

*Sacerdos et Predicator*: Franciscan 'Experience'  
and the *Cronica* of Salimbene de Adam

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## Abstract

The Chronicle of the thirteenth-century Franciscan friar Salimbene de Adam is filled with an abundance of self-referential passages. At almost every step of his narrative we are made extremely aware of Salimbene's presence, as an author, a compiler of texts and anecdotes, a commentator and as an eye-witness to his age. Due to his ubiquitous 'I', Salimbene's *Cronica* is often thought to be a subjective, biased and an ahistorical manifestation of traditional medieval universal histories. His supposed inappropriate self-interest has caused modern historians to mark both writer and text as a curiosity which defies any sort of logical definition. This mind-set has served not only to disconnect Salimbene and his *Cronica* from the historiographical, religious and social influences which pervaded his age, but importantly from the integral context provided by his work as a Franciscan friar.

This thesis departs from treating Salimbene's *Cronica* as a document to be mined for information about his world, an approach that largely eschews traditional methodologies associated with the study of chronicles. This thesis establishes the terms and boundaries of Salimbene's authorship and contextualises them thoroughly with the performances associated with his duties as a Franciscan in the spiritual and social world of thirteenth-century Italy. Salimbene was primarily priest and preacher as he so often tells us. Viewing Salimbene's authorial presence through the lens of his performances as an historian, preacher, confessor and priest reveals that his Franciscan 'Experience' informed and shaped noticeable narrative strategies which are associated with his efforts to establish and exercise authority both in his text and the world in which he lived. Rather than being a curious exception, Salimbene's strong authorial persona was connected intricately to the changes in the social and spiritual milieus that irrevocably impacted upon the writing of history during the thirteenth century.

## **Acknowledgements**

Although, like Salimbene, my 'I' is somewhat ubiquitous in the text, this thesis could not have been written or completed without the help and support of some important people.

Firstly, I would like to express my gratitude to the staff of the History department. In particular, the enduring leadership and support of Professor Geoff Rice, who, in spite of the difficulties and uncertainties of the past eighteen months as we witnessed the reduction of our proud School into a 'programme', fought continuously, and often in poor health, to protect the postgraduate community and the research culture we had all worked so hard to build. Equal thanks must go to Mrs Judy Robertson, without whom we all would have crumbled in the face of the capricious bureaucracy.

I am grateful to Dr Chris Jones, who first introduced me to Salimbene as a potential source for my honours thesis on Frederick II. I think he is just as surprised as I am that this somewhat random introduction culminated in what has been almost three years of exclusive scholarship on the Friar. For his dedicated and thorough supervision, support and encouragement, I thank him. I would like to thank Dr. Enrica Sciarrino of the Classics Department, who not only provided greatly appreciated language and methodology support but often knew before I did what I was actually trying to say. I would also like to acknowledge the assistance of Janice, Sue and the staff of Canterbury University Library's interloan service; being a medievalist in New Zealand would be impossible if it were not for their hard work. Thank you to Hannah Benbow for proof reading and commenting on chapter drafts and to Halie McCaffrey, Robyn Curtis and the rest of my fellow postgrads, whose support, helpful advice and friendship helped me to stay focussed as Salimbene often attempted to take over my life.

For providing welcome distractions, wine and laughter (if only at their bemused expressions), I would like to thank my family and friends. My grandmother Dorothy Smolenski, who first ignited my interest in history and provided continual encouragement, and Paul Van der Klei, who has always been and will remain forever my champion and inspiration – I miss them both – this thesis is dedicated to them.

## ***Ego Frater Salimbene: Salimbene and his Cronica***

I, Brother Salimbene, was the third son, and when I had completed a decade and a half of my life and had arrived at the turning point of the proverbial Pythagorean Y, I entered the Order of the Friars Minor. And I have been in this Order for many years as priest and preacher: I have lived in many provinces, seen many things, and learned much.<sup>1</sup>

The Franciscan friar Salimbene de Adam, at the end of what was a long career in the Order, decided to write down the many things he saw and learned during his life in what is known as the *Cronica*.<sup>2</sup> This stands as the culmination of his life's work. Enmeshed in what is an informative, interesting and highly developed historical narrative, is also the recitation of numerous personal experiences that Salimbene had throughout his career as a Franciscan. These range from encounters with some of the more famous personages of his century such as St. Louis, Pope Innocent IV and the Emperor Frederick II to physical ordeals such as military sieges and moments of spiritual ecstasy. At almost every step of his narrative we are made extremely aware of Salimbene's presence, as an author, interpreter and as a witness to his age. It is this presence, and the many ways in which it appears in the pages of his history, that is the concern of this thesis.

The extent of Salimbene's narrative involvement, evident in the large number of passages which yield a great deal of personal details and speak of the author's vast experiences, is one of the more striking aspects of his *Cronica*. Through ubiquitous self-references, Salimbene maintains a direct and wide-ranging presence in the *Cronica*. This in itself was not exceptional in medieval historiography. As Peter Damian-Grint observes, 'strong narrator involvement' is almost guaranteed in high to late-medieval historical writing.<sup>3</sup> He continues, however, that the terms of narrator involvement have not been given enough attention by modern historians and this is certainly true for Salimbene's

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<sup>1</sup> *The Chronicle of Salimbene de Adam*, trans. Joseph Baird (Binghamton, NY; 1986) [hence Baird], pp.12-13. All translations are by Baird unless otherwise indicated as my own. There are several editions of the manuscript (Vatican library, Vat. Lat. 7260); I have preferred the more accessible: *Cronica Fratris Salimbene de Adam*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Scriptores 32 (Hannover, 1905-13) [hence Salimbene], p.39. The 'Pythagorean Y' refers to the crossroads of vice and virtue: Baird, p.662, n.43

<sup>2</sup> For an overview of Salimbene's life and his *Cronica*: Anna Milne, 'Salimbene de Adam, Franciscan friar, chronicler, 1221 –ca. 1290', in *International Encyclopaedia for the Middle-Ages-Online. A Supplement to LexMA-Online* (Turnhout; 2008), in *Brepolis Medieval Encyclopaedias* (<http://www.brepolis.net/bme>) [Accessed 17 November 2008]

<sup>3</sup> Peter Damian-Grint, *The New Historians of the Twelfth-Century Renaissance* (Woodbridge; 1999), p.86; this is evident in other thirteenth-century chronicles such as Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. H.R. Luard, Rolls Series (London; 1872-83)

*Cronica*. The existence of several long-standing assumptions about Salimbene and his text demonstrates the importance of the exploration of Salimbene's narrative involvement that will take place in this thesis. While the historiographical and methodological considerations that inform the thesis will follow, it is first necessary not only to outline these opinions in general terms but to establish the ways in which this thesis presents both a point of difference and a fundamental challenge.

The presence of so many personal details and experiences in Salimbene's *Cronica* has caused interpretative difficulties for scholars. Some historians have tried to find the origins of the modern autobiography in his writing<sup>4</sup> and in doing so have tended to isolate the self-referencing narratives from the fabric of the *Cronica* as a whole; a method which downplays the fact that Salimbene set out to write history.<sup>5</sup> Regardless, a strong argument can and has been made regarding Salimbene's engagement with what can be termed autobiographical narrative. Adnan Husain concedes, however, that Salimbene does not use narrative to isolate himself as an autobiographical, 'unique', subject as in modern autobiographies.<sup>6</sup> Despite this acknowledgement he continues that Salimbene's 'incessant preoccupation to assert and fashion his self-identity' reveals his text as an 'anxious attempt to locate himself...historically and socially.'<sup>7</sup> It is my contention that this type of methodology and the convoluted language and concepts by which it is often constituted, serves to complicate our understanding of Salimbene's narrative involvement. In this sense, modern autobiographical methodology presupposes an advanced and individualised sense of 'Self' on Salimbene's behalf as evidenced by his ubiquitous use of the first-person pronoun.<sup>8</sup> As I will show, Salimbene's narrative involvement is explained more simply in the context of his attempts to

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<sup>4</sup> For example: Aaron Gurevich, *The Origins of European Individualism* (Oxford; 1995) ; Adnan Husain, *Baptistry and Shrine: The locations of memory and personhood in Friar Salimbene's "Chronicle" and "Asrar at-Tawhid fi Maqamat Abi Sa'id*, (unpublished Phd Dissertation, University Of California, Berkley; 1999). Husain's thesis was revised and published as 'Writing Identity as Remembered History: Person, Place and Time in Friar Salimbene's Autobiographical Prose Map', *Viator*, 36 (2005), 265-92

<sup>5</sup> Robert Brentano, however, states that 'autobiographical form' gives 'structure and shape to the chronicle without destroying its function as a chronicle': 'The Chronicle of Francesco Venimbeni da Fabriano', *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 48 (2003), 159-70 (165)

<sup>6</sup> Husain, *Baptistry and Shrine*, p.7

<sup>7</sup> Husain, 'Writing Identity', 267

<sup>8</sup> For the primacy of group over individual identity: Caroline Walker Bynam, 'Did the Twelfth Century Discover the Individual?', in *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley, CA; 1982), pp.82-109

construct and exercise his authority in history writing rather than 'meditative self-awareness', to borrow a phrase from Brian Stock.<sup>9</sup>

The narration of Salimbene's personal experience in the *Cronica* has also led historians to react in a way that is encapsulated by one of his translators Placid Hermann who writes:

Brother Salimbene degli Adami never received any dignity in the Franciscan Order...Yet, we are told more about him than about the most eminent personages of his Order, since he is an incorrigible busy-body, and besides, being rather vainglorious, he delights in giving us a multitude of details about himself and about his kindred.<sup>10</sup>

There are two main ideas embedded in Hermann's comment that have direct relevance for the analysis of Salimbene's authorial presence in this thesis. Firstly, Hermann's treatment of the personal narratives illustrates the extent to which these have been marginalised, if not trivialised, to the point that they are seen to play no serious role within the overall narrative. Additionally, the expansiveness of Salimbene's narrator involvement is seen as being simply a self indulgent vanity or an aspect of autobiographical memorialising. The second issue to which Hermann calls attention, one that has been generally accepted by historians, is Salimbene's supposed attitude towards the Franciscan Order. Due to the wide-ranging attention he pays to the secular world and, above all, his self-interest, many historians believe that Salimbene's standards were not those of a 'true' Franciscan and that his attitude toward the Order is ambivalent at best.<sup>11</sup> This viewpoint essentially divorces Salimbene's experiences, the writing of the text and its content, from the integral context provided by the Order. While some scholars have been recently attempting to recover the vital perspective that

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<sup>9</sup> Brian Stock, 'The Self and Literary Experience in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages', *New Literary History*, 25 (1994), 839-52 (840), see also, pp.848-49

<sup>10</sup> Placid Hermann, *XIIIth Century Chronicles*, (Chicago; 1961), p.195; Robert Brentano describes Salimbene's voice as both loud and obtrusive: *Two Churches: England and Italy in the Thirteenth Century* (Princeton, NJ; 1968), p.326

<sup>11</sup> Nino Scivoletto, *Fra Salimbene da Parma e la storia politica e religiosa del secolo decimoterzo* (Bari; 1950), p.162, 155; Rosalind Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government* (Cambridge; 1959), p.55; Gurevich, *Individualism*, p.204; E. Peters, 'Introduction', in G.G. Coulton, *From St. Francis to Dante*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Philadelphia; 1972), p.xix; see also Duane Lapsanski, who dismisses Salimbene as a charming and witty gentleman: *Evangelical Perfection: An Historical Examination of the Concept in the Early Franciscan Sources* (St Bonaventure, NY; 1977), p.270

the Order provided for Salimbene's work,<sup>12</sup> as it stands, no study has yet been undertaken to explore the narrative function and meaning that Salimbene's seemingly self-indulgent authorial presence has in the *Cronica* outside an autobiographical context.

This thesis seeks to redress the gap in the abundant scholarship on Salimbene's work by exploring the terms of his narrative presence in the *Cronica*. Self-references are omnipresent in the *Cronica* and as such they offer a unique opportunity to explore the terms of Salimbene's authorial style in ways that have hitherto not been addressed. The sheer number of interjections that either specifically name the author, or which narrate the experiences he had in the world, attest to their importance to Salimbene. As a result, rather than viewing these interjections as extraneous elements of the text, they instead will be considered as having an integral function both in the narrative and also for the way he conceived of his role in writing. By examining the function of his narrative interjections I will be able to explore the relationships that existed between Salimbene's experiences in the world and his writing activities.

Salimbene entered the Franciscan Order at a young age and although his attitude toward the Order has been questioned in the past, it is the Order that provides the direct context in which his experiences occurred. While Salimbene's travels and encounters were diverse, his experiences took place largely through the roles he performed within the Order as an historian, a preacher, confessor and priest, and these are the nominatives with which he habitually refers to himself.<sup>13</sup> As I will demonstrate his authorial presence in the *Cronica* is connected fundamentally to the experiences he encountered through the performance of these roles. Each of these roles, although not necessarily performed independently, carried with them particular concepts and functions that, as I will show, became embedded in the text that Salimbene produced. His experiences had considerable impact on the form he chose, the narrative strategies he employed in his writing, the specific space he negotiated for himself within the narrative and the purpose he had in producing the *Cronica*. Recovering these

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<sup>12</sup> For example: Bert Roest, *Reading the Book of History: Intellectual Contexts and Educational Functions of Franciscan Historiography* (Groningen; 1996); Robert Brentano, "'Do Not Say That This Is a Man from Assisi'", in *Beyond Florence*, ed. P. Findlen, M. Fontaine, D.J. Osheim (Stanford; 2003), pp.72-80; Ludovico Gatto, 'Francesco d'Assisi e i francescani nella 'Cronaca' di Salimbene de Adam', *Frate Francesco*, n.s. 68 (2002), 203-33; Baird also attempts to correct some of the negative press in his introduction to his translation of the *Cronica*: Baird, pp.xiii-xv

<sup>13</sup>For example: Salimbene, p.39, 57, 96, 164, 170, 181, 193, 256, 324, 472



relationships, however, means more than just exploring the context that these roles provided for Salimbene's work. More importantly, it involves understanding how the experiences he had in the performance of his varied tasks materially affected and informed his writing of history. In order to explore fully the relationship between Salimbene's experiences as a Franciscan, his wide-ranging authorial presence, and the form that the *Cronica* took on as a consequence of this relationship, requires a careful consideration of some of the historiographical issues that have surfaced both with regard to Salimbene's *Cronica* and the practice of writing history in the later Middle Ages in general.<sup>14</sup>

## Historiographical Context

The fact that Salimbene wrote what he saw, heard and learned was not, in itself, exceptional.<sup>15</sup> In the latter half of the thirteenth century there was a demonstrable Franciscan writing culture in which many different works were produced, including a vibrant historiographical tradition.<sup>16</sup> And as suggested already, authorial presence was not uncommon in medieval historiography either.<sup>17</sup> What historians find interesting or even odd about Salimbene's narrative is that seemingly irrelevant and self-indulgent *personal details* about the author coincide with a strong authorial persona in what is ostensibly a universal chronicle. While the categorisation of 'universal history' is a relatively modern concept, the production of universal history was a recognised mainstay of medieval historiography.<sup>18</sup> In fact, modern historiography on universal

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<sup>14</sup> For overviews of the secondary literature: Delno West, 'The Present State of Salimbene Studies', *Franciscan Studies*, 15 (1972), 226-41; M. d'Alatri, *Bibliografia Salimbeniana 1930-1991* (Rome; 1992); Bert Roest, 'Salimbene de Adam (1221-1288)', *Franciscan Authors, 13<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> Century: A catalogue in progress*, (<http://users.bart.nl/~roestb/Franciscan>) [Accessed 23 November 2009]; Roest discusses the century of Salimbene studies: *Reading the Book*, pp.22-26

<sup>15</sup> W. Lewis Jones offers a good analysis and overview of Anglo-Norman Latin Chroniclers, who also utilised eyewitness testimony: 'Latin Chroniclers from the Eleventh to the Thirteenth Centuries', in *The Cambridge History of English and American Literature*, ed. A.W. Ward and A.R. Waller (<http://www.Bartelby.com/211/0902.html>) [Accessed 15 July 2009]

<sup>16</sup> For a good analysis of this Franciscan writing culture: Roest, *Reading the Book*.

<sup>17</sup> For comments on the 'presence' of Orderic Vitalis and William of Malmesbury: Brentano, 'Francesco Venimbeni', 162

<sup>18</sup> For example: Hans-Werner Goetz, 'On the Universality of Universal History', in *L'historiographie médiévale en Europe*, ed. J.-P. Genet (Paris; 1991): pp.247-61; Anna-Dorothea von den Brincken, 'Die Lateinische Weltchronistik', in *Mensch und Weltgeschichte. Zur Geschichte der Universalgeschichtsschreibung*, ed. A. von Randa (Munich; 1969), pp.44-59; Richard Southern, 'Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing: 2. High of St. Victor and the Idea of Historical Development', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, fifth ser., 21 (1971), 159-79

histories is generally predicated on the idea that the twelfth century represented the pinnacle of universal history writing.<sup>19</sup> Generally speaking, 'universal' was an historical work that started from a 'beginning' usually associated with the origins of Christianity and incorporated worldly events – or rather the world as it related to the writer's community - into a linear representation. Sometimes this meant that the author would begin from the Creation, the birth of Christ, or even from the mythological origins of their city, as in the case of fourteenth-century Florentine historian Giovanni Villani.<sup>20</sup> Many of the universal histories produced in the west were structured using a Pope-Emperor scheme, whereby the reigns of Popes and Emperors provided an internal, chronological structure.<sup>21</sup> The *Chronicon* of Martin of Troppau is perhaps one of the more famous of the mendicant representations of the *series temporum* universal histories.<sup>22</sup> From the thirteenth century, many history writers began to re-imagine the formal structures of universal history, due to increasing religious, political and social upheavals.<sup>23</sup> One example of this is the Dominican Ptolemy of Lucca, who, after the decline of the figure of the Emperor at the beginning of the fourteenth century, constructed his universal history with 'the papacy alone as the binding chain of history since Christ.'<sup>24</sup> Despite the variances in the ways in which universal history was put into practice during the thirteenth century, the very act of writing universal history gave the author a stable and traditional framework, which in itself was authoritative and credible. As such it did not require the historian to establish an independent authority.

In the case of Salimbene, the overall form of his *Cronica* seems to fit the broad category of universal history; however, universal history only seems to provide a passive and

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<sup>19</sup> The twelfth-century archetype view has meant that studies of universal histories after 1200 tend to concentrate on individual histories and historians; no large-scale comparative study has yet been undertaken. Roest provides a brief comparative analysis of Franciscan universal histories: *Reading the Book*, pp.42-60; Also: Paolo Delogu, *An Introduction to Medieval History*, trans. M. Moran (London; 2002), pp.141-44

<sup>20</sup> F. Salvestrini, 'Giovanni Villani and the Aetiological Myth of Tuscan Cities', in *The Medieval Chronicle II*, ed. E. Kooper (Amsterdam; 200), pp.199-211

<sup>21</sup> For example the famous universal history of Otto of Freising: *Chronica de duabus civitatibus*, ed. A. Hofmeister, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi (Hannover; 1912)

<sup>22</sup> See G. Melville, 'Spätmittelalterliche Geschichtskompendien-Eine Aufgabenstellung', *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 22 (1980): 51-104

<sup>23</sup> See Delogu, *Medieval History*, pp.141-54

<sup>24</sup> Bert Roest, 'Later Medieval Institutional History', in *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, ed. D. M. Deliyannis (Leiden; 2003), pp.277-315 (309)

inconsequential 'container', into which his personal experiences and the testimony of his age are inserted. By embedding a contemporary, conspicuously 'eyewitness' chronicle within the universal form, his overall *Cronica* appears to be disjointed at the very least. This is in comparison to some high-medieval archetypal universal histories, such as those by Guillaume de Nangis and Jean de Saint-Victor.<sup>25</sup> This has caused further interpretative difficulties among historians since the *Cronica* seems to fit no fixed generic type.<sup>26</sup> As such it is considered to be a 'less-organised[,] regionalised' universal chronicle that borrows from universal history at the same time as it manifests itself as rather 'idiosyncratic' and as the 'original outcome of individual interests.'<sup>27</sup>

In addition to displaying signs of overt generic instability, Salimbene's *Cronica* is seen to have no real underlying social or cultural message.<sup>28</sup> In light of this assumption, the *Cronica* again has been methodologically divorced from a vital discussion. This is mainly in the way that the study of the *Cronica* has not been associated with or linked to the concepts or ideologies of universal history. Like many other late-medieval historians, Salimbene took a flexible approach to the writing of universal history since he was extremely willing to mix forms; nevertheless, the universal genre provides many of the basic characteristic of the *Cronica*. This basically means that Salimbene included things that pertained to his own world and reality which he thought reflected universal concepts, this included a prominent orientation toward man's salvation. By localising and personalising its overall functions, Salimbene is seen to maintain an almost blatant disregard for both the generic and conceptual rules which modern historians have applied to universal history writing. As the terms of Salimbene's use of universal history will be explored fully in the first chapter, the main point that needs to be emphasised is

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<sup>25</sup> For analysis of the structures adopted by these two chroniclers: Mireille Chazan, *L'Empire et l'histoire universelle de Sigebert de Gembloux à Jean de Saint-Victor (XII<sup>e</sup> –XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Paris; 1999). Thank you to Dr Chris Jones for bringing this to my attention.

<sup>26</sup> This generic eclecticism caused Italian translator Fernando Bernini to designate the *Cronica* as 'la cronica bizzarra': *La bizzarra cronaca di fratre Salimbene* (Lanciano; 1926). Generic instability is also true of 'the other' famous thirteenth-century historian Matthew Paris. For a brief comparison: Brentano, *Two Churches*, pp.324-45

<sup>27</sup> Roest, 'Institutional History', p.311. Salimbene shares this characteristic with other mendicant 'universal' histories such as the Swiss Franciscan John of Winterthur and a number of Anglo-Irish chronicles. For the Anglo-Irish chronicles: B.A. Williams, 'The Latin Franciscan Anglo-Irish Annales of Medieval Ireland' (unpublished PhD dissertation, Trinity College Dublin; 1992 )

<sup>28</sup> Beryl Smalley, *Historians in the Middle Ages* (London; 1974), p.163

that Salimbene chose the genre specifically. As such his choice must be considered to gain a full understanding of the terms of his authorship.

Traditionally, the personal experiences and voice of its author are not seen to have a place in universal history because of its inherently formal and authoritative structure and this has caused continuing problems for historians of Salimbene's *Cronica*. In fact, in one sense, there was little room for *personal* presence - in contrast to authorial presence - in any form of medieval history writing, outside the 'confessions' produced by authorities such as St. Augustine.<sup>29</sup> One exception to this rule is the domain of contemporary or 'eyewitness' history.<sup>30</sup> Due to changing social and political milieus, the writing of history underwent a change of hands in the course of the twelfth century.<sup>31</sup> Essentially, history writing moved beyond its traditional site of production in the cloisters of Benedictine monasteries, to other groups of people, who were conditioned by a broadening of social experiences and geographies, such as crusaders, Italian notaries and the mendicant Orders.<sup>32</sup> No longer isolated behind the walls of convents, historians had access to, and experience of, the world in ways which had not been reflected in history writing since the late-classical, early-medieval period.<sup>33</sup> From the twelfth century, history writing began, in part, to recover the meaning of history that Isidore of Seville had classed as 'eorum temporum quae vidimus', and contemporary histories of events and specific

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<sup>29</sup> For medieval 'confessions': Gurevich, *Individualism*, pp.110-55; Stock, 'The Self', pp.839-52; Jerry Root, 'Space to Speke' *The Confession Subject in Medieval Literature* (New York; 1997), pp.15-83; For medieval biography and autobiography: Jay Rubenstein, 'Biography and Autobiography in the Middle Ages', in *Writing Medieval History*, ed. N.F. Partner (London; 2005), pp.22-41

<sup>30</sup> For an introduction to Contemporary and Eyewitness history: Peter Ainsworth, 'Contemporary and 'Eyewitness' History', in *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, ed. D. M. Deliyannis (Leiden; 2003), pp.249-276

<sup>31</sup> Richard Southern, 'Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing: 1. The Classical Tradition from Einhard to Geoffrey of Monmouth', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, fifth ser., 20 (1970), 173-196 (195); J. O. Ward, 'Decline' and 'New Management' in Medieval Historiography During the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries (and Beyond)', *Parergon*, 19 (2002), 19-75

<sup>32</sup> Benedictines continued to write history, such as the example of Mathew Paris illustrates; some historians believe that they preferred to write *Gesta* in the thirteenth century, which did not have the same world and salvation-orientated frameworks as universal history: Stephen Vanderputten, 'Typology of Medieval Historiography Reconsidered', *Historical Social Research*, 26 (2001), 141-178

<sup>33</sup> While still largely confined to their monasteries the social experiences and encounters of Benedictine historians also were broadened in the changing milieus of the thirteenth century: Jones, 'Latin Chroniclers'; Delogu, *Medieval History*, pp.141-44

people increased in number.<sup>34</sup> The prominent contemporary focus in universal histories can be connected with these developments.

The widening of social experiences and contact in the thirteenth century radically altered the generic structures and purpose of late-medieval history writing and in turn the types of testimony employed. No longer restricted to using texts as the main sources for history, historians began once again to rely on the testimony of 'eyewitnesses' to compose their histories. As a consequence of the changing appearances of testimony, and the inherently itinerant nature of the Order, many Franciscan histories and hagiographies relied heavily on these sorts of accounts.<sup>35</sup> Salimbene is no exception, since a great majority of his accounts were witnessed, as he says, *meis oculis*. As a result of the shifts in the site and manner of production, the nature of testimony and the authority on which it was based underwent a similar change in the writing of history throughout the thirteenth century. While this did not always result in the 'personality' that is evident in the chronicles of Matthew Paris or Salimbene, there is little doubt that the role of the author, as an eyewitness, was both radically changed and peculiarly enhanced.

The most significant change to impact the role of the author as an eyewitness was the ways in which they needed to guarantee the accuracy of their testimony. In this respect eyewitness history differed from other genres utilised in medieval historiography. In contrast to compilation which relied on the authority of the written document, as Damian-Grint concludes, the eyewitness 'engages his own authority in the accuracy of what he says.'<sup>36</sup> The eyewitness as author implies personal engagement and presence while the 'compiler' distances himself and to a certain extent undergoes a process of self-effacement. One example of this process of self-effacement is the archetypal thirteenth-century compiler, the Dominican Vincent de Beauvais, who vehemently denied the authority of his own authorship. Vincent avoided expressing his opinion, stating in the prologue to his celebrated *Speculum Maius* that nothing or almost nothing of the subsequent work belonged to him but rather to the authorities whose extracts he

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<sup>34</sup> Citation: Ainsworth, 'Eyewitness' History', p.252; many historians connect the developments in eyewitness history with the crusade movement: *ibid*, pp.258-75; Damian-Grint, *New Historians*, p.72

<sup>35</sup> Franciscan travel literature: Roest, *Reading the Book*, pp.101-24

<sup>36</sup> Damian-Grint, *New Historians*, p.69

had gathered and ordered.<sup>37</sup> As such his role is specifically limited to the arrangement and collection of texts, and the authority of his own text is mediated through those *auctores* rather than himself.

While authorial presence is difficult to detect in compilation histories, Damian-Grint constructs several motifs or 'narrative voices' in order to categorise the engagement of the author in eyewitness history. While several are relevant to Salimbene, for the sake of brevity, the most important are authorising interjections. These types of interjections, as Damian-Grint concludes, are 'related more directly to the role of the author as provider of *auctoritas*.'<sup>38</sup> Salimbene's numerous exclamations of 'ut vidi meis oculis' fall directly into this category.<sup>39</sup> Damian-Grint's definition of 'narrator involvement,' however, is generally restricted to specifically textual 'interventions' that serve to direct the author-text-reader process. In this sense they are generally 'disembodied' in that they have no direct relationship to the personality or credentials of the narrator. As he concludes: 'Thus it is that (with some notable exceptions) this authorial presence does not translate into a truly personal voice.'<sup>40</sup> Salimbene's narrator involvement or authorial presence constitutes one such notable exception and the abundance of intimate details found in his *Cronica* presents a striking example of how his personal voice could be used to establish his *auctoritas* as an eyewitness.

Salimbene, it will be suggested, pushes authorising interjections to the extreme by constructing a body of personal details to be put at the service of his *auctoritas*. The following passage not only provides an example of how Salimbene's personal voice will be approached in this thesis but also illustrates how he sought to exploit the revived style of eyewitness history to locate himself at the centre of his narrative:

In the secular world I was called Balian of Sagitta by some, in honour of the Lord who lifted me from the baptismal fount. I was called Ognibene by my friends and family. It was by that name that I had been accepted into the Order for an entire year. Yet when I was moving from the Marches of Ancona to take up residence in Tuscany [...] I met in a

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<sup>37</sup> Monique Paulmier-Foucart, 'L'actor et les *auctores*: Vincent de Beauvais et L'écriture du *Speculum Maius*', in *Auctor et Auctoritas: Invention et conformisme dans l'écriture médiévale*, ed. M. Zimmermann (Paris; 2001), p.145

<sup>38</sup> Damian-Grint, *New Historians*, p.146-53

<sup>39</sup> Salimbene uses this phrase or similar one hundred and twenty times in the *Cronica*

<sup>40</sup> Damian-Grint, *New Historians*, p.87

hermitage a certain noble friar [...]He was the last brother whom St. Francis himself received into the Order, as he told me himself. Hearing that I was called Ognibene, he was stunned and said to me, "Son, 'none is good but God alone' [Luke 18.19]. Rather let your name be Brother Salimbene, for you have leapt well by entering a good religious order."<sup>41</sup>

Rather than being a reflection of vanity or self-indulgence, or even just a wish to immortalise his name in the pages of universal history, this passage reflects an immediate narrative strategy by which Salimbene reveals his credentials as an eyewitness. Salimbene draws attention to three distinct social bodies, through which his *auctoritas* is both mediated and facilitated. Salimbene firstly signals the lord who lifted him from the baptismal font and secondly his family who believe he is 'Ognibene.' Most importantly, Salimbene links his name with the authority of St. Francis, via the friar who had a direct and personal relationship with the Order's sanctified founder. Consequently, by briefly outlining the history of his name, Salimbene's *auctoritas* is facilitated in both social and spiritual contexts. I will argue that passages such as these are representative of a dynamic exchange between textual and personal (embodied) authority that has not received enough attention from scholars of medieval history writing.<sup>42</sup>

Salimbene's expansive authorial and personal presence has been trivialised largely because 'proper' universal history is seen to offer an objective authoritative structure that does not specifically involve the personal engagement of the author to mediate authority for the text. One example of this is the popular thirteenth-century universal history of Martin of Troppau, which, while constituting one of the least personal works

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<sup>41</sup> Salimbene, p.39: Et seculo dicebar ab aliquibus Balianus de Sagitta [...]occasione supradicti domini, qui me de sacro fonte levavit. A sociis vero et a familia dicebar Omne-bonum. Quo nomine probatus fui in ordine per totum integrum annum. Cumque de marchia Anconitana irem ad habitandum in Tusciam [...] inveni in heremo quesndam nobilem fratrem [...] Hic fuit ultimus frater, quem beatus Franciscus et induit et receipt ad ordinem ut retulit michi. Hic audiens, quod vocabar Omne-bonum, obstupuit et dixit michi 'Fili, "nemo bonus nisi solus Deus". Decetero nomen tuum sit frater Salimbene, quia tu bene salisti bonam religionem intrando"' (my translation). I have given a more active translation of Salimbene's verbs and have removed some grammatical additions. Compare with, Baird, p.13

<sup>42</sup> This tension is considered in other forms of medieval literature, but attention has not yet turned to medieval historiography: Claire Waters, *Angels and Earthly Creatures: Preaching, Performance and Gender in the Later Middle Ages* (Philadelphia; 1997); C. Stephen Jaeger, 'Charismatic Body – Charismatic Text', *Exemplaria*, 9 (1997), 117-137

of the Middle Ages, was considered nevertheless to be one of the more authoritative.<sup>43</sup> The terms of authority and authorial presence in eyewitness history, on the other hand, were fundamentally different. It is through consideration of the terms of 'eyewitness' history that Salimbene's ubiquitous authorial engagement begins to make sense. Both Peter Ainsworth and Chris Given-Wilson indicate that the authority of eyewitness testimony tenuously depended on the reputation of the witness.<sup>44</sup> Given-Wilson writes: 'Eyewitness testimony from the author himself was, or at least should have been, regarded as the most trustworthy form of evidence – provided, that is, that the reader had confidence in the author's integrity. The latter was not, however, to be taken for granted.'<sup>45</sup> The existence of a general distrust of hearsay during the medieval period meant that the 'body' from which the testimony was derived was fundamentally important to establish the authority of the testimony. Second-hand eyewitness testimony serves as a clear indicator of this.<sup>46</sup> Salimbene, for example, specifically notes the name, generally the place of origin and the occupation of his informants as a way to illustrate the authority of the body giving the testimony.<sup>47</sup>

While both Damian-Grint and Given-Wilson seem to hint at the personal value of the body in eyewitness history, it is my contention that they have not in fact gone far enough beyond textual analysis to consider how the experiences of the author were also engaged in negotiating authority in their writing. The methodology adopted by historians to date in exploring authorial presence only in terms of its textual, and decidedly formalised, interjections means that the testimony of the eyewitness - the textual representation of the event - has been divorced from the actual experience of witnessing.<sup>48</sup> As a consequence, modern historians have privileged the text as the site of *auctoritas* rather than the body of the author that is actually engaged in writing the text

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<sup>43</sup> See: Valentin Ikaš, "Martinus Polonus' Chronicle of the Popes and Emperors: A Medieval Best-Seller and Its Neglected Influence on Medieval English Chroniclers', *English Historical Review*, 116 (2001), 327-41. Thank you to Dr. Chris Jones for bringing this to my attention.

<sup>44</sup> Ainsworth, 'Eyewitness History', p.252

<sup>45</sup> Chris Given-Wilson, *Chronicles – The Writing of History in Medieval England* (London; 2004), p.6

<sup>46</sup> Damian-Grint, *New Historians*, p.91;

<sup>47</sup> For example, Salimbene, p.172, 300, 315, 351; This is a device also used extensively by William of Malmesbury: Damian-Grint, *New Historians*, pp.69-72;

<sup>48</sup> This is shown by the way 'things' such as seals are seen to be an embodiment of authority: W.C. Hollister and J. Baldwin, 'The Rise of Administrative Kingship: Henry I and Philip Augustus', *American Historical Review*, 83 (1978), 867-905



or supplying the testimony.<sup>49</sup> In contrast I would like to build upon the ideas put forward by Given-Wilson and especially Damian-Grint in order to explore more directly the function and relationship of Salimbene's experiences as he engaged and deployed his *auctoritas* in the writing of history. This requires recasting focus from the reliability and trustworthiness of what Salimbene says in the document to consider instead how his body and its experience, acted as the specific site in which his authority was expressed and exercised.

The prioritisation of the text as the site of authority is connected largely to the definition and application of the term *auctoritas* in modern historiography. A.J. Minnis pioneered theories that explain the concepts of *auctor* and *auctoritas* in the Middle Ages in his book the *Medieval Theory of Authorship*.<sup>50</sup> Minnis explains that the term *auctor* is ultimately derived from and connected to active Latin verbs such as *agere* (to act, perform) and *augere* (to increase, enrich). Furthermore he acknowledges that these verbs, and in turn, *auctor*, have an inherent relationship to performance and thus the body: 'An auctor 'performed' the act of writing.'<sup>51</sup> Minnis, however, immediately links this embodied and performative function exclusively to the text, by stating that 'the writings of an auctor contained, or possessed, *auctoritas*', and furthermore, '[i]n the specific sense, an *auctoritas* was a quotation or an extract from the work of an auctor.'<sup>52</sup> By reducing these concepts exclusively to their relationship to the text, it seems that Minnis has not considered the full implications of his definition of *auctoritas* as authority. His definition of *auctoritas* has become too rigid and inflexible largely due to the fact the he does not broaden his focus beyond the textual implications of this term. *Auctoritas* in his hands consequently bears little resemblance to the verbs of creation and performance to which he had initially connected it.

Salimbene's deployment of his personal credentials in the service of building and articulating *auctoritas* reveals that his conception of his own *auctoritas* was in fact situated beyond his document. Rather than considering *auctoritas* as the written

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<sup>49</sup> For example: Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: a study of memory in medieval culture* (Cambridge; 1990), p.191

<sup>50</sup> A.J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the later Middle Ages* (Philadelphia; 1988); also: Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, p.191-92

<sup>51</sup> Minnis, *Theory of Authorship*, p.10

<sup>52</sup> Ibid

product of an *auctor* (essentially a written source) and thus located exclusively in the text, *auctoritas* will be understood as having an indivisible relationship with body. By doing so, the status of being an *auctor* becomes an end-result that occurs through the bodily possession of *auctoritas*. *Auctor* in turn does not always refer to 'author': *auctor* instead refers to the body that is in possession of, and has the ability to exercise, *auctoritas* in the world or in the text. This interpretation encourages a new exploration of the terms and frameworks in which *auctoritas* was negotiated, exercised and represented in medieval history writing.

## Methodological Considerations

Several methodological considerations have emerged through this exploration of the way historians have approached the theory and production of medieval historical writing. Historians often have not considered the full implications of medieval terms or the medieval understanding of important concepts in their construction of theories and approaches to medieval history writing. This is particularly noticeable with regard to the concept of *auctoritas* and the way in which modern ideas of identity have been imposed on medieval examples. It will become apparent that issues over authority were foremost on the minds of thirteenth-century historians rather than individualised ideas of 'Self.' Often, modern historians have also isolated and considered different generic forms and textual elements too rigidly. This has meant that the intent of medieval authors, as they actively engaged in writing and constructing their texts, has been under-emphasised in modern historiography. The main methodological approach in this thesis consists of reconnecting Salimbene's personal presence with the writing of his history, by understanding both his authorial interjections and the narration of his personal experiences as integral components of the text. In this sense, Salimbene's narrative interjections provide a means by which to illustrate the coherence between the different generic and narrative forms utilised in the *Cronica*. Consequently I will prioritise Salimbene's authorship and his agency as the organising and mediating principle that structures the *Cronica*.

Salimbene's authorial presence will be contextualised thoroughly in terms of his embodied experiences as a Franciscan. As this thesis will demonstrate, an embodied theory of *auctoritas*, one that reflects how Salimbene might have understood it, offers a

highly relevant and instructive means to explore the ways in which his performances in the Franciscan Order materially shaped and informed his writing of history. Embodiment of *auctoritas* and writing in itself is not an alien concept for medieval culture; however, historians have tended to understand the operation of this type of *auctoritas* in medieval writing through the concept of Charisma.<sup>53</sup> While the exercise of *auctoritas* and its relationship to Charisma requires further elaboration in the course of the thesis, nevertheless, it is the understanding of *auctoritas* as specifically embodied that provides the overriding framework in which to explore the strategy and purpose behind the narration of Salimbene's own personal experiences and the centrality of his performing body within his *Cronica*. Providing the context for Salimbene's authorial presence are the actions and experiences which occurred largely as he performed his duties and functions in the Franciscan Order as an historian, preacher, confessor, and priest. It is important to note that these tasks were not necessarily performed independently. Categorising them as such, however, allows the construction of a flexible framework to investigate how Salimbene's narrative and personal interjections were connected specifically to his experiences in these roles.

