence, National Library, Magliabechi XXXIV.76, ff. 89-116, and has been partially published by Tocch, Studi Fenici, pp. 542-205.

51 'Questa rachitza di queste cose in volgare è facita per persone semplici, che non possono né sanno cercare que' libri et persone che chiampiostamente 'l manifestano', Florence, National Library, Magliabechi XXXIV.76, f. 94 v.


53 'Chi di ciò ne vuole essere informato legga la leggenda vechie et nuove et Fiorenti di san Francesco et anche la cronica di frate Angiolino di Chiarina et quello di fr'E Pier Giovanni et Anselmone in Giovanni delle Celle, Lettere, pp. 42-55, and Brannibba, Itinerarii, p. 15. It is certain to be the hand of Agnolo when compared to the autograph codex Florence, Laurenziana, Gaddi 75.


55 The social context is described in Brannibba, Itinerarii, pp. 52-65.

56 See Tocch, Studi Fenici, p. 118 e the text states 'per Amoreto lunedì a di XVII di luglio anno domini MCCCLXXXVI.' The codex was completed in 1396.

57 See Coppo Stefani, Comitata Fiorentina, ed. by N. Rodòss. (Città di Castello: Lapi, 1903-55), p. 401. Stefani states that Amoreto was exiled because he participated...

Amaretto's son Francesco copied Boccaccio's Decameron in the Library of Santo Spirito in August 1384: see the codex Florence, Laurentiana, Pluteo 42, 1. Francesco's commentaries in the text are often antifratal: see Stefano C受害者, 'La prima ricchezza del Decameron nelle postille di Francesco Manelli', in Autori e letteri di Boccaccio, ed. by M. Picone (Florence: Cesati, 2002), pp. 99-111.

Amaretto's family was exiled in 1388; here Amaretto married Maddalena, with whom he had three sons. Raimondo worked directly for Datini, as is documented in the following letters: Prato Archives, 314973 (1409/09/29-1409/02/12), Fondaco di Barcellona, 911.14; 314974 (1409/09/16-1409/06/13), Fondaco di Barcellona, 884.15; ibid., 314975 (1409/07/05-1409/07/26), Fondaco di Barcellona, 884.16.

For the circulation of the Fioretti in Spain, see Montefusco, 'Indagine su un fraticello.' For the relationship of Coluccio with the Vallombrosian Convent of Santa Maria degli Angeli, see Cécile Caby, 'À propos du De Senectute et religion. Coluccio Salutati et Santa Maria degli Angeli', in Vie solitaire, vie civile. L'humanisme de Pétarque à Alberti, ed. by F. La Brasca and C. Trotman (Tours: Centre d'études supérieures de la Renaissance, 2012).