The analysis in the first chapter takes place through consideration of Salimbene's tasks as an historian. Salimbene's role as 'historian' allows a confrontation with the 'twelfth-century archetype' model that still dominates historiographical research on universal histories. It also reveals how Salimbene, as a representative of many thirteenth-century historians, re-imagines and exploited the formalisms of universal history based on changing religious, cultural and social conditions. By first exploring and establishing the social, ideological and cultural functions of universal history in general, I turn to how Salimbene develops the form of the *Cronica* both in connection to the body of the Franciscan Order and his own body as an historian. The central aim is to discover the external and internal frameworks of the *Cronica* that Salimbene constructs in accordance with social, spiritual and routine concepts of the Franciscan Order. In this way it will become possible to explore several of the strategies that Salimbene employs in his writing. In particular, the way that the construction of particular narrative voices are fundamentally tied into how Salimbene's body was engaged in the acquisition of the

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<sup>53</sup> For a theory of contextual authority and its relationship to Charisma: James S. Hans, *Contextual Authority and Aesthetic Truth* (New York: 1992), especially pp.55-120

testimony, whether as a reader or compiler, a member of an audience or as an eyewitness.

The category of Preacher, which provides the focus for the second chapter, offers an opportunity to engage with methodologies that are being offered by historians who are participating in discussions of both the performance dimension of texts and the nature of Charismatic authority.<sup>54</sup> These approaches provide methodological support to explore the ways in which the 'performance' of the preacher informed the writing of the *Cronica* both with regard to the preachers that Salimbene saw performing and the way he conceptualised himself as a preacher. Salimbene's representation of, and reflection on, the Franciscan preaching culture mainly takes place in the context of the popular religious revival of the Alleluia. The Alleluia or the Great Devotion was a 'popular' religious revival that occurred in Northern Italy in 1233 that was witnessed by Salimbene during his formative years. Salimbene's representation of the Alleluia provides a unique opportunity to illustrate how his distinctive descriptive style was shaped and also to note the emergence of an extra-textual location of authority in the charismatic presence of the Alleluia preachers. With this context established I will analyse the way in which Salimbene drew on these performance events not only to create the dramatic and episodic nature of his narrative, but also to reveal and deploy a charismatic, embodied authority in his writing.

The third chapter explores the process and sacrament of confession both in relation to how Salimbene experienced and performed confession and how it informed the *Cronica*. In this sense, confession, as it was understood and mediated through Salimbene's own body, acquires significant social and cultural meaning in the *Cronica*. I will argue that 'confession' is intrinsically connected with the content of the *Cronica*; it fundamentally shaped the descriptive parameters of his writing and provides a platform from which to explore the way Salimbene performed and mediated his spiritual and social objectives as a Franciscan and as an historian at the same time.

The final chapter will move beyond the formalised performances characterised in the functions associated with the historian, preacher and confessor to explore more specifically Salimbene's work in the world. The category of Priest provides the broad

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<sup>54</sup> For example: Carolyn Muessig (ed.), *Preacher, Sermon, and Audience in the Middle Ages* (Leiden; 2002)

context which informs this discussion. For this chapter, 'Priest' reflects the less-formalised practices of the Franciscan Order and is used to represent the ways and means in which Salimbene carried out his work in the material world. Essentially, I explore the nature of Salimbene's agency, specifically through the context of prophecy. While the debates on agency will be discussed in the chapter, agency is defined generally as the way in which Salimbene put his *auctoritas* to work in the world. It will be demonstrated that several popular prophecies of the thirteenth century both facilitated and shaped Salimbene's conception of his own agency and the way it operated in the world in which he lived. It is also through the context of prophecy that Salimbene balances and establishes a coherent dialogue between the fundamental spiritual objectives of universal history and the basically 'local' appearance of his *Cronica*. In this sense, Salimbene draws on a framework provided by the spiritual and political function of prophecy to construct 'Italy' as a particularised mirror image of the universe.

Ultimately, this thesis refocuses some of the negative attention that Salimbene's authorial presence in the *Cronica* has received. I will recover some of the central frameworks of writing that he constructed, negotiated between and deployed in his narrative, based on acts he performed in the Franciscans Order as historian, preacher, confessor and priest. Essentially Salimbene's *Cronica* is not only the culmination of his life's work and a collection of all the things he saw, heard and learned, but is a testament to the persuasive and powerful ways in which the Franciscan 'Experience' affected, ordered and actualised his role in the writing of history.



## I. *Communitas diligenda*: History and Community

Up to this point, I have met many uneducated, crude, coarse, and superfluous words, and which have not even observed grammar in many places, but they have had an agreeable historical order. And therefore, it is proper that from now I structure and improve, add and delete, and place correct grammar, where it is necessary, just as is obvious that I have already done in other parts of the Chronicle in many places, in which I have found many falsities and crudities [...] Moreover, the continuators of the Chronicle followed their originals with simple faith and did not consider whether they were correct or not. And they did this either to avoid the proper work or simply because they did not have the historian's skill.<sup>55</sup>

Drawing on the language and skill of the compiler Salimbene appears here to set out the skill set that he uses to construct his *Cronica*. Salimbene envisioned himself as an historian, and as such, this passage is designed to reveal his credentials and at the same time to pass professional judgement on the crude and uneducated sources onto which he has applied his skill.<sup>56</sup> And we are left with little doubt that his skills as an historian were expert.<sup>57</sup> This passage appears at the beginning of what can be thought of as Salimbene's *Cronica* in the proper sense. Up to the point where this passage appears he has in fact relied on other sources, despite their deficiencies, as he says: '[I]f it had not been for these chroniclers, the huge number of events which took place in the millennium after the Incarnation would have remained, we must admit, entirely unknown to us.'<sup>58</sup> From this point on Salimbene does not rely on the skills of the compiler usually associated with late-medieval universal histories. In fact, compilation

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<sup>55</sup> Salimbene, p.29: A [binc iam] incurrimus verba inculta et rudia et grossa et superlua, que etiam in multis locis gramaticam non observant, sed ordinem ystorie habent congruum. Et ideo oportebit nos amodo ordinare et meliorare et addere et demere et gramaticam bonam ponere, cum fuerit oportuno, sicut etiam supra in hac eadem Cronica manifestum est nos fecisse in multis locis, in quibus multas falsitates et ruditates repperimus [...]. Qui vero post ipsos aliquid addiderunt, simplici fide secuti sunt ipsos nec consideraverunt, utrum bene dixerint necne. Et hoc ideo fecerunt, vel propter laborem vitandum, vel forte quia ystoriarum periciam non habebant (my translation). I have included some verbs that Baird omitted and followed the editorial punctuation. I have followed Baird on two counts, omitting many of the conjunctions and also translating *Qui vero post ipsos aliquid addiderunt* as 'continuator of the Chronicle'. Compare with Baird, p.3

<sup>56</sup> 'Professional judgment' is a common motif among vernacular historians: Damian-Grint, *New Historians*, pp.100-03

<sup>57</sup> Roest, *Reading the Book*, p.49

<sup>58</sup> Baird, p.3; Salimbene, p.29

plays only the broadest and most tenuous role and the remainder of the *Cronica* is a conspicuously eyewitness account of the events of the thirteenth century.

Over the last twenty to thirty years establishing the type or genre of medieval writing has been prominent in modern historiography. In an historicist sense 'genre' both constitutes a governing body of rules for the process of writing as well as for assessing the product.<sup>59</sup> The implication of this definition is that historians begin with a genre in mind, they write with reference to the rules that govern this genre and, as such, the work is evaluated with respect to these same rules.<sup>60</sup> The mixing of styles and genres in Salimbene's *Cronica* have caused interpretive difficulties for historians since the overall form should have dictated a narrative persona in the style of the distanced and self-effaced author popular in Latin universal histories. By combining this traditional genre with the recently revived styles prominent in contemporary history, including an evidently present author, the *Cronica* of Salimbene de Adam does not completely fulfil the laws that historians have attributed to the universal genre<sup>61</sup> or in fact any stable generic label. Instead, it is thought to embody a vast array of generic attributes drawn from amongst others, 'local', 'universal', 'institutional' and even 'prophetic' histories. The preponderance of generic labels attributed to the *Cronica* has done a disservice to the study of Salimbene's work since it has placed his text in a type of historiographical vacuum.<sup>62</sup> Salimbene's *Cronica* has been historiographically isolated; when it is perceived as a generic oddity and labelled idiosyncratic, it is simultaneously divorced from the wider historical traditions of thirteenth-century history writing.

This chapter explores the form of Salimbene's *Cronica* and the variety of styles, approaches and skills that he employed in his writing. I will explore how the different

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<sup>59</sup> Bert Roest, 'Mediaeval Historiography: About Generic Constraints and Scholarly Constructions', in *Aspects of Genre and Type in Pre-Modern Literary Cultures*, ed. H.L.J. Vanstiphout and B. Roest (Groningen; 1999), p.48

<sup>60</sup> Bernard Guenée, 'Histoire et Chronique. Nouvelles Réflexions Sur Les Genres Historiques au Moyen Âge', in *La Chronique et l'histoire Au Moyen-Âge*, ed. D. Poiron (Paris; 1993), p.3

<sup>61</sup> Below, pp.3-4

<sup>62</sup> Since Holder-Egger's monumental edition, historians have continually examined or utilised the differing parts of the *Cronica* in isolation from each other. Violante considers the *Cronica* to be a chivalric narrative, in which Salimbene attempts to explore the way these ideals were upheld during his life time, a view that tends to ignore Salimbene's use of the principles of history entirely: Cinzio Violante, 'Motivi e carattere della Cronica di Salimbene', *Annali della Scuola normale superiore di Pisa, Lettere, storia e filosofia*, ser. 2, 22 (1953), pp.108-154; As Roest recognises concentration on the generic instability of Salimbene leads to a lack of appreciation of both the form and function of the *Cronica*: *Reading the Book*, p.26



structures and narrative devices that Salimbene relies upon in his writing enter into a mutually reinforcing and authenticating relationship. This relationship is linked not by strict laws but rather by ideologies and concepts that Salimbene derives from his role as a Franciscan historian. To draw out the full implications of this relationship the chapter is structured into three sections. Firstly, the wider historiographical traditions that have hitherto dominated research on the universal genre will be examined. Differentiating between two specific approaches, on the one hand the 'formal' approach and on the other the 'social', I will then introduce ideas that allow the ideological function of universal history and its relationship to the Christian community to emerge. Building upon this more flexible view of the universal form, the second section looks at the internal and external structures of Salimbene's adaptation of the universal scheme. Internal and external structures refer to the development of certain aspects of the universal form of his *Cronica* in relationship to the body of the Christian community and the body of the Franciscan brotherhood. Finally, Salimbene's role as an historian will be considered, particularly the terms of his authorial presence. I will illustrate that Salimbene utilised several distinctive narrative voices in the presentation of his testimony directly related to the position that his body inhabited as he witnessed or acquired aurally or textually the testimony of the events that he depicts.

### Universal History: Form and Social Meaning

One of the primary reasons for the general failure to consider Salimbene's work as universal history is largely a product of the strict laws and the over-codification of generic terms applied by modern historians.<sup>63</sup> Hans-Werner Goetz defines the universal chronicle as being characterised 'by its context within the history of salvation, manifested in the divine background, the division into ages (*aetates*) and kingdoms (*regna*), typological comparisons, a linear conception of history as a limited period, and a search for the position of the author's present age in the divine concept of salvation.'<sup>64</sup> These themes are invariably set against a strict chronological scheme, which is divided by

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<sup>63</sup> For the increasing problems this has caused for the study of medieval historiography: David Dumville, 'What is a Chronicle?', in *The Medieval Chronicle II*, ed. Erik Kooper (Amsterdam; 2002), pp.1-27; Roest, 'Mediaeval Historiography', pp.47-63

<sup>64</sup> Goetz, 'Universality', p.247. The discussions on universal history are extensive, for the best general discussions: von Den Brincken, 'Die Lateinische Weltchronistik', pp.44-59; Karl H. Krueger, *Die Universalchroniken* (Turnhout; 1976); Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique dans l'occident Médiéval* (Paris; 1980)

a Pope-Emperor structure. Modern historiography on universal history has been based also on the long-standing assumption that production of the universal chronicle is thought to have reached its apogee during the twelfth century.<sup>65</sup> In order to establish the 'real universality' of the universal chronicle Goetz applies a formal analysis and to certain eleventh and twelfth century texts by Herman of Reichenau, Sigebert of Gembloux, and Otto of Freising.<sup>66</sup> Written during the pinnacle of universal history's production, these texts are often exemplified as characteristic embodiments of the genre.<sup>67</sup>

Generally a formal approach to universal history measures the temporal scope of the chronicle, insofar as it started with a beginning associated with the Christian community; the chronological structures that the historian applied to the narrative; how it represented God's divine plan and salvation (its theological sense); and finally its geographical orientation. Goetz concludes that the 'universality' of the twelfth-century universal histories narrowed closer to the author's own time because of a significant lack of written and oral sources for other parts of the world.<sup>68</sup> The twelfth and thirteenth centuries witnessed significant political upheavals which meant that the traditional thematic structures such as the Empire and Papacy, upon which medieval historians relied for their chronologies, became increasingly unstable.<sup>69</sup> During the late-medieval period universal chroniclers are seen to 'fail' in their endeavours because they do not have the formal sophistication or intricacies of their predecessors.<sup>70</sup> The generic qualities that modern historians have attributed to the universal chronicle are undoubtedly useful since they offer a number of immediate and constructive characterisations regarding

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<sup>65</sup> The twelfth century climax attitude has been adopted by many historians: Roger Ray, 'Medieval Historiography through the Twelfth Century: Problems and Progress of Research', *Viator*, 5 (1974), 33-59; J.O. Ward, 'Some principles of rhetorical historiography in the Twelfth Century', in *Classical Rhetoric and Medieval Historiography*, ed. E. Breisach (Kalamazoo; 1985), p.103; Antonia Gransden, 'Prologues in the Historiography of Twelfth-Century England', in *England in the Twelfth Century* (Woodbridge; 1990), p.60; also: Paul Archambault, *Seven French Chroniclers: Witnesses to History* (Syracuse, NY; 1974) who believes that universal history was dying out by the beginning of the fourteenth century, esp., p.125, n.5

<sup>66</sup> For a brief overview of history writing in the twelfth century: Delogu, *Medieval History*, pp.123-32

<sup>67</sup> Also: Rolf Sprodell, 'World Historiography in the Late Middle Ages', in *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, ed. D. M. Deliyannis (Leiden; 2003), pp.157-80

<sup>68</sup> Goetz, 'Universality', p.260

<sup>69</sup> The Investiture controversy: E. Breisach, *Historiography: Ancient, Medieval and Modern* (Chicago; 1983), p. 123; The collapse of the Hohenstaufen Empire in the thirteenth century: Sprodell, 'World Historiography', p.158

<sup>70</sup> Breisach, *Historiography*, p.123

form, structure and style. In general, generic laws have been applied too strictly in modern historiography.<sup>71</sup> As Roest concludes 'to concentrate on those aspects in which they [thirteenth-century universal histories] do not live up to their high medieval typological archetypes will never give us insight into their functionality, and will never make us appreciate their form.'<sup>72</sup>

A strictly formalist approach also limits understanding of the social perceptions or functions reflected in the genre of universal history. While Goetz, for example, allows that the 'universality' of universal chronicles was primarily 'a conscious intention' on behalf of the author and that the writer's 'present' was a considerable factor in the way the history was constructed, this aspect is not developed further in any significant way in his analysis. Accordingly, the 'form' of universal history is not really connected to any sort of political and social function or perception. This is in contrast to the notion articulated by Beverly Maine Kienzle that 'genres take root in life and have a social function.'<sup>73</sup> A strictly formal methodology generates a somewhat static scheme for the consideration of universal histories that has been relatively divorced from its socio-political and ideological focus, an approach that does not necessarily properly reflect the particular uses or the flexibility with which medieval historians approached their genre.

Recently a formalist approach to medieval historical writing has given way to a view, which aims to present a more politically and socially embedded picture of the universal chronicle. Historians such as Gabrielle Spiegel and Steven Vanderputten advocate an approach to medieval historiography based on a thorough analysis of the social contexts in which the history was produced.<sup>74</sup> In particular, Vanderputten argues that the evolution of the use of generic types was intimately connected with developments and changes in group-related consciousness through the Middle Ages.<sup>75</sup> Literary form or typology was a consequence of changes in perception of how these 'groups' related themselves to both the historical process and the revelation of God's divine plan.

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<sup>71</sup> For a general survey of the way modern historians have generated and applied strict generic codes and laws onto medieval historiography: Roest, 'Mediaeval Historiography', pp.47-63

<sup>72</sup> Roest, *Reading the Book*, p.26

<sup>73</sup> Beverly Mayne Kienzle (ed), *The Sermon* (Turnhout; 2000), p.145

<sup>74</sup> Gabrielle Spiegel, 'Political Utility in Medieval Historiography: A Sketch', *History and Theory*, 14 (1975), 314-25; Gabrielle Spiegel, *Romancing the Past* (Berkeley, CA; 1993), esp. pp.9-10; Vanderputten, 'Typology', 141

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid*, 147-50

Vanderputten contends that a shift in social perception can be detected in universal chronicles produced during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. This shift consisted of an increase in 'the value of the community as an entity worthy of mentioning in a broader set of events and institutions.'<sup>76</sup> Thus, more particularised social perceptions of the community, which were conditioned in particular spaces such as individual monasteries, became reflected in the writing of universal chronicles.<sup>77</sup>

Even as Vanderputten rightly argues that that rigorous obedience to the formal characteristics of the genre was all too often ignored in medieval historiography, he also seems to conform to the twelfth-century archetype model. He proposes that before the end of the twelfth century the production of universal chronicles declined as monastic communities began to write *gesta*, in which their direct 'institution' dictated the geographical and temporal scope of the narrative.<sup>78</sup> In these *gesta*, the outside world was only introduced if it directly impacted on the development of the monastery.<sup>79</sup> He continues that as monastic writers increasingly adopted this genre, the universal scheme lost its ability to reflect the social perception of the author's community in mendicant hands. Vanderputten uses the example of mendicant compendia as evidence of the decline in the social orientation of universal history.<sup>80</sup> He argues that the writers of compendia showed a disinterest in their own period, which is indicated by their increasing reliance on the 'bland' compilatory procedures that gained popularity during the thirteenth century.<sup>81</sup> With regard to chronicles produced within the mendicant Orders he notes that while they utilised universal history sporadically,<sup>82</sup> it was generally only for 'predicatory purposes' rather than to establish or reflect any sort of group

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid

<sup>77</sup> This, in a sense, parallels Gabrielle Spiegel's 'social logic of the text' applied to vernacular histories produced in thirteenth-century France, which is explored in more depth in the final chapter of this thesis: Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, pp.9-10

<sup>78</sup> Vanderputten concentrates on Benedictine histories from the Southern Low Countries to provide the statistics for his conclusions; see also: John Ward, 'From Chronicle and History to Satire, Travelogue and *Sermo*: The Decline of the Monastic Chronicle in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Europe', in *The Medieval Chronicle II*, ed. Erik Kooper (Amsterdam; 2002), pp.268-80. Compare against Delogu, who shows that Benedictines continued to write universal history, although their efforts were slowly 'eclipsed' by historians in the mendicant Orders: *Medieval History*, pp.141-44

<sup>79</sup> Vanderputten, 'Typology', 152

<sup>80</sup> Vanderputten's argument is informed by a reading of Bernard Guenée, 'L'historien et la compilation au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Journal des Savants* (1985), 195-35

<sup>81</sup> Vanderputten, 'Typology', 152

<sup>82</sup> In this Vanderputten is clearly wrong: Delogu, *Medieval History*, pp.142-44

related consciousness.<sup>83</sup> In this sense he belongs to the group of medievalists that Bert Roest argues have ignored the ideological function of the compendia,<sup>84</sup> and the range of non-compendia mendicant universal histories that were written after the twelfth century.<sup>85</sup>

Vanderputten produces a somewhat controversial viewpoint in his assertion that the author's 'community' was not reflected in universal histories after the twelfth century. In fact the search for 'singulars within a universal concept' by history writers continued well into the fourteenth century.<sup>86</sup> Historians from the late-twelfth century began to re-imagine the uses and boundaries of history to suit their individual social and political interests.<sup>87</sup> The flexibility with which medieval historians in general approached genre has been pointed out recently by Roest, who states '[t]his flexibility made it possible for medieval historians to adapt their texts to their own specific needs.'<sup>88</sup> As the traditional thematic structures such as the Empire, which had sustained universal historiography, became unstable, medieval historians increasingly sought other entities which, to borrow a phrase from Breisach, 'reaffirmed the Christian world's unity.'<sup>89</sup> This did not mean that universal history lost its social meaning, just that the author, their specific intent in writing and the view of the Christian community that they held, was instrumental in fashioning the social importance of the form they chose.

It seems then, that Vanderputten's analysis is limited largely due to his rigid adherence to the twelfth-century archetype model. Instead, I would argue that due to a broadening of social and cultural milieus, perceptions of the 'community' reflected in universal histories were ultimately variable.<sup>90</sup> This is certainly true for the historians in the

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<sup>83</sup> Vanderputten, 'Typology', 150

<sup>84</sup> Roest, 'Institutional History', p.310; For an analysis of mendicant compendia: Bert Roest, 'Compilation as Theme and Praxis in Franciscan Universal Histories', in *Pre-Modern Encyclopaedic Texts*, ed. Peter Brinkley (Leiden; 1997), pp.213-25

<sup>85</sup> For an overview of these chronicles: Roest, *Reading the Book*, pp.42-59

<sup>86</sup> Archambault, *Witnesses to History*, p.5; This is exemplified not only by Salimbene, but also by the other 'famous' historian of the thirteenth century Matthew Paris

<sup>87</sup> For instance: Spiegel, 'Political Utility', 314-25

<sup>88</sup> Roest, 'Mediaeval Historiography', p.55

<sup>89</sup> Breisach, *Historiography*, p.123

<sup>90</sup> For example, at the Benedictine monastery of St. Albans in the thirteenth-century, historians such as Roger of Wendover and Matthew Paris begin to embed national history in the universal form: Norbert Kersken, 'High and Late Medieval National Historiography', in *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, ed. D.M. Deliyannis (Leiden; 2003), pp.181-216

mendicant Orders since they aimed to transcend borders and institutions, both literally and figuratively, to make their Order and their movements the unifying factor for the Christian community. In particular, their wide sense of the Christian community resulted in a social and cultural function of their universal histories that extended far beyond the formal characteristics of the genre.<sup>91</sup> Delogu succinctly concludes: 'In the hands of mendicant writers, the conception of history and its motives were to be radically altered.'<sup>92</sup> The Franciscan Order by its very nature was a manifestation of the broadening in the 'group-related awareness' that reflected, linked, served and directly applied to the Christian community to which it belonged.<sup>93</sup> Although Vanderputten promotes a 'non-formalistic' approach, his conclusions are still limited, and as Roest cautioned, he has misunderstood and consequently de-valued the evolutionary nature of the universal form as it was adapted in changing social, cultural and political milieus, in the Franciscan Order in particular.

'Form' as something that is both flexible and fluid is an approach that historians are increasingly relying upon in order to fully appreciate the particular social and political purposes that historiography fulfilled in the Middle Ages.<sup>94</sup> One example is Michael Allen, who, in his assessment of the development of early Christian universal histories, defines 'universal' as an idiom, describing it as more of a language than a set of formal characteristics. This approach verges on introducing an ideological and conceptual function into his reading of universal histories. As Allen argues, because of the flexibility of the language of which universal history was comprised, each Christian writer could subjectively use it as a tool to explain and stabilise their beliefs, morals and identity over

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<sup>91</sup> Breisach also seems to point to universal history as a perception of the Christian community rather than just a set of generic laws and attributes: *Historiography*, pp.121-137

<sup>92</sup> Delogu, *Medieval History*, p.142

<sup>93</sup> For a discussion of how the sermons of Anthony of Padua both seem to reflect and create this concept: H.O. Old, *The Reading and Preaching of Scriptures in the Worship of the Christian Church* (Grand Rapids; 1999), pp.345-6

<sup>94</sup> Ruth Morse, *Truth and Convention in the Middle Ages: Rhetoric, Representation and Reality* (Cambridge; 1991), pp.2-3; Augusto Vasina, 'Medieval Urban Historiography in Western Europe (1100-1500)', in *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, ed. D.M Deliyannis (Leiden; 2003), pp. 317-52 (319); Chris Jones, 'The Role of Frederick II in the Works of Guillaume de Nangis', in *Representations of Power In Medieval Germany*, ed. Björn Weiler and Simon MacLean (Turnhout; 2006), pp.273-94 (274); Daisy Delogu, *Theorizing the Ideal Sovereign: The Rise of French Vernacular Biography* (Toronto; 2008), pp.22-57. Thanks to Dr. Chris Jones for bringing the latter to my attention

the progress of time.<sup>95</sup> Charting the early development of universal history through fundamental historians such as Augustine, Orosius and Isidore of Seville, Allen specifically shows that 'form' was the choice of the individual author and that each developed the idiom to suit their individual interests and particular social and political circumstances. In particular Allen shows that universal history provided an invaluable tool for the historian to construct identity and to authorise social, cultural and political transitions during Christianity's formative years. Accordingly, universal history was integrally linked to the Christian community, by outlining its origins and the divine plan, by defining the community and by providing 'intuited and perscribed strategies of the present.'<sup>96</sup>

The universal typology could also be performative since the conditions of Christian identity or 'citizenship' could be constructed and transformed. Performative here is used loosely because it describes the way that the universal form had a variety of specifically active functions that affected the definition and identity of the Christian community. Understanding of the active function of universal history is assisted through a brief analysis of the medieval concept of *universitas*.<sup>97</sup> It cannot be explicitly demonstrated that historians of the thirteenth century, in particular, associated their histories with this political concept. A discussion of the term, especially its definition as 'all-togetherness',<sup>98</sup> helps to inform and develop modern understanding of the social, cultural and literary functionality that the universal form provided the medieval historian. While medieval historians did not use the term to characterise a mode of writing, Antony Black demonstrates that, as political concept, *universitas* had become widespread in all manner of political and legal documents by the high-middle ages.<sup>99</sup> Identified as a corporate body in itself,<sup>100</sup> the *universitas* was, to borrow a phrase from

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<sup>95</sup> Michael Allen, 'Universal History 300-1000: Origins and Western Developments', in *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, ed. D. M. Deliyannis (Leiden; 2003), pp.17-42 (35)

<sup>96</sup> Ibid, p.18

<sup>97</sup> For the most concentrated analysis: P. Michaud-Quantin, 'Universitas': *Expressions du mouvement communautaire dans Moyen-Age Latin* (Paris; 1970)

<sup>98</sup> Antony Black, *Political Thought in Europe 1250-1450* (Cambridge; 1992), p.14

<sup>99</sup> Ibid; Also: Joseph Canning, *A History of Medieval Political Thought 300-1450* (London; 1996), p.155, 172-73 ; Jeannine Quillet, 'Community, Counsel and Representation', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought*, ed. J.H. Burns (Cambridge; 1988), pp.520-73

<sup>100</sup> Joseph Canning, 'Law, sovereignty and corporation theory, 1300-1450', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought*, ed. J.H. Burns (Cambridge; 1988), pp.454-76

Ernst Kantorowicz, '[the] personified community.' Kantorowicz argues that the body of the *universitas* was comprised of a plurality of people, to the extent that medieval thinkers increasingly imagined the *universitas* as the world.<sup>101</sup> Adding to this definition, Robert Jackson concludes that the *universitas* was unified and it was governed by a prevailing purpose that in turn communicated authority and a standard against which all behaviour could be judged. He continues that *universitas* 'was a unified authority in theory, however shaky in practice, which was devoted to the overarching purpose of Christian redemption and salvation.'<sup>102</sup> Through this term medieval jurists fashioned what Pennington has termed 'a doctrine of community.'<sup>103</sup> The concept of *universitas* carried with it ideas and ideologies that related to the structure of an authoritative body, the exercise of that authority in forming a community, Christian collectivity and importantly it was defined by its relationship to God.<sup>104</sup> In this sense, as a political concept, *universitas* shared many characteristics with universal history. Both related to the identification and construction of the Christian community and its relationship to the divine. Both also seemed to have ideological power in that they represented, or at least aimed to represent, a shared, community orientated world view.<sup>105</sup> Consequently, considering the community orientated and cosmological nature of the concept of *universitas* helps facilitates an awareness of the ideological meaning and function of universal history, especially as it evolved in the thirteenth century.

Due to this even somewhat tangential relationship, the ideas of 'all-togetherness', authority and 'unity' inherent in the concept of *universitas* creates an interesting perspective with which to view the function of universal history. By linking universal history with the active functions of *universitas*, universal history appears not as a static

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<sup>101</sup> Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies* (Princeton, NJ; 1957; 1997), pp.302-13

<sup>102</sup> Robert Jackson, 'Sovereignty in World Politics: a Glance at the Conceptual and Historical Landscape', in *Sovereignty at the Millennium*, ed. Robert Jackson (Malden, MA; 1999), pp.9-34 (14)

<sup>103</sup> K. Pennington, 'Law, Legislative Authority, and Theories of Government, 1150-1300', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought*, ed. J.H. Burns (Cambridge; 1988), pp.424-53

<sup>104</sup> Kantorowicz, *King's Two Bodies*, pp.303-4. The idea of the Christian community as a corporate whole developing in twelfth-century sermons of the Benedictine Honorius Augustodunensis: Carolyn Muessig, 'Ad Status sermons and Social Classification', in *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carolyn Muessig (Leiden; 2002), p.262

<sup>105</sup> 'Ideological power' is used 'in terms of the neutral perspective of a cultural worldview, the body of ideas, values, and assumptions fundamental to a society and shared by all members', rather than the Marxist interpretation represented in Althusser. Definition from Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (Oxford; 1992), pp. 187-88; compare against Louis Althusser, 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses', in *Essays on Ideology*, new edn., (New York; 1984), p.1-61



scheme or indeed a passive inconsequential container, but rather as something which provided narrative authority and power. Universal history was authoritative in the sense that it automatically linked the historian's narrative into the long-lasting traditions associated with the construction and identification of the Christian community. And it was powerful in the sense that it continued to allow the historian to create universal themes from even the most seemingly obscure singulars. The perspective of the form universal history as both authoritative and powerful helps to move beyond the twelfth-century archetype view and allows a deeper and more considered appreciation of the seemingly generic instability of thirteenth-century manifestations.

There is little doubt that the long-standing twelfth-century archetype model that historians have used as a measuring rod against which to judge late-medieval historical writing has done a disservice to the study of universal histories. Not only has it created rigid rules and resulted in generic over-codification, but it has meant that the achievements of thirteenth-century historians in particular have been diminished. This is certainly true with regard to the high levels of flexibility and originality with which thirteenth-century historians approached their craft. At the same time I have shown that while there are certainly advantages to isolating either formal or social approaches in the analysis of universal chronicles, each only produces a one dimensional picture that does not fully incorporate or explore the ideological function of universal history in the middle ages. The thirteenth century witnessed many intellectual changes that stimulated medieval historians to re-evaluate the meaning of history, their place in it and how they wrote it. The universal typology was not merely a fixed genre constituted by recognisable laws; it was a highly adaptable and fluid scheme that had a distinct and active purpose beyond its textual elements. And it was this particular functionality that was largely responsible for the continued use of universal history well into the later-middle ages.

### The *Cronica* as Universal History

Salimbene's decision to continue his *Cronica* on from that of Bishop Sicard of Cremona (d.1215) makes it clear that he intended his work to be a universal history. Generally, this decision been passed over by modern historians aside from comments regarding the

*Cronica*'s generic miscellany.<sup>106</sup> Reading Salimbene's *Cronica* as a translation of the universal idiom reveals how the universal concept survived in medieval historiography through to the thirteenth century, albeit in a form that was specifically adapted to the changing cultural and social circumstances of the century. As such an appraisal of the author's specific social contexts reveals how the apparent generic instability of the *Cronica* was in fact associative and meditated.

The largest problem facing scholars attempting to analyse the form of Salimbene's *Cronica* is that the single surviving manuscript is not complete. The first 207 folios of the manuscript and possibly 38 folios at the end have not come down to us,<sup>107</sup> along with the section in which Salimbene discussed the 'value of the chronicle.'<sup>108</sup> Consequently, we are completely reliant on the sometimes ambiguous references to the nature of the *Cronica* and Salimbene's approach to history writing within the body of the text. Salimbene's reference to 'events in the millennium after the Incarnation' cited at the beginning of this chapter makes it almost certain that he began his *Cronica* with this fundamental Christian event.<sup>109</sup> Salimbene also states that he had previously written a chronicle with the incipit 'Octavianus Caesar Augustus' which continued to the time of the 'Longobards' in the sixth century.<sup>110</sup> This text and Salimbene's reference to other works on, for example, Emperor Frederick II and Pope Gregory X demonstrates to some extent that Salimbene regularly wrote on universal themes.<sup>111</sup> Salimbene habitually inserted other works that he had written into the *Cronica*, such as the *Liber de Prelato* (a text that concerned the Minister General of the Franciscan Order Elias [d.1253]), therefore it is not improbable that Salimbene utilised similar material in all his works. Evidence of Salimbene's intention to write universal history is provided by his statement:

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<sup>106</sup> While Guyotjeannin devotes considerable space to a discussion of the form of the *Cronica* he does not discuss it as a specifically universal chronicle: Olivier Guyotjeannin, *Salimbene de Adam: un chroniqueur franciscain* (Turnhout; 1995), pp.73-114

<sup>107</sup> Holder-Egger, *Cronica fratris Salimbene*, pp.vii-xxxii; Roest, *Reading the Book*, pp.47-49

<sup>108</sup> Salimbene, p.185; Salimbene's internal referencing system to other parts of his *Cronica* is very helpful to identify the missing folios and the content in them

<sup>109</sup> Roest agrees with this judgement: *Reading the Book*, p.48

<sup>110</sup> Salimbene, pp.216-17: Salimbene states that this chronicle was written in 1250 while he lived at the Franciscan convent in Ferrara, his reference to a section on Emperor Adrian seems to signify that he utilised a Pope-Emperor scheme.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid, p.205, 472; for similar, p.163, 185-87, 238, 293, 353

*Hic verba Sicardi episcopi deseunt.*<sup>112</sup> While Salimbene did not elaborate on who ‘the continuators of the Chronicle’<sup>113</sup> might be, Sicard’s *Chronicon* is very clearly and emphatically linked with his own.

Sicard’s *Chronicon*,<sup>114</sup> written at the beginning of the thirteenth century, is thought to be the first universal history written south of the Alps. Sicard’s history began with the Creation and applied the Augustinian scheme of the Six Ages.<sup>115</sup> Sicard’s history of the Sixth Age, which is thought to provide the basis for the early parts of Salimbene’s *Cronica*, is constructed using a general Pope-Emperor scheme. As Edward Coleman notes Sicard’s *Chronicle* distinctly narrows towards the author’s own time and the ‘core concern of traditional universal history – that of *imperium* and *sacerdotum*, empire and papacy – is inextricably entangled with the ebb and flow’ of events in northern Italy.<sup>116</sup> While Sicard utilised several fundamental twelfth-century sources in the construction of his chronicle, his prose is defined by markedly annalistic style when compared to the quality or sophistication of Otto of Freising. As such Coleman concludes that Sicard’s represents a ‘hybrid’ universal and local chronicle, a conclusion that has similarly been made with regard to Salimbene’s *Cronica*.<sup>117</sup> In his narration of events through his own lifetime, Sicard also begins to incorporate several entries dependant entirely on his own eyewitness testimony. While there are definite differences between the styles and composition of Sicard and Salimbene’s prose, Sicard’s *Chronicon* nevertheless provides evidence for the universal format of the non-extant part of Salimbene’s *Cronica*.

While the early part of Salimbene’s *Cronica* may have had a broader more ‘worldly’ focus, the geographical scope of the extant section is largely directed by the movements of the author himself and as such is personally embodied. This does not mean that the *Cronica* is restricted only to places that Salimbene visited or inhabited. Salimbene was

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<sup>112</sup> Ibid, p.29. Baird begins his translation of the *Cronica* after this statement

<sup>113</sup> Ibid: *qui vero post ipsos aliquid addiderunt*

<sup>114</sup> Bishop Sicard of Cremona, *Chronicon*, ed. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, vol.VII, (1723), pp.529-625

<sup>115</sup> For a good overview of the Augustinian system: Archambault, *Witnesses to History*, esp. pp.1-6

<sup>116</sup> Thanks to Dr. Edward Coleman, University College Dublin, for providing his notes for a paper titled ‘Small world: Understanding the Italian context of the ‘World History’ of Bishop Sicard of Cremona’ delivered at the Fifth Medieval Chronicle Conference, 21-25 July 2008, Belfast, Northern Ireland. Dr. Coleman is currently preparing the paper for publication

<sup>117</sup> For the context of local chronicles: Elizabeth van Houts, *Local and Regional Chronicles* (Turnhout; 1995)

an itinerant traveller throughout his career in the Franciscan Order, living sporadically in many places in Northern Italy, the western empire and France. In the various convents in which he lived, not only did Salimbene have access to archives and libraries that could provide material for other parts of the world,<sup>118</sup> but they also provided a crossroads where information could be shared among many travelling mendicants, both Franciscan and Dominican. One example of this is when Salimbene travelled into France from Lyon (1247) and he met at a Franciscan convent Brother John of Piano Carpine, who was returning from a mission to the Mongols on behalf of Pope Innocent IV.<sup>119</sup> The lengthy passage, in which Salimbene describes his encounter with Brother John,<sup>120</sup> provides an immediate glimpse into the way the Franciscan brotherhood acted as an exchange in which Salimbene's body and his proximity to Brother John occupied a central place for both the reception and dispatch of the testimony.

Firstly, Brother John 'showed' Salimbene artefacts from the Mongols, which Salimbene describes in great detail. Secondly, Salimbene re-constructs information about the Mongols that he 'heard' from Brother John. And finally, Salimbene 'copied' a letter from the Mongols to Pope Innocent IV that John had already copied in a book he had written about his journey. Salimbene's own words further illustrate that the sharing and communication of information was directly related to physical presence and participation.<sup>121</sup> In addition, he reveals how the travels of the Franciscans in the thirteenth century organised the geographical scope of the universal scheme:

Furthermore *Brother John wrote* a great book about the deeds of the Tartars, and other amazements of the world, according to what *he had seen with his own eyes*; And *he had that book read aloud*, as *I often heard and saw*, as many times as *he was compelled to report* the facts of the Tartars; and when the *listeners marvelled or did not understand*, *he himself explained and discussed each detail*.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> Mendicant libraries: C. Delcorno, 'Medieval Preaching in Italy (1200-1500)', in *The Sermon*, ed. B.M. Kiernle (Turnhout; 2000), pp.516-25

<sup>119</sup> For this mission and John's writings: C.H. Dawson (ed), *The Mongol Mission: Narratives and Letters of the Franciscan Missionaries in Mongolia and China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (London and New York; 1955)

<sup>120</sup> Salimbene, pp.205-13

<sup>121</sup> For similar: *ibid*, p.39, 73, 94, 231, 236-37, 314-16

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid*, pp.206-07: Item frater Iohannes scripsit unum magnum librum de factis Tattarorum et aliis mirabilibus mundi, secundum quod oculis suis vidit; et faciebat illum librum legi, et pluries audivi et vidi,

The information concerning the ‘world’ that makes its way into Salimbene’s *Cronica*, largely depended on, and was defined by, his interaction with what was witnessed and communicated by members of the Franciscan Order. In this way the geographical scope of his *Cronica* was defined mainly through his membership in the Order, the many encounters that it entailed and the areas of the world into which the Brotherhood penetrated.

This passage also testifies to the centrality of physical presence and performance in the way that the Franciscan exchange functioned. The testimony is not only authorised through formalised practices such as copying, reading and retelling, but is also authorised through the mutually reinforcing performance of the eyewitness and his audience. This authorising performance between participating and physically present bodies was one that was deeply ingrained in both the customary and legal practices of the Middle Ages. In fact, the event that Salimbene describes can be related to compurgatory witnessing in a legal sense. In compurgatory testimony, as François Olivier-Martin succinctly explains: ‘the accused must present before the judge a certain number of co-swearers [to whom he himself has sworn an oath of innocence]...who will offer themselves with him as guarantors of his innocence...The co-swearers cannot be materially certain of the innocence of the accused; but they have faith in his word...they are in sum, witness to his moral integrity.’<sup>123</sup> Despite the fact that Salimbene and the other members of Brother John’s audience were witnesses after the fact, it nevertheless does not negate their power as ethical and authorising witnesses.

Andrea Frisch, in her decisive study on the terms and conditions of eye-witnessing in Early Modern French travel writing, emphasises ethical relationships in medieval witnessing in order to demonstrate the changes that occurred in eyewitness testimony in the Early Modern period. As she writes, ‘in order to be eligible to give testimony, a folk law witness had to be recognized as a legitimate deponent in the eyes of his

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quotiens facta Tattarorum gravabatur referre; et ubi mirabantur vel non intelligenbant legentes ipse exponebat et disserebat de singulis (my translation and emphases). Baird’s translation on this occasion was not literal enough and his punctuation lessened the sense of performance and collectivity in the passage: Baird, pp.196-98

<sup>123</sup> François Olivier-Martin, *Histoire du droit français des origines à la Revolution* (Paris; 1984), pp.58-59; translation and citation from Andrea Frisch, *The Invention of the Eyewitness: Witnessing and Testimony in Early Modern France* (Chapel Hill; 2004), p.24

community.’<sup>124</sup> In this sense testimony was not ‘a monologic discourse of first-person experiential knowledge’ such that occurs in modern courts,<sup>125</sup> but was rather a performance that required the witness to stage himself within in a socio-ethical relationship with his audience, which is dependent on shared values and traditions. Furthermore, Frisch argues convincingly that although a first singular pronoun may be used in compurgatory witnessing, the witness engages his socio-ethical community to provide credibility to his testimony. The body of each participant reciprocally authorises not only the testimony but the eyewitness himself.

Frisch’s analysis of compurgatory witnessing provides an important context in which to view Salimbene’s authorial persona. A good illustration of Salimbene’s engagement with his ethical community is through the use of the first person plural pronoun. The use of the first person plural in history writing was of course a common literary formalism. It also denotes, as Michael Blastik comments, ‘a common voice or the voice of the brotherhood at work.’<sup>126</sup> ‘We’, therefore, signifies that Salimbene is not only writing from the authorised position of an historian, who draws on other textual or aural authorities, but he is also authorised by representing the ‘common voice’ of his ethical community. In the previous example, both Brother John and Salimbene, as eyewitnesses to events, rely on their membership in the Order to attest to their reputation and to ethically witness their testimony. The specific performance about which Salimbene writes, not only gives a concrete example as to how the Franciscan Brotherhood functioned as an exchange but begins to illustrate the way Salimbene developed a body centred approach to writing. In this sense he not only constructs his direct social community and his place within it, but relies on the body of the Franciscan Order to stipulate the geographic and social focus of his history.

The theological scope of Salimbene’s *Cronica* generally follows the formal stipulations of universal history since it is defined both by the history of salvation and the revelation of God’s divine plan in historical events. It also relies on the body of the Franciscan Order, although in more conceptual terms. Salimbene’s personal outlook is rather complex due

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<sup>124</sup> Ibid, p.38

<sup>125</sup> Ibid, p.12

<sup>126</sup> Michael Blastik, ‘Prayer in the Writings of Francis of Assisi and the Early Brothers’, in *Franciscans at Prayer*, ed. T.J. Johnson (Leiden; 2007), pp.3-30

to the significant influence of prophecy on his conception of his own work in the world, an aspect that will be discussed at greater length in the final chapter. For the purposes of defining the universality of the theological scope of his *Cronica*, the most important aspect is that Salimbene believed that the time was nearing the point, at which mankind would attain salvation. In general terms, history was a means by which God could show his workings and reveal his divine plan for humanity. Salimbene interpreted this plan largely through the works of the Calabrian Abbot Joachim of Fiore (d.1202).<sup>127</sup>

During the thirteenth century, the eschatological thought of Joachim of Fiore was highly influential, and greatly transformed the meaning of history, especially in certain circles of the Franciscan Order.<sup>128</sup> While Joachim's influence was vast and complex, it principally revolved around his concept of the Third Age or Status articulated in his tract *Expositio in Apocalypsim*.<sup>129</sup> The Third Status, McGinn writes, was 'Joachim's most powerful creation'.<sup>130</sup> Joachim conceived of history as being divided by three overlapping status correspondingly assigned to the Father, Son and the Holy Spirit. The Third Age would witness the culmination of human potential, as Norman Cohn eloquently explains: 'Then the world would be one vast monastery, in which all men would be contemplative monks rapt in mystical ecstasy and united in singing the praises of God.'<sup>131</sup> The Third Age would be realised in 'real time', that is to say as a real historical period. Prior to Joachim, history had been interpreted through the eschatological tradition provided by St. Augustine. He divided history into six ages, the last of which would see the end of human history. In this, St. Augustine denied secular progress and hope for the fulfillment of human potential.<sup>132</sup> The revolutionary aspect of Joachim's Third Age,<sup>133</sup> in contrast,

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<sup>127</sup> For an in-depth study of the Joachite influence on Salimbene's *Cronica*: Delno West, 'Between Flesh and Spirit: Joachite Pattern and Meaning in the Cronica of Fra Salimbene', *Journal of Medieval History* 3 (1977), 339-52

<sup>128</sup> For Joachim's influence on the Franciscans: Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages* (Notre Dame, IA; 1993), pp.175-241

<sup>129</sup> Joachim of Fiore, *Expositio in Apocalypsim* (Venice; 1527; reprint, Frankfurt; 1964)

<sup>130</sup> Bernard McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages* (New York; 1998), p.129

<sup>131</sup> Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages*, revised edn. (London; 2004), pp.108-09

<sup>132</sup> Peter Brown, 'Saint Augustine', in *Trends in Medieval Political Thought*, ed. B. Smalley (Oxford; 1965), pp.11-12

<sup>133</sup> For the controversy over Joachim's doctrine of the Third Age: Bernard McGinn, 'The Abbott and the Doctors: Scholastic Reactions to the Radical Eschatology of Joachim of Fiore', *Church History*, 40 (1971), 30-47

placed salvation within reach of mankind, therefore, instilling human agency with great importance. While Salimbene does not wholly conform to or disseminate a great majority of Joachim's prophetic system, his belief in the improvement of the human condition is absolute. Consequently, to provide meaning and structure for his *Cronica*, individual events and human protagonists were imputed with significant value in the historical process.<sup>134</sup>

At first glance, Salimbene's *Cronica* seems to be made up of a diverse collection of exempla, character appraisals and unconnected biblical and historical digressions. Through this method Salimbene illustrated, to borrow a phrase from Roest, 'how through selected human agents the divine and the human world communicated with and acted upon each other.'<sup>135</sup> As a result, Salimbene gave historical form to God's revelations, at the same time as he provided a pattern and example of how man could achieve salvation. To provide meaning, example *and* universality to the diverse (and sometimes seemingly unconnected) aspects of his history, Salimbene ordered the world (and history) using the Bible. It can be argued that the Bible is the archetypal embodiment of the universal scheme, both by form and content and also by the way it universally applied to all of Christendom.<sup>136</sup> Salimbene therefore enters into an authoritative and formalised space in which Scripture provides an associative logic for his narrative.<sup>137</sup> Alison Lewin agrees that Salimbene's embodiment of 'living the gospel' meant that the biblical phrases and imagery employed by Salimbene 'grant his narrative a structure and authority that the mere recitation of historical events could not provide.'<sup>138</sup> Salimbene derived his pattern of history from both personal knowledge of Scripture and his interpretation of Joachim. This indicates one of the ways in which the

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<sup>134</sup> Marjorie Reeves, 'The Development of Apocalyptic Thought: Medieval Attitudes', in *The Prophetic Sense of History in Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (Aldershot; 1999), pp.41-72. Confirmation of his belief in the power of free will and human agency: Salimbene, p.97

<sup>135</sup> Roest, *Reading the Book*, p.73

<sup>136</sup> For a similar argument: Richard Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe: Foundations* (Oxford and Cambridge, MA; 2001), pp.109-13; Salimbene's modeling of his narrative style on the 'realism' and real experience that Auerbach argues defines the Bible is something that deserves greater attention than can be given here: Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, trans. W.R. Trask (Princeton, NJ; 1953), esp. pp.3-23, 214-16, 221

<sup>137</sup> On the use of the bible in the Middle Ages: Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, third edn. (Oxford; 1983), esp. pp.281-92 where she discusses it in context with Joachim's theories of the Third Age; on pp. 307-08, 336, 371 she considers Salimbene's use of the bible specifically

<sup>138</sup> Alison Lewin, 'Salimbene de Adam and the Franciscan Chronicle', in *Chronicling History*, ed. S. Dale, A.W. Lewin and D.J. Osheim (Pennsylvania; 2007), pp.87-112 (91)



universal form could indeed be transformed in the thirteenth century.<sup>139</sup> Transformation insofar as changing perceptions of human agency became a much more noticeable aspect in universal histories. Through the example provided by Joachim, Salimbene integrally believed that humankind was progressively performing God's divine plan with regard to fulfilling its potential and would soon achieve promised salvation.

The aspect of Joachim's prophetic system that was responsible principally for sparking Salimbene's eschatological imagination was the prophecy regarding the *virī spirituales*. The *virī spirituales* are an integral aspect of Salimbene's *Cronica*, even if circumspectly. Delno West argues that because of Joachim's concept of the Third Age, Joachite-Franciscans believed that they were living in the time 'between the flesh and the spirit.'<sup>140</sup> This era was 'in-between' the age of Christ (the Second Age) and the age of the Holy Spirit (the Third Age). During this time, a new Order would be created, the *virī spirituales*, who 'would raise individuals to the highest plane which would dominate human life with its sole aim that of *imitatio Christi*.'<sup>141</sup> The progression of this *Novus Ordo* would coincide with a period of tribulations instigated by Antichrist, and this new Order would come to govern in the new age.<sup>142</sup> Marjorie Reeves shows that the term *virī spirituales* referred to both the *Novus Ordo* of the Third Status and also to the 'agents of God active in bringing the world through the great transition.'<sup>143</sup> Salimbene conceptualises the *virī spirituales* in both these terms.

Even though the order of the *virī spirituales* had not yet manifested, Salimbene uses its progression as an internal structural layer for his *Cronica*. As outlined earlier, one of the formal characteristics of the universal chronicle was the division of history into ages or kingdoms. Generally, authors who employed Augustine's scheme of the six ages used a Pope-Emperor system in order to provide chronological structure. Salimbene started his history with the Incarnation of Christ and because of his preference for the concepts of Joachim this coincided with the advent of the Second Age. Contemporary Franciscan

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<sup>139</sup> For the idea of human progress as the transformative element of the thirteenth-century chronicle: Breisach, *Historiography*, pp.144-45

<sup>140</sup> West, 'Between Flesh and Spirit', 342

<sup>141</sup> Ibid

<sup>142</sup> Salimbene's attitudes toward the 'reformed' Church: Delno West, 'The Re-formed Church and the Friars Minor: The Moderate Joachite Position of Fra Salimbene', *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 3 (1971), 273-84

<sup>143</sup> Reeves, *Influence*, p.141

chronicles, such as that of Thomas of Pavia (or Thomas Tuscus) and Paulinus of Venice arranged their universal histories along a Pope-Emperor schema.<sup>144</sup> While Salimbene consistently brings his chronology back to the deeds or events incited by Emperor Frederick II, he is constructed in a broader apocalyptic context than simply fulfilling the role of the Emperor.<sup>145</sup> In this sense Salimbene provides a general juxtaposition of 'good' and 'bad' figures. The manipulation of internal structures was not that uncommon in the late thirteenth-century. For example the universal history of Geoffroi de Collon, completed probably in 1295, interestingly relies on the Episcopal reigns of the Archbishops of Sens as a formal structure for his chronicle.<sup>146</sup> Salimbene, in a way that seems to reflect and reveal his whole theological outlook, employs examples of those he believes to be precursors or archetypes of the *viri spirituales* to provide an additional structural layer to his text, in what might be termed an ideological structure.<sup>147</sup> These individuals are restricted largely to prominent Franciscans such as Hugh of Digne and Minister General of the Order John of Parma (d.1257)<sup>148</sup> and are placed beside manifestations of Antichrist. These manifestations might be individuals such as Frederick II or Ezzelino da Romano, or even groups such as Church Cardinals and the heretic 'Apostles'.<sup>149</sup> Salimbene's use of precursors to the *viri spirituales* and manifestations of Antichrist as a structure in his *Cronica* is not something that has been

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<sup>144</sup> Thomas Tuscus, *Thomas Tusci Gesta Imperatorum et Pontificum*, ed. E. Ehrenfeuchter, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores* 22 (Hannover; 1872); An overview of Franciscan universal histories: Roest, *Reading the Book*, pp.42-61

<sup>145</sup> On the apocalyptic context of Salimbene's representation of Frederick II: Anna Milne, 'Tyrannus Rex? The Politics of Franciscan Spirituality and Apocalypticism in Salimbene de Adam's Representation of Frederick II' (unpublished bachelor's thesis, University of Canterbury; 2008)

<sup>146</sup> Chris Jones, 'Geoffroi de Collon, Benedictine chronicler, d. before 1295', *International Encyclopaedia for the Middle Ages-Online* (Turnhout; 2008), in *Brepolis Medieval Encyclopaedias* (<http://www.brepolis.net/bme>) [Accessed 21 May 2009]

<sup>147</sup> Structural 'layers' is an idea that came from a conversation with Chris Jones, which will be discussed in: Chris Jones, *Geoffrey's World: Constructing An Alternative History of Late-Medieval Europe* (in development)

<sup>148</sup> For example, Salimbene describes Hugh of Digne: 'Hic fuit unus de maioribus clericis de mundo et magnus loachita et honeste et sanctissime vite plus quam credi posit, ut vidi oculis meis [...] Deus eum miraculis demonstravit illustrem,' pp.553-54. For similar: pp.225-26, 236, 295-98

<sup>149</sup> Salimbene creates an interesting juxtaposition between Ezzelino da Romano and St. Francis stating that just as Christ wanted to have 'unum specialem amicum, quem simile sibi faceret' in St. Francis, the Devil had Ezzelino in the same way, p.195. Frederick, pp.341-54. In his denunciation of the heretic 'Apostles', Salimbene clearly outlines what he believes is the proper religious Order that will lead the Christian community into the new age, pp.255-280

previously discussed by modern historians.<sup>150</sup> Joseph Baird, for instance, finds it 'odd and distracting' that Salimbene, in the middle of his denunciation of Minister-General of the Franciscan Order, Brother Elias, juxtaposes this Antichrist-like figure with a Brother Hugo of Reggio, who, for Salimbene, was a more appropriate exemplar of a Franciscan.<sup>151</sup> Rather than being 'odd', by constructing the ideals and progression of the *virī spirituales* in a traditional and authoritative historiographical form, Salimbene attempted to give the new order an historical 'body', which places their manifestation in God's divine plan.<sup>152</sup>

The second way in which the *virī spirituales* are represented in the *Cronica* is in their role in delivering the Christian community through the 'transition' stage between the Second and Third Status. Salimbene thought that the Franciscans alone would create the new Order; he explicitly states that while the Dominicans would suffer the same fate as the clerics, Joachim had prophesied that the Friars Minor would last '*usque ad finem*.'<sup>153</sup> The second aspect of the *virī spirituales* belonged to both the Franciscan and Dominican Orders: 'The Friars Minor and the Preachers were given to the world to aid in its salvation.'<sup>154</sup> Through their imitation of Christ, the acceptance of Scripture as the key to unlocking God's secrets and the fulfilment of the fundamental ideals of moral integrity, chastity, obedience and poverty outlined by St. Francis, the Franciscans personified this salvation-orientated aspect for Salimbene. He therefore justifies the concentration on his own time, and in fact justifies the value of his *Cronica*, in conjunction with the prophecy of the *virī spirituales*. West appropriately concludes: 'Salimbene saw his world as existing between the victorious battle with one manifestation of Antichrist and the third age predicted by Joachim of Fiore, and his observations of spiritual and temporal

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<sup>150</sup> I hope to at some future point to undertake an analysis of the manuscript of the *Cronica* in order to produce an in-depth formal exploration of this aspect the *Cronica*, I was not able to during the preparation of this thesis due to the closure of the Vatican library

<sup>151</sup> Baird, 'Introduction', p.xvi

<sup>152</sup> Jay Hammond notes that Bonaventure also sought to historicise the *virī spirituales* through his sermons: Jay Hammond, 'Contemplation and the Formation of the *vir spiritualis* in Bonaventure's *Collationes in Hexaemeron*', in *Franciscans at Prayer*, ed. T.J. Johnson (Leiden; 2007), pp.123-65

<sup>153</sup> Salimbene, p.580: 'Et nota, quod abbas Joachim, cui Deus revelavit futura dixit, quod ordo Predicatorum debebat pati cum ordine clericorum, ordo vero Minorum durare usque ad finem.'

<sup>154</sup> Baird, p.449; Salimbene, p.441: 'Quod fraters Minores et Predicatores dati sunt mundo in adiutorium salvandorum'; West, 'Between Flesh and Spirit', 343-46

society confirmed this belief. The only way to survive this period of history was with patience and by following the Gospel in anticipation of a better age.<sup>155</sup>

Due to his belief in his role in the salvation process, Salimbene felt it was his duty to record his 'observations' as proof to the rest of the world. The Franciscans, as the precursors of the *virī spirituales*, would 'sound the Word of God throughout the world'; they would also provide an example and means for humankind to achieve salvation. Salimbene's own lifetime most clearly corresponded to the 'time between flesh and spirit': Italy was a battleground on which the apocalyptic battle was being played out. The Franciscan Order seemed to fulfil the expectations of Joachim's promised *Novus Ordo* and God was progressively, and increasingly, revealing his divine plan through signs and events that occurred before Salimbene's own eyes. Ultimately, Salimbene embedded the new spiritual direction within a traditional historiographical idiom to formalise the place of the *virī spirituales* in history. He also authorised their existence and his own narrative power in constructing the terms of human salvation.

Salimbene's construction of the Franciscan Order as Joachim's promised *virī spirituales*, was at times obvious but was more often a reflection of his own attempt at constructing an authoritative and divinely ordained ethical community, to which he not only belonged but which he also represented. Salimbene manipulated or rather exploited the formalisms of universal history to authorise and historicise the prophecy of the *virī spirituales* as manifested through the Franciscan Order. It was against this background that he staged himself as an authoritative author and witness. The type of ethical and spiritual community that Salimbene sought to create necessitated a strong authorial presence. To provide authoritative testimony Salimbene must not only establish his legitimacy as a member of this community but engage it at all times in the construction of his text and the deployment of his authorial presence. Reference to the Brotherhood, whether direct or understood, in the words of Frisch, 'locates the narrator as a member of the same community as his listeners and readers, a community that shares the fundamental presuppositions.'<sup>156</sup> By formalising the Order's place, and also the place of the *virī spirituales*, within the sacred history of God's divine plan, he endowed those specific entities with authority and in turn himself. Consequently, the authority of the

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<sup>155</sup> Ibid, 351

<sup>156</sup> Frisch, *Invention of the Eyewitness*, p.50

universal idiom and the terms of authority required by the eyewitness enter into a reinforcing relationship. Furthermore, through his obtrusive narrative presence Salimbene positions himself as both an architect and recipient of this authority.

### Narrative 'Voices'

Salimbene's authorship consists of three main narrative 'voices', through which he authorised his testimony in the *Cronica*. While Salimbene also made good use of the formalised narrative voices defined by Damian-Grint, he also utilised 'voices' that specifically reveal his body-centred approach to writing. Salimbene envisioned himself as an historian and, as such, he was an expert in his use of compilation.<sup>157</sup> Olivier Guyotjeannin concludes that although Salimbene wanted to create an original work, compilation provided a broad 'technology' of support.<sup>158</sup> Incorporated in this type of work is what I term Salimbene's 'historical voice' or the voice of the historian. While the use of the term 'voice' would seem to imply a simple textual interjection, it must be stipulated that this voice is connected fundamentally to the body that performed the historian's work. Damian-Grint seems to use the term 'voice' as a marker for narrator involvement specifically in the text and as such it does not really refer to any sort of presence or action beyond writing.<sup>159</sup> Zumthor, on the other hand, uses the term as 'an inflection of the memory', usually of a performance.<sup>160</sup> While this does not explicitly construct the term 'voice' as a representation of a performing body, it does come closest to my own position since 'voice' refers to something beyond the text. For the purposes of this thesis, 'voice' is used consequently as a type of metonymy for the body and the work it performed. The historical voice, therefore, does not only refer to the act of compiling written sources, but also to the performances of selecting, structuring and recording events (read, seen, or heard) along a chronological structure. In this sense, it is the construction of the 'annals' of the *Cronica*, whereby he may insert pointed biblical, prophetic, or other references in order to provide more meaning or example to the event. He is not 'bodily' present in the text even though a personal pronoun may be used to evidence his agency as an historian. For example:

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<sup>157</sup> Roest, *Reading the Book*, p.49

<sup>158</sup> Guyotjeannin, *Salimbene de Adam*, pp.73-84

<sup>159</sup> Damian-Grint, *New Historians*, pp.168-71

<sup>160</sup> Paul Zumthor and Marilyn Engelhardt, 'The Text and the Voice', *New Literary History*, 16 (1984), 67-92

Yet Lord Matthew left in great anger, for the reasons *I have already given*.

And the Pope excommunicated all those who thereafter made war on the Pisans[...]For “where sin abounded, grace did more abound” *as the Apostle says*, Romans 5.

Also, in 1283[...]on April 2, during the new moon, that very bright star Venus *was seen* to enter the circle of the new moon.<sup>161</sup>

These examples rely on some disembodied source: disembodied in the sense no one is named, Salimbene has not told us how he received the information, and if a third party is referred to; it is an ambiguous, impersonal ‘other’. Despite the ostensibly disembodied or effaced nature of these types of narrative interjections, Salimbene’s body as an historian still maintains a central role through the performance and processes of accumulating, compiling, recording and linking these texts to the main stream of his narrative. While the narrative interjections themselves are not directly related to the specific physical presence of a body, the performance of the historian’s skill still serves Salimbene’s authority. The relationship and centrality of his body, through his experiences, is made more obvious in the exploration of the second narrative voice.

In many cases Salimbene notes how he came by the information, stories, anecdotes and exempla that he uses to construct and develop his narrative. In this aspect he acts as a ‘de-centred author.’ The term ‘de-centred author’ is derived from the performance theory of Manfred Pfister. Pfister argues that performative texts are not produced by a single author alone, but there is rather a ‘collectivity of production.’<sup>162</sup> This incorporates the idea and ideals of the ethical community of the Franciscan Brotherhood and more fully illustrates Salimbene’s body-centred approach to writing and authority. As such I call this his ‘ethical voice’. One example of the engagement of collective production is when Salimbene is discussing the death of Frederick II and the Sybilline prophecy which foretold that his death would not be believed:

For *I myself* was hardly able to believe for many days that he [Frederick] had died, until when *I heard it with my own ears from the mouth of Pope Innocent IV himself* when he

<sup>161</sup> Baird, p.588, 526, 520; Salimbene, p.583, 516, 510 (my emphases)

<sup>162</sup> Manfred Pfister, *The Theory and Analysis of Drama* (Cambridge; 1988); for a concise summary of Pfister’s theory: Mary Suydam, ‘Background: An Introduction to Performance Studies’, in *Performance and Transformation: New Approaches to Medieval Spirituality*, ed. M. Suydam and J. Ziegler (London; 1999), pp.6-7; Pfister’s theories into practice in a medieval context: Mary Suydam, ‘Beguine Textuality: Sacred Performances’, in *Performance and Transformation: New Approaches to Medieval Spirituality*, ed. M. Suydam and J. Ziegler (London; 1999), pp.169-210

preached in a loud voice *to the people of Ferrara* on his return from Lyon. For *I was next to him and always touching him*, when he said in his sermon that the Emperor was dead.<sup>163</sup>

It could well be argued that in this example Salimbene is merely narrating his own experience in an example of the semi-autobiographical manner that has served to marginalise his *Cronica* as subjective and self-interested.<sup>164</sup> Salimbene is exceptionally particular in noting the exact means by which he was convinced of Frederick's death. There are many things immediately striking about Salimbene's style here, most notably the extraordinary attention to detail and his particular reference to the position of his body: it was not the actual words of Innocent IV that provided the unquestionable evidence. More significance is instead attached to non-verbal signs.

Proof or the authority of the statement of Frederick's death is mediated through three distinct bodies: Salimbene's, Pope Innocent and the people of Ferrara. While Salimbene's and Innocent's bodies are given particular reference, the structure of the statement reveals that all these bodies act collectively as authorising agents, a kind of spontaneous ethical community.<sup>165</sup> The passage is not simply a recollection or narration of Salimbene's own experience, nor in fact does Salimbene himself take centre stage. More accurately Salimbene uses his own body in conjunction with those of Innocent and the people of Ferrara to reveal the reality about Frederick's death and also to confirm the truth of the prophecy. Physical, bodily presence, moreover, is shown to have a central place in the way Salimbene negotiated and created authority. The phrase 'for I was next to him and always touching him', details this explicitly. Physical proximity to the Pope, in this case even physical contact, not only authorised the event and the subsequent narrative, but at the same time revealed and confirmed Salimbene's own bodily *auctoritas*. While this is a central point, the forceful relationship between the body and *auctoritas* will be the primary concern of the following chapter, when I focus

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<sup>163</sup> Salimbene, p.174: *Nam et ego ipse usque ad multos dies vix potui credere, quod mortuus esset, nisi cum auribus meis ab ore Innocentii pape quarti audivi, cum in pleno populo Frearie predicaret in suo reditu de Lugduno. Eram enim iuxta eum et semper eum tangebam, cum predicatione dixit* (my translation and emphases). This translation differs from Baird's on several counts in particular Baird translated the phrase *enim iuxta eum et semper eum tangebam* as 'for I was near enough to touch him', compare with Baird, p.164

<sup>164</sup> Husain writes that Salimbene 'revels in the memory' of his closeness to Pope Innocent IV: 'Writing Identity', p.269

<sup>165</sup> For similar: Salimbene, pp.384-85, 394, 422

on Salimbene's personal narratives in more depth. For now it is important to emphasise that Salimbene's body was intricately engaged as a member of the audience and it was the actions and position of his body that provided the central mediating point as to how the testimony or rather the narrative of the event was presented.

In the previous passage, Salimbene, Pope Innocent IV and the people of Ferrara are indicated collectively as authorising agents of the event. It is also as a de-centred author, or member of an authoritative socio-ethical community, that Salimbene uses his witness alone as an authorising agent. Salimbene habitually engages both his own authority and that of his community, in a large number of authorising interjections such as 'as I have seen with my own eyes.' At other times Salimbene states 'this I heard from' and will specifically detail the 'credentials' of his source. Interestingly, on occasion Salimbene also uses the reader as an authorising agent. For instance when he is talking about the companions of one of his central heroes, John of Parma, he is describing the setting of a sermon of Brother Berthold, and writes: '*You may take for yourself* as an example the sands of the River Reno of Bologna.'<sup>166</sup> Similarly, as he describes the monastery at Cluny he states: 'And may you know, you who read this.'<sup>167</sup> All these examples seem to directly confirm Pfister's theory of a 'performative text', since Salimbene's *Cronica* has a de-centred author, it pays attention to non-linguistic signs, spatial orientation, physical movement, and finally that it is audience orientated.<sup>168</sup> This definition is typified in Salimbene's use of the 'ethical voice' as one of the narrative strategies that he uses to position himself in the text. It also reveals explicitly his engagement with his community, which includes his audience, to confirm his authority as a witness and historian.

Another prominent narrative 'voice' that Salimbene employs is as an embodied agent, since it is his own body that directs the course of the narrative. This is reflected clearly in the earlier example, by which the digression on the Tartars was inserted at that specific chronological point because Salimbene came across Brother John on his own travels. Similarly, narrating his own movements and experiences allowed Salimbene to

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<sup>166</sup> Baird, p. 569; Salimbene, p.562 (my emphasis)

<sup>167</sup> Baird, p.203; Salimbene, p.213

<sup>168</sup> Suydam, 'Introduction', p.7



digress into other topics, even if the association is tenuous to say the least.<sup>169</sup> Recounting his travels soon after his acceptance into the Franciscan Order, Salimbene tells of how he came to the Franciscan convent at Jesi. This allowed him to discuss Jesi as the birthplace of the Emperor Frederick II and then digress into an anecdote whereby the legitimacy of Frederick is called into question by the King of Jerusalem, Jean de Brienne. This in turn leads to a character appraisal of Jean, through whom Salimbene can illustrate an appropriate fear of God (*timor Domini*), which based on the *Admonitiones* of St. Francis was as one of the integral human values vital for salvation.<sup>170</sup> At the same time Jean provides a convenient, although probably unlikely, juxtaposition for the Antichrist-like figure of Frederick. Ultimately, Salimbene sometimes uses his own body to navigate the direction or flow of the narrative. The three narrative 'voices' that I have defined here, in a sense, all reveal the way Salimbene's body was engaged in and with his narrative, not only in the reading and writing of texts, but as a member of an audience, eyewitness and an actor in the scenes that he depicts.

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The traditional characteristics of the archetypal universal chronicle have been used to provide a foundation for a somewhat formalistic discussion of the form of Salimbene's *Cronica*. It is clear, however, that 'form' and social meaning are intricately connected. Salimbene's exact choice of the universal form constituted a social message that historians such as Beryl Smalley have argued is absent from his *Cronica*. Salimbene deployed and translated the universal idiom to suit the material or facts presented in his own lifetime, to which he himself was witness either by reading, hearing, seeing or experiencing. As such the universal form had a very real and present ideological function in the *Cronica*. This is in the way human action both illustrated the revelation of God's plan and also constituted a vessel in which Salimbene could show the progressive transformation into the Third Age. A more flexible reading of the traditional aspects introduces an evolutionary aspect to the universal form, since it was not static but highly adaptable and had an important role to play to historicise the vast social, cultural and

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<sup>169</sup> Salimbene's embodied agent narrative voice can equally be considered as memory device, as discussed by Robert Brentano and Adnan Husain. A full discussion of this is slightly outside the scope of this thesis, and furthermore has been adequately discussed by Husain; Brentano, 'Do Not Say' esp. p.76; Husain, 'Writing Identity,' pp.265-92

<sup>170</sup> St. Francis, 'Admonitiones', in *François d'Assise, Écrits*, ed. T. Desbonnets (Paris; 1981), pp.114-15

political changes that occurred in the thirteenth century. Salimbene's *Cronica* illustrates that mendicants were not divorced from their environments, as Vanderputten suggested. Instead, their 'community' was constituted by a much broader perception of the Christian community.<sup>171</sup> Even though Salimbene's *Cronica* focussed more on Italy and the Franciscans, it was at the same time universally applicable, providing a particularised picture of the whole, much in the manner of an *imago mundi* scheme.<sup>172</sup> Universal history from this flexible perspective, then, can also be defined for its presentation of Christianity and the Christian People. Its active function in turn relates to how and in which ways an author sought to utilise the universal idiom in the service of their community, rather than to any artificial or generic constraint.

Universal history had an important function in Salimbene's *Cronica*. Salimbene used it specifically not only to orientate the reader to the wider community about which he wrote, but also to give himself narrative power with which to construct and historicise his own ethical community. This ethical community provided the background against which Salimbene's authority as an historian and as an eyewitness was constructed and embodied. Salimbene also exploited the fundamental authority of universal history to shape and deploy specific narrative voices that revealed his skill and authority in writing history. They also centred his body as an historian as the medium by which the disparate generic elements of his *Cronica* were linked. He is a very distinctive presence in his narrative and develops the *Cronica* through his own persona and body, in a way that moves beyond the simple acts of reading and writing the text. Robert Brentano noted in his comparison of Salimbene and Matthew Paris: 'They have loud, obtrusive voices; they have a great deal to say in great detail.'<sup>173</sup> While Salimbene's three narrative 'voices' can be seen individually in his text, they are not necessarily mutually exclusive, they in fact often combine to create the loud, obtrusive voice of which Brentano spoke. While this chapter has been concerned largely with establishing the terms of the formal and textual structures of the *Cronica*, the following chapter focuses more closely on how Salimbene's personal experiences were put to the service of the establishment and negotiation of his bodily *auctoritas* through his role as Franciscan preacher.

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<sup>171</sup> For mendicant historians' 'wide-perspective': Delogu, *Medieval History*, p.141

<sup>172</sup> von den Brincken, 'Lateinische Weltchronistik', pp.56-57

<sup>173</sup> Brentano, *Two Churches*, p.326

## II. *Modum praedicandi antiquorum predicatorum*: Preaching and Charismatic Authority

In the later eleventh and twelfth centuries the apostolic life was reimagined as centering on poverty and preaching, on action in the world rather than the removed life of contemplation. This development reflects the tension between the institutional and the charismatic that plagued the late medieval church as the hierarchy tried to maintain its established power while remaining true to its radical roots.<sup>174</sup>

Salimbene was a *predicator*, as he so often tells us. While he does not generally document the precise nature of his own preaching performances, his habitual reference to this role reveals how important and influential this aspect of his Franciscan experience was to him.<sup>175</sup> The wider context that informed Salimbene's experiences in this role, as the passage from Claire Waters indicates, was the defining and often conflicting charismatic nature of later medieval preaching. The late-medieval preacher is seen to have a dual nature, firstly as a vessel of the divine word and secondly as a fallible and sinful human. The preacher's 'angelic' and 'earthly' boundaries were debated, challenged and exploited in preaching texts,<sup>176</sup> which also gave rise to questions over the body's relationship with personal authority (*auctoritas*). Namely, the preacher's 'ability to manage his own sinful nature, make use of his physical body, and present himself in a way that made him a credible and appropriate speaker of divine truth.'<sup>177</sup> At the same time Waters sees a conflict occurring between the preacher's charismatic authority and the doctrine of the Church, their institutional authorisation.<sup>178</sup> Essentially, this boils down to an antagonism between embodiment and textuality, which can be seen not only in preaching texts, but as I will show, manifests also in the narrative history of Salimbene. The tension that Waters argues defined the late-medieval Church has interesting implications for assessing the dynamic between the textual and embodied

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<sup>174</sup> Waters, *Angels and Earthly Creatures*, p.4

<sup>175</sup> Salimbene refers to his ordination as a preacher several times: Salimbene, pp.297, 311-12; While he notes his preaching performances on several occasions no details are given, for example, he states that he preached many times in the parishes of several archpriests, p.421; He saw the French troops arriving in 1265 as he travelled to San Proculo to preach on the feast of St. John, p.471; and he celebrated mass at La Verna and preached to the people, p.556

<sup>176</sup> Preaching texts here refer to the *artes praedicandi*: below, p.3

<sup>177</sup> Waters, *Angels and Earthly Creatures*, p.2

<sup>178</sup> *ibid*, p.ix

authority within which Salimbene was constrained and empowered in his writing of history. In a sense, this relationship mirrors the ostensible opposition between the formalisms of universal history and the experience of the eyewitness discussed previously. In the previous chapter, the mutually enforcing relationship was explored largely through Salimbene's textual mechanisms as an historian. In this chapter, the relationship between the charismatic and the institutional can be revealed through a few key examples of Salimbene's personal narratives that seem to have no purpose in directing the reader through the text. Rather, as I will show, Salimbene employs these personal narratives in order to facilitate his *auctoritas* as a preacher and to express it in his *Cronica*. As such his experiences as a preacher provides a basis from which to explore how issues that arose in the radically altered preaching culture of the thirteenth century intersected with, transformed and were negotiated in Salimbene's writing of history.

There is little doubt that the rise of the mendicant Orders revolutionised the preaching culture of the thirteenth century. Predicated on a more physical and embodied basis, mendicant preaching made a decisive break with its monastic predecessors. The Franciscan preachers came out from behind the pulpit and into the streets, piazzas and countryside of Italy.<sup>179</sup> Favouring the active over the contemplative life, the Franciscans not only imitated Christ but embodied his 'word' through their experiences and engagement with the Christian community. Prior to the last few decades, however, Franciscan preaching was defined by historians almost exclusively through its relationship to the textual remains of their sermons.<sup>180</sup> As a result the sermon was textually reduced to such an extent that the possibilities of experience for both preacher and audience were ignored.<sup>181</sup> This view held fast to a contrast between textuality and orality, which also meant that any contingency or spontaneity associated with the live

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<sup>179</sup> Robert Rusconi, 'Predicazioni. Parole in chiesa, parole in piazza', in *Lo spazio letterario del Medioevo*, vol.II, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo, Claudio Leonardi, Enrico Menestò (Rome; 1994), pp.571-603

<sup>180</sup> For discussions of the textual remnants of the sermon: Kienzle, *The Sermon*; for the *Artes Praedicandi*: Phyllis Roberts, 'The *Ars Praedicandi* and the Medieval Sermon', in *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carolyn Muessig (Leiden; 2002), pp.41-62

<sup>181</sup> For example: Louis-Jacques Bataillon, 'Approaches to the Study of Medieval Sermons', *Leeds Studies in English*, new series, 11 (1980), 19-35; Compare with d'Avray, who was one of the scholars who pioneered the re-framing of the sermon from simply a text to a 'communication medium': David d'Avray, 'Method in the Study of Medieval Sermons', in *Modern Questions about Medieval Sermons*, ed. Nicole Bériou and David d'Avray (Spoleto; 1994), pp.3-29

sermon was often difficult to discover.<sup>182</sup> The distinctive lines between the oral and the written are, in reality, blurred by the physical and bodily nature of Franciscan preaching especially. As such the primary problem facing today's historian is distinguishing the shared relationship between the text, oral discourse and the physical performance of the sermon, and subsequently establishing the terms of this relationship.<sup>183</sup> As Augustine Thompson points out when we look past the 'verbal communication, the "word" of the sermon, which might not have been understood by the audience,' the activity of the preacher becomes a message per se. Essentially, preaching acts 'as a network of human relations and only secondarily as a "word" or communication medium.'<sup>184</sup> The recognition that preaching does not belong solely to either a written text or an oral delivery, but encompasses and includes 'human actions,' lends itself to recovering the event of the sermon: encompassing both the experience and reception of preacher and audience alike.

To determine the cultural and social context of thirteenth-century preaching, historians have focused traditionally on extant model sermons and the collection of documents subsumed under the category of *artes praedicandi*. *Artes praedicandi* can refer to the rhetoric of preaching that developed during the thirteenth century, or more simply to the preaching manuals prepared for the instruction of preachers, which were constructed with a variety of other materials such as letters, treatises, commentaries and other supplementary texts.<sup>185</sup> While the value of chronicles has been noted for providing historical context and background information on thirteenth-century preaching, this is as far as the relationship extends in present historiography.<sup>186</sup> I would like to move away from treating Salimbene's *Cronica* as a document that provides insight into thirteenth-century preaching and instead look at how Franciscan preaching informs

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<sup>182</sup> The arguments regarding textuality and orality are complex: J. M. Foley, 'Orality, Textuality and Interpretation', in *Vox Intexta: Orality and Textuality in the Middle Ages*, ed. A. N. Doane & C. B. Pasternack (Madison; 1991), pp.34-45; Walter J. Ong, 'Orality, Literacy, and Medieval Textualization', *New Literary History*, 16.1 (1984), 1-12

<sup>183</sup> The developments in recent historiography: Carolyn Muessig, 'Sermon, preacher and society in the middle ages', *Journal of Medieval History*, 28 (2002), 73-91

<sup>184</sup> Augustine Thompson, 'From Texts to Preaching: Retrieving the Medieval Sermon as an Event', in *Preacher, Sermon and Audience*, pp.13-40 (p.18)

<sup>185</sup> Roberts employs both definitions: 'The *Ars Praedicandi* '; 'Treatises on the techniques of preaching': D.L.d'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars* (Oxford; 1985), p.78; see also: Kienzle, *The Sermon*, pp.143-74

<sup>186</sup> Kienzle considers that chronicles exist 'outside, or on the margins of the sermon genre': *The Sermon*, p.165

the writing of the *Cronica*. In this chapter, I will uncover both the relationship and the tension between the axes of preaching, written history and Salimbene's own experiences that are found in the *Cronica*. Furthermore, I will explore how the specifically Franciscan preaching culture and identity that grew in the thirteenth century intersected with and eventually transformed Salimbene's writing through the articulation and experience of the body of the preacher.<sup>187</sup> Ultimately, the chapter is an exploration of the way in which Salimbene drew on his experiences as a preacher to facilitate and negotiate his *auctoritas* in writing history.

## The Franciscan Preaching Culture

While the intellectual and social context of thirteenth-century preaching has been well documented in recent historiography, it is important to define the principles and concepts that constitute what I will term the 'Franciscan preaching culture.' Generally there have been two main subject distinctions when approaching thirteenth-century preaching. Firstly, the inclusive term 'mendicant' preaching has been employed mainly to establish more general patterns to the intellectual context and the social meaning of sermons and the *artes praedicandi* produced within the mendicant Orders. David d'Avray, relying on this distinction, focuses on preaching literature 'diffused' and produced within the intellectual milieu of Paris. He interprets preaching through the concept of the *sermo modernus* that grew from a combination of scholastic teaching, Aristotelian logic and classical rhetoric as being the basis for both Dominican and Franciscan sermons by theologians and preachers trained at Paris. The *sermo modernus* of the thirteenth century was generally characterised by the processes of theme, division and textual authorities and, as d'Avray recognises, represented a thought process as much as it did literary form.<sup>188</sup> Correlating the practice of preaching with a way of thinking about the world is perhaps one of the most useful points in his argument for this thesis. His inclusive use of the term 'mendicant' to describe the practices of both

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<sup>187</sup> Explorations of the experience and articulation of the medieval body have gained increasing momentum in modern historiography, for example: Miri Rubin, 'The Person in the Form: Medieval Challenges to Bodily 'Order'', in *Framing Medieval Bodies*, ed. Sarah Kay and Miri Rubin (Manchester; 1994), pp.100-22; Bell, *Ritual Theory*, pp.94-117

<sup>188</sup> D'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, p.129

Dominican and Franciscan preachers and his exclusive use of only model sermons,<sup>189</sup> can at times run the risk of becoming over-generalised.

D'Avray himself comes close to recognising the possible over-generalisation by exclusively concentrating on sermons differentiated by geographical location. By pinpointing a shared, predominantly intellectual location, the University of Paris, he can bypass the dissimilarities between Franciscan and Dominican practices in the resurgent preaching culture. He is at pains to avoid the usual imposition of modern constructs on medieval cultural production that result in the over-categorisation and codification of 'mendicant preaching.' Regardless, as he himself states: 'the more immediate society of the sermon collections was one of small overlapping groups of men and systems: the elite orders of Franciscans and Dominicans.'<sup>190</sup> The Franciscans trained at Paris, therefore, who actually created sermon collections or *artes praedicandi* were significantly disproportionate, when compared to both the Dominicans and the general Franciscan preachers. Furthermore, the 'social meaning' that d'Avray derives from his sources is almost exclusively based on texts connected with the Dominicans.<sup>191</sup> Thus the 'mendicant' voice that is represented is almost too exclusive, since the larger proportion of mendicant preachers are not represented. D'Avray's wider conclusions nevertheless retain significant force in establishing the model sermon as part of the cultural phenomenon of preaching. This is mainly in the way he illustrates that experience, by way of the subject's individual thought process, had as much influence as formal and official techniques in the construction of texts.

A slight point of difference to d'Avray has been developed by Daniel Lesnik in his 'micro' study on Franciscan and Dominican preaching in Florence in the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries. While attempting to establish a causal link between model sermons and their eventual social meaning, Lesnik distinctly separates the Franciscan voice from the Dominicans. In doing so he illustrates that the reality of the Franciscan

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<sup>189</sup> D'Avray justifies his concentration on model sermons on the basis that representations of preaching performances are usually 'over-dramatized' (he uses Salimbene as an example of this) and concentrated only on 'exceptional preachers': *Preaching of the Friars*, p.61

<sup>190</sup> Ibid, p.5

<sup>191</sup> With the obvious exception of St. Bonaventure and a few other members of the Franciscan 'elite'

message bore little resemblance to the scholastically informed *sermo modernus*, which dominated Dominican preaching even at a local level.<sup>192</sup>

While Lesnik's use of the 'intellectual' and 'popular' binary, employed regularly in studies of mendicant preaching,<sup>193</sup> has been subject to certain criticisms,<sup>194</sup> his interpretation of Franciscan preaching is nevertheless persuasive, especially when considered in association with Salimbene's *Cronica*. His survey of Franciscan sermon-related literature establishes the preaching style of St. Francis as simple and 'popular': the *ioculator Dei*.<sup>195</sup> Rather than being constrained by scholastic rhetorical and formal rules, as Carlo Delcorno points out, 'Francis conceived preaching not as a technique to be communicated, but as an always new and unpredictable game. When he defines himself and his companions as *'ioculatores Dei'* he reveals the most original trait of his art and of his spirituality.'<sup>196</sup> At a fundamental level the preaching Franciscans, as opposed to the elite Franciscans who preached at Paris, rejected the formalised and rhetorical techniques of the *sermo modernus*.<sup>197</sup> They instead created a distinctive homiletic and spontaneous<sup>198</sup> style that Salimbene himself coined as the 'Ancient way' (*modum praedicandi antiquorum predicatorum*).<sup>199</sup> The ancient way for Salimbene encompassed

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<sup>192</sup> Daniel R. Lesnik, *Preaching in Medieval Florence: the social World of Dominican and Franciscan Spirituality* (Athens and London; 1989), esp. p.135. Differentiating between Franciscan and Dominican preaching, is contested in modern historiography. Historians such as Bataillon believe that 'popular' and 'intellectual' distinctions are un-founded: Bataillon, 'La predicazione dei religiosi mendicanti del secolo XIII nell'Italia centrale', *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome: Moyen âge-temps modernes*, 89 (1977), 691-94

<sup>193</sup> For example: Carlo Delcorno, 'Origini della predicazione francescana', in *Atti del iv Convegno Internazionale sul tema: Francesco d'Assisi e Francescanesimo da 1216 al 1226 (Assisi, 15-17 ottobre 1976)*, (Assisi; 1977), 125-60

<sup>194</sup> For example: Augustine Thompson, *Revival Preachers and Politics in Thirteenth-Century Italy: The Great Devotion of 1233* (Oxford; 1992), p.15, n.37. While Thompson ostensibly supports Lesnik's binary, he questions the range of the sermons that were considered to produce his conclusion

<sup>195</sup> For the purposes of this thesis *Ioculator Dei* is probably best understood as the 'performer of God's message' rather than as a simple 'jongleur'

<sup>196</sup> Carlo Delcorno, 'Origini della predicazione', 143, 149; translated by Lesnik, *Preaching in Medieval Florence*, p.138

<sup>197</sup> Salimbene contextualises the rhetorical rules of the *sermo modernus* in the performances associated with *disputatio* rather than preaching. For example: Salimbene, pp. 239-53, 422-28

<sup>198</sup> D'Avray questions the extent to which Franciscan preaching was in fact spontaneous or charismatic by pointing to the *vade-mecum* books that were available to the preachers for any occasion: *Preaching of the Friars*, p.61

<sup>199</sup> Salimbene, p.595



the type of charismatic presence embodied by Old Testament prophets and the Apostles,<sup>200</sup> which was marked often by the miracle-working of the preachers.

The exploration of the intellectual context of mendicant preaching is illuminating, it does not, however, encompass the actual preaching performance and how these performances were an integral constituent of the Franciscan preaching culture. In this sense, over-concentration on model sermons and neglect of narrative sources has produced what Thompson has described as an 'overly intellectualized image of preaching.'<sup>201</sup> Even though characterising the preaching culture of the thirteenth century as 'mendicant' offers immediate information, it perhaps is too generalised a term to move beyond the intellectual and social contexts of preaching to encompass the actual performance. As such, while acknowledging its deficiencies in some areas, I prefer the 'intellectual' and 'emotive' distinction between Dominican and Franciscan preaching. This is due largely to the belief that essential differences in their performing styles and the intellectual precepts on which these performances were based, supply enough justification for their differentiation in this thesis and the presupposition of a noticeably 'Franciscan' preaching culture.

Thompson rightly observes that Salimbene's particular representation of Franciscan preaching is important and has not received enough attention from historians. This is despite the extensive use of his *Cronica* as a background for Franciscan preaching in the thirteenth century.<sup>202</sup> Salimbene's conception of the 'ancient way' was intricately associated with the Alleluia of 1233<sup>203</sup> and it dominates his conception of preaching through the entirety of his *Cronica* between the years of 1230-1280. Salimbene's representation of the Alleluia, and his references to it throughout the *Cronica*, is an

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<sup>200</sup> On the way the charisma of the Apostles was superseded by the rituals of the Church: B.B. Price, *Medieval Thought* (Oxford; 1992), p.33

<sup>201</sup> Thompson, *Revival Preachers*, p.13

<sup>202</sup> Ibid, p.15; D'Alatri, for instance, considers Salimbene's representation of Franciscan preaching only in terms of moral and eschatological exhortation: D'Alatri 'Predicazione e predicatori francescani nella Cronica di fra Salimbene', *Collectanea franciscana*, 46 (1976), 63-91

<sup>203</sup> Descriptions of the Alleluia: Anna Milne, 'Great Halleluiah (the), peace-movement', in *International Encyclopaedia for the Middle Ages-Online. A Supplement to LexMA-Online* (Turnhout; 2008), in *Brepolis Medieval Encyclopaedias* (<http://www.brepolis.net/bme>) [Accessed 17 November 2008]; D. A. Brown, 'The Alleluia. A Thirteenth Century Peace Movement', *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 81 (1988), 3-16; For the In-depth analysis: Thompson, *Revival Preachers*

important and illuminating description of the Franciscan preaching culture that is the concern of this chapter.

Salimbene's descriptions of the Alleluia capture the immediacy, the spontaneity and the intensity of the spiritual devotion by which it was characterised:

And I saw that in my city of Parma every neighbourhood wished to have a banner that was created for holy procession, on which the martyrdom of each parish's particular saint was portrayed [...] So they came even from the countryside to the city with their banners and in great fellowship men and women, boys and girls, in order to hear the preachers and praise God; and they sang *voice of God and not of man*, and men walked in salvation[...]And they carried tree branches and lighted candles. And preaching occurred morning, noon, and night [...] gathering places were made in the churches and in the squares, and hands were raised to God, for his praise and for benediction for ever; and they could not cease with divine praises, so inebriated they were with divine love.<sup>204</sup>

The attention to detail, to movement, to sound, to the landscape, to the spiritual and corporeal alike, here is astonishing and is very characteristic of the style with which Salimbene writes the entire *Cronica*. The description of the Alleluia, however, is not merely the product of Salimbene's style of writing: the performance of the Alleluia movement was in itself a major influence on Salimbene's narrative style. There is no denying the extent to which Salimbene was affected by the Alleluia.<sup>205</sup> It was probably around this time that he decided to enter the Franciscan Order, although he was only twelve years old and had to wait over four years. His elder brother Guido, however, joined the Order in 1233, very likely in response to the movement.<sup>206</sup> Writing some fifty years after the Alleluia, Salimbene saw the events and effects of the movement as part

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<sup>204</sup> Salimbene, p.70: Et vidi, quod in civitate mea Parmensi quelibet vicinia volebat habere vexillum suum occasione processionum, que fiebant, et in vexillo suo genus martyrii sancti sui [...] Sic etiam veniebant de villis ad civitatem cum vexillis et societatibus magnis viri et mulieres, pueri et puellae, ut predicationes audirent et Deum laudarent; et cantabant *Dei voces et non hominis*, et ambulabant homines in salvation[...]Et habebant ramos arborum et candelas accensas. Et fiebant predicationes vespere et mane et meridie[...]Et fiebant stationes in ecclesiis et in plateis, et levabant manus ad Deum ad ipsum laudandum et benedicendum in secula; et a divinis laudibus cessare non poterant, ita erant inebriati amore divino (my translation), this is a literal rendering to retain the sense of movement in the passage, compare with Baird, pp.47-48

<sup>205</sup> Thompson, *Revival Preachers*, p.15; Milne, 'Salimbene de Adam'

<sup>206</sup> Salimbene states that Guido had lived a 'full life' prior to his entry in to the Order, which was around the same time that the Alleluia preacher's were centred in Parma; Salimbene, pp.37, 54-55

of the eschatological developments which indicated the 'time between flesh and spirit.'<sup>207</sup>

Despite his eschatological expectations, Salimbene reveals that the Alleluia was not simply a spontaneous expression of religious devotion.<sup>208</sup> To ensure the large crowds, on which the success of the movement depended, the leading preachers paid particular attention to time, location, space and performance. Regular meetings were organised to strategise and co-ordinate preachers and sermons, to the effect that the Alleluia was a highly managed and choreographed movement.<sup>209</sup> The physical and embodied spirit that underpinned the movement was produced with a combination of contriving, exhortation, spiritual and corporeal transformation. While Salimbene probably only became privy to the strategic details long after 1233,<sup>210</sup> the physicality and immediacy of the preaching was nevertheless a defining element of the Franciscan preaching culture that captured his attention.<sup>211</sup> The 'staging' of the Alleluia and the attention to non-verbal communication that constituted the thirteenth-century preaching culture is not only represented by Salimbene, but is also mimicked and embodied by the writer, producing the tremendous corporality and performance orientated nature of his narrative style.<sup>212</sup>

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<sup>207</sup> Salimbene uses the same quote, 'voice of a god, not of a man' in his description of the Alleluia and also the Flagellants in 1260, which he specifically connects with the beginning of the Third Age: Salimbene, p.467

<sup>208</sup> For the social and political characteristics of the Alleluia: Thompson, *Revival Preachers*, esp. pp.83-204

<sup>209</sup> Salimbene, p.54

<sup>210</sup> Jacobs questions whether Salimbene's portrayal of these events was actually an invention. Historical evidence of the development of the Alleluia movement corroborates Salimbene's story: Thompson, *Revival Preachers*, pp.1-25. Salimbene also speaks of being travelling companions with several of the leading Alleluia preachers, including Brother Jacopino of Reggio and Brother Gerard of Modena, after his entrance to the Order, (p.50, 52); as such the doubts Jacobs raises are in this instance groundless: Robert Jacobs, 'Locating the Franciscans within the cities of thirteenth century northern Italy using the "Chronicle of Salimbene de Adam"' (unpublished master's dissertation, University of Manitoba; 2007), pp.39-40

<sup>211</sup> For similar: Salimbene, p. 365-66, 559-63; Also: Lesnik, *Preaching in Medieval Florence*, p.138

<sup>212</sup> The term 'performativity' will be used for convenience to refer to the influence and prevalence of non-verbal movement in Salimbene's chronicle, rather than to the term associated with Judith Butler, which has recently been subject to a number of criticisms: Judith Butler, *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative* (London; 1997); For the criticisms: Moya Lloyd, 'Performativity, Parody, Politics', *Theory, Culture, and Society*, 16.2 (1999), 195-213; Chris Bricknell, 'Masculinities, Performativity, and Subversion', *Men and Masculinities*, 8.1 (2005), 24-43

## Charismatic Authority

Reference to the wider context of the episode of the Alleluia illustrates the way that the movement influenced the construction and style of Salimbene's prose. It also provides an immediate glimpse into the way Salimbene began to develop an embodied theory of authority. Salimbene's narrative of the Alleluia calls attention to the tension between the charismatic and the institutional that Waters argues underpinned preaching in the thirteenth century. In the passage cited above, Salimbene is essentially describing the devotional materialisation of charisma. James Hans describes charisma thus: "charisma" has the original sense of a gift or a manifestation of grace and is linked to the Greek *chairein*, to rejoice, so it combines both the power of authority and the exuberance of ecstasy.<sup>213</sup> In his conception of charisma, Hans draws heavily on the work of Max Weber, in what is probably the most well known facet of the sociologist's work. Weber's model of charismatic authority has several implications for this chapter, as Gary Dickson states: '[the] Weberian perspective offers us [medievalists], potentially at least, one way of considering both the religious and ecclesiastical histories of Christianity within the same framework.'<sup>214</sup> As such it is worth pausing to discuss this concept and how it relates to thirteenth-century preaching.

Fundamentally, the meaning Weber attributes to charisma is, as Dickson succinctly describes, 'the recognition and legitimation of personal authority.'<sup>215</sup> Charisma manifests as a type of 'manic seizure.'<sup>216</sup> Because of this, unbridled charisma is unstable; it has no boundaries and is unaccountable to formal, legal or administrative regulations. It is purely bodily in nature, it is situated beyond all material and worldly concerns: 'Charismatic authority is...specifically outside the realm of everyday routine and the profane sphere.'<sup>217</sup> Weber uses examples such as the authority of Jesus Christ and the original Rule of St. Francis to exemplify the origins of charismatic authority. Charisma is specifically embodied by an individual or individuals, as C. Stephen Jaeger concludes:

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<sup>213</sup> Hans, *Contextual Authority*, p.58

<sup>214</sup> Gary Dickson, 'Charisma and Revivalism in the Thirteenth Century', in *Religious Enthusiasm in the Medieval West* (Aldershot; 2000), pp.1-17, (1)

<sup>215</sup> Ibid

<sup>216</sup> Max Weber, *On Charisma and Institution Building: Selected Papers*, ed. S.N. Eisenstadt (Chicago; 1968), p.19

<sup>217</sup> Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, trans. A.M. Henderson and T. Parsons (New York; 1947), p.361

‘the irreplaceable centre of charismatic culture is the human body...The body and the physical presence are the mediators of cultural values; they have pedagogic “curricular” force.’<sup>218</sup> While specifically embodied, charisma had a divine origin and was privileged in the respect that it was not available to an ordinary person.<sup>219</sup> Embodied charisma had power; it could be exercised and used to transform, exhort, compel and manipulate action and transformation. In this sense, charismatic authority most closely correlates to the definition of *auctoritas* that I proposed in the introductory chapter. The formative force of the charismatic body or rather the body that possessed *auctoritas* can be specifically exemplified by the body of the preacher.<sup>220</sup>

Due to its inherent instability charisma often posed a danger to the traditional and rational forms of authority. Weber states that ‘[i]t is the fate of charisma, whenever it comes into the permanent institutions of a community, to give way to powers of tradition or of rational socialization.’<sup>221</sup> Radical and charismatic spirituality had long been characterised as a danger to the institutional authority of the Church. Most often this type of religiosity, once embodied by an individual, became heresy in the eyes of the Church leaders.<sup>222</sup> As history has noted, this could have quite easily become the fate of the Franciscan Order, were it not for the intervention of Pope Innocent III. The charismatic (divine) authority upon which St. Francis depended, was ‘disciplined’ or rather routinized through the formal institutions of the Church: essentially Innocent harnessed the charisma of St. Francis to his own ends.<sup>223</sup> History is dotted with tales of

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<sup>218</sup> Jaeger, ‘Charismatic Body’, 122

<sup>219</sup> Weber, *Social and Economic Organization*, pp.358-9

<sup>220</sup> The relationship between charisma and preaching is currently occupying a prominent place in modern debate: Paul Gifford, ‘Religious Authority: scripture, tradition, charisma’, in *The Routledge Companion to the Study of Religion*, ed. J.R. Hinnells (London; 2005); K.L. Jansen and Miri Rubin (eds), *Charisma and Religious Authority* (Turnhout; 2009) Forthcoming (this was still unavailable for consultation at the time of the submission of this thesis)

<sup>221</sup> Weber, *On Charisma*, p.28

<sup>222</sup> Peter Waldo and the movement known as the Waldensians are a perfect example. While Waldo had gained permission to preach in Lyon in the late-twelfth century he quickly became anathematised as a heretic: R.I. Moore, ‘The War Against Heresy in Medieval Europe’, *Historical Research*, 81 (2008), 189-210; also: Malcolm Lambert, *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation*, second edn. (Oxford; 1992), pp.62-87

<sup>223</sup> For example: C.H Lawrence, *The Friars* (London; 1994); F. Andrews, ‘Innocent III and Evangelical Enthusiasts: The Route to Approval’, in *Pope Innocent III and His World*, ed. J.C. Moore (Aldershot; 1999), pp.229-41; A brief analysis of the way charismatic authority was embodied by St. Francis: Dickson, ‘Charisma and Revivalism’; for an illuminating exploration of the way ‘ecstatic’ experience or rather the demonstration of ‘ecstatic calling’ could be used as a defence against heresy: Robert E. Lerner, ‘Ecstatic Dissent’, *Speculum*, 67 (1992), 33-57

revivalist preachers, who have either gone the way of St. Francis and were drawn into the folds of the institutional Church or more often were crushed with charges of heresy.

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The ways in which Salimbene describes and structures the narrative of the Alleluia illustrates the way a model of charismatic authority manifests in the preachers of the movement. Following the passage cited above, Salimbene launches into a stream of biblical phrases that emphasise the spontaneous and ecstatic quality of the spiritual devotion of the Alleluia. At the end of the lengthy passage he inserts a quote from Proverbs [11.14]: 'where there is no governor, the people shall fall.' Salimbene continues: 'Thus lest you think this verse fulfilled in these people, let us speak of their leaders.'<sup>225</sup> Salimbene here seems to verge on acknowledging the inherently dangerous quality of charismatic devotion. To contain this or rather to provide a series of 'checks and balances,' Salimbene situates the origins of the Alleluia in the person of Brother Benedict 'of the Horn.' 'Brother' Benedict was not associated with any of the religious Orders, 'but lived by himself and strove to please God alone.'<sup>226</sup> In this sense, he was a purely charismatic preacher, since his preaching was not authorised by an institution; he did not have a licence to preach either from the Church or through membership of an Order and he depended on God's grace alone. For Salimbene, Benedict's charismatic authority was revealed through his 'pure and honourable life'; furthermore Salimbene himself establishes Benedict's *auctoritas* through his own recognition of the quality.<sup>227</sup> Salimbene constructs Benedict as part of an ethical community, through which his unbridled charisma was contained. Firstly, he outlines his city of origin, he stipulates that he himself knew Benedict well, he emphasises that Benedict was 'a very good friend' of the Franciscans and finally, but importantly, he writes: 'He seemed like a second John the Baptist, going before the Lord "to prepare unto the Lord a perfect people"', thus connecting Benedict with the charismatic authority of the prophet.<sup>228</sup> Through this comparison Salimbene also seems to associate Benedict's preaching with Joachite

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<sup>224</sup> Cohn, *Pursuit*, pp.37-52; also: Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, pp.91-214

<sup>225</sup> Baird, p.48; Salimbene, p.71

<sup>226</sup> Ibid

<sup>227</sup> Recognition was an integral factor for both the exercise and consumption of charismatic authority: Weber, *On Charisma*, pp.18-27, pp.253-67; Hans, *Contextual Authority*, pp.55-120

<sup>228</sup> Baird, p.48; Salimbene, p.71

eschatology: as John the Baptist heralded the beginning of the second Age of Christ, Benedict is linked cleverly with the advent of the Third. Regardless of Salimbene's eschatological motivations at this point, Benedict's authority rested in his body and his embodiment of the special 'grace' from God,<sup>229</sup> rather than 'on tradition or rational considerations.'<sup>230</sup>

Salimbene's conception of the 'ancient way' does not solely communicate the style of preaching that was characteristic of the Alleluia but refers also to the charismatic presence of its leading preachers such as the Dominican John of Vicenza and the Franciscan Gerard of Modena.<sup>231</sup> Salimbene attests that miracle-working (*intromittebant de miraculis faciendis*) was a distinguishing characteristic of the ancient way.<sup>232</sup> In this sense miracles are a representation of the 'extraordinary, supernatural, divine power' of charisma at work.<sup>233</sup> Miracles were performed by way of a special grace (*facundus, copiosus et graciosus*) that was exclusive to the preacher's body.<sup>234</sup> The miracles associated with the Alleluia broadcast not the sanctity of the preacher but rather his body as a site of power, because he enjoyed special grace bestowed by God. The public nature of the Alleluia preaching meant that the working of miracles was a 'live' experience which was immediately available to the audience as a sign of the charisma of the preacher. Thompson points out that recognition of the preacher's 'charisma' was in no way spontaneous, it was crafted and cajoled by the preacher himself through the theatre of his preaching. Public response, nevertheless, inevitably connected the Alleluia preachers with miracles and as Thompson concludes the audiences had inherent belief 'that they had come into contact with an awesome yet readily available source of power.'<sup>235</sup> Ultimately, the preacher's transformative or formative power was performed and 'staged' by his body.

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<sup>229</sup> For similar: Salimbene, p.553, 559

<sup>230</sup> Gifford, 'Religious Authority', pp.379-391

<sup>231</sup> Salimbene, p.594

<sup>232</sup> Ibid, p.467, 595; Alleluia miracle-working: Thompson, *Revival Preachers*, pp.110-135; Miracles in the middle ages in general: Michael E. Goodich, *Miracles and Wonders: the Development of the Concept of Miracle, 1150-1350*, (Hampshire; 2007)

<sup>233</sup> Weber, *On Charisma*, p.39

<sup>234</sup> Salimbene, p.73. For similar: pp.553-54

<sup>235</sup> Thompson, *Revival Preachers*, p.120; An analysis of the way the crowd facilitated the expression and recognition of charisma: Dickson, 'Charisma and Revivalism'

The legitimacy of the charismatic presence of the leading mendicant preachers of the Alleluia was not really questioned in thirteenth-century Northern Italy because of their institutional authorisation. Nevertheless, it was only through its appropriation by the mendicant preachers that the charismatic, ecstatic quality of the Alleluia was 'bridled', as Salimbene's comments on the point illustrate. This is not to say that charisma had 'given way' to institutional authorisation. Rather, it entered into a dynamic exchange, in which the body of the preacher simultaneously engaged and deployed both institutional and charismatic authority. For the preacher to effectively exercise his charisma or *auctoritas*, he had to draw on or be endowed with other forms of authorisation. With regard to the Alleluia preachers, institutional authorisation did not create conflict with their charisma; instead it allowed it to function more effectively.<sup>236</sup> Similarly, while the charisma of the Alleluia preachers was often 'staged' it did not lessen their power to effect change and transformation. As the example of Brother Benedict illustrated, to be allowed to function successfully charisma had to be formally authorised, either by the Church or by recognition and membership within an authoritative ethical community.

The matter of institutional authorisation often posed problems for the Franciscan Order. Salimbene, for example, narrates at length the conflict between the mendicant Orders and the secular clergy during the thirteenth century.<sup>237</sup> Around the middle of the century, the secular clergy began to publicly and officially denounce the efforts of the mendicant orders as impinging on their traditional rights and duties, especially with regard to preaching and the hearing of confession.<sup>238</sup> Interestingly, while Salimbene's descriptions of individual preachers almost always centres on their charismatic attributes and manifestations, the stringent defence of his Order that occurs within the pages of his *Cronica* very noticeably and exclusively concentrates on the 'institutional.' This not only substantiates the existence of a very real and pervasive tension between the charismatic and institutional within the medieval Church, but also illustrates one of the ways in which this tension constrained Salimbene in his writing.

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<sup>236</sup> For this idea in the context of the Rule of St. Benedict: Ludo Milis, *Angelic Monks and Earthly Men: Monasticism and its Meaning to Medieval Society* (Woodbridge; 1992), pp.119-24

<sup>237</sup> Salimbene, pp. 402-13

<sup>238</sup> For the background: André Vauchez, 'The Religious Orders', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History V c.1198-c.1300*, ed. David Abulafia (Cambridge; 1999), pp.220-55; Lawrence, *The Friars*, pp.152-65



While the discussion thus far has centred largely on charisma as a specifically embodied authority, historians have also used the concept to explore wider historical change. Specifically C. Stephen Jaeger poses an interesting argument concerning a body-text binary that has interesting implications for discussing the way that the charismatic authority of the preacher, and his experiences in exercising and deploying this, informed Salimbene's writing of history.

Jaeger claims that the dynamics of significant historical change or development can be shown explicitly through the relationship between the body and the text.<sup>239</sup> He argues that from the eleventh to the twelfth century, a contest was played out between what he terms 'the charismatic' and 'the intellectual' culture. At the centre of the Charismatic culture, was heroism, whereby all cultural actors, 'operate in a heroic mode. This is not to turn poets, monks and schoolmasters into titans. "Heroic" means action-and not reflection; presence-and not representation; the glorifying of the lived moment, the *kairos*, and of the elegant human response to it-not art.' At the centre of the Charismatic culture was the physical presence of the Charismatic body, which acted as the central mediator of cultural values and ideas. Virtue was 'staged' through the body, which was 'the work of art' of the inner qualities and the medium of communication and articulation of social and cultural values to its observers.<sup>240</sup> The body had 'formative' force in its power or ability to transform, effect change and provide a model for imitation.<sup>241</sup> In contrast, Jaeger continues, '[t]he glorifying of representation is the realm of the intellectual, textualizing culture.'<sup>242</sup> Essentially, in the intellectual culture the actual body is superseded by representation. What this means is that the textual or disembodied subject provides a better model than that of the living subject: ultimately signifying a move from the real to the symbolic. Disembodied in this respect refers not to a lack of human form, but rather to the absence of personal vitality or physical

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<sup>239</sup> Jaeger, 'Charismatic Body', 117-137

<sup>240</sup> Ibid, 124

<sup>241</sup> Salimbene provides many examples of this formative force at work in his descriptions of Franciscan preachers. For example Salimbene writes of John of Parma: 'Cotidie celebrabat et ita devote, quod aliquam gratiam inde sentiebant astantes. Ita ferventer et bene predicabat tam clero quam fratribus, quod multos ex auditoribus, ut pluries vidi, provocabat ad lacrimas', p.297; with regard to a sermon by Lord Philip, Archbishop of Ravenna, Salimbene speaks of the people of Ferrara being 'moved to action', p.394

<sup>242</sup> Jaeger, 'Charismatic Body', 121

presence: the signs of physicality and performance. As Jaeger concludes, in representations, 'virtue is enfabulated' rather than performed by the body.<sup>243</sup>

Fundamental to Jaeger's typology is the contrast between personal presence and the representation (artefact) of presence. Jaeger proposes that the charismatic body entered into a 'contract' with the text, in order to allow its formative force to continue to be exercised. He concludes that representation had completely superseded or textually suffocated the charismatic body by the thirteenth century.<sup>244</sup> To show this development, Jaeger contrasts the biography and the personal letter, which were popular in the eleventh century, with the rise of the courtly romance, which had gained ascendancy as the communicator of cultural and social values by the mid-twelfth century. While Jaeger's theory is undoubtedly provocative there are several inherent problems, especially when considered with regard to the evidence presented in Salimbene's *Cronica*.

Firstly, there is little evidence to suggest that representation had 'suffocated' the formative force of the body in the thirteenth century. The use of *exempla*, as illustrative moral and religious stories either true or fictitious, became extraordinarily popular to communicate social and religious values. At the same time hagiographies continued to be written in comparable numbers.<sup>245</sup> Within Jaeger's typology, Salimbene's *Cronica* would seem to be relegated to the domain of the charismatic text due to the existence of over fifty *exempla* within its pages. Salimbene inserted *exempla* not only in order to promote values and religious instruction for his readers but also to provide material for use in sermons.<sup>246</sup> Equally, Salimbene presented 'lived' history, in which the body occupied a central place as both the sign of virtue and as the mediator par excellence of social and religious values.<sup>247</sup> This is most noticeably observed with regard to Salimbene's own presence in the narrative and to the presence of the many embodiments of Franciscan piety and the Alleluia preachers. Reference to physicality

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<sup>243</sup> Ibid, 137, 124

<sup>244</sup> Ibid, 125-37

<sup>245</sup> Roest, *Reading the Book*, pp.69-100

<sup>246</sup> Salimbene, p.549

<sup>247</sup> This dynamic is also seen in the contemporary chronicle of the Dominican Jacobus de Voragine, *Cronica civitatis Ianuae*: Delcorno, 'Italian Preaching', p.493; Carla Casagrande & Silvana Vecchio, 'Cronaca, morale, predicazione: Salimbene da Parma & Jacopo da Varagine', *Studi medievali*, ser. 3, 30 (1989), 749-88

and bodily characteristics occupy primary space in Salimbene's descriptions of historical figures. For example: 'John of Parma was of medium stature, inclining more to smallness than otherwise. He was a handsome, well-formed man of strong constitution, who was able to sustain hard labour, both in travelling about and in sedentary study.'<sup>248</sup> While Salimbene's 'representation' of historical figures inevitably became textually encoded by Scripture and other texts as he compiled his history, his almost pedantic portrayal of 'the body' reveals it as something that is both important and ultimately formative in nature.

The very nature of the Franciscan Order poses the second problem for Jaeger's typology. As the studies by Thompson, Delcorno and Lesnik indicate, the basis on which the Order was predicated was not so much intellectual but rather active and performance orientated; they were after all the *ioculatores dei*. Antonio Attisani forcefully argues that re-actualisation rather than imitation or representation of Christ is a central tenant of the Franciscan experience that historians have tended to overlook. Francis and his followers did not merely attempt to 'duplicate the images of his [Christ's] life', they 'wanted to realize here and now the same principles, which is not the same thing.'<sup>249</sup> West agrees with this conception stating 'St. Francis' modus operandi was speech and action.'<sup>250</sup> Thus the Franciscan experience itself severely undermines Jaeger's thesis, since there is little sense that the charisma of their preachers was anything other than truly embodied.

It is true that prior to the thirteenth century public preaching did not have a very bodily focus. Sermons, more often than not, took place behind the pulpit, which often obscured the preacher's body from the vision of the people. The mendicant Orders, however, revolutionised preaching in the sense that they often abandoned the pulpit. By putting their bodies on display, their preaching style became necessarily more physical and visual. At the same time their widespread propagation through the towns and cities of

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<sup>248</sup> Baird, p.297; Salimbene, p.297. At the same time the size or shape of the body acts as an immediate signifier of the subject's inner qualities, as he emphatically states: 'the quality of a man is known by his look': Salimbene, p.126. For example men of small stature, p.255, 316

<sup>249</sup> Antonio Attisani, 'Franciscan Performance: A Theatre Lost and Found Again', in *PAJ: A Journal of Performance and Art*, 73 (2003), 48-60 (49)

<sup>250</sup> West, 'Re-formed Church', 275-76

Europe meant that they constantly had to perform their virtue in their daily lives.<sup>251</sup> The public nature of friars cannot be overemphasised in this respect. Even though the Franciscan Order underwent extraordinary changes after the death of its founder, representation or texts do not seem to have won a 'contest' against the body. Indeed, the centrality of performance and charismatic authority, with its signifier the miracle, in Salimbene's description of Franciscan preachers challenges Jaeger's proposal that charisma had 'passed out of existence' by the thirteenth century. Despite the problems with Jaeger's binary, one factor of his argument still offers an indisputable basis from which to explore how Salimbene's experiences as a preacher informed his *Cronica*. Namely that the body, and particularly Salimbene's own, 'staged' charisma, morality, and virtue.

### Embodied *Auctoritas*

The Franciscan preaching culture represented by the Alleluia cultivated an extreme awareness of the body in Salimbene that is reflected in his historical style. Due to the public focus on the preacher's body, Franciscan preaching by its very nature was both charismatic and episodic,<sup>252</sup> relying on the performance and the personal authority of the individual preacher for meaning and effect. The example of preaching that Salimbene witnessed and experienced in his formative years, through the Alleluia, distinctly idealised the body, not only as a source of power and a sign of inner virtue but also authority.<sup>253</sup> This is largely indicated by his focus on physical proximity and the first person experience as the basis of authority.

Pope Innocent IV's sermon to the people of Ferrara is repeated three times in the *Cronica*. Introduced each time in different contexts, the syntax nevertheless always asserts the primacy of physical proximity. As proof that Ferrara was a papal city Salimbene writes: 'And I heard this a hundred times, since I lived there for seven years, and furthermore I heard it from the mouth of Innocent IV in many sermons, since I was

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<sup>251</sup> Chapter sixteen of the *Regula Prima* states that their bodies and behavior revealed them as Christians: St. Francis, 'Regula Prima', in *Analekten zur Geschichte des Franciscus von Assisi*, ed. Heinrich Boehmer (Leipzig; 1904), pp.10-11

<sup>252</sup> For Franciscan 'theatricality': Attisani, 'Franciscan Performance', 48-60

<sup>253</sup> For an interesting discussion of the ways in which positive ideas about the body within the Franciscan Order informed sermons on marriage and sex: D.L. D'Avray, 'Some Franciscan Ideas about the Body', *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 84 (1991), 343-63

always touching him, as he preached from the window of the bishop's palace at Ferrara.<sup>254</sup> Similarly Salimbene employed the phrase 'for I was next to him and always touching him' when he was unable to believe news of the Emperor Frederick's death until he stood touching the Pope as he said it.<sup>255</sup> This example was used in chapter one to illustrate Salimbene's use of an ethical community and his 'ethical voice' as an authorising agent in the *Cronica*. Its use here indicates that the body itself functioned as a source of authority and truth. In both these instances, physical proximity to Innocent carried more authority for Salimbene than either the words he spoke or other communication mediums could. Consequently, personal, *embodied* experience is represented as a supreme form of authority and truth that far surpassed the text in this instance.<sup>256</sup>

Another example of the way in which authority was situated in the body is shown in a passage in which Salimbene again seems to be narrating his own experiences in a self-interested manner. When he arrived at Lyon, as a messenger to Pope Innocent IV, Salimbene is crowded by cardinals who wished to hear news of Parma's defection from the Emperor:

When those standing about had heard me say such things, therefore they marvelled and said to each other in my presence, "Never in our lives have we ever seen a friar so sure of himself, speaking with such self-confidence". They said this *because they saw me sitting between* the Patriarch of Constantinople and a Cardinal, for the Cardinal had asked me to sit there.<sup>257</sup>

Placid Hermann, cited at the beginning of the thesis, would no doubt see this passage as a sign of Salimbene's vanity. Salimbene, however, tells us that the cardinals' opinions were distinctly based on his physical position between two authoritative figures. Taking into consideration the position of Salimbene's body along with the embodied authority

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<sup>254</sup> Salimbene, p.165: 'Revera civitas Ferarie Romani pontificis est et terra ecclesie; et hoc audivi centies, quia septem annis ibi habitavi, et etiam ab ore pape Innocentii quarti in plena predicatione hoc audivi, quia semper tangebam eum, quando super fenestram palatii episcopo Ferarie predicabat' (my translation). Again Baird's translation was not literal enough. Compare with Baird, p.157

<sup>255</sup> Salimbene, p.174: Eram enim iuxta eum et semper eum tangebam, cum in predicatione dixit. See above p.26, n.104. The third passage reads: Ego vero eram iuxta papam, ita ut possem eum tangere, quando vellem, Salimbene, p.446.

<sup>256</sup> For similar: *ibid*, pp.384-85, 394

<sup>257</sup> Baird, p.386; Salimbene, p.385 (my emphasis)

of those he sat between was thus a direct sign of his authority for the cardinals who witnessed his report. It seems that had Salimbene not occupied this position, his testimony would not have been considered so authoritative. Consequently, the passage is not a sign of Salimbene's conceit or vanity, but instead illustrates one of the ways in which Salimbene utilised personal narratives in order to illustrate and express his *auctoritas* in his *Cronica*.<sup>258</sup>

I have argued previously that the influence and availability of eyewitness testimony helped Salimbene to develop a body-centred approach to writing. Due to a general distrust of hearsay in the Middle Ages the credibility of the witness was integral to establishing their authority. This aspect of eyewitness testimony has been undervalued in present historiography, to the extent that Salimbene's consistent intrusion into his narrative has seemed to be a curiosity or an aberration of traditional medieval historical writing. In contrast, I propose that one of Salimbene's primary goals in his use of first person experience was to establish his own authorial identity and authority. Claire Waters suggests that a tension existed in the thirteenth century between personal authority and institutional authorisation. Rather than viewing this as a conflict, I will instead discuss this as a dynamic exchange into which the preacher entered both to serve and facilitate his authority.<sup>259</sup> Doing so allows me to avoid constructing an inflexible historiographical binary, which often presuppose rigid conclusions, and explore how the dynamic functioned specifically in Salimbene's *Cronica*. Salimbene not only attempted to establish his own authorial authority through his use of first person experience; he also endeavoured to authorise his *Cronica* as an authoritative medium of communication, which negotiated and embraced the authority situated in his charismatic body. At the same time, he engaged the authority derived not only from his institutional authorisation but also from the traditional authority inherent in history writing.

The function of Salimbene's first person persona in his *Cronica* was intricately connected to his role as a preacher. The authorisation of his right to preach necessitated the

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<sup>258</sup> Similarly, Salimbene states that the Papal legate and Archbishop of Ravenna, Lord Philip leaned on him for support in order to honour him: Salimbene, p.401

<sup>259</sup> Medieval thinkers also saw this tension as mutually reinforcing: Waters, *Angels and Earthly Creatures*, p.2

cultivation of a 'charismatic' presence, in the sense of charisma as embodied authority. Preachers had an exceptionally public role in which they constantly had to perform their own moral qualities and virtues.<sup>260</sup> As the example of the Alleluia has shown personal charisma and its performance often mattered more than the preachers' words. Actions and embodied presence had formative force and the preacher constructed his own identity through his morality and virtue, which was the basis of his *auctoritas*.<sup>261</sup> In this sense, Salimbene's *auctoritas* was situated in his body and not in the text that he produced. Nevertheless, attitudes toward the body in the middle ages meant that, even gifted with charisma, the body was still a matter of contestation.

The concept of the King's two bodies was formed over fifty years ago by eminent historian Ernst Kantorowicz. While the concept is complex and imbricated by numerous political and theological issues – after all Kantorowicz devotes over five hundred pages to its analysis - for the purposes of illuminating this argument the 'two bodies' refers to the natural body, which was subject to all human failings, vices, and had the ability to die, and the spiritual body, which in essence represented the divine and was therefore immortal. The duality to which the concept refers is succinctly articulated in Kantorowicz's citation of Francis Bacon: 'All precepts concerning kings are in effect comprehended in those two remembrances: *Memento quod es homo*, and *Memento quod es Deus*, or *vice Dei*.'<sup>262</sup> Since Kantorowicz's seminal monograph the concept has been revised firstly by A.J. Minnis as the *Author's Two Bodies*,<sup>263</sup> and subsequently by Waters in relation to the preacher. In both these works the body, whether it be that of an *auctor* or *predicator*, was a site of contestation between personal authority (*auctoritas*), as a manifestation of the divine or charismatic, and the fallibility of the human body, as a source of sin. The body therefore could be at the same time an embodiment of the divine message and also a vessel for corruption. Both Minnis and Waters clearly demonstrate that the contest or conflict between what can be reduced to

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<sup>260</sup> For these ideas in relation to the Dominican Order: Dallas G. Denery II, 'The Preacher and His Audience: Dominican Conceptions of the Self in the Thirteenth Century', in *Acts and Texts: Performance and Ritual in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Laurie Postlewaite & Wim Hüskens (Amsterdam; 2007), pp.17-34

<sup>261</sup> Beverly Mayne Kienle, 'Medieval Sermons and Their Performance: Theory and Record', in *Preacher, Sermon and Audience*, ed. C. Muessig (Leiden; 2002), pp.89-126 (97)

<sup>262</sup> Kantorowicz, *King's Two Bodies*, p.496

<sup>263</sup> Alastair J. Minnis, 'The Author's Two Bodies? Authority and Fallibility in Late-Medieval Textual Theory', in *The Making of Books: Medieval Manuscripts, Their Scribes and Readers*, ed. P.R. Robinson & Rivkah Zim (Aldershot; 1997), pp.259-79

divine and human natures that occurred in the political sphere was equally manifest wherever issues over authority emerged.

As both an author and a preacher Salimbene attempted to negotiate the inherent duality of his body and the issues that this created concerning the expression of his *auctoritas* within his text. His variation between the use of 'I' (*ego/me*) and 'we' (*nos*) in the *Cronica* can be thought of as one manifestation of this dynamic. The previous chapter called attention to the use of the first person plural as a signifier of authorial authority. On the one hand 'we' made reference to the authority that Salimbene derived from the Franciscan brotherhood. On the other 'we' also called attention to the textual tradition, the long line of historians (Scripture included), whose authority Salimbene engaged through methods of compilation. In the one surviving section in which he deliberates on historians and the writing of history, Salimbene consistently employs the first person plural. Furthermore, in this same passage he actually discusses his alternative usage of the first person singular and plural. Salimbene justifies his lack of consistency by reference to Scripture, in which, he argues, the prophets' also habitually oscillated between the two forms: 'the fact that sometimes we speak in the singular and other times in the plural, should not matter, for such a custom exists in divine Scripture.'<sup>264</sup>

An example of his first person singular usage not long after this discussion reveals that the variation is not as random as Salimbene implies. After criticising the style of other writers such as Hosea, Livy, St. Ambrose and Mark, Salimbene pointedly writes 'Ego' both to contrast his own clear, simple style and also, I would argue, to demonstrate that his own *auctoritas* is in some way independent from those *auctores* and situated beyond their texts.<sup>265</sup> Consequently, Salimbene's alteration between the first person singular and plural is in fact exacting and strategic. This particular usage of *ego* is an example of Salimbene engaging his personal authority, as constructed through the first person singular. In this instance, 'Ego' indicates his authority as an author, which he had previously signified with the use of the de-centred 'ethical' first person plural. The use of 'we' could often negate the accountability of Salimbene's individual body, in that he might not be solely responsible for any misrepresentation. His variation between the

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<sup>264</sup> Salimbene, p.185

<sup>265</sup> Ibid. This is in contrast to the style of a compiler such as the Dominican Vincent de Beauvais, who relies almost exclusively on the authority of established *auctores*: above, p.11



two demonstrates to some extent the interesting dynamic that occurred as he confronted issues over his authority both in his writing and in his body. Salimbene's use of the personal pronoun did not always directly signify his embodied presence even though it often alluded to work his body performed. Personal or charismatic presence, the fully embodied 'I', can be seen to manifest fully in the text when Salimbene's body acts as a medium of communication itself. In this sense, the narration of an historical event is structured by Salimbene's physical presence in a given time or place, or spiritual values or lessons are staged through his own body.

The dual nature of the preacher's body as a divine vessel but also as a physical representation of the corruptibility of human nature can be seen to exhibit itself through Salimbene's embodied presence in his narrative. The body manifests the disruption of the soul: it is the stage on which virtue and sin compete. One passage from the *Cronica* illustrates this remarkably. Early in his career when he was based at Pisa (probably around 1240), Salimbene suffered a particularly bad verbal attack from a man condemning him for leaving behind his rich life and begging from people who had very little themselves:

And after our circuit was completed, that night I began to revolve and think over in my mind, everything that I had seen and heard, because if I was to live on in the Order for fifty years, having to beg to such an extent, not only would it be an immense path for me, but also an embarrassing and unbearable labour beyond my strength. And with such thoughts, I spent almost the whole night sleepless; in so far as it pleased God a moderate sleep fell on me, in which the Lord sent a beautiful vision to me, which brought consolation, gladness and unusual sweetness to my soul. And then I knew that divine aid is necessary when human aid achieves nothing.<sup>266</sup>

In this passage, the body's capacity for sin and impiety is manifested through Salimbene's embarrassment over his Order's practice of mendicancy. His body suffers and expresses his inner turmoil through his sleeplessness. In the vision that Salimbene

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<sup>266</sup> Salimbene, p.45: Completa itaque circa nostra cepi ego illo sero omnia que videram et audieram in mente mea revolvere et cogitare, quia si vexero quinquaginta annis in ordine taliter mendicando, non solum grandis erit michi via, verum etiam labor erubescibilis et intolerabilis ultra vires. Cumque talibus cogitationibus quasi totam noctem duxissem insomnem, sicut Deo placuit, accidit michi modicus somnus, in quo visionem michi Deus ostendit pulcherrimam, que consolationem contulit anime mee et iocunditatem atque dulcedinem inauditam. Et tunc cognovi, quod necesse est divinum adesse auxilium, ubi cessat humanum (my translation). Baird's translation did not quite express the extent and nature of Salimbene's bodily suffering, compare with Baird, p.19

received he states that he was begging door to door and, on account of his shame, he avoided the neighbourhood in Pisa, in which Parmese merchants owned a hostel: 'For I feared that I would hear strong words from them on behalf of my father, which would strike my heart.'<sup>267</sup> Then he saw the Lord begging, who said to him:

'It is I who left my home, gave up my inheritance, and delivered my beloved spirit into the hands of my enemies so that I might bring salvation to mankind. I am the One of whom my apostle Paul wrote in II Corinthians 8 [9]: "For you know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that being rich he became poor for you sakes; that through his poverty you might be rich." Therefore, do not blush, my son, to beg for love of me.'<sup>268</sup>

The vision represents Salimbene's subconscious regret over the surrender of his worldly comforts and tension over Franciscan poverty.<sup>269</sup> Through the signs articulated by his body (blushing and sleeplessness), the spirit expresses its reluctance to completely submit itself to a life of Franciscan mendicancy. Just as Christ reminds Salimbene of his own transformation, achieved through the giving up of his worldly family and material wealth in order to give salvation to the world; Salimbene must also subject his body to the same physical ordeal, in order for his soul to be reconciled.<sup>270</sup> Salimbene's spiritual transformation into a *vir spiritualis* is dependent on not only emulating but re-actualising these same conditions, which is achieved by facing the men of Parma and suffering the 'strike to his heart.' While it could be argued that the imitation of Christ was merely a formalised aspect of the Franciscan experience,<sup>271</sup> through this re-telling, the performance of mendicancy in effect becomes a daily embodiment of Salimbene's status as a vessel of the divine. Revealing, most interestingly, the way that the narration of his embodied experiences could be put at the service of his *auctoritas*. Consequently analysing the extra-textual context and function of Salimbene's 'personal voice' offers a new dimension in which to view his personal narratives.

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<sup>267</sup> Salimbene, pp.45-6:

<sup>268</sup> Baird, p. 20; Salimbene, p.46

<sup>269</sup> Developments and underlying tensions in the Franciscan concept of absolute poverty: Malcolm Lambert, *Franciscan Poverty*, second edn. (St. Bonaventure, NY; 1998)

<sup>270</sup> Salimbene's narration of the rejection of his worldly family bears a strong resemblance to that of St. Francis: pp.39-41; for a succinct summary of St. Francis' renunciation of his 'carnal' father, material wealth and the resulting conflict: Michael Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge; 2006), p.14

<sup>271</sup> For the development of the 'imitation of Christ' as a mimetic concept: Giles Constable, 'The Ideal of the Imitation of Christ', in *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought* (Cambridge, 1995), pp.143-248

At the same time that this example demonstrates how preachers were forced to confront their 'two bodies', it also reveals the way embodied charisma was integral to establishing Salimbene's status as a *vir spiritualis*. Salimbene re-actualises Christ's personal experience through the re-telling of his own 'conversion', therefore situating his authority in his own body, through its performance of Franciscan mendicancy. His spiritual transformation is staged through the body and his very bodily ordeal becomes in itself imitational, therefore formative, endowing Salimbene's authorial voice with an authorised, charismatic presence. Moreover from this experience Salimbene also demonstrates his spiritual authority. In the passage under consideration, the charisma or rather the ecstasy of the vision moves beyond the bodily ordeal and Salimbene enters into a deep theological discussion with Christ on a variety of topics, which ultimately reveals his knowledge. The relationship between charisma and spiritual intelligence was irrevocably stressed in the thought of Joachim of Fiore, as spiritual intelligence was fundamental to his prophecy of the *virī spirituales*.<sup>272</sup> This relationship in turn engendered a notable 'progressivist conception of spiritual intelligence' within the Franciscan Order.<sup>273</sup> As Robert Lerner has shown, demonstration of spiritual intelligence was generally made through charismatic or ecstatic experience and from these experiences the agent could claim a special illumination in writing.<sup>274</sup> Through his 'vision' Salimbene establishes a direct chain of authority from Christ that at times seems independent of the Franciscan Order and thus more reliant on charismatic authority rather than institutional authorisation. It should be added, however, that Salimbene is not characterising himself as an individual, as in an autobiographical sense. His relationship to Christ and the divine is always performed through his work as a Franciscan and dependant on his position in the Order and the Christian community.

The authority of Christ is not the only special illumination to which Salimbene makes claim. Salimbene also describes a vision he received directly from the Virgin Mary, in which he held the child Jesus. In this occurrence Salimbene is rewarded by the Virgin for his constancy toward the Franciscan Order in the face of his father's maledictions and as

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<sup>272</sup> McGinn, 'The Abbot and the Doctors', 34

<sup>273</sup> Lerner, 'Ecstatic Dissent', 52

<sup>274</sup> Ibid. Lerner uses the example of Robert of Liège, Joachim of Fiore and Arnold of Villanova

he writes ‘never in the world have I ever experienced such great sweetness.’<sup>275</sup> On another occasion, in a way that could be construed as an engagement with Joachite discourse on the Third Age, Salimbene seems to refer to a special illumination in his writing that was afforded by the Holy Spirit. Apologising for his numerous digressions, Salimbene justifies this aspect of his narrative by stating: ‘such things come to mind despite ourselves and at times when, in good conscience, we could not avoid them, because “the Spirit breatheth where he will,” and it is not “in man’s power to stop the spirit.”’<sup>276</sup> In light of Lerner’s proposition, Salimbene seems able to demonstrate this special ‘calling’ or ‘illumination’ in his writing because he has already established his charismatic authority through his narration of his vision of Christ and the bodily ordeal he was subjected to as a consequence. Thus Salimbene is able to engage both collective, institutional authority through his authorisation as a Franciscan preacher. But his charisma, his personal *auctoritas*, his spiritual intelligence and divine calling is equally as manifest in his writing.

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The preacher’s experience informed Salimbene’s *Cronica* in several distinct ways. Not only did he develop a body-centred approach to writing, but it also constrained and empowered his authorship, both with regard to his literary representations and the ways in which his embodied experience translated on to the page. Salimbene carefully negotiated the boundaries between personal and institutional authority, body and text, illustrating the extent to which issues over authority and authorisation characterised the Franciscan experience. The preacher needed to construct an independent, charismatic authority but at the same time submit himself to the authorisation and formalisms of the institution. Salimbene’s narration of his visions and ecstatic experiences could in fact represent, to borrow David Burr’s phrase, the ‘institutionalization of ecstasy.’<sup>277</sup> The ‘representation’ of his experiences, however, is not to deny their legitimacy or indeed the expression of his agency. Christ’s message to Salimbene enforced the notion of the

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<sup>275</sup> Baird, p.15; Salimbene, p.41

<sup>276</sup> Baird, p. 176; Salimbene, p.185; Salimbene also spends several pages discussing the different ways in which the spirit worked, at the end of which he thanks the Lord for getting him through the matter, Salimbene, pp.208-214

<sup>277</sup> David Burr, ‘Bonaventure, Olivi and Franciscan Eschatology’, *Collectanea Franciscana*, 53 (1983), 23-40 (33)

body as a site of transformation, authority and thus power. Ultimately it was on this belief that Salimbene's preacher's and historian's 'bodies' alike, were predicated. His embodied experiences as a preacher, therefore, formed a basis from which he could construct and deploy his authorial persona. As such Salimbene's personal presence, his ubiquitous 'I', is not inconsequential but rather it is an exact and integral narrative sign of the *auctoritas* situated in his body.

The possibilities of spiritual transformation and embodiment inherent in Franciscan social and spiritual thought, were not restricted solely to the preachers' bodies, but provided a centre for the Franciscan experience itself. Antonio Attisani strongly argues for the recovery of performance and theatricality in all aspects of Franciscan culture, perceptively concluding that 'Franciscan theatricality does not consist of the illustration of an ideological statement (a concept or a text, that is, a discourse), nor can it be reduced to the simplicity of the exempla. In other words it has nothing to do with representation...theatricality consists of an incredible variety of *poetic actions* with the purpose of creating a communal experience of transformation.'<sup>278</sup> Transformation of community and Christian experience is arguably the key to understanding the underlying relationship between performance and textualisation in Salimbene's writing of history. While preaching and the sermon often represented the possibility of transformation - the exhortation to act - confession accomplished it both corporally and spiritually. The following chapter, therefore, will look at Salimbene's narrative presence through the lens of his role as a confessor. This will clarify not only the way his embodied acts as a confessor informed his text but will reveal how changing ideas about confession imbued and transformed the meaning and function of history writing in the thirteenth century.

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<sup>278</sup> Attisani, 'Franciscan Performance', 48



### III. *gratiosus in confessionibus audiendis*: Confession and Society

I have looked at history as a counterpoise in a balance of very great delicacy; and I have suggested that some kinds of medieval historical writing, especially the world chronicle, may have been undertaken less for themselves than as a response to a particular demand.<sup>279</sup>

In the study indicated, Valerie Flint argues that the world chronicle of Honorius Augustodunensis was in part a response to issues raised over legitimate and illegitimate enquiry into astrology, astronomy and magic. She contends that in the early decades of the twelfth century, an intense interest in these practices was occurring in historical works in order to establish the boundaries of 'natural' and 'superstitious' practice. History writing provided a medium, she writes, 'to distinguish, accommodate, and, above all, to contain.' Furthermore, as emphasised in the quote above, history writing provided a way in which to respond to the increasing demands created by those interests. Flint supports the notion argued elsewhere in this thesis that universal history had a particular function, regardless of the individual interests of the author or the specific contexts in which it was employed. Universal history was not a passive container nor a static form or scheme. It was chosen specifically by medieval historians not only for its organisational structures and traditional authority but also for the social and historiographical functions that it performed for its author. The particular functionality that Flint argues universal history fulfilled with regard to magical practices in the twelfth century can be correlated to a similar interest in social roles, social conduct and social relationships that can be detected in historical literature in the thirteenth century. This interest was both ignited and facilitated by the formalisation of confession and the alacrity with which the Franciscan Order implemented the practice in Christian society.

In 1215 the Fourth Lateran Council decreed, through canon 21 known as *Omnis utriusque sexus*, that all members of the Christian community had to confess to their local priest at least once a year.<sup>280</sup> This date has become the defining moment in the history of confession for modern scholars. From this point, historians generally believe

<sup>279</sup> Valerie Flint, 'World History in the early twelfth century: the *Imago Mundi* of Honorius Augustodunensis', in *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages*, ed. R.H.C Davis and J.M. Wallace-Hadrill (Oxford; 1981), pp.211-38 (237-38)

<sup>280</sup> For the text and translation of the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council: Norman P. Tanner (ed.), *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol. I (London & Washington DC; 1990) [hence *Decrees*], pp.273-302

that confession became codified and formalised in the social and intellectual milieu of the later Middle Ages.<sup>281</sup> As well as sparking the production of a vast array of penitential literature for use within the Church, which parallels production of the *artes praedicandi* discussed in the previous chapter, the formalisation of the confessional process is also seen to have significantly changed literature in general.<sup>282</sup> In particular, new notions about the individual and personal accountability produced in the dialogue of confession were seen to influence the creation of a literary 'Self'.<sup>283</sup> Again, however, while chronicles have been well mined for information and data on the terms of confession and the societal changes that it brought about, 'confession' has not yet been used as an historiographical category with which to approach the writing of history. Salimbene's *Cronica* presents an interesting case through which to explore the way the formalisation of the confessional process influenced and informed history writing in the later medieval period. Many historians have construed Salimbene's intrusion into the text as vanity or felt that he was too worldly and therefore not a true Franciscan.<sup>284</sup> As I will show, it was precisely as a response to his Franciscan experience and, in particular, his performances as a confessor that shaped the aspects of Salimbene's authorial presence and the content of his *Cronica*; precisely the aspects that historians have often criticised.

As argued in the previous chapter, one of the major breaks that mendicant friars made with their monastic predecessors was their rejection of the isolation of the cloister and their mobilisation in the towns and countryside of Europe. Fundamentally universal and international, the Franciscan Order combined religious piety, asceticism and mendicancy with an important social function: the saving of souls. This meant placing themselves into - and implementing their practices in - society at large. John Fleming succinctly concludes: 'Although the friars came in time to influence nearly every aspect of church

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<sup>281</sup> Liliana Sikorska, 'Medieval "manuals of sins" and their literary (re)readings: The case of John Capgrave's *Life of St. Augustine* and John Lydgate's *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*', in *Text and Language in Medieval English Prose*, ed. Akio Ozumi, Jacek Fisiak, & John Scahill (Frankfurt; 2006), pp.237-54; Social context: Thomas Tentler, *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation* (Princeton, NJ; 1977), esp. pp.3-27; Peter Biller, 'Confession in the Middle Ages: Introduction', in *Handling Sin: Confession in the Middle Ages*, ed. P. Biller and A.J. Minnis (Woodbridge; 1998), pp.1-34

<sup>282</sup> Catherine Meyer, 'Producing the Middle English Corpus: Confession and Medieval Bodies', (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Texas; 2006), esp. pp.vi-xxi, 11-29

<sup>283</sup> The 'confessional mode of writing': Liliana Sikorska, 'Pouring One's Heart Out: Textual Selves and Their Confessions', *International Journal of Arabic-English Studies*, 4 (2003), 5-30; Root, 'Space to Speke', esp. pp.87-94

<sup>284</sup> Herman, *XIIIth Century Chronicles*, p.195; Brooke, *Franciscan Government*, p.55; Lapanski, *Evangelical Perfection*, pp.284-85



life, their pastoral agenda focused on the Pentecostal injection to repentance, that comprehensive conversion of will and morals that was the necessary prolegomenon to personal salvation.<sup>285</sup> Salvation for Christian society was mediated mostly through the process and sacrament of confession. Confession helped facilitate the boundaries of social conventions, relationships and conduct, and established these factors as a primary focus in the Franciscan mission. In this chapter I will argue that confession, as it was practiced and developed in the Franciscan culture during the thirteenth century, was instrumental to how Salimbene developed and focused his *Cronica*. While the performance of confession informed Salimbene's Franciscan experience and the production of his text in numerous ways, this chapter will focus on four main areas. Firstly, after establishing the wider context of confession in the thirteenth century and the broad outcomes that modern historiography has attributed to its practice, I will explore the way in which the performance of confession affected and informed Salimbene's role as an historian. Specifically focussing on the way Salimbene's performances as a confessor were implicated in his text with regard to the expression of his *auctoritas* and the ways in which 'confession' influenced the content and the descriptive parameters for his representation of history. This in turn lends itself to a discussion of both the intended function and audience of the *Cronica*. I will explore how social meaning, functionality and audience converge within the inherently transformative function of the confessional process and allowed Salimbene to obtain a distinctive narrative voice and strategy in his writing. Ultimately this discussion will show that Salimbene's performances as a confessor not only imbued his writing with regard to reconciling his religious and social objectives but it provided a cornerstone from which his whole social ideology was fashioned.

### Confession in the Thirteenth Century

There can be little doubt that the formalisation of confession caused significant changes in the social milieu of the thirteenth century. Lateran IV was called together by Pope Innocent III in April 1213 in the bull *Vineam Domini*:

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<sup>285</sup> John Fleming, 'The Friars and Medieval English Literature', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. David Wallace (Cambridge; 1999), pp.349-75 (355)

to eradicate vices and to plant virtues, to correct faults and to reform morals, to remove heresies and to strengthen faith, to settle discords and to establish peace, to get rid of oppression and to foster liberty, to induce princes and Christian people to come to the aid and succour of the holy Land.<sup>286</sup>

As Norman Tanner recognises, 'Innocent himself, turning his whole mind to the things of God, strove to build up the Christian community.'<sup>287</sup> One of the most fundamental effects of the council, which convened in Rome during November 1215, was the way it sought to define and unify the Christian body and outlined the specific ties and relationships that sustained it. The decrees of Lateran IV sought to address social relationships on every level of Christian society. From physicians, to schoolmasters, to the paying of tithes, no aspect of life is seemingly missed by the council.<sup>288</sup> Salimbene even goes so far as to suggest that the pedantic nature of the decrees of the council 'causes boredom rather than devotion, both to the congregation and to the celebrants.'<sup>289</sup> The overall agenda of the council was to mark out the boundaries of the true Christian faith. Each canon also reflects the Church's attempt 'to eradicate vices and plant virtues, to correct faults and reform morals' by establishing terms for the conduct of all social and religious relationships. The focus on sin and morality, most concretely formalised by canon 21, is reflective of the perception, in John Bossy's words, 'that sin was a visible and social matter.'<sup>290</sup>

The social consequences of confession after 1215 have been explored in depth by historians such as Thomas Tentler and John Bossy. Tentler focuses on confession's links with the social control that characterised the Reformation period.<sup>291</sup> He argues that canon 21 ostensibly achieved confession's widespread implementation as a tool for social control, adding that it was 'a system of guilt and penance.' While great

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<sup>286</sup> *Decrees*, p.227; For the political context of the council: Jane Sayers, *Innocent III: Leader of Europe* (London; 1993), pp.95-101; Chronicle accounts: S. Kuttner and A. Garcia y Garcia, 'A new eyewitness account of the Fourth Lateran Council', *Traditio*, 20 (1964), 115-78; Richard of San Germano, *Chronica*, ed. C.A. Garufi, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, vol. 7, 2nd edn., (Bologna; 1938)

<sup>287</sup> Tanner, *Decrees*, p.227

<sup>288</sup> It is outside the boundaries of this thesis to discuss the canons of the council in depth; despite the need for further research the conclusions offered here are the most probable based on the current research

<sup>289</sup> Baird, p.4; Salimbene, p.31

<sup>290</sup> John Bossy, *Christianity in the West 1400-1700* (Oxford; 1985), p.46

<sup>291</sup> R. Po-Chia Hsia, *Social Discipline in the Reformation: Central Europe 1550-1750* (London; 1989)

importance has been attached to the date of 1215 in the history of confession, nevertheless, in reality Lateran IV did no more than formalise an already deeply ingrained practice. Confession of course had been practiced in the Christian church long before the *Omnis utriusque sexus* decree of Lateran IV.<sup>292</sup> The strict and very public penitential system that defined the early-Middle Ages had been steadily progressing toward the private and more lenient practices that *Omnis utriusque sexus* endorsed. Confession, as it was performed in the century after Lateran IV was, as Alexander Murray explains:

[was] a Christian's private identification of his sins to a priest, receipt of a penance, and absolution from those sins in the name of the church. On one side is the individual, critically rehearsing the memory of his private, inner life; on the other, an institutional functionary who listens and reacts according to principals laid down by his office.<sup>293</sup>

In establishing yearly confession in 1215, the Church pre-empted the death-bed confession and placed greater emphasis on the contrition of sins throughout the penitent's life. From a more positive perspective this emphasis afforded, at the very least, more agency in the salvation process for the penitent and priest alike. It would be over two hundred years before confession developed into the tool of force and discipline that Tentler argues characterised the Catholic Church's use of the confessional process in the Counter-Reformation period.<sup>294</sup>

While there can be little doubt as to the strength of his argument and the depth of his scholarship, Tentler's case is somewhat undermined due to the way he imports both his conception of medieval society and the language he uses to describe 'the medieval sociological vision' directly from modern sociological theory. Similarly, confession as an historiographical category has become convoluted in modern debate and is now implicated by many differing historical, literary, and psychoanalytical theories.<sup>295</sup> While

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<sup>292</sup> Alexander Murray, 'Confession before 1215', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, sixth series, 3 (1993), 51-81; Rob Meens, 'The Frequency and Nature of Early Medieval Penance', in *Handling Sin: Confession in the Middle Ages*, ed. P. Biller and A.J. Minnis (Woodbridge; 1998), pp.35-62

<sup>293</sup> Murray, 'Confession before 1215', 51

<sup>294</sup> Tentler, *Sin and Confession*, p.xvi

<sup>295</sup> Jeremy Tambling develops all of these distinctive approaches in an explicitly Foucauldian framework: Jeremy Tambling, *Confession: Sexuality, Sin, the Subject* (Manchester; 1990); these also inform Nanda Hopenwasser, 'A Performance Artist and Her Performance Text: Margery Kempe on Tour', in *Performance and Transformation*, ed. M.A. Suydam and J.E. Zeigler (London; 1999), pp.97-132

each of these approaches has their particular strengths and weaknesses, at a fundamental level, the relationship between confession and society has been over-complicated by the importation of modern terms and modern meanings. This is particularly true with regard to perceptions of the social outcomes or effects of confession in the thirteenth century.

In the early eighties, John Bossy advocated 'a semantic-conceptual spring-cleaning' with regard to modern historians' approaches to medieval society.<sup>296</sup> He rightly argues that the terms that medieval historians use to describe or explain their subject should be brought firmly in line with the way they were viewed or interpreted in the medieval period. To draw out the social implications of medieval confession, Bossy attempts to strip 'social' of its modern sociological connotations preferring medieval terms such as *socii* and *societas*, which referred singularly to people and their relationships. In this regard, when Bossy claims that sin was a 'social matter',<sup>297</sup> the practice of confession becomes an important historiographical space in which to explore the way that social alliances, relationships and conduct in the Christian community were conceptualised and performed in the middle ages. This is a particularly important methodological context to establish for the exploration of confession and the way that it informed the writing of Salimbene's *Cronica*. Not only does it orientate the discussion towards the way confession facilitated Salimbene's social worldview and his role in society but it allows me to avoid getting tangled in the many sociological and psychoanalytical theories that remain influential in modern historiography.<sup>298</sup> The confessional process in the thirteenth century focused on the execution of proper conduct, among neighbours, friends, family, religious and secular orders, and establishing the proper conduct between man and church, and between man and God. This interpretation clearly establishes the importance of confession both for individual salvation and also for maintaining the bonds and networks, by which the Christian body was engendered.

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<sup>296</sup> Peter Biller calls attention to the differences in language between Bossy and Tentler: 'Introduction', p.29; John Bossy, 'Some Elementary Forms of Durkheim', *Past and Present* 95 (1982), 3-18

<sup>297</sup> Bossy, *Christianity in the West*, p.46; Also: John Bossy, 'Moral Arithmetic: Seven Sins into Ten Commandments', in *Conscience and Casuistry in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Edmund Leites (Cambridge and Paris; 1988), pp.214-34

<sup>298</sup> For example: Kathryn Gravdel, 'Confessing Incests: Legal Erasures and Literary Celebrations in Medieval France', in *Medieval Families: Perspectives on Marriage, Household, and Children*, ed. Carol Neel (Toronto; 2004), pp.329-46; Dan Merkur, *Crucified with Christ: Meditation on the Passion, Mystical Death, and the Medieval Invention of Psychotherapy* (Albany, NY; 2007)

Ultimately underpinning the performance of confession was its multifaceted function as a means of creating, educating and delineating the universal Christian community and the social values, relationships and mores by which it was constituted. Confession offered a one on one means of 'eradicating vice and establishing virtue.' It was also a unifying practice that, after Lateran IV, connected all members of the Christian community, reinforcing a sense of a universal Christian body. The Christian community was constructed by the performance of confession in the sense, outlined by Aaron Gurevich, that 'to become part of a social group people have to adopt certain values. A member of society interiorizes a system of cultural co-ordinates. In the human being's consciousness a picture of the world takes shape that serves as the starting point for all social behaviour.'<sup>299</sup> In this respect, the confession and absolution of sins constituted a space in which social values converged in the religious sphere.

While it may not have been the original intent of the Council, the Franciscan Order probably came to represent one of the most effective mediums through which the 'cultural co-ordinates' outlined by the council were interiorised by society and, as a consequence, became established as the universal world view that defined the Christian body.<sup>300</sup> Achieving the salvation of mankind provided the basis for the Franciscan mission,<sup>301</sup> and confession offered the most effective and, in fact, the most convenient way in which to achieve this. From a historical perspective, the functions of the Franciscan Order were perhaps the virtual embodiment of many of the decrees of Lateran IV put into practice in the world.<sup>302</sup> Their status as an international and thus universal order combined with their influence in the social life of the Christian community. As a result they provided a practical way 'to build up the Christian community.'<sup>303</sup> Through their works and the functions that they carried out in the world,

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<sup>299</sup> Gurevich, *Individualism*, p.89

<sup>300</sup> Compare with Jessalyn Bird, 'The Religious's Role in a Post-Fourth-Lateran World: Jacques de Vitry's *Sermones ad Status* and *Historia Occidentalis*', in *Medieval Monastic Preaching*, ed. Carolyn Muessig (Leiden; 1998), pp.209-29

<sup>301</sup> E.R. Daniel, *The Franciscan Concept of Mission in the High Middle Ages* (Lexington; 1975)

<sup>302</sup> For example the Franciscans played a prominent role in Innocent III's fight against heresy: c.3; They provided international and readily available priests to minister to peoples of different languages living in the same diocese: c.9; They provided additional preachers to supplement regular clergy: c.10; And most importantly, they sought to, at least outwardly, embody the chaste and virtuous holy life: c.14.

<sup>303</sup> Note the dream of Innocent III that led him to ratify the Franciscan Order. In this dream Innocent saw a man, who was later identified as Francis, who would support and 'build up' the Church through his mission in the world: Michael Robson, *St. Francis of Assisi: The Legend and the Life* (London; 1999), pp.87-89

they could unify or provide links between all members of the *universitas*. It is perhaps failure to consider the important social functions that the Franciscan Order performed that has led historians to consider Salimbene as too 'worldly' or as unrepresentative of a true Franciscan. Through his role as a confessor he had an integral social function that was always directed toward the salvation of man, which both informs and is reflected in his narrative style. Before I discuss the specific ways in which Salimbene's role as a confessor can be seen to influence his writing, it is necessary to first consider the changes in later-medieval literature that historians traditionally connect with the formalisation of confession. This not only establishes a wider literary context for confession but allows me to challenge some potentially misleading perceptions regarding Salimbene's narrative presence.

### Confession in Late-Medieval Writing

It can be argued that one of the most meaningful functions that confession performed in the thirteenth century was the interest that it generated in society. While confession seemed to intensify focus on the individual, recently historians have suggested that individualism is in fact a modern construct<sup>304</sup> and in the thirteenth century confession instead facilitated the medieval predilection for social typing. This interest is clearly demonstrated in the body of penitential literature produced in the religious orders that the performance of confession sparked.<sup>305</sup> Fleming accurately points out that these texts were produced 'for use in the world' and as such 'often bring with them a wide sociological vision.'<sup>306</sup> Importantly, confession provided a set of values in which authors or participants could perceive and judge social and moral conduct, which was equally important in both the religious and secular spheres. In this respect, Jacques Le Goff has concluded that 'confessors' manuals are valuable as evidence in dealing with professional consciousness because they reflect the pressure brought to bear on the

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<sup>304</sup> Gurevich, *Individualism*, esp. pp.3-13; Bynam, 'Individual?', pp.82-109

<sup>305</sup> Studies of confession manuals and related literature: Murray, 'Confession as a Historical Source'; Jerry Root, 'Space to Speke', esp. pp.59-83.

<sup>306</sup> For example books such as the Dominican William Peraldus' *Summa de virtutibus et vitiis*. Salimbene notes that he 'spent a lot of time' and 'became close friends with Brother William', p. 233; For the modern scholarship on this body of medieval literature: Richard Newhauser, *The Treatise on Vices and Virtues in Latin and the Vernacular* (Turnhout; 1993)

Church by men engaged in given types of work.<sup>307</sup> Fundamental to this conclusion is Le Goff's perception that 'relations between the religious universe and the material world' can be considered as a mirror of one another. Consequently, penitential literature can be thought of as a space in which interests of the religious and secular spheres interacted with, responded to and ultimately reinforced one another.

In devotional literature produced in the thirteenth century, such as the sermon collections of Jacques de Vitry and, prior to these, the works of the twelfth-century Benedictine Honorius Augustodunensis, Carolyn Muessig has noted the way in which the authors sought to define and construct social orders through tracts or sermons, known as *sermones ad status*, which were directed to specific groups or social orders.<sup>308</sup> With specific reference to Jacques de Vitry she notes that one of the primary aims of the *sermones ad status* was 'to limit and to clarify the boundaries of acceptable behaviour.'<sup>309</sup> While commenting on the usefulness of *ad status* sermons to provide information about medieval society, Muessig more forcefully concludes that '*sermones ad status* reveal a tendency to define, order, and direct *perceptions* of society.'<sup>310</sup> In this she posits the document not as a reflection of society but rather as a reflection of the reality that the author sought to shape, influence or maintain. If the sermon collections and confessor's manuals considered by Muessig and Le Goff can be thought of as a specific and direct response to social changes occurring in the thirteenth century, then changes to the form and content in history writing must be considered similarly to reflect these developments.

Rather than directing focus towards other types of writing in the religious orders, however, the dialogue of the confessional has had more influence with historians of literature. These historians tend to see the formalisation of confession in 1215 as ultimately creating a pervasive discourse in medieval culture and implementing the so-called confessional mode of writing.<sup>311</sup> Historians argue that after Lateran IV, the

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<sup>307</sup> Jacques Le Goff, *Time, Work, and Culture in the Middle Ages*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago; 1980), p.112

<sup>308</sup> Muessig, '*Ad Status Sermons*', pp.255-77

<sup>309</sup> *Ibid*, p.270

<sup>310</sup> *Ibid*, p.275 (my emphasis)

<sup>311</sup> Sikorska, 'Medieval "manuals of sins"', pp.237-54; Sikorska, 'Pouring One's Heart Out', 5-30; Meyer, 'Producing', pp.1-29; Mary Flowers Braswell, *The Medieval Sinner: Characterization and Confession in the*

dialogue of the confessional became inextricably bound with the prevailing literary culture. Regardless of methodology or approach, historians have concentrated generally on the way confession discursively shaped the subject.<sup>312</sup> The realities of undergoing regular confession are believed to have had a significant effect on narrative strategies in later medieval texts, by influencing the way writers began to explore their own 'inner dialogues' and those of their characters with more depth. Late medieval writers such as Chaucer, Gower and Margery Kempe have been exemplified as the embodiments of this mode of writing.<sup>313</sup> Literary critics such as Catherine Meyer argue that confession became a narrative strategy that constructed the medieval subject and 'contributed to the development of self-conscious literary characters.'<sup>314</sup> Confession caused introspection and this in turn was explicated in confessional writing: 'Confession had the effect of granting ordinary people's lives and experiences a degree of importance and fostering a personal narration. Chaucer, Gower, Kempe, and Henryson all somewhat anxiously explore subjective experience as the newly minted grounds of *auctoritas*.'<sup>315</sup> The acknowledgment that individual experience became established as authority in the late-middle ages has led historians to turn retrospectively to this period to find the origins of the modern autobiography. They believe that the confessional mode of writing evolved naturally into the prominent nineteenth-century genre. Often Salimbene is considered among these precursors.

Salimbene's self-interest is thought to be one of the most defining and individualising aspects of his writing and his insertion of his family genealogy into the *Cronica* has raised

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*Literature of the English Middle Ages* (East Brunswick, NJ; 1983), esp. pp.11-35; Jerry Root, "Space to Speke", esp.pp.47-83

<sup>312</sup> The majority of this work is based on the theory of confessional 'discourse' elaborated by Michel Foucault in the first volume of his *History of Sexuality*. There are fundamental problems with Foucault's perception of the Middle Ages exploration of which would over-complicate both my analysis of medieval confession and of the subsequent historiography. As such, describing confession as a 'discourse' will be avoided, instead the term 'dialogue' will be employed to refer directly to the speech-acts that took place between confessor and penitent. For a more in-depth analysis of the problematic areas of Foucault's perception of the Middle Ages: Karma Lochrie, *Covert Operations: The Medieval Uses of Secrecy* (Philadelphia; 1999), pp.12-24; Also Root, who, while generally accepting Foucault's importance to the study of confessional discourse, does highlight certain weaknesses in Foucault's assumptions: "Space to Speke", esp. p.10

<sup>313</sup> Root also includes the French poet Guillaume de Machaut (d.1377) and the Spanish poet Juan Ruiz (d.ca.1350), "Space to Speke".

<sup>314</sup> Meyer, 'Producing', p.xi

<sup>315</sup> Ibid, p.29



certain key issues.<sup>316</sup> As previous chapters have illustrated the intrusion of Salimbene and by association his family into his history was not purely indulgent, a consequence of self-interest or representative of a burgeoning sense of individuality. In fact, Gurevich proposes that medieval writers did not think of themselves as individuals per se, but rather considered themselves as social 'types', adding that their specific subjects were always hastily generalised.<sup>317</sup> With regard to genealogies inserted into Scandinavian epics, he argues convincingly that 'indication of a man's name, of names of those who were linked to him through family or attributes served straight away to characterize the individual in question'.<sup>318</sup> In his search for individuality in Salimbene's writing, Gurevich, while praising Salimbene's powers of observation, nonetheless reduces his *Cronica* to 'no more than a memoir'.<sup>319</sup> Fundamental to this misconception is the failure to contextualise Salimbene's history writing activities with his objectives in the world.

Gurevich's proposition concerning the social function of genealogies is nevertheless convincing. This type of concept links Salimbene's recollection of his ancestors and relations in his *Cronica* to one of the fundamental ideas of this thesis: personal references reflect changes to the nature and authority of historical testimony. In this sense, the discussion of his family served the expression of Salimbene's *auctoritas*, which parallels Gurevich's explanation of the insertion of genealogies into Scandinavian epics. While the Franciscan Order provided the ethical community in which his spiritual and institutional *auctoritas* was grounded, by inserting his family genealogy Salimbene seemingly establishes his *auctoritas* in a decidedly secular context. This does not mean that Salimbene's worldview was 'secular'. Nor does his family genealogy truly reflect an element of autobiographical psychology or even a means to memorialise them in the pages of his history. Each family member that is mentioned in detail has some significant social or moral attribute that Salimbene wishes to call attention to and by doing so, he is able, by association, to characterise himself with the same attribute as a part of their ethical community.<sup>320</sup>

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<sup>316</sup> Hermann, *XIIIth Century Chronicles*, p.195; Ephraim Emerton, 'Fra Salimbene and the Franciscan Ideal', *The Harvard Theological Review*, 8 (1915), 480-503

<sup>317</sup> Gurevich, *Individualism*, p.197

<sup>318</sup> Ibid, p.51

<sup>319</sup> Ibid, p.207

<sup>320</sup> Salimbene, pp.37-8, 54-60

Rather than having an autobiographical agenda, Salimbene fashions his presence in the text as someone who possesses and is able to exercise *auctoritas* in the world. At the same time, inserting his family genealogy had a specific purpose. Significantly, the attributes that Salimbene calls attention to through examples provided by his family are fundamental values that he connects with both salvation and the success of the human condition. For example, Salimbene writes of his illegitimate brother John:

A handsome man and a fine soldier, he voluntarily left Parma and allied himself with the Emperor. As an act of penitence for this deed, however, he made a pilgrimage to St. James at Compostella [...] Eventually, “he laid himself down upon his bed” [I Machabees 6.8] and died, after having confessed to the friars. And he lies buried in the convent of the Friars Minor in Toulouse. He was a very courtly and generous man, who gladly gave hospitality to all Italians. For he would take them into his home and entertain them lavishly, especially pilgrims and the poor.<sup>321</sup>

In this passage, Salimbene not only places emphasis on John’s penitence and confession but he also calls attention to social attributes that he believes are fundamental to salvation; namely, generosity and charity. As he clearly states: ‘The fact that I was able to say many good and useful things as I would not otherwise have been able to do constitutes the fourth reason for this genealogy.’<sup>322</sup> While the ‘chivalrous’ aspects of Salimbene’s social ideology will be touched on later, the whole passage is firmly contextualised within the Franciscan mission: John not only performed penance through his pilgrimage but he confessed to the Friars and was buried at their convent. Salimbene draws attention not only to the important relationship between the religious and the social, but directly embeds the Franciscans’ important social function within this relationship.

Confession is arguably the space in which the religious and institutional *auctoritas* that Salimbene cultivated as a preacher became conditioned with an important social function. While Meyer is certainly persuasive in her assertion that the inner self became established as authority in the fourteenth-century literature she explores, this certainly cannot be seen as influencing the persona of the historian in the thirteenth century. As I have explored in previous chapters, self references such as ‘as I have seen with my own

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<sup>321</sup> Baird, p.30; Salimbene, p.54

<sup>322</sup> Baird, p.32; Salimbene, p.56

eyes' call attention to the authority of the embodied agent. This demonstration of *auctoritas* was not cultivated through the explication of inner moral dialogue such as in the Middle English writers, upon whom most modern discussion of confessional literature is based. *Auctoritas* was constructed through embodied practice: the physical performance of good moral values and virtues. Because of the over-use of autobiographical methodologies and language, Salimbene's use of the first person pronoun is usually perceived to indicate individual subjective experience. While his use of 'I' would indicate that his body performed alone this is not generally the case. As I have shown his body's performances were always connected with other performing bodies, as a historian, witness and preacher. Furthermore, at all times Salimbene's 'I' engages his ethical community, either in a religious or social context, and as such his first person usage normally always recalls or helps to construct this relationship.

Salimbene did not create a textual self, with which to engage in 'meditative self-awareness', as, for example, scholars see appearing in the writings of Margery Kempe.<sup>323</sup> The writing of history during the thirteenth century did not require psychological introspection of either author or character. As such Salimbene's use of the first person pronoun, and in fact its use by other historians such as Matthew Paris, can be placed in the context of authority and not self-expression. Salimbene's intrusion into the narrative was strategic, considered and had a distinct enforcing and authorising purpose. Furthermore, his interest in his family was dependant largely on the way they served his *auctoritas* and on the attributes or values that they embodied. Salimbene's experiences in confession, therefore, helped him to create social types from individual examples.<sup>324</sup> This is clearly demonstrated by the formulaic and often repetitive values that Salimbene calls attention to through examples provided in the history of the wider world and his immediate social sphere.

Rather than cultivating any type of psychological self-consciousness or individualisation, instead the confessional process or confessional dialogue acted to bring certain social

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<sup>323</sup> For the dynamic between 'Self' and performance in the writing of Margery Kempe: Hopenwasser, 'Margery Kempe on Tour', pp.97-132

<sup>324</sup> Gurevich, *Individualism*, pp.89-99, 110-56; Le Goff, *Time, Work, and Culture*, pp.107-21; Braswell argues that the penitent was an individual until the confession was over at which point they became a type: *Medieval Sinner*, p.12

values, types or groups to the forefront of thirteenth-century life.<sup>325</sup> And even though the 'inner self' was undergoing transition undoubtedly due to confession, it was not yet a persuasive means of *auctoritas* in the historiographical sphere. While the dialogue produced in the performance of confession cannot be seen to establish subjective experience as authority in the writing of history, it did nevertheless heavily influence the construction and expression of Salimbene's *auctoritas*. The cultural changes wrought by the increased emphasis on sin and morality within the performance of confession, inevitably converged on the status of the confessor. This has several implications both for analysing the effect that Salimbene's function as confessor had on his writing of history and also for embodied frameworks in which he wrote.

### Confessional Dialogue as Narrative Strategy

Tentler argues that prior to the *Omnis utriusque sexus* decree confessional dialogue concentrated mostly on contrition, thereby affording the penitent the most significant role in the process.<sup>326</sup> After 1215, significant emphasis was placed on the role of the priest.<sup>327</sup> While several canons of Lateran IV specifically alluded to the moral integrity of the priest, it was through the theologians associated with the mendicant Orders that the confessor's role gained greater significance and formalisation in the course of the thirteenth century. Tentler argues that the idea developed through the thought of Aquinas and Duns Scotus that 'the sacraments produced grace not from the work of the person receiving them – as would be the case if contrition were the efficient cause of forgiveness – but from the actual performance of the sacrament itself.'<sup>328</sup> In this respect, the priest's words 'I absolve you' had more transformative power than the actual performance of penance or the contrition of the penitent because grace was given by God through the body of the confessor alone.

In the previous chapter, I argued that Salimbene mediated his *auctoritas* as an author predominantly through the 'charisma' that was situated in and exercised by his body as a

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<sup>325</sup> Bynam tends to agree with this proposition: 'Individual?'. Jay Rubenstein argues that a 'revolution' occurred in biography at the beginning of the twelfth century, which was largely due to the experimentation with autobiography among 'medieval people': Rubenstein, 'Biography and Autobiography', pp.23-24

<sup>326</sup> Tentler, *Sin and Confession*, p.19

<sup>327</sup> Ibid, pp.22-27

<sup>328</sup> Ibid, p.25

preacher. The wisdom that Salimbene was able to cultivate and put into practice through his body as a confessor adds a more social dimension to his *auctoritas* that was not always immediately available to the preacher. In this sense, Salimbene shows that a good or charismatic preacher did not also mean a good confessor, or vice versa. Rather these aspects of the Franciscan experience were cultivated and were often performed separately.<sup>329</sup> It is important to mention that within the confessional process a certain contingency existed whereby the penitent had the right to choose his confessor or, rather, to reject his local priest if he deemed him unworthy.<sup>330</sup> In some cases this tenet often expressed itself in heretical ways, such as in the case of the twelfth-century heretics the Waldensians.<sup>331</sup> As such, the morality or wisdom of the confessor was of supreme importance to establish both the outcome of the confession and actually getting the populace to confess. Accordingly, Alexander Murray argues that ‘*Qua* confessor, the priest must be wise. Whatever qualities might be demanded by a priest’s other duties, wisdom was the demand put on him by his part in confession...the wisdom actually comprised three qualities which together composed it: a holy life, instruction, and prudence.’<sup>332</sup> Of these three qualities a holy life can be considered as specifically bodily. Instruction relates, of course, to the priest’s ‘other body’ as a representative of the institution. The confessor’s ‘office,’ as authorised by the Church, meant that his body became a vessel for divine grace. The phrase ‘I absolve you’ was a representation of the act of absolution that God performed through the confessor’s body. Prudence, on the other hand, was not innate to the confessor but was cultivated through practice, experience and, above all, moral integrity. The fostering of prudence or wisdom in the role of the good confessor provides an important context in which to view Salimbene’s narrative presence.

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<sup>329</sup> In his descriptions of certain priests of the Franciscan or Dominican Orders, Salimbene distinguishes whether the priest was a good preacher, a good counsellor, and so on. For example, Brother Benintende of Imola ‘erat graciosus in confessionibus audiendis’ p.570; Brother Boncompagno of Prato ‘bonus clericus et litteratus at spiritualis homo’, p.286; Brother Jacopino of Buceto ‘bonus predicator et magnam vocem habens’ p.552; and while Brother Guido of Bologna is described as *sacerdos et confessor et predicator*, Brother Berthold of Germany was solely a *sacerdos et predicator*, p.559.

<sup>330</sup> This tenet or contingency was codified in the *Omnis utriusque* decree. Salimbene also elaborates this aspect in depth in his defence of the Franciscans right to hear confession: pp.407-12; For an historiographical appraisal: Murray, ‘Counselling’.

<sup>331</sup> Biller, ‘Introduction’, pp.18-23; Murray, ‘Counselling’, p.68; Also: Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, pp.62-87

<sup>332</sup> Murray, ‘Counselling’, p.66

Around the middle of the thirteenth century the right of the friars to hear confession became a highly contested issue between the mendicant Orders and the secular clergy. Probably in 1255, Pope Alexander IV called a council of bishops at Ravenna, ostensibly to discuss the possible invasion by the Tartars. Yet Salimbene writes that ‘the clerks gathered together at this council then rose up against the Friars Minor and the Preachers’, alleging, among other things, that they, the clerks, alone had the right to act as confessors.<sup>333</sup> While Salimbene was not present at the council, based, as he says, on eyewitness reports, he constructs an artful defence of the friars through the mouth of the bishop of Parma, Obizzo of San Vitale:

“Wretches and ingrates, I did not gather you, so that you could rise against these two orders, who have been sent by God to help your Church and to save the Christian people and all who must be saved [...] Wretches and ingrates, to whom shall I commit the confessions of the lay people, if the Friars Minor and the Preachers do not hear them? I am not able to commit them to you with a clear conscience, since, if they come to you and seek an antidote to reconcile their souls, poison is given to them.”<sup>334</sup>

There are several ideas embedded in this passage that both help Salimbene to reconcile the spiritual and social aspects of his role as a confessor and to facilitate the expression of his *auctoritas* in the context of confession. *Dati sunt a deo*, the Friars are very firmly implicated in the divine plan, which cements their social function of the saving of souls. Furthermore, Bishop Obizzo’s medical analogy emphasises the importance of the confessor’s wisdom and how it was integral for the salvation of the penitent. The sinful nature of the priest could not in fact negate the efficacy of the grace of God that worked through their body within the orthodox tradition of the medieval Church.<sup>335</sup> The *tiriácam* or *theriacam*, and *venenum* to which Obizzo refers, symbolises the verbal

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<sup>333</sup> Baird, p.404; Salimbene, p.403

<sup>334</sup> Salimbene, p.403: “Miseri et insane, non congregavi vos, ut contra istos duos Ordinis insurgatis, qui dati sunt a Deo ecclesie in adiutorium verstrum et in salute populi Christiani et omnium salvandorum [...] Miseri et insane, cui committam confessions secularium personarum, si fraters Minores et Predicatores non audiunt eas? Vobis segura conscientia eas committere non possum, quia, si veniunt ad vos et petunt tiriácam volentes confiteri, venenum eis datis.” (my translation). Baird confuses the meaning of the passage somewhat by referring to the secular clergy as ‘regular clergy’ and referring to the lay people as ‘seculars’: Baird, p.405

<sup>335</sup> The theology of grace was most clearly articulated by St. Augustine during his conflict with the Donatists (c.390s): G.G. Willis, *Saint Augustine and the Donatist Controversy* (London; 1950); Patricia Wilson-Kastner, ‘Grace as a Participation in the Divine Life in the Theology of Augustine of Hippo’, *Augustinian Studies*, 7 (1976), 135-52

advice, effectively the counselling that the confessor offers the penitent. In this sense Salimbene's particular use of *tiriácam*, which refers to an antidote for poison, is particularly revealing. He specifically suggests that the friars are able to offer an antidote for sin, through their counsel, but the secular clergy only offer toxic advice. The counselling that takes place in the confessional process is therefore afforded a significant role, which in turn emphasises the wisdom of the confessor. Obizzo's justification directly following his reference to the poison offered by the secular clergy demonstrates that the 'wisdom' of the confessor was indeed connected to the embodied performance of their moral integrity: 'For you take the women behind the altar on the pretext of confessing them, and there you know them carnally.'<sup>336</sup> Juxtaposed with the divinely sanctioned holy life of the friars, the secular clergy are condemned equally by their failure to embody the correct moral integrity and values upon which the confessional dialogue was based.

The *Omnis utriusque sexus* decree specifically stressed the demand placed on the confessor to maintain the secrecy of the confessional process; as a result, confessors faced difficulties in providing evidence of their 'wisdom'. In a 1981 article, Alexander Murray attempted to remove the 'secrecy' of confession.<sup>337</sup> His strategy for doing so is extremely useful. Fundamentally, Murray advocated the use of narrative sources, such as *exempla*, traditionally overlooked by historians in their search for the 'facts' of medieval confession. In his exploration of the *exempla* in Thomas of Chantimpré's *Bonum universale de apibus* (c.1260), Murray astutely connects the focus of Thomas' work with his experiences and practices, as he says:

Thomas functioned...at the centre of a world of confessors. This fact affected the character of his book both in general and in particular. In general, it is what gave the book its principal quality: the quality of being down to earth. The constant hearing of confession, even more than constant preaching, focused a priest's mind on hard moral fact as distinct from tradition and convention.<sup>338</sup>

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<sup>336</sup> Baird, p.405; Salimbene, p.403

<sup>337</sup> Alexander Murray, 'Confession as a Historical Source in the Thirteenth Century', in *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages*, ed. R.H.C. Davis & J.M. Wallace-Hadrill (Oxford; 1981), pp.275-322

<sup>338</sup> Ibid, p.291; Also: R. Sweetman, 'Thomas of Chantimpré: Performative Reading and Pastoral Care', in *Performance and Transformation: New Approaches to Medieval Spirituality*, ed. M. Suydam and J. Ziegler (London; 1999), pp.133-67

While Murray ultimately seeks to uncover the 'secrecy' of the confessional, and in this respect his methodology is different to mine, the connection he draws between the role of the confessor and the form of their literary productions is nevertheless compelling. He illustrates that texts produced by authors who acted as confessors were significantly orientated toward the social, as sin was a social matter. Murray indirectly points to the performing body of the author as the key to understanding the text that they produced. At the same time, his strategy of peeling away the layers of the narrative in order to understand the cultural and social influences, by which it was informed, is directly relevant. Murray's strategy can be employed to analyse how Salimbene's role as a confessor directly impinged both on the purpose and function of his *Cronica* and became established as central strategy through which his spiritual and social objectives in writing universal history were mediated.

Allowing for the fact that Salimbene could not directly discuss what went on in confession in his *Cronica*, nevertheless he firmly and often attests to his ability.<sup>339</sup> The Franciscan Order had close links with the lay world, through their roles as priests, confessors and spiritual advisors.<sup>340</sup> In the course of his narrative, Salimbene often identifies his subjects as friends or spiritual daughters (*devota mea*).<sup>341</sup> For instance:

Furthermore, the leader of the Imperial party in the mountains was the great Peter Pagano[...]He had a good wife, Lady Diane, and a good sister, lady Galla Placidia. These two were my spiritual daughters[...]The leader[...]of the Church party in Ravenna was the great Count Roger de Bagnacavallo[...]This man was a friend of mine.<sup>342</sup>

As previously noted, Salimbene often referred to friends and family in order to associate himself with whatever qualities or attributes he was calling attention to. More frequently these references functioned as a narrative strategy through which he could

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<sup>339</sup> Salimbene notes some of the more 'famous' people for whom he acted as confessor: pp.378-79, 428-29, 465

<sup>340</sup> Social analysis: Lesnik, *Preaching in Florence*, esp. pp.43-4, 54-6

<sup>341</sup> This is Baird's translation of the phrase, one which likely corresponds to the third lay order within the Friars Minor: Lesnik, *Preaching in Florence*, pp.43-44; Also: N.B.A Debby, 'The Preacher as Woman's Mentor', In *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. C. Muessig (Leiden; 2002), pp.229-54

<sup>342</sup> Baird, p.371; Salimbene, p.370



provide an indication of his 'wisdom' (and popularity) as a priest and confessor.<sup>343</sup> While it could be argued that Salimbene was merely being vain or egotistical, these phrases are better contextualised through reference to confession. It is useful to view this type of narrative intrusion as a way in which the demands created by confession, through the importance placed on the morality and prudence of the confessor, intersected with and ultimately endowed his historical narrative with social meaning and purpose.<sup>344</sup> Analogously, due to the centrality of confession to the dispute between the mendicants and the secular clergy, Salimbene's extensive defence also cultivated his historical voice with the inherent wisdom and integrity of a good confessor.<sup>345</sup> Because Salimbene defends the Franciscan Order with such passion and conviction he immediately recalls his ethical position in the brotherhood, simultaneously justifying and endorsing his own capabilities along with the Order. Proving himself as a good confessor was important to Salimbene in order to validate his voice and authority as an historian. The important social functions that he performed as a confessor directly informed his writing. Not only did it allow him to comment on society from an experienced, wise and authoritative position but it also was instrumental in shaping his whole social ideology.

Joseph Baird writes:

Salimbene has an acute eye for the striking, significant detail, by which he renders a character or event full-rounded, solid, unforgettable. Few medieval writers...have managed to capture so fully the spirit of an age by means of so large an array of discrete, particularized, historical characters starkly depicted in all their greatness and triviality.<sup>346</sup>

At the crux of this descriptive power was the convergence of the numerous social and cultural influences that constituted confession in the thirteenth century. The social mores and virtues that confession called attention to emerged as the basis or compass by which Salimbene negotiated and judged the past, present and hope for future salvation. Prior to the Reformation period the basic concepts on which confession was

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<sup>343</sup> Salimbene uses the phrase 'this man was my friend' too often to count; for example, p.295, 319, 333, 353 ; he also specifically names five personal spiritual daughters, p.67, 88, 370, 374, 385, (several women are also named as devotees of the Franciscan Order in general)

<sup>344</sup> Guyotjeannin also rejects the idea that Salimbene was 'narcissistic' in his intrusion into the narrative, instead arguing that it is a reflection of research and authority: *Salimbene de Adam*, p.42

<sup>345</sup> Salimbene, p.404-20, 421-28

<sup>346</sup> Baird, 'Introduction', p.xix

predicated were the Seven Deadly Sins: Pride, Envy, Wrath, Avarice, Gluttony, Sloth, and Lust.<sup>347</sup> Many other values and ethics were also implicated in these sins,<sup>348</sup> not least of all the values and vices stipulated in St. Francis' *Admonitiones*.<sup>349</sup> Nevertheless, it was this system that provided the fundamental basis for the sins that confession, in conjunction with preaching, called attention to and also established the parameters for salvation. In effect this value system acted as a moral compass for the entire Christian community. As John Bossy concludes: 'The main advantage of this moral system was that, in an age when the passions of hostility were probably the most vigorous of national sentiments, it provided a useful set of categories under which people could identify these as un-Christian: it taught fairly effectively a social or community ethics.'<sup>350</sup>

The confessional dialogue also acted as space in which religious and social expectations and ideologies intersected. Consequently, the seven deadly sins were both informed and shaped by the social codes of the prevailing culture. In the specific context of thirteenth-century Italy, this meant that the basic sins of confession were conditioned by the sometimes competing notions embedded in civic and chivalric culture.<sup>351</sup> As the idea of civic identity in Salimbene's writing will be discussed in the following chapter, what is important here is that traces of the confessional dialogue can be seen to inform nearly every event, person, exempla, conversation or citation that finds its way into the *Cronica*. This is not only in the often formulaic manner in which Salimbene extracts and highlights the moral implications from his examples. It is also in the way that his entire narrative is supported by the ideas of society and spirituality that were either engendered or mediated by the vices, virtues, sins and social codes that provided the basis of the confessional dialogue. In this respect, Salimbene's representation of the vice

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<sup>347</sup> Morton Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins* (Michigan, 1952); Bossy, 'Moral Arithmetic', pp.214-34

<sup>348</sup> See: Milis, *Angelic Monks*, pp.68-79

<sup>349</sup> St. Francis, 'Admonitiones', pp.114-15

<sup>350</sup> Bossy, 'Moral Arithmetic', p.215; For the dissemination of this system in early to high-medieval monasticism: Milis, *Angelic Monks*, pp.79-91

<sup>351</sup> It has been argued that Italian culture was not really affected by the deluge of chivalric literature in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, however, both Guyotjeannin and Violante argue that Salimbene's social ideology is underpinned by ideas central to chivalric culture: Violante, 'Motivi e carattere', pp.108-154; Guyotjeannin, *Salimbene de Adam*, pp.52-61. General surveys: J. Larner, 'Chivalric Culture in the Age of Dante', *Renaissance Studies*, 2 (1998), 117-30; Edward Coleman, 'Sense of Community and Civic Identity in the Italian Communes', in *The Community, the Family, and the Saint: Patterns of Power in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. J. Hill and M. Swan (Turnhout; 1998), pp.45-60

of ingratitude is particularly illuminating to not only reveal the way his social ideology,<sup>352</sup> fashioned in the dialogue of the confessional, is reflected in the structure of his narrative but also because 'ingratitude' emphasises the links between the social and the religious objectives of confession.

Salimbene's narrative construction of ingratitude seems to cover a multitude of bodily and spiritual, religious and social, vices or sins.<sup>353</sup> Directed towards God and/or one's neighbour, ingratitude could be associated with any of the sins that the spectrum of the seven deadly sins offered. Salimbene, freely adapting St. Bernard, writes:

Ingratitude is the perdition of the soul, the complete lack of merits, the dispersion of virtues, the annihilation of good works, the enemy of grace, the persecutor of justice. It is a burning wind which dries up the fountain of piety, the conduit of mercy, the floods of grace. Through ingratitude, the free man is justly made a slave again.<sup>354</sup>

While ingratitude is prevalent in the *Cronica*, two examples will suffice here to illustrate the way in which the strict morality and knowledge of social propriety that Salimbene acquired from the confessional translated into his writing of history. While discussing the events occurring in the area around Parma, Salimbene pointedly refers to the 'ingratitude' of the neighbouring town of Borgo San Donnino. The rubric that introduces the passage states: 'The good things that the Parma did for the citizens of Borgo San Donnino and their manifold ingratitude. About the destruction of Borgo San Donnino, see below, folio 410.'<sup>355</sup> Here Salimbene anticipates the eventual destruction of Borgo San Donnino by calling attention to their un-neighbourly ingratitude to Parma. Through the ingratitude they displayed toward their neighbours, in acts that either ignored or simply did not care about the maintenance of proper social deference, the citizens of Borgo San Donnino were eventually punished, in an act of Divine retribution: for by transgressing against their neighbour they transgressed against God.

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<sup>352</sup> Compare with: Andrew Galloway, "The Making of a Social Ethic in Late-Medieval England: From Gratitude to "Kyndenesse"", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 55 (1994), 365-83

<sup>353</sup> Salimbene launches into a mini digression on many examples of ingratitude and punishment: pp.89-92; Citations of many authorities on the topic: p.192

<sup>354</sup> Baird, p.183; Salimbene, p.192

<sup>355</sup> Baird, p.374; Salimbene, p.372

Similarly, as Salimbene arrives at the year in which the Emperor Frederick II died (1250), the subsequent section is devoted to a summation of his *infortunus* and *superstitiones*. Together these read as a veritable ledger of acts and notions that violated the entire spectrum of the social and spiritual codes contained within the seven deadly sins. Salimbene's consistent assertion of Frederick's ingratitude, however, is significantly prominent:

Frederick had fully and justly merited this action of deposition and excommunication because of his ingratitude. For he had stiffened his neck and lifted his heel against the church, which had nourished him and defended him against his enemies and raised him up to the imperial throne. And yet he showed his complete ingratitude by persecuting the Church and fighting against it with his whole heart.<sup>356</sup>

But as Salimbene emphasises: 'Yet he shall not go unpunished, because as Job 24.12 says "the soul of the wounded hath cried out, and God doth not suffer it to pass unrevenged."' <sup>357</sup> In this example, Frederick's ingratitude is approached from a more spiritual perspective than that of the actions of the citizens of Borgo San Donnino. Nevertheless, both examples reveal the importance that Salimbene placed on proper deference or behaviour within social and spiritual relationships. Transgressing either was a direct insult to God, which would instigate divine retribution. The way ingratitude is both employed and explicated in the *Cronica* represents the free-flowing interaction between the secular and religious, the spiritual and material worlds. The ideas that Salimbene inherited and cultivated through his role as confessor in society, combined in his writing of history to produce distinctive patterns of social behaviour. Consequently, the spiritual and social codification that was developing through the confessional system during the thirteenth century can be seen to facilitate the narrative strategies available to the historian. The confessional process helped to make religious messages more accessible to the lay world in the way that it 'socialised' the dialogue of the confessional. Socialised in the sense that sin became formalised as a social matter, both through the *omnis utriusque sexus* decree and the zeal with which the Franciscan Order in particular undertook the hearing of confessions. In practice, Salimbene acted as a moral judge, a

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<sup>356</sup> Baird, p.182; Salimbene p.191. For similar: Salimbene, p.36, 90, 188, 192, 348

<sup>357</sup> Ibid, p.188

counsellor and ‘scrutiniser of the human soul.’<sup>358</sup> As a result, this social role directly influenced the function that Salimbene intended for his *Cronica* to perform.

## Function and Audience

Beryl Smalley’s statement that Salimbene ‘has no ‘message’, either religious or political, unless it be the message that a good Franciscan can enjoy just being alive. Observation concerned him more than religious observance’ seems to imply that the writing of the *Cronica* was purely indulgent and held no specific purpose.<sup>359</sup> This statement devalues Salimbene’s experiences as a Franciscan and also his role as an historian; both of which this current thesis has been accentuating and, in doing so, has been attempting to rectify the misconceptions personified by Smalley’s words. The difficulties that historians have had in trying to ascertain Salimbene’s intentions in writing his *Cronica* have been further exacerbated by the absence of a prologue. The prologue in late-medieval history writing was generally the most emphatic statement of authorial intention, which generally provided an indication of both purpose (function) and the audience toward which the work was directed.<sup>360</sup> Speculation on the *Cronica*’s intended function or audience has been based up until now on the existence of a few key comments found in the text. Based on the available evidence, which I hope has begun to emerge through the discussion so far, I would argue that the function of the *Cronica* was specifically associated with the functions he performed in the world. Before this idea can be developed in a more concrete manner, I will first address certain comments in Salimbene’s text that seem to indicate either audience, function or both and then place them within the wider context of functionality in late-medieval history in general.

It is relatively certain that readership of Salimbene’s *Cronica* was restricted to a Franciscan audience, at least until the first modern edition was produced in 1857. Salimbene himself maintains that dissemination of works outside the Order was difficult by the late-thirteenth century. In 1255 the works of Franciscan-Joachite Gerard of San Borgo Donnino were banned, at which point it was decreed that no further books could be published without undergoing rigorous scrutiny by the Ministers, the Definitors, and

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<sup>358</sup> ‘scrutateur de l’âme humaine’: Guyotjeannin, *Salimbene de Adam*, p.48

<sup>359</sup> Smalley, *Historians*, p.163

<sup>360</sup> Damian-Grint, *New Historians*, p.88; Gransden, ‘Prologues’, pp.125-51

the provincial chapter.<sup>361</sup> Roest suggests that the *Cronica* remained at the convent of Reggio, where Salimbene is presumed to have died, until the sixteenth century when it found its way into the Vatican Library.<sup>362</sup> It is unlikely, however, that the *Cronica* was widely read even within the Order, with only one contemporary historian Albert Milioli actually citing the *Cronica* and Affò being the first Franciscan historian in the late-eighteenth century to make use of it. The facts about his readership are not suggestive of Salimbene's intentions or even his ambitions. Traditionally, scholars have assumed that Salimbene wrote the *Cronica* for his niece Agnes.<sup>363</sup> Guyotjeannin, calling attention to the specific wording, demonstrates that Salimbene merely says he addressed various chronicles to Agnes and not specifically the *Cronica* under consideration.<sup>364</sup> Guyotjeannin, therefore, advocates the idea that the *Cronica* was intended for the wider audience of the Franciscans in general.<sup>365</sup> Supporting the notion of a Franciscan audience, or at least an audience of preachers, Salimbene, after discussing earthquakes and eclipses that occurred in Italy around 1284, writes that he has included citations from authorities on the subject so that 'those, who have to preach, without warning, on this subject may have material prepared on this subject and thereby avoid confusion.'<sup>366</sup>

Narrative strategies within the text suggest that Salimbene *intended* his *Cronica* to be available to an audience beyond his own Order. In one section devoted to the theme of salvation he poses a series of rhetorical questions directed to an ambiguous 'someone'. This strategy enables him to demonstrate his knowledge, wisdom and authority through his answers.<sup>367</sup> Salimbene seems to be presupposing a limited knowledge of the terms of salvation on behalf of his audience. The simplicity of his construction seems to be framed for a general rather than a religious audience, who would presumably know the aspects of salvation that he addresses. Salimbene's desire to socially and spiritually edify the Christian community in general is furthermore reflected in this assertion:

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<sup>361</sup> Salimbene, p.462

<sup>362</sup> Roest, *Reading the Book*, p.47

<sup>363</sup> Emerton, 'Fra Salimbene', 482; Brooke, *Franciscan Government*, p.46.

<sup>364</sup> Salimbene, p.185; However, one of the reasons Salimbene included his family genealogy in the *Cronica* was for Agnes' edification, p.56

<sup>365</sup> Guyotjeannin, *Salimbene de Adam*, p.112

<sup>366</sup> Baird, p.557; Salimbene, p.549

<sup>367</sup> Salimbene, pp.573-74: Sed dicit aliquis: Quomodo me possum a periculis custodire, cum totus mundus sit periculis plenus?; Sed dicet aliquis: Doce me vitare pericula; Vis scire, que necessaria sunt homini ad salutem? Breviter me expedio:

And so because they are worthy of record and because many people have inquired of me about them, it was incumbent upon me to write about such events and not keep silent but: *let these things be written unto another generation; and the people that shall be created shall praise the Lord* [Psalms 101.19].<sup>368</sup>

The idea that Salimbene wrote for a lay audience is qualified somewhat by the contention of some scholars that the secular or social world that Salimbene writes about is framed largely in terms of the nobility. This has led to fundamental criticisms of Salimbene, especially over his so-called regret or wistfulness over his former secular life.<sup>369</sup> As Guyotjeannin points out Salimbene's concentration on the ruling classes was based on more complex issues and influences than merely a worldly outlook.<sup>370</sup> Social order was foremost in Salimbene's world view; social order, which was upheld and governed by a co-operation between the Church and the nobility, as Salimbene unequivocally states: 'through knights and the nobility the world is preserved.'<sup>371</sup>

Salimbene's vision of a correctly ordered world is most clearly articulated in the *Liber de Prelato*, which he inserted in his *Cronica*.<sup>372</sup> Embedded within this very critical account of the administration of the Minister-General Elias is a tract which actually seeks to address appropriate conduct and leadership in all positions of authority, from prelates to Kings to bishops and even prophets. Through this tract Salimbene is able to highlight the appropriate qualities and attributes of people in leadership roles such as humility, understanding and virtue. This tract is illustrative of a very noticeable and mutually reinforcing relationship between the religious and the secular in his perception of social order. Through his role as counsellor and teacher, Salimbene's words, knowledge and insight into the past and society, seem to be directed largely to the Franciscans and the nobility. 'Nobility', however, is a somewhat problematic term in the context of the power struggles occurring in Italy during the mid-thirteenth century.<sup>373</sup> While

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<sup>368</sup> Baird, p.196; Salimbene, p.206

<sup>369</sup> Brooke, *Franciscan Government*, p.55; Lapanski, *Evangelical Perfection*, pp.284-85

<sup>370</sup> Guyotjeannin, *Salimbene de Adam*, pp.58-61; Violante was among the first to acknowledge the depths of Salimbene's social ideology: 'Motivi e carattere', pp.108-154

<sup>371</sup> Salimbene, p.644: *mundus, et per milites et nobiles conservatur*

<sup>372</sup> Ibid, pp.96-163

<sup>373</sup> See: Edward Coleman, 'Cities and Communes', in *Italy in the Central Middle Ages*, ed. D. Abulafia (Oxford; 2004), pp.48-56; For the medieval 'nobility' in modern historiography: Timothy Reuter, 'The

Salimbene's family were probably not noble in the literal sense of the word, they had money; they were educated in Latin<sup>374</sup> and were often in positions of power and authority in a civic or secular context.<sup>375</sup> It may be possible that while Salimbene utilised the term *nobiles*, his conception of that particular social order generally reflected educated people who were able to exercise authority in a secular context.<sup>376</sup>

While 'the nobility' had an important role to play in Salimbene's idea of a properly ordered social world, the issue over whether he wrote for this particular audience is complicated by his choice of language. Latin of course was the traditional language of both the Church and universal history. Yet, by the late-thirteenth century it is unlikely that Latin was read widely among the 'nobility' in Italy, besides the Imperial administration.<sup>377</sup> Apart from the difficulties associated with the publication of Franciscan texts outside the Order, it may be that Salimbene's choice of language was responsible for his *Cronica's* ultimate failure in the lay world.<sup>378</sup> While Latin works such as the Dominican Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea* enjoyed immense popularity, as evidenced by the more than one thousand manuscript copies still in existence, in general Franciscan historiographies did not perform as well.<sup>379</sup> While the difficulties mentioned may help to shed light onto the eventual fate of Salimbene's *Cronica*, it still does not really explain his intentions. Even taking into account his choice of Latin as the language for his *Cronica*, I would argue that Salimbene did in fact intend that the messages contained in his text would have influence in the secular world. This would be achieved

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Medieval Nobility in Twentieth-Century Historiography', in *Companion to Historiography*, ed. M. Bentley (London and New York; 1997), pp.177-202

<sup>374</sup> Salimbene states he received his early Latin education from his grandmother, p.227; His brother Guido was a judge in secular life, p. 37; West suggests that he also may have attended grammar-school: 'Education of Fra Salimbene', p.194

<sup>375</sup> For example, Salimbene's father petitioned the Emperor Frederick II personally in order to force Minister General Elias to reject Salimbene's admission into the Order: Salimbene, p.39

<sup>376</sup> West refers to this order as the *grandi*: 'Education of Fra Salimbene', p. 193; although this seems to refer to the term *grandi di popolo* which came into use during the fourteenth-century it nevertheless provides a useful context. See: Giovanni Tabacco, *The Struggle for Power in Medieval Italy: structures of political rule*, trans. R.B. Jensen (Cambridge; 1989), pp.267-94

<sup>377</sup> See: Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, 'Secular Administration', in *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide*, ed. F.A.C. Mantello and A.G. Rigg (Washington, D.C.; 1996), pp.195-229

<sup>378</sup> Thanks to Dr. Chris Jones for his comments. The implications of his choice of language and the realistic failure of Salimbene's *Cronica* is a topic that I'd like to address further at a later stage

<sup>379</sup> Alberto Varvaro, 'Language and Culture', in *Italy in the Central Middle Ages*, ed. D. Abulafia (Oxford; 2004), pp.197-211, (202-03)



through the text's adoption and dissemination by his fellow Franciscans' as they exerted their social, spiritual and political influence in the secular world.<sup>380</sup> Ultimately, while the religious language that Salimbene employed is indicative of an ecclesiastical audience, his messages were nevertheless framed toward the figures of authority, both religious and secular, upon whom his whole social ideology was based.

While Salimbene's intended audience remains open to speculation and debate, D'Avray forcefully argues that an indivisible relationship existed between audience and function in mendicant literature, and therefore, one provides a reflection of the other.<sup>381</sup> Understanding Salimbene's social and spiritual objectives in the world is particularly revealing to establish his purpose in writing. In this respect, the mere fact of his mission as a Franciscan is persuasive. As he emphatically states the Franciscans were given *to the world* to help bring about its salvation.<sup>382</sup> I have argued throughout this chapter that Salimbene's religious objectives became increasingly socialised through the confession process. Simultaneously, his role as an edifier gained a more spiritual aspect through his performances as a confessor. Through his knowledge, his experience, his institutional authority and through his ability to exercise his *auctoritas* in both religious and social contexts, Salimbene believed that he could transform society from the top down and therefore aid in the salvation of the world.

As Delogu explains, one of the characteristics that both constituted and motivated the production of universal history was 'meditation on the theme (and the timing) of salvation, with its theological significance for the overall history of humankind.'<sup>383</sup> Yet he continues that the functions, forms and audience of universal history were transformed in the thirteenth century, particularly through the loss of its salvation-orientated focus. Based on the example provided by Salimbene, I would argue that salvation still underpinned universal history; however, it was increasingly couched in social rather than theological terms. Significantly, the fatalism that the exclusive use of the Augustinian

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<sup>380</sup> See: Raphaela Averkorn, 'The Impact of Religious Orders on Political Changes in Medieval and Early-Renaissance Europe', in *Religion and Political Change in Europe: Past and Present*, ed. A. Cimdina (Pisa; 2003), pp.33-55

<sup>381</sup> D'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, p.105

<sup>382</sup> Salimbene, p.441

<sup>383</sup> Delogu, *Medieval History*, p.141; Also George La Piana, 'Theology of History', in *The Interpretation of History*, ed. Joseph R. Strayer (Princeton; 1943), pp.149-186

system had encouraged in history-writing up until the late-twelfth century was significantly altered by the eschatological teachings of the twelfth-century abbot Joachim of Fiore. History no longer only looked back for precedents, but began to explore society, events and man with an eye to the future.<sup>384</sup> Specifically, for Salimbene this centred on the ideas regarding human progression implicated in Joachim's concept of the Third Age. When combined with Joachim's ideas about the possibilities of human progression, developments in the confessional process for both confessor and penitent alike, endowed individuals with significant agency in Salimbene's world view. His ideas about human agency were accentuated through the acculturation of Joachim's doctrines and the formalisation of confession. Consequently, salvation increasingly became based on the performance of good social and moral practices. In turn, Salimbene manipulated the theological focus of universal history toward conduct in the social sphere. Ultimately, the *Cronica* became a virtual embodiment of Salimbene's objectives as a Franciscan: identifying and carrying out God's work in the world as an agent of salvation.

Salimbene's roles as an historian and confessor intersected in the way that he utilised the idioms particular to each function in order to seek to transform the behaviour patterns of his intended audience. The social and spiritual codes endorsed through confession provided Salimbene with both a moral compass and the language to analyse, judge and teach the world. Through his careful exposition of the faults and virtues of events and historical characters alike, his audience could be taught proper deference and conduct toward God and neighbour. Universal history provided a flexible framework in which Salimbene could, as Flint argued, distinguish, contain and accommodate the increasing dialogue between the religious and social spheres ignited through the performances associated with confession and penance.

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Along with the wisdom and moral integrity to make judgments on society and man, inherent in the performance of confession were the ideas of spiritual and physical transformation. Transformation in turn is a key element to understanding Salimbene's overall purpose and basis for writing history. While scholars have tended to focus on the creation of the subject or rather the subjectivity created by the confessional dialogue,

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<sup>384</sup> Joseph Strayer, 'Introduction', in *ibid*, p.10

John Bossy recognises the transformative power of the sacrament of confession.<sup>385</sup> He argues that the performance of the sacrament acted as a 'moment of critical transition' whereby the individual and community alike were transformed, and rather than inspiring particularity, it instead unified or reunited the penitent in the 'whole body of Christ, reconciliation to God and neighbour.'<sup>386</sup> Fundamental here is the connection that Bossy makes between confession and the construction of the *universitas*, which was one of the primary aims of Lateran IV. By the same token universal history was always orientated toward similar goals: the unification of the Christian community. Within this context, Salimbene considered himself, both through the authority that he gained from his institutional position in the Franciscan Order and by the fact that God's grace worked through him, to be a mediator between the spiritual and secular worlds.

From a modern perspective, Keith Thomas outlines counselling and conflict resolution as the two main functions of medieval confession.<sup>387</sup> These two functions are clearly embodied in Salimbene's *Cronica*. On the one hand Salimbene attempts to assist his readers' negotiation of the rocky path to salvation. On the other, Salimbene again attempts to pave a path through the conflict brought about by the transition into Joachim's prophesised Third Age. In this sense, Salimbene acted as a mediator, on the one hand, between God and society, and on the other, between the old age and the new. The ideas of social and spiritual transformation that the performance of the confessional process gave to Salimbene, helped to not only form a solid social ideology but supported his agency in the world in which he worked. Salimbene felt he was able to 'transform' both the Franciscan Order and his intended audiences through the examples and events of the past. Writing history was consequently crucial for Salimbene to balance both his spiritual and social objectives. Salimbene could assert his vital role as a mediator through history. The functionality of the *Cronica*, therefore, largely centred on the edification of his audience and his presentation of strategies that would assist in the salvation of the Christian community, and ultimately, its transition from the time 'between flesh and spirit.' For his Franciscan audience, this mostly meant proving the

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<sup>385</sup> Root attempts to draw together both approaches, emphasising the transformative/salvation aspect of confession along with its influence in creating a discourse of self-representation in literature: "Space to Speke", p.9

<sup>386</sup> Bossy, *Christianity in the West*, p.46

<sup>387</sup> Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (London; 1971), pp.154-59; also: Bossy, 'Social History', p.24

evolution or existence of the Franciscan Order as Joachim's *virī spirituales*. In this sense, prophecy played an integral part in the reason that Salimbene chose to write history. History writing provided a universal container for accommodating and explicating the changes and developments occurring within the perceptions and importance of society and social mores at the instigation of the performance of confession. Equally, history was the primary means by which Salimbene could also prove, accommodate and contain the prophecies that so hugely impacted upon the cultural, political and social landscapes of the thirteenth century

#### IV. '*dispono non credere nisi que videro*': Priesthood, Prophecy and Agency

Brother Bartholomew said to me, "And you were also a Joachite." To whom I said, "You speak the truth. But after Frederick died, who was then Emperor, and the year 1260 passed, I completely dismissed that doctrine, and I resolve not to believe in anything except that which I can see."<sup>388</sup>

In this passage Salimbene is ostensibly asserting his orthodox position on the doctrine of Joachim of Fiore. Providing the historical backdrop to this conversation was the progressive condemnation of some of the central tenets in Joachim's interpretation of history and the prophetic future by the Church.<sup>389</sup> While the reputation of the Abbot remained mostly intact until his death in 1202, throughout the course of the thirteenth century his concept of the Third Status created significant tension for the Church.<sup>390</sup> Condemnation of Joachim's Third Status was brought about finally in the mid-thirteenth century because of the extreme and fanatical ways in which his ideas were developed by his followers. In particular, the Franciscan Gerard of Borgo San Donnino pushed Joachim's Third Status to its limits to suggest that the authorities and institutions of the Old and New Testaments, which Joachim had maintained would last, would be overthrown completely in the new age; institutions which included the Catholic Church.<sup>391</sup> Based on the evidence that will be put forward in this chapter, it seems that Salimbene's somewhat emphatic dismissal of *istam doctrinam* represents a knee-jerk, 'public' stance that he assembled in the wake of the intense controversy around the time his conversation with Brother Bartholomew took place. It does not provide a true reflection of the ways and means in which Joachite thought had infiltrated his view of the world. As demonstrated throughout this thesis, Joachim's ideas played a prominent

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<sup>388</sup> Salimbene, p.302-03: Frater Bartholomeus dixit michi: 'Et tu similiter loachita fuisti'. Cui dixit: 'Verum dicitis. Sed postquam mortuus est Fridericus, qui imperator iam fuit, et annus millesimus ducentus sexagesimus est elapsus, dimisi totaliter istam doctrinam et dispono non credere nisi que videro.' (my translation). This is a literal translation to maintain Salimbene's sentence structure and use of tenses, compare with Baird, p.302

<sup>389</sup> M.W. Bloomfield, 'Joachim of Flora: A Critical Survey of his Canon, Teaching, Sources, Bibliography and Influence', *Traditio*, 13 (1957), 249-311; M. Reeves, 'The Abbot Joachim's Sense of History', in *The prophetic Sense of History in Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (Aldershot; 1999), pp.782-96

<sup>390</sup> For the condemnation of aspects of his Trinitarian doctrine in 1215: Reeves, *Influence*, pp.28-36

<sup>391</sup> Brother Gerard's book was condemned by Pope Alexander IV in 1255 and Joachim's works at the Council of Arles in 1263: Ibid, pp.59-70; Salimbene, p.237-38, 454-59

part in Salimbene's worldview and his construction of history.<sup>392</sup> In fact, I would argue that this statement does not reject Joachite doctrine completely; rather it creates a crucial role for Salimbene in the historical process. The idea that Salimbene 'will not believe in anything except that which he sees' establishes himself not only as an observer and critic of all things prophetic but attests to the fact that he puts the utmost faith in those very observations. Through his roles as an historian and Franciscan priest Salimbene positioned himself as a mediator between the prophetic and material worlds.

In medieval historiography, the links between prophecy and history were often inextricable. As the eminent historian Richard Southern observed, prophecy not only provided a way to interpret and give meaning to many of the events of history, but also functioned as a way to systematise those events within the historical process.<sup>393</sup> There is no doubt that prophecy had an important function in history writing throughout the Middle Ages; and in particular that of universal history. Universal history 'revealed' God's work in the world and in this sense it can be argued that the prophetic imagination of the thirteenth century was largely responsible for the continued use and usefulness of universal history in the later-middle ages. As Southern concludes: 'By their [prophecies] mere existence they expressed a view of their relationship between time and eternity, between the mind of God and the minds of men, between the pattern of past events and the future, which most people found compellingly persuasive.'<sup>394</sup> In the thirteenth century religious minds increasingly turned toward end things,<sup>395</sup> facilitated largely by the ideological crises presented by the loss of Jerusalem in the late-twelfth century and the collapse of the Staufien Empire in the mid-thirteenth.<sup>396</sup> Prophecy, in turn, became highly politicised, not in the least those attributed to Joachim, and functioned not only as a tool for historical writers but influenced the entire ideological foundations of late-

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<sup>392</sup> The moderated Joachite position in Salimbene's *Cronica*: West, 'Re-Formed Church,' 273-84; West, 'The Education of Fra Salimbene', p.205

<sup>393</sup> Richard Southern, 'Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing: 3. History as Prophecy', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, fifth ser., 22 (1972), 159-180

<sup>394</sup> Ibid, 172

<sup>395</sup> For instance Roger Bacon, writing to Pope Clement IV in 1267, encouraged the study of prophecy within the Church in order to determine the coming of Antichrist: *Opus Maius*, ed. J.H. Bridges (Oxford; 1897-1900), vol. I, pp.268-69

<sup>396</sup> Cohn, *Pursuit*, pp.89-126

medieval culture.<sup>397</sup> It is within this context that Salimbene's approach to prophecy is constructed. Prophecy not only informed the structures and strategies of his writing but helped him to contextualise the role he, and by extension his *Cronica*, had in the world.

In the three previous chapters I have defined Salimbene's Franciscan experience through the Joachite prophecy of the *virī spirituales* that centred the Order's work in a universal apocalyptic context, the institutional authorisation he derived from his position in the Order and the *auctoritas* that he was able to cultivate and exercise through his preaching and confession performances. The sense of agency and importance that Salimbene obtained from this 'Experience' is revealed in his activities and movements associated with the itinerant lifestyle of the Franciscan priest. 'Priest' reflects the less-formalised, but no less purposeful, performances of his Franciscan experience. In this role, Salimbene was ideally placed to witness many of the fundamental events and people that defined his age. Significantly, he was also able to cultivate an important position as a mediator between the prophetic and the material worlds, both in his activities and in his text. Salimbene's sphere of operation as a priest was restricted mainly to Northern Italy, which consequently provides the focal point for the analysis that will take place in this chapter. The cities and landscapes of Italy explicitly revealed both the truth of several contemporary prophecies and also Salimbene's own agency in the final acts of the 'time between flesh and spirit.' At the same time that prophecy informed the historical, intellectual, and social milieu in which Salimbene worked and wrote, the juxtaposition between prophecy's historiographical and ideological functions provides a methodological context for this chapter. In four sections, I will explore systematically how Salimbene used prophecy to structure and make sense of the world around him and in turn apply that logic as a narrative strategy in the *Cronica* that he produced. Simultaneously I will uncover the relationships that exist in his text between his role as a witness, his role as an agent in the cities of Italy and his role as a mediator between the spiritual and material worlds. Ultimately I will show that as well as inspiring and evolving

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<sup>397</sup> Modern Historiography: *ibid*; Southern, 'History as Prophecy', 175-76; Robert Lerner, 'Frederick II, Alive, Aloft and Allayed, in Franciscan-Joachite Eschatology', in *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages*, ed. W. Verbeke, D. Verhelst and A. Welkenhuysen (Leuven; 1988), pp.359-84; Richard K. Emmerson, 'Introduction: The Apocalypse in Medieval Culture', in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. R.K. Emmerson and B. McGinn (Ithaca and London; 1992), pp.293-332. Translations of contemporary perspectives: McGinn, *Visions*, esp. pp.152-57, 161-67, 172-79, 182-185

Salimbene's conceptions of his own agency, prophecy acted as a narrative strategy that enabled him to represent universal themes through localised examples in his *Cronica*.

## Agency and Joachite Prophecy

One of the central problems with taking 'agency' as a category of historical enquiry is the understanding of the term in modern historiography. From the 1960s and 1970s in particular, the subject of human agency fundamentally suffered at the hands of historians interested in the linguistic turn. Practitioners of the 'linguistic turn', a movement which found its origins in Saussure's *Course in General linguistics*, saw the world and reality as specifically and solely constructed through language. In the words of Gabrielle Spiegel 'all began from the premise that language is somehow anterior to the world it shapes; that what we experience of 'reality' is but a socially (i.e. linguistically) constructed artefact or 'effect' of the particular language systems we inhabit.'<sup>398</sup> This linguistically characterised reality or world is seen to be constructed by powerful and unalterable social and cultural discourses,<sup>399</sup> in which human agency had little or no place. One well known example of this type of historiography in the area of medieval studies was advanced in the early 1990s by Gabrielle Spiegel. Spiegel developed her highly influential theory of the 'Social Logic of the Text' in relation to vernacular prose historiography in thirteenth-century France. Spiegel explores these texts through 'the social space they occupy, both as products of a particular social world and as agents at work in that world.'<sup>400</sup> She reveals this 'social logic' by taking an inter-disciplinary social and linguistic approach. This method has many positive implications, most especially for its ability to develop and explore the wider social contexts of the production of medieval texts. The invisibility of the agency of the particular author within Spiegel's construction and the way that she instead posits the inanimate text as the primary agent undermines the ability of the model to reflect the medieval experience of authoring the text. In particular it removes the ideas of intention, action and meaning. In this sense, while Salimbene probably envisaged that his *Cronica* would have notable agency in its ability

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<sup>398</sup> Gabrielle Spiegel, 'History, Historicism and the Social logic of the Text in the Middle Ages', *Speculum*, 65 (1990), 59-86

<sup>399</sup> For this conception of 'discourse' and 'discursive structures': Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archeology of the Human Sciences*, (New York; 1973); and *ibid*, *The Archeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*, trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith (New York, 1972), p.55

<sup>400</sup> Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, p.9



to transform or affect his readers, achieving these goals would only be realised through his own ability to exercise and extend his own *auctoritas* as agency via his text.

Recovering this sense of human agency from the restraints of the linguistic turn is still relatively difficult; after all the movement remains highly persuasive and influential in modern historiography.<sup>401</sup> More recently scholars such as Richard Biernacki are attempting to move beyond the 'formalizing' tendencies of linguistic analysis<sup>402</sup> to what lies 'beyond or outside the discursive realm.'<sup>403</sup> Within this 'movement', which has earned the tentative nominative of 'practice history', emphasis is being placed on the matter of agency and recovering the contingency and serendipity of social practices and performances.<sup>404</sup> At a very fundamental level, 'practice' history is slowly rehabilitating the concept of 'the subject' and their agency, the latter of which is defined by Sherry Ortner as 'intentionality and forms of empowerment to act.'<sup>405</sup> The theories being advanced in 'practice' history certainly have invaluable uses, especially in their ability to allow students of history to be able once gain to use and develop the concept of agency with some authority in their studies. Nevertheless, caution must still be exercised especially as many of the 'theories' are still subject to the criticisms levelled by Roger Collins. While he expresses an admiration for the efforts of scholars to recover agency, as he states: 'the "new history" all too often baffles the reader by expressing its ideas in language borrowed from social and literary studies, and in particular employs a vocabulary that can serve to obscure rather than clarify meaning.'<sup>406</sup> Furthermore the theories being developed in this new history remain somewhat abstract and have not yet been put into 'practice' so to speak as real historical enquiry.

Agency for Salimbene was neither theoretical nor especially intellectual: it was expressed and had purpose through his body and in the world in which he lived. While it

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<sup>401</sup> Survey of the development and implications of linguistic turn historiography: Elizabeth Clark, *History, Theory, Text: Historians and the Linguistic Turn* (Cambridge, MA; 2004)

<sup>402</sup> Richard Biernacki, 'Language and the Shift from Signs to Practices in Cultural Inquiry', *History and Theory*, 30 (2000), 289-310

<sup>403</sup> Spiegel, 'Introduction', p.10

<sup>404</sup> William M. Reddy, 'The Logic of Action: Indeterminacy, Emotion and Historical Narrative', *History and Theory*, 40 (2001), 10-33

<sup>405</sup> Sherry B. Ortner (ed), *The Fate of Culture Geertz and Beyond* (Berkeley, 1999), p.5; citation from Spiegel, 'Introduction', p.12

<sup>406</sup> Roger Collins, 'Review: Making Sense of the Early Middle Ages', *English Historical Review*, 124 (2009), 641-665 (646)

is important to reflect the changes and developments in modern historical theory, agency, as it is discussed in relation to this thesis, must aim to reflect the concept as Salimbene might have understood it. It has been demonstrated through the exploration of his embodied performances as a preacher and confessor that Salimbene never questioned his capabilities to act, nor in fact, did he express marked uncertainty over his capacity to effect action in others. Agency then, as Salimbene might have conceptualised it, could also be refined as 'purpose', which combines the ideas of function, intention and drive. In the thirteenth century, Salimbene's agency or 'purpose' was intricately tied into the prophetic imagination and the role of human kind in God's ultimate plan.

Misconceptions regarding Salimbene's attitude towards his Order have meant that interest in the role of prophecy in the *Cronica* has been mainly restricted to establishing the boundaries of Salimbene's Joachimism, about which Delno West has completed the most significant studies. West has proposed that rather than completely dismissing Joachim's doctrine, Salimbene instead advocates a moderated position.<sup>407</sup> Optimistic expectation of Joachim's Third Age and the belief in the concept of the *virī spirituales* still underpinned Salimbene's world view as he simultaneously rejected the more extreme, anti-doctrinal connotations becoming increasingly popular in more radical Franciscan circles. Salimbene does not employ what Roest labelled the Joachite 'typological exegetical method', yet historical events and also Scripture are contextualised with Joachite concepts. In fact, references to Joachim, his prophecies, his scriptural interpretations or his followers can be found on 55 pages of the modern edition of the *Cronica*. This large number illustrates the extent to which the statement that he had completely laid aside 'that doctrine' misrepresents the place occupied by Joachite concepts in Salimbene's world view.

The passage with which this chapter opened is centred on Salimbene's supposed disillusionment with Joachite doctrine that occurred at the time of the death of the Emperor Frederick II. The date of Frederick's death was a pivotal point in pseudo-Joachite works such as the *Super Hieremiam* (c.1243). As Joachim's teachings began to enter the Order,<sup>408</sup> Franciscan-Joachites<sup>409</sup> such as Salimbene came to believe that 'in

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<sup>407</sup> West, 'Re-Formed Church,' 273-84

<sup>408</sup> See: E.R. Daniel, 'A Re-examination of the Origins of Franciscan Joachimism' *Speculum*, 43 (1968), 671-76

Frederick all the mysteries would be fulfilled.<sup>410</sup> ‘Mysteries’ here refers to the tribulations of Antichrist, which for many, were in fact fulfilled by Frederick in the thirteenth century. Many interpreters of Joachim’s prophecies regarding Antichrist believed that in the year 1260 Frederick would overthrow the church and begin the three-year reign that would fulfil expectations of the Third Age.<sup>411</sup> Outlining his own disappointment in the ‘premature’ death of Frederick in 1250, Salimbene, in what Joseph Baird nominates as the ‘fullest declaration of his Joachimism’, states: ‘For I was a Joachite and I believed and expected and hoped that Frederick would still perform greater evils than those he had already done, although he had carried out many.’<sup>412</sup> When read together certain statements concerning *istam doctrinam* both qualify and counter Salimbene’s emphatic dismissal of Joachimism, and provide evidence to support the notion that Salimbene’s rejection of Joachim was in fact a ‘public stance.’<sup>413</sup>

As noted earlier, the work of the Franciscan Gerard of San Borgo Donnino was responsible ultimately for the condemnation of Joachim’s interpretation of the Third Status. Salimbene states that this ‘contained many lies against the teachings of the Abbot Joachim, which the Abbot had never written.’<sup>414</sup> Salimbene attributes the spurious dating of the advent of Antichrist in 1260 to some of Joachim’s more ‘ignorant’ followers, maintaining that Joachim himself ‘did not set a definite time period whatsoever. But he set a number of terminal points, saying “God is powerful and able to make his mysteries clearer, as those who are then living will see.”’<sup>415</sup> While there are many more examples that reveal Salimbene’s continued faith in aspects of Joachite teachings, these two qualifications provide enough indication that Salimbene did not reject Joachim’s basic concepts but rather the ways in which his ideas were developed by

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<sup>409</sup> This term is used by Daniel to distinguish the early Franciscan Joachites from the later extremists known as the Franciscan Spirituals: Ibid, 671; For the condemnation and persecution of Franciscan Spirituals: Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, pp.189-214

<sup>410</sup> Salimbene, p.236: quod in Friderico tunc temporis omnia essent complenda misteria

<sup>411</sup> Cohn, *Pursuit*, pp.108-113; Lerner, ‘Alive’, pp.357-84

<sup>412</sup> Salimbene, p.174: Eram enim Iohachita et credebam et expectabam et sperabam, quod adhuc Fridericus maiora mala esset factururus quam illa que fecerat, quamvis multa fecisset (my translation). I have followed the original more literally. Compare with Baird, p.164

<sup>413</sup> It is important to note that at the time Salimbene was writing, over twenty years after his conversation with Brother Bartholomew took place, Franciscan-Joachites were being persecuted actively for their extreme views: Lambert, *Franciscan Poverty*, pp.114-15

<sup>414</sup> Baird, p.463; Salimbene, p.454-55

<sup>415</sup> Baird, p.231; Salimbene, p.239

others.<sup>416</sup> In fact, I would argue that it would be almost impossible for Salimbene to reject Joachim completely. After all it was Joachim's prophecy of the *virī spirituales* that provided the prophetic justification for his own role, and that of his Order, within the historical process.<sup>417</sup> Salimbene's citation of Joachim that 'God is...able to make his mysteries clearer, as those who are then living will see' acts doubly to resolve his tense position with regard to his moderated Joachimism and, because of Joachim's established authority in scriptural interpretation;<sup>418</sup> it also encourages his role in observing and documenting the links between prophecy and history. In fact Salimbene uses the phrase 'those who remain will be able to see' numerous times himself, which places his interpretation of events in a similar context to Joachim's interpretation of Scripture.<sup>419</sup>

While the resurgence of the eyewitness in history-writing afforded Salimbene notable agency in the world, the importance of this role, to Salimbene, was encouraged and magnified in the context of the teachings of Joachim. Bert Roest puts forward two definitions for Joachimism as it manifested in writings associated with the Franciscan Order. The first was 'a typological exegetical method' and the second was 'a more or less explicit belief in the coming of an age of spiritual renewal before the second coming of Christ.'<sup>420</sup> But as he argues only a small majority of Franciscan writers could be considered Joachites in either sense. More often Joachim's ideas provided a 'general source of inspiration.'<sup>421</sup> For this group of Franciscans,<sup>422</sup> among whom I include Salimbene, Joachim's concept of the Third Age steadily combined with and sometimes

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<sup>416</sup> Salimbene, p.31, 101, 293

<sup>417</sup> Ibid, pp.441-42, 580, 639-40

<sup>418</sup> Reeves, *Influence*, pp. 3-15

<sup>419</sup> For example: Salimbene, p.510, 537, 544

<sup>420</sup> Roest, *Reading the Book*, p.164; For the wider mendicant intellectual context: David Burr, 'Mendicant Readings of the Apocalypse', in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. R.K. Emmerson and B. McGinn (Ithaca and London; 1992), pp.89-102. A distinction might also be made between those 'affected' by Joachite thought and the later Franciscan 'Spirituals': Reeves, *Influence*, pp.191-228; McGinn, *Visions*, pp.203-21; Anne Cazenave, 'La vision eschatologique des spirituels franciscains autour de leur condamnation', in *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages*, ed. W. Verbeke, D. Verhelst and A. Welkenhuysen (Leuven; 1988), pp.393-403

<sup>421</sup> Roest, *Reading the Book*, p.164

<sup>422</sup> Roest assesses Joachim's influence in several Franciscan commentaries including St. Bonaventure and Peter Olivi: Ibid, pp.164-75; also Burr, 'Franciscan Eschatology', 23-40; Burr, 'Mendicant Readings', esp. pp.93-98; Reeves, *Influence*, pp.45-58. Traces of Joachite thought can also be detected in the joint encyclical issued by the Franciscan Minister General John of Parma and the Dominican Master Humbert of Romans in 1255: McGinn, *Visions*, pp.164-65. Salimbene refers to both John of Parma and Hugh of Digne as 'great Joachites', pp.232-33

surpassed the Augustinian tradition to transform the importance of present history. In the Augustinian tradition human agencies seemed obsolete as the life and death of Jesus represented the culmination of history and there was little sense of human progress beyond this event.<sup>423</sup> At the end of the twelfth century, Joachim's writings on the Third Status contradicted Augustine enough in some circles to allow for a new optimism for the future and fulfilment of human potential.<sup>424</sup> As Marjorie Reeves explains:

Joachimism gave historical happenings a unique importance, linking past, present and future moments of time with transcendental purpose. It invited the casting of roles in the final acts of the drama. Above all, it opened up the prospect of new human agencies called to participate in the last decisive works of God in history. The backcloth of apocalyptic drama gave enhanced stature to actors in history.<sup>425</sup>

These actors were not only the leaders of Church and state, but also those that sought to document 'the final acts of the drama': the witnesses. The type of spirituality, which the merging of Joachite concepts with an ostensibly orthodox position in Salimbene, created a distinctive world view that was expressly centred in the type of human agency to which Reeves calls attention. Salimbene could never quite divorce himself from the optimism of his own importance in the unfolding of history that Joachimism had inspired. His visual and physical experiences subsequently became an integral part of Salimbene's history both in the way they would often direct the course of his narrative and the way they embodied the *vir spiritualis*' role in the 'time between flesh and spirit'.

Salimbene's perception of himself as a witness was constructed by two distinct but mutually enforcing concepts. The first, as 'eyewitness', was governed by the traditional and formal requirements of his role as an historian. The second, however, is slightly more complex. Salimbene's role as 'witness' was produced by a vastly changing and developing prophetic and social milieu. Over twenty years ago, Robert Lerner pinpointed two events that served to not only enhance but to ideologically charge the status of the witness-agent, especially in some members of the Franciscan Order. The first was the

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<sup>423</sup> Brown, 'Saint Augustine', pp.11-12

<sup>424</sup> Burr states that Olivi was the only Franciscan commentator on the Apocalypse to truly challenge the Augustinian tradition: 'Mendicant Readings', p.95; Notions regarding the significance of human action in the salvation process were concurrently developing in the thought of twelfth-century writers Honorius of Autun and Gerhoh of Reichersberg: Reeves, 'Medieval Attitudes', p.47

<sup>425</sup> Ibid, p.51

introduction of Joachite texts to the Franciscan Convent at Pisa, an event at which Salimbene was not only present but by which he was irrevocably affected.<sup>426</sup> The second event occurred in a broader political context but had far reaching social and cultural implications; the deposition of Frederick II from the Empire by Pope Innocent IV.<sup>427</sup> These two events combined to establish Frederick as the Antichrist in apocalyptic thought. They also carved out what was perceived to be a powerful and divinely sanctioned role for those Franciscans affected by Joachite doctrine. As Lerner concludes: 'Joachim, genuine and spurious...seemed to be saying that the Franciscan Order has a chosen role to play as 'witness' against Antichrist and herald of the wondrous earthy dispensation to follow up Antichrist's death.'<sup>428</sup> Not only were the Franciscans to provide witness to the tribulations of Antichrist but they were to oppose him on every level. This role was cemented as Joachim's eschatological prophecies became embodied in certain political and social events. Adding to this were changes in the prophetic and salvation-orientated frameworks in Franciscan thought, inspired largely by the way the Franciscan's spiritual mission as Joachim's prophesised *viri spirituales* became socialised through the formalisation of confession. With their new found purpose in the End Times, the sense of the 'witness' in Franciscan thought meant more than to simply 'attest to' or 'to document'. During the middle decades of the thirteenth century, it came to represent the way the body of the 'witness' was physically engaged as an agent of change and salvation in the world.

The influence of Joachimism on Salimbene's *Cronica* is both important and inescapable. Joachite and pseudo-Joachite prophecy act as a general and overarching framework in which Salimbene's view of the world and his view of himself are constructed and explicated in his work, both textually and contextually. Joachite prophecy endorsed Salimbene's agency in the world, that is to say his ability to act as an agent of change, progress and salvation. Furthermore, Joachite prophecy structured his immediate social,

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<sup>426</sup> Salimbene, p.236

<sup>427</sup> For the Empire in apocalyptic thought: Reeves, *Influence*, p.304; Reeves, 'Apocalyptic Thought', pp.42-42; Friedrich Heer, 'The Empire as Regency for God on Earth', in *The Holy Roman Empire in the Middle Ages – Universal State or German Catastrophe*, ed. R.E. Herzstein (Lexington; 1966), pp.68-69; Chris Jones, *Eclipse of Empire? Perceptions of the Western Empire and its Rulers in Late-Medieval France* (Turnhout; 2007), esp. p.334

<sup>428</sup> Lerner, 'Alive', pp.363-4. The time after Antichrist's demise referred to the new spiritual Order of the *viri spirituales*. In depth assessment of Salimbene's views on the 're-formed Church': West, 'Re-Formed Church'

political and spiritual landscape. This means that Salimbene's environment provided the physical embodiment of the apocalyptic scenarios of which Joachim spoke. The 'world' in which Salimbene's agency was most clearly expressed was in the streets, cities and landscapes of Northern Italy. Consequently, his prophetic imagination was indisputably interpreted in the historical events that occurred in these spaces.<sup>429</sup>

## Italian Political Prophecy

Italy was the main battle ground for the quasi-apocalyptic struggle between Empire and Papacy during the thirteenth century. Even thirty years after the Emperor Frederick's death in 1250, Salimbene still interpreted the division and disorder in Italy as a product of Frederick and the tribulations of Antichrist.<sup>430</sup> While Scripture and Joachite concepts offered the wider framework in which Salimbene's apocalyptic views were constructed, the increasing production of what can be termed 'political' prophecy in the thirteenth century provided a key to decode the less-specific scenarios in the events occurring in Northern Italy. An exploration of political prophecy reveals that it supplied more than a 'key' to interpret historical events; it also offered an important authoritative space in which Salimbene's agency could be expressed fully.

Salimbene quotes a vast array of prophecy in the *Cronica*.<sup>431</sup> Two are of special interest here: one he attributes to Merlin and the other to Michael Scot, the court astrologer for the Emperor Frederick II.<sup>432</sup> I refer to these as political prophecies for the way they were used to translate the wider apocalyptic scenarios posed by Scripture and Joachimism in

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<sup>429</sup> For comments on the way Salimbene used Scripture to decode the events of northern Italy: Guyotjeannin, *Salimbene de Adam*, p.40

<sup>430</sup> Salimbene, p.31, 380

<sup>431</sup> Southern states that Biblical prophecy, pagan prophecy, Christian prophecy, astrological prophecy 'together they made a formidable array of interlocking sciences claiming to tell men about the shape of historical events': 'History as Prophecy', 172

<sup>432</sup> Michael Scot: C.H. Haskins, 'Michael Scot and Frederic II', *Isis*, 4 (1922), 250-75; Haskins, *Studies in Medieval Culture* (Oxford; 1929), pp.148-59. For the *Vaticinium* attributed to Michael Scot: Holder-Egger, 'Italienische Prophetieen des 13. Jahrhunderts.II', *Neues Archiv*, 30 (1905), 349-77; for the Merlin prophecy see Holder-Egger's notes in Salimbene, pp.539-41; a brief discussion in 'Italienische', 378-80. The secondary material on Merlin is extensive; it largely pertains to the literary figure Merlin and not to the political prophetic figure under discussion here. For an in-depth literary discussion: Paul Zumthor, *Merlin le Prophète* (Lausanne; 1943). For an analysis in a more political context: Catherine Daniels, *Les prophéties de Merlin et la culture politique (xii<sup>e</sup>- xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Turnhout; 2006). I obtained the latter too late to incorporate Daniels' conclusions into the main body of the thesis

the specific political circumstances that inspired their production.<sup>433</sup> These prophecies relate directly to the cities of Italy and they also seem to point unavoidably to the tribulations of Antichrist, which for Joachite followers would precede the Third Age. The value of these types of prophecies for the study of Salimbene and his *Cronica* has tended to be swallowed up by the focus on Joachimism in modern historiography. Their importance, however, is demonstrated by the way they are realistically reflected in Salimbene's observations and find literal translation in his words, commentary and observations. In turn exploration of these prophecies illuminates the way in which Salimbene's agency operated in the world and in his text. It is important to note, that the prophecies attributed to Michael Scot and Merlin are incidental to Salimbene's spiritual world view; they fulfil mostly a narrative function and purpose. They are employed or rather inserted after the fact, *post eventum*, and their function is to express Salimbene's agency through his observations of the proof of these prophecies. In this sense, they add another dimension to Salimbene's statement that he will not believe in anything that he cannot see. Salimbene is not only able to attest to the truth of these prophecies, engaging his *auctoritas*, but they also allowed him to focus significantly on Italy as a mirror image of the world.

Salimbene was certainly a part of what has been called 'the Italian hunger for prophetic message.'<sup>434</sup> While a more in-depth discussion of each prophecy and Salimbene's use of them will follow, it is important to explore the wider context in which they were produced and used. As I have suggested the prophecies of Merlin and Michael Scot did not have the power of prefiguration or the ability to shape future human action in the same way as Joachite prophecy or Scripture. Instead they are a product of immediate and time-specific social and political concerns, which were produced generally *post eventum*. As Laura Lahdensuu argues, the present-orientated nature of this type of prophecy made it very attractive to medieval chroniclers. Not only did the prophecies lend to 'an event a mysterious and fatal reason', but they allowed chroniclers to engage the *auctoritas* held and exercised by their bodies as eyewitnesses. Reference to these

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<sup>433</sup> Rupert Taylor defined political prophecy as 'any expression of thought, written or spoken, in which an attempt is made to foretell coming events of a political nature': Rupert Taylor, *The Political Prophecy in England* (New York; 1967), p.2

<sup>434</sup> McGinn, *Visions*, p.181



prophecies supported the interpretation of the event attributed to it by the author.<sup>435</sup> Lahdensuu concludes: 'Thus the prophecies can be seen as a literary expedient to outline and interpret a complex and ever changing reality by giving it a more profound meaning.'<sup>436</sup> They also reflect an interesting narrative strategy that allowed chroniclers to assert themselves as mediators, through their interpretation and connection of the prophecies with historical events. Within this context, the analysis of political prophecy begins to reveal the complex relationships that exist between physical observation, prophetic importance and the material reality of the situation in Northern Italy in Salimbene's *Cronica*.

The prophecy attributed to Michael Scot that Salimbene reproduces in his *Cronica* is best conceptualised as a bridge between the apocalyptic scenarios conceived of in Joachite and pseudo-Joachite prophecy and the material reality of Northern Italy. As Holder-Egger identified it is unlikely that the prophecy, as it is reproduced in the *Cronica*, originated as one coherent text. Instead there seem to be two distinct narrative styles in the composition. Firstly, the majority of the prophecy deals directly with the political situation in Northern Italy: the rubric given to the prophecy by Salimbene is 'Future Predictions for Lombardy, Tuscany, Romagna and other parts declared through Master Michael Scot.'<sup>437</sup> Seven verses near the end of the text, which Holder-Egger labels as the 'quarrel verses'<sup>438</sup> due to their use in the conflict between the Empire and the Papacy, contain overt pseudo-Joachite sentiments, referring to Frederick as the dragon and the potential collapse of the institution of the Church:

Long since tottering, caused by her long-standing errors,/Rome shall fall and give up  
being head of the world./The fates warn, the stars teach, and the flight of birds  
show/That Frederick shall be the hammer of the world./The great dragon shall live,  
causing the great world storm./The fates are silent, and so are the stars and the flights of  
birds,/That the ship of St. Peter shall cease being the head./The mother shall live again  
and shall hammer the head of the dragon.

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<sup>435</sup> Laura Lahdensuu, 'Predicting History: Merlin's Prophecies in Italian XIIth-XVth Century Chronicles', in *The Medieval Chronicle* III, ed. Erik Kooper (Amsterdam; 2004), pp.93-100 (95)

<sup>436</sup> Lahdensuu, 'Predicting', p.96; for a parallel argument with regard to English chroniclers: Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, esp. p. ix, 21

<sup>437</sup> Salimbene, p.361

<sup>438</sup> A specific analysis of the 'Quarrel Verses': Holder-Egger, 'Italienische', 335-49

Similarly, the prophecy also ends on a pseudo-Joachite note in its reference to the pivotal year of 1260:

After one thousand two hundred and sixty,/The great turmoils of the world shall be stilled./The griffin shall die, and feathers shall fly everywhere.<sup>439</sup>

The context for this part of the prophecy is centred on the conflict between Emperor Frederick II and the Papacy and it was reproduced in many different contexts and chronicles in one form or another in the mid-thirteenth century.<sup>440</sup> It is possible that this part of the prophecy did in fact originate from Frederick II's court, even if the author was not Michael Scot himself, due to its general partiality toward the Emperor and indeed the Joachite sentiments of the prophecy suggest that it was written prior to the Emperor's death in 1250. Several lines beginning 'the fates warn, the stars teach' became notorious in the exchanges between Frederick and the Papacy.<sup>441</sup> The bias of the prophecy is at times ambiguous, but Joachite prophecy certainly provides an important context as indicated by the reference to Frederick II as the dragon<sup>442</sup> and also to 1260 as the pivotal year in the apocalyptic battle. Indeed Salimbene supports this himself: [...] 'about the year 1260, when the flagellant movement began in Italy. And in that year, as the Joachites say, the age of the Holy Spirit started which would work in men of religion in a mysterious way in the third age of the world.'<sup>443</sup>

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<sup>439</sup>Baird, p.364; Salimbene, p. 362: Roma diu titubans, longis terroribus acta,/ Corruet et mundi desinet esset caput./ Fata moment, stelleque docent aviumque volatus,/ Quod Fridericus malleus orbis erit./ Vivet draco magnus cum inmenso turbine mundi./ Fata silent, stelleque tacent aviumque volatus,/ Quod Petri navis desinet esse caput./ Reviviscet mater, malleabit caput draconis [...] Infra millenos ducenos sexque decenos/ Erunt sedata inmensa turbine mundi./ Morietur gripho, aufugient unidque penne.

<sup>440</sup> Holder-Egger, 'Italienische', 375-76

<sup>441</sup> See McGinn, *Visions*, p.170

<sup>442</sup> The seven headed dragon of St. John's vision was an important point in Joachite apocalypticism of Antichrist, and in fact Christian interpretations of the Apocalypse in general. Joachim told of the five heads that had been, a current one identified as Saladin, and a future dragon, which when the Abbot's works were introduced to the Franciscans was nominated as Frederick II. An outline of Joachim's theory of multiple Antichrists: Robert Lerner, 'Antichrists and Antichrist in Joachim of Fiore', *Speculum*, 60 (1985), 553-570, and for Frederick in Joachite thought; Lerner, 'Alive'; Citation of Joachim's interpretation of the dragon of Apocalypse 12: Salimbene, pp.439-441; Direct reference to Frederick as 'the dragon' in general historical narrative: Salimbene, p.389

<sup>443</sup> Baird, p.293; Salimbene, p.293

The local 'Italian' section of the prophecy is thought to have been composed after 1241 because the majority of the events pertain to the years 1236-1241.<sup>444</sup> Additions continued to be made up until at least 1260. Holder-Egger believed that 'Languishing Verona shall rise up at the death of the whelp', refers to the death of Ezzelino da Romano in 1259.<sup>445</sup> While it would be difficult to conjecture as to the time frame in which the two differing parts of the prophecy were integrated, this issue is of secondary importance. The assimilation of the two distinct prophetic strategies is primarily important because it shows that at some stage during the mid-thirteenth century, because of the increased production of political prophecy, Italy came to be viewed as the mirror image or representation of the universal apocalyptic battle; at least for those 'actors' who were living through the events. Salimbene certainly reflects this in the way that he directly links the Joachite-informed Michael Scot prophecy with the political and social discord in the Italian cities.<sup>446</sup>

The proliferation of *post eventum* political prophecy in the thirteenth century not only became embedded in the production of history but it also gave events in Italy a more profound meaning and importance. The prophecy attributed to Merlin, which is only found in its entirety in Salimbene's *Cronica*,<sup>447</sup> occupied a similar role to Michael Scot's albeit without the overt pseudo-Joachite connotations. The introduction of the prophecy into the text takes place after a discussion of Parma's efforts to bring about peace between factions in Modena. Salimbene states: 'These things took place so that the words of Merlin, the English magician, might be fulfilled. For Merlin wrote some verses in which future events are fully and accurately predicted about the cities of Lombardy, Tuscany, Romagna, and the Marches.' Salimbene includes sixty lines of what he states is only the beginning of the prophecy, in which specific references are made to many of the provinces in Italy, and also to Germany, France and Spain.

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<sup>444</sup> Holder-Egger states that it would be very difficult if not impossible to discern the original provenance of the verses due to the strong variances within the manuscript tradition, 'Italienische', 350; See also comments made by McGinn, *Visions*, p.170

<sup>445</sup> Holder-Egger, 'Italienische', 376-77

<sup>446</sup> Salimbene, p.362

<sup>447</sup> Ibid, pp.539-41. Several verses are also contained in the Chronicle of Albert Milioli; the similarities between the two chronicles have been discussed by both Holder-Egger and Scalia. While he includes the Latin text of the prophecy is included, it remains un-translated in Baird due to what he classes as the corruption of the text and the obscurity of many of the references, Baird, pp.547-49

As with the prophecy attributed to Michael Scot the origin of this particular prophecy is unclear. Many prophecies were circulating through Italy during the thirteenth century under nominatives such as the *Verba Merlini* and *Versus Merlini*.<sup>448</sup> Salimbene also speaks of *Dicta Merlini*, which he states was part of an exposition of both Merlin and Sibylline prophecy by Joachim of Fiore that has not survived.<sup>449</sup> It was certainly not included in the more well known *Prophécies de Merlin*. Paton believes these were composed between 1272 and 1279 due a citation found in the chronicle of the Franciscan Thomas Tuscus (d. c. 1284), which was composed around the end of the 1270s.<sup>450</sup> Holder-Egger connects several verses with events as late as 1280.<sup>451</sup> Even though it was probably composed not long before he sat down to write his *Cronica* around 1283, Salimbene exaggerates this particular prophecy's sense of prediction in events which occurred in the middle decades of the thirteenth century in order to demonstrate its authority.

Prophecies attributed to Merlin had a wide following in Italy, which was due primarily to their popularity within Joachite-Franciscan circles.<sup>452</sup> The prophetic authority of Merlin had been established in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain* (c.1136), which was relatively widely read on the continent. Aside from this, Merlin did not have a long textual tradition, as Lahdensuu claims that the majority of prophecies attributed to him had a more oral tradition.<sup>453</sup> Consequently, the lack of a concrete 'textual' body prior to the thirteenth century combined with the definitive pre-established authority of prophecy to make Merlin the ideal malleable figure-head for *post eventum* political prophecy.<sup>454</sup> While there is little decisive proof as to the question of Franciscan authorship of this particular prophecy, the underlying Joachite sentiment and Merlin's

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<sup>448</sup> Holder-Egger, 'Italienische', 378-80. The *Verba Merlini* were written with regard to Frederick I, Henry VI and Frederick II. This particular prophecy probably belongs to the *Versus Merlini*. For a brief overview: McGinn, *Visions*, pp.180-85

<sup>449</sup> Salimbene, p. 359-60; The *Exposition on the Sibyls and on Merlin*. See: Holder-Egger, 'Italienische', 144-51; Reeves, *Influence*, pp.57, 520

<sup>450</sup> Lucy Allen Paton, *Les Prophécies de Merlin*, vol.I-II (New York; 1966); vol.II, p.10

<sup>451</sup> Holder-Egger, *Cronica fratris Salimbene*, p.541, n.3

<sup>452</sup> See Paton, *Les Prophécies*, vol.II, pp.157-228

<sup>453</sup> Lahdensuu, 'Predicting', p.94

<sup>454</sup> For Merlin's popularity outside of England: Taylor, *Political Prophecy*, pp.134-56; Daniels, *Les prophéties*, pp.275-338; For an overview of all the texts, in which 'Merlin' appears: Silvia Brugger-Hackett, *Merlin in der europäischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Stuttgart; 1991). I was not able to obtain the latter

general popularity in Franciscan chronicles such as Thomas Tuscus<sup>455</sup> and of course Salimbene does support such an assumption.<sup>456</sup> The important sense of mission that the Franciscans derived from Joachim's prophecy of the *viri spirituales*, as the eventual recipients of the *spiritualis intellegentia*, sought to exploit political prophecy to solidify their role as mediators and leaders of the coming age. While this specific prophecy of Merlin does not explicitly engage with some of the wider apocalyptic scenarios found in the *Prophécies de Merlin*, it is likely nevertheless to be a product of Franciscan-Joachite efforts to enforce their eschatological importance and authority.<sup>457</sup>

Supporting the idea that this prophecy was linked to the role of the mendicants in the End Times, the first verse of the prophecy could be a reference to the two Orders prophesised by Joachim. The sentence reads: *Venient in mundo et duo erunt sine fine utendo*.<sup>458</sup> While the sense is difficult to render in English, due to the legal questions that arose in the course of the thirteenth century concerning concepts of 'use' and 'ownership', *sine fine utendo* could refer to the lack of territorial 'borders' and the practice of not owning property common to both the Franciscan and Dominican Orders. This reference would confirm the prophecy's status and authority in Franciscan circles. The Franciscan Order's engagement with the people and cities of Italy through their itinerancy meant those affected by Joachite concepts directly linked the tribulations of Antichrist and signs of the burgeoning Third Age with events in Italy. For Salimbene, political prophecy facilitated his agency as a Franciscan witness in the world and it also provided a model that could be exploited as a narrative strategy in his text.

The role Salimbene attributes to himself, both in the world and in his text, is clarified in a lengthy passage in which he discusses the truth of the Michael Scot prophecy:

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<sup>455</sup> Reeves believes that Thomas adopts an 'attitude of cool detachment' toward Joachim, which demonstrates his lack of belief in the Third Age: *Influence*, p.53. An analysis of Thomas's approach to prophecy would be interesting as he firmly structures his universal history within the Augustinian tradition.

<sup>456</sup> Paton, *Les Prophécies de Merlin*, vol.II, pp.222-28; Paton uses Salimbene as a specific example of the 'type' of Franciscan who would make a likely author for several of the *Prophécies*: pp.224-5

<sup>457</sup> It is also possible that the Prophecy of Merlin found in the *Cronica* had a similar providence, or was at least partially based on the prophecy of Michael Scot. Compare line 22 of the Michael Scot prophecy with line 39 of Merlin's. Both the prophecies also contain identical wording with regard to Florence in *vivet dissimulando*; line 52 Michael Scot, line 28 Merlin. Taylor indirectly supports this with reference to the production of 'some *Prophécies of Merlin*', which were produced in Frederick II's court by Richard of Ireland: *Political Prophecy*, p.137.

<sup>458</sup> Salimbene, p.547

Many were able to see that those things were true, which were contained in the aforementioned verses. For I also saw and I understood each one, “and my mind has contemplated many things wisely, and I have learned”, and I know that they were true, with few exceptions, namely that Frederick was not generally the hammer of the world, although he performed many evils [...] Thirdly moreover, it does not appear true everywhere that in the twelve hundred and sixty years completed since Christ the immense troubles of the world have been calmed completely. [...] Nevertheless in 1260 a devotion of flagellation commenced and was performed, and men made peace with each other and set aside wars, and many good things happened, as I saw with my own eyes.<sup>459</sup>

Outwardly it would seem that Salimbene wrote this passage as a demonstration of the prophecy's truth or falsity. In this sense, he uses his spiritual intelligence and eyewitness testimony of the fulfilment of many verses to authenticate the prophecy. The prophecy also reflects a different role. Salimbene uses the prophecy to facilitate his own agency as an intermediary, especially with the words ‘et intellexi singular.’ This was both through his interpretation and connection of the historical events with the prophecy and also as an ‘actor’ in the final drama. Due to his movements as the wandering Franciscan friar, Salimbene's body became doubly important. It positioned to witness the events and endowed with the authority to document them in his history. His body was also engaged actively, primarily due to the special position afforded to him by Joachim's prophecy of the *virī spirituales*. By acting as a mediator between the spiritual or apocalyptic context of the prophecies and their material realities, Salimbene exploits the idiom of universal history to its fullest potential to create an intra-textual authorising process. Political prophecy is given an authorised purpose and function within the *Cronica* through Salimbene's skill as an historian. It also facilitates his functions as a priest, in which his own body, as an eyewitness and mediator, is gifted with special agency in the End Times. Consequently, political prophecy acted as a type of bridge between universal apocalyptic

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<sup>459</sup> Ibid, p.362: Quam vera fuerint ista, que continentur in suprapositis versibus multi potuerunt videre. Nam et ego vidi et intellexi singular, *et mens mea contemplant est multa sapienter, et didici et scio*, quod vera fuerunt, exceptis paucis, videlicet quod Fridericus malleus orbis generaliter non fuit, quamvis multa mala fecerit. [...] Porro tertium, quod non apparet usquequaque verum, est, quod in mille ducentis LX annis completis a Christo non sunt omnini sedata inmensa turbine mundi. [...] Verumtamen in illo millesimo CCLX anno inchoavit et facta est verberatorum devotion, et homines adinvicem pacem faciebant et guerras dimittebant, et multa bona fiebant, ut vidi oculis meis (my translation; italicisation, Holder-Egger). I have followed the original more literally in order to highlight the role Salimbene attributes to himself, compare with Baird, p.364

scenarios and the realities of the political situation of Northern Italy. This 'bridge' gave Salimbene a framework or model to particularise his own experiences and his immediate social space as a reflection of the universal.

### Mediating between the Spiritual and Material

The focus on the cities of Italy in both the Michael Scot and Merlin prophecies was a huge part of their allure for Salimbene. Salimbene was an inhabitant of Northern Italy and, as he often emphasises, a 'native' of Parma.<sup>460</sup> Consequently the connection between prophecy and Italy was all the more meaningful to him. These prophecies gave a concrete reality to the more general apocalyptic scenarios posed in Joachite and pseudo-Joachite works, adding a sense of importance to Salimbene's role as an historian and a witness of Antichrist. They provided a link between the divine and the material. The conflict between Imperial and Papal forces and factions, which for many embodied the apocalyptic battle instigated by Antichrist, was carried out largely in Northern Italy, subsequently it had extraordinary impact and meaning for the inhabitants. As a member of the Franciscan Order, Salimbene had an important role to play to convey the overall meaning and purpose of these tribulations to society through his activities as an historian, preacher and priest. This role became centred in his body as he travelled through and participated in the events occurring in the cities of Northern Italy. Emphasising the division and discord in Tuscany that occurred through the conflict between the Church and Imperial parties with a veritable ledger of biblical prophecy, Salimbene declares: 'How true those things were, my eyes saw and a great multitude of others, but those people saw everything too, who experienced these things on their own bodies.'<sup>461</sup> This is a pivotal statement for showing the way Salimbene linked the body's experience with prophecy and constructed it as a mediation point between the spiritual and material. It also reveals how central his bodily experiences were as an expression of his *auctoritas* and agency in his efforts in the eschatological drama.

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<sup>460</sup> For instance: Salimbene, p.96, 164, 256, 485, 597

<sup>461</sup> Salimbene, p.380: Quam vera fuerint ista, viderunt oculi mei et aliorum maxima multitudo, sed super omnes illi viderunt, qui ea in propriis corporibus sunt experti (my translation). This is a very literal translation. I have, however, followed Baird in translating 'in propriis corporibus' as 'on their own bodies', as I believe that it refers to the marks of battle which could be seen on the body. Compare with Baird, p.381

Salimbene's conception of his agency was inspired by Joachite prophecy but was put into practice through his role as the wandering Franciscan priest. Salimbene's text is filled with verbs referring to his own movements, which allow us an immediate glimpse of the cityscape, the experience of the Friars and the peoples of Italy:

And so Guglielmotto came with his wife to Ravenna. When the people of Ravenna heard that they were coming, they rushed out to greet them with great joy and gave them an enthusiastic welcome. And with my Brother companion I myself went outside the city of Ravenna through the Gate of St. Lawrence and stood on the bridge over the river, hoping to discover what the commotion was about.<sup>462</sup>

Through instances such as these, 'one carries away the impression of Salimbene almost always on the move' as Joseph Baird has recently remarked.<sup>463</sup> In his travels, Salimbene also experienced the effects of the dislocation and dispossession occurring in Northern Italy that was caused by the battle between the Empire and the Papacy. The realities of his somewhat nomadic lifestyle meant that Salimbene personally experienced the fulfilment of the political prophecies that he included in his *Cronica*. In one particular instance, Salimbene narrates the origins and early development of the Flagellant movement, which he had previously connected not only with the reference to that precise year in the prophecy of Michael Scot but also with Joachim's prophecy of the Third Age.<sup>464</sup> This passage explicitly shows the way 'prophecy' could be experienced by and revealed on the body.

And at the beginning of this movement the citizens of Sassuolo, by permission of my Guardian, took me out of the convent of the Friars Minor in Modena, where I was living at the time, and led me to Sassuolo, because they – both the men and the women – loved me dearly. Later they took me to Reggio, then to Parma. And when we were in Parma, this movement took place there, for it spread "as an eagle that maketh haste to eat" [Habakkuk 1.8] and lasted for many days at every city. And there was no one so stern or so old that he did not gladly whip himself. And if anyone refused to whip himself, he was considered to be worse than the devil, and everybody pointed him out

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<sup>462</sup> Baird, p.162; Salimbene, p.172

<sup>463</sup> Baird, 'Introduction', p.xxv. For similar: Salimbene, pp.321, 456-57, 526

<sup>464</sup> Salimbene, p.362, 474-76. The connection between the flagellants and Joachim's Third Age is made explicit when he writes: 'Nota quo anno [1260] verberatorum devotion per Ytaliā facta est; quo etiam anno, ut Joachite discount, inchoatus est statu mundi in viris religiosi operari debet quadam proprietate misterii', p.293



as a strange and diabolical man. In fact, however, some misfortune usually befell those who would not scourge themselves, so that they either died or became gravely ill.<sup>465</sup>

The year 1260 had been marked out by multiple prophecies as a time of peace and accord and the Flagellant movement partly fulfilled this aspect for Salimbene and other Franciscan-Joachites.<sup>466</sup> As this passage shows, flagellation also served to mark bodies as good or bad. For Salimbene personally, his body participated in the joyful promise of the movement. It seems that the citizens of Sassuolo, by taking him out of the convent and parading him through several cities, served to make him a type of symbol of the same joyful promise that the movement represented. While the movement embodied hope for Salimbene, for the majority, as Reeves remarks, 'it was the wrath and judgment of God which was expected' and not the Third Age.<sup>467</sup> Regardless, Salimbene's description and perception of the movement must be viewed in context with the importance of prophecy in the *Cronica*. By relating the Flagellant movement to both apocalyptic and political prophecy, Salimbene gave the movement and his role in it a more profound meaning. At the same time that Salimbene used the event of the Flagellant movement to emphasise the links between prophecy and its material manifestation; his body, in particular, was also given prominence and agency in the End Times

Many commentators of Salimbene's *Cronica* have attempted to marginalise or isolate the areas of his text that relate directly to his personal experience. The integration of personal bodily experience in Salimbene's writing of history was in fact a product of changing attitudes towards the importance of the body within the Franciscan preaching culture. As the Franciscan Order developed throughout the thirteenth century and their role in society became increasingly mediated through the Joachite concept of the *virī spirituales*, their bodies had an even greater status as mediators between the spiritual and material worlds. In this sense, the Franciscans did not observe the world from the confines of a monastery, as many of their predecessors; rather their bodies inhabited a unique position. Spiritually, they sought separation from the world in traditional forms,

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<sup>465</sup> Baird, p.475; Salimbene, p.466

<sup>466</sup> Reeves states that the connection of the Flagellant movement to Joachite prophecy only occurs in Salimbene and Milioli: *Influence*, pp.54-55. Salimbene, however, was not one to put forward radical ideas in his *Cronica*, so I doubt that the connection was his alone. In fact, he states that this connection was relatively widespread among Joachim's followers, p.466.

<sup>467</sup> Reeves, *Influence*, pp.54-5

as Salimbene's rejection of his earthly family illustrates.<sup>468</sup> Physically, they were as present and active in the world as the rest of society. Through the wandering lifestyle enforced by the Order the Franciscans were deeply connected to the cities of Italy and, as such, the history of the Italian city not only revealed God's work but became a corner stone for self-identification.

## Salimbene and the City

An issue which still causes some difficulties for historians is the burgeoning sense of 'civic patriotism' that Salimbene exhibits in his *Cronica*.<sup>469</sup> One of the central creeds of the Franciscan Order was their rejection of their worldly family and possessions, which of course included the city and all its attractions. There is little doubt, however, that the mendicant orders had considerable influence in the political sphere during the thirteenth century, as the example of the Alleluia demonstrates.<sup>470</sup> Salimbene's portrayal of, and continued interest in, his family and his native city Parma in his writing seems to be at odds with the original imperative of St. Francis. This begins to make more sense when viewed in the context of Salimbene's conception of his embodied *auctoritas* and his wish to put it to work in the world in accordance with a Joachite vision of human agency. As I have illustrated, Salimbene's deployment of prophecy in his *Cronica* acted as a sort of 'bridge' between the spiritual and material. The existence of these prophecies proved to Salimbene that the situation in Italy was in fact an embodiment of the universal apocalyptic battle. This meant that Salimbene had a framework or model that allowed him to particularise both himself and his immediate social space as a reflection of universal themes. And of course Salimbene's immediate 'social space' was in the cities of Italy.

His place in the cities meant that Salimbene was able to engage the authoritative voice of the 'Italian' civic culture that was emerging in histories written in the communes from the mid-twelfth century.<sup>471</sup> This voice, of which Rolandino of Padua and Giovanni Villani

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<sup>468</sup> Salimbene, pp.39-41, 44-46

<sup>469</sup> In particular: Brentano, "Do Not Say"; Compare against Gurevich who believes that Salimbene was not patriotic: *Individualism*, p.202

<sup>470</sup> Thompson, *Revival preachers*, esp. pp.136-218; Lawrence, *The Friars*, pp.102-26, 166-200; Milne, 'The Great Devotion'; For their political involvement in general: Averkorn, 'Religious Orders', pp.34-36

<sup>471</sup> Edward Coleman, 'Civic Identity', pp. 45-60. The development of civic identity in Italian chronicles and histories: Dale, Lewin, and Osheim (eds.), *Chronicling History: Chroniclers and Historians in Medieval and*

provide good representations, was implemented into chronicles and history with the authority of what Marino Zabbia calls *public fides*.<sup>472</sup> In this sense, *public fides* could be thought of as a type of civic version of the charisma or spiritual *auctoritas* cultivated by the preacher. Zabbia's research indicates that by the fourteenth century secular writers, the majority consisting of notaries, dominated history writing in Italy. This cultural shift cannot be underestimated. As I will show, the shift of the site of cultural production from the monastery to the city heavily influenced Salimbene, as did the creation of alternative means of constructing authoritative narrative strategies from civic discourses.

Salimbene's movements as a Franciscan priest and also the civic identity engendered in his formative years prior to joining the Order gave him a 'front row seat' from which to observe the creation of these cultural alternatives in history writing. Consequently, embedding himself and his family within the history of the city became very important to him. Early in the contemporary portion of the *Cronica*, Salimbene begins to write of his father Guido de Adam. He tells us of his time on crusade, which allows Salimbene to connect his family history with the broader history of the world. Following this, Salimbene writes that his father also laid the commemorative stone for the new baptistery of Parma which, he adds, was built 'on the site of the homes of my kinsmen.'<sup>473</sup> This not only unalterably connects Salimbene's family with the landscape of Parma, but cements their civic reputation. Another way in which Salimbene employs this type of narrative strategy is through his careful documentation of the burial places of his family in Parma and beyond.<sup>474</sup> In an example cited in the previous chapter, Salimbene constructed a character appraisal of his illegitimate brother John.<sup>475</sup> As well as using his brother to call attention to various social attributes, the passage also

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*Renaissance Italy* (University Park, PA; 2007), in particular, compare Edward Coleman, 'Lombard City Annals and the Social and Cultural History of Northern Italy', pp.1-28, with Sharon Dale, 'Fourteenth-Century Lombard Chronicles', pp.171-96; Also Duane J. Osheim, 'Chronicles and Civic Life in Giovanni Sercambi's Lucca', pp.145-70; Vasina, 'Medieval Urban Historiography', pp.317-52

<sup>472</sup> Marino Zabbia, *I notai e la cronachistica cittadina italiana nel Trecento* (Rome; 1999) p.199; Rolandino Patavino, *Chronicles of the Trevisan March*, trans. Joseph Berrigan (Kansas; 1980); for civic identity in Florentine chroniclers, in particular Giovanni Villani: Louis Green, 'Historical Interpretation in Fourteenth-Century Florentine Chronicles', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 28 (1967), 161-78; *ibid*, *Chronicle into History* (Cambridge; 1972)

<sup>473</sup> Salimbene, p.37

<sup>474</sup> *Ibid*, p.36-37, 54-56

<sup>475</sup> *Ibid*, p.54

demonstrates the way that Salimbene was able to also connect and integrate his family name with the landscape of the wider world. John not only made pilgrimage to St. James at Compostella but he set up residence in Toulouse and was subsequently buried there at the Franciscan convent. Through the example of members of his family, he engages with multiple discourses that relate to civic authority and courtliness: through his father the discourses associated with crusading and civic patronage, through his brother the discourse of hospitality and alms-giving. At the same time, he also established direct links to the burgeoning civic and landowning authority for himself by referring, several times, to the fact that he once owned the village of Gainaco, in the Parmese diocese.<sup>476</sup>

Through his focus on the fate and events of northern Italian cities and peoples in his *Cronica* Salimbene seemed to combine the traditional form of religious men with the style of the notaries becoming popular in Italian city chronicles during the thirteenth century. In fact it might be argued that his *Cronica* effectively embodies a tension between religious indoctrination and civic concerns that was emerging in Italian chronicle writing. In common with other Italian chroniclers such as Giovanni Villani, Salimbene's style seems to attempt to synchronize into one reality a compromise between spiritual objectives and burgeoning civic interests.<sup>477</sup> While Salimbene's engagement with civic and courtly discourses, as a basis of authority, deserves greater attention than it can be given here, it remains that despite the enforced dispossession of the Franciscan order, the Italian city and its discourses became increasingly intertwined in the spiritual and religious focus of his universal history.

In a pivotal article, Robert Brentano analyses the way in which the city was used as a means of identification among the friars in the Franciscan Order. Emphasis on links with their native cities among Franciscans would seem to contradict St. Francis' rule that the friars belonged to the world and not to the cities or possessions. Brentano, however, shows the ways in which the city, if not civic discourses, still maintained a central part in how the friars identified themselves in the world. He argues that examples from

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<sup>476</sup> *ibid.*, p.508, 519; Jacobs conjectures that Salimbene's reference to the village of Gainaco manifests as a 'wistful regret' for his former life, however, I would argue that Salimbene is drawing on local and authoritative landowning discourses in order to enable and facilitate the exercise of his *auctoritas*: 'Locating', p.47

<sup>477</sup> Giovanni Villani: Green, 'Historical Interpretation', 162-63.

Salimbene's *Cronica* 'emphasize the importance of the city identifier in thirteenth-century minds and the position of the mobile friars in the development and complication of that identification.'<sup>478</sup> Salimbene's almost pedantic use of the city as identifier, for example 'I, Brother Salimbene de Adam *of Parma*', or 'Jacopino *of Reggio*, who was born *at Parma*' and the Friars' placement in many different cities of Northern Italy, leads Brentano to add 'their deliberate movement...away from their cities of origin, their connection to which they retained in their identifying names, encouraged consciousness of individual city and of rejection of individual city in them and their hosts.'<sup>479</sup> The complication to which Brentano refers was replicated similarly in the situation of the civic exiles of the Guelf-Ghibelline conflict.<sup>480</sup> Yet I would argue that Brentano's notion of the city as a means of 'self-identification' would be better understood as 'the city' as a means of expressing *public fides*.

Both the Franciscans and the political players in the Guelf-Ghibelline conflict relied similarly on the stability of their city of origin as the primary means to express their *public fides*. As power constantly shifted between factions, the reality of the exiles' removal from their native cities meant that this stability could be elusive. In this sense an interesting parallel might be drawn between the experience of the Friars, embodied by Salimbene, and Dante, one of the more famous exiles of the period. Salimbene's life overlapped with Dante's by twenty five years. Their bodies experienced the dislocation and disorder of the era in similar ways. Politically exiled, traces in Dante's writing reveal his efforts to renegotiate his authorial *auctoritas* in isolation from the thing upon which his *public fides* was inherently based: the city of Florence. On Dante's approach to history, Marjorie Reeves once wrote:

[Dante's] own experience of history was a deeply felt one which led him to the interpretation of divine signs in contemporary events. The suggestion here is that he

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<sup>478</sup> Brentano, 'Do Not Say', p.80

<sup>479</sup> Ibid

<sup>480</sup> Historical context: Daniel Waley, *The Italian City-Republics* (London; 1969); Tabacco, 'Struggle for Power', pp.256-67; Randolph Starn, *Contrary Commonwealth: The Theme of Exile in Medieval and Renaissance Italy* (Berkeley, CA; 1992)

believed in an illumination akin to Joachim's *intellectus spiritualis* which enabled the eyes of his mind to penetrate the inner spiritual senses of God's work in history.<sup>481</sup>

Based on Reeves' suggestion it could be argued that once denied the legitimating performances of his body in a civic context because of his enforced exile, Dante attempted to reconceptualise his body's experiences in a spiritual context creating a space in which his *auctoritas* could continue to be expressed in his writing. This is comparable to a tension that can be detected in Salimbene's writing. Despite the Franciscan's ideological rejection of the city as a means of self-identification, I have shown that the city and its discourses were still an important component in Salimbene's conception of his *auctoritas*, largely because it provided him a textual and contextual space in which it could be demonstrated. The tension, or rather the problem, is revealed in Salimbene's anxious attempts to recontextualise the city, its history and the activities he performed in it in a religious if not apocalyptic context. This is expressly illustrated by the way that prophecy functioned as means through which he could particularise the fate and history of Italy and its inhabitants as a reflection of the universal struggle.

Near the beginning of the contemporary portion of his *Cronica*, Salimbene writes: 'Frederick was an evil and accursed man, a schismatic, an heretic, and an epicurean, who defiled the whole earth, because he sowed the seeds of division and discord in the cities of Italy, which has lasted up until the present time.'<sup>482</sup> Frederick, of course, was a widely recognised apocalyptic figure in the thirteenth-century, even after his 'premature' death in 1250.<sup>483</sup> Through this comment, Salimbene at once, both skilfully and delicately, places Italy in a similarly apocalyptic context. He seems to suggest that the history of the fate and struggles of Northern Italy that follows his statement is meant to provide a singular reflection of the universal battle between the forces of good and the forces of Antichrist. While this example perhaps reflects a subtle approach, another example illustrates Salimbene's intentions more obviously: 'And the citizens of Reggio concerned themselves more with making and stockpiling weapons than with preserving the peace, in fulfilment of Michael Scot's prognostication written in verse: "Also, the parties of

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<sup>481</sup> Marjorie Reeves, 'The Bible and Literary Authorship in the Middle Ages', in *The Prophetic Sense of History in Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (Aldershot; 1999), pp.12-63 (36)

<sup>482</sup> Baird, p.5; Salimbene, p.31. For similar: Salimbene, p.380, 591

<sup>483</sup> Lerner, 'Alive', pp.359-84; Cohn, *Pursuit*, pp.108-26

Reggio will be at strife with one another.”<sup>484</sup> Despite the fact that the Papal-Imperial factions often provided only a generalised ‘cover’ for internal civic strife, Salimbene deftly signals the pending apocalypse with what in reality was a natural by-product of civil conflict through the direct reference to Michael Scot’s prophecy. Simultaneously he reinforces the authority of the prophecy and the authority of his own witness and spiritual understanding.

Salimbene’s habitual use of prophecy to order, structure and make sense of the events occurring around him meant that he was able to cultivate an intermediary position between the spiritual and material worlds. This facilitated the creation of a narrative strategy in which he turned ‘local’ events into a reflection of the apocalyptic situation that he inherently believed was occurring in his lifetime. Salimbene was not the first chronicler to attempt to turn Italy into a small-scale reflection of the wider world. In this respect his style is comparable to that of Bishop Sicard of Cremona, whose chronicle provided the basis for the ‘universal’ part of the *Cronica*. For both writers the representation of universal concepts was achieved through the use of singular examples. The material and historical realities of the strife that plagued Italy during the thirteenth century mean that they were customarily couched in ways that would associate them with the tribulations of Antichrist.<sup>485</sup> Salimbene acted as an interpreter of God’s mysteries or signs, deriving his authority from Joachim’s stipulation that ‘those who are then living will see.’ The following passage clearly reflects this role. Discussing the complexities of the war between the Church and the Empire, in a lengthy passage filled with sensational prose, emphasised and dramatised with Scripture, Salimbene writes:

And thus there was a bitter war in those days which lasted for many years, and men could not plow, nor plant, nor reap, nor plant vineyards, nor harvest the grapes, nor even live in villages[...]"And evils were multiplied in the earth" [I Maccabees 1.10]. Birds and wild beasts multiplied beyond all measure [...] because the villages were all burned down. The wolves gathered in great numbers around the moats of the cities, and howled from the pangs of hunger, and some got into the city at night and ate people

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<sup>484</sup> Baird, p.539; Salimbene, p.530

<sup>485</sup> For example: Salimbene, pp.163-64,190-91, 193

sleeping on their porches or in wagons [...] Nobody could believe unless they had seen as I have seen the horrible things done during that time.<sup>486</sup>

While these types of tribulations occupy a large and important space in Salimbene's narrative, it is important to emphasise that his conception of the Apocalypse was also underpinned by the hope and optimism provided by Joachim's concept of the Third Age. This meant that Salimbene's narration of the destruction that was occurring in Italy during the 'time between flesh and spirit' was often balanced with a sense of renewal.

In his discussion of the Franciscan concept of mission, E. R Daniel asserts that 'controversy over the role played by Joachite Apocalypticism in the development of Franciscan eschatology has tended to overshadow the fact that the Franciscan concept of mission is essentially an eschatology of renewal.'<sup>487</sup> Based on the evidence presented in Salimbene's narrative it seems likely that rather than 'overshadowing' the idea of renewal embodied by the Franciscan Order, the Joachite concept of the Third Age instead facilitated it. Even though the prominent place occupied by the history of his native city Parma could be construed as a demonstration of Salimbene's civic pride,<sup>488</sup> one example reveals how Salimbene incorporated the Franciscan concept of renewal in to his historical narrative. In one section, Salimbene provides a list of the public works and events that occurred in Parma between the years of 1196-1227. One entry stands out:

In this same year of 1207 St. Francis started the Order of the Friars Minor in the tenth year of Pope Innocent III's pontificate, and St. Francis lived in the Order for twenty full years.<sup>489</sup>

Although completely unrelated, by situating this entry in the midst of his chronological list, Salimbene cleverly connects the renewal of Parma's cityscape with the renewal that St. Francis embodied for the *universitas*. By integrating this somewhat inconsistent point into his account of the changes to Parma, he forces his readers to draw an otherwise unlikely parallel. He exploits the particularisation framework that he inherited from

<sup>486</sup> Baird, pp.181-2; Salimbene, pp.190-91. For similar: Salimbene, pp.35-36, 87-88, 193

<sup>487</sup> Daniel, *Concept of Mission*, p.27

<sup>488</sup> For instance, Salimbene credits Parma's defection from the Empire as one of the major causes of the Emperor Frederick II's complete destruction: Salimbene, p.342. For similar: pp.178-79, 190

<sup>489</sup> Baird, p.591; Salimbene, pp.584-85



Sicard of Cremona to include his own ideas of Joachite and Franciscan eschatology and provides an analogy for the destruction and period of rebuilding predicted in wider apocalyptic scenarios. Consequently, the creation of the Franciscan Order that Salimbene embeds within the renewal of the city of Parma illustrates the way he interpreted the universe and eschatological concepts through specific and often isolated historical events and attempted to communicate those interpretations in his text.

Salimbene's ministries in the cities of northern Italy meant that he was ideally placed to witness the tumultuous state of affairs that defined this territory throughout his lifetime. His self-professed understanding of all things prophetic and apocalyptic meant that he naturally deciphered the strife and conflict as a representation of the 'time between flesh and spirit' that Joachim had signalled. Through his performances as a Franciscan priest and preacher he was able to communicate this combination of bodily and spiritual experience to his live audiences; whether in the content of sermons or in his counsel of penitents. In fact, his activities as a priest centred on his ability to interpret, communicate and enforce religious messages to the populace. Based on these embodied acts, Salimbene equally envisages that his text will perform a similar function among his reading audience. Salimbene wrote in Latin, which was the universal language linking the Christian world. It can safely be assumed, however, that his audience was restricted to Franciscans living in Italian territories. At the same time that 'Italian matters' expressly enabled the expression of his agency both in social and spiritual terms, they also helped to establish a more meaningful and ultimately more productive relationship with his reading audience. The conflict, strife and destruction occurring in the Italian cities and landscapes provided a point of a shared experience between Salimbene and his audiences, both in his Franciscan performances and in his text. Through the narration of these shared experiences Salimbene positioned himself as an intermediary between prophecy and history.

In an event that occurred toward the end of his life and career in the Order, Salimbene finally reveals his fulfilment of Joachim's promise of the Franciscan *vir spiritualis*. This passage expressly reveals the relationship that Salimbene established between his role as a mediator between the spiritual and material worlds, his idea of Franciscan 'witnessing' and the demonstration of his *auctoritas* and agency in determining the signs and portents of God's mysteries in the present and for the future:

On Monday, June 4, of the same year [1285], there was an eclipse of the sun toward the hour of Vespers. It was only a partial eclipse, and few people saw it because the sky was cloudy that day. *I have seen many of these eclipses of the sun and moon and signs in the stars since I entered the Order.* And they take place not only because the Lord predicted they would, Luke 21 [.25]: “There shall be signs in the sun, in the moon, in the stars”, but also because they portend future events.<sup>490</sup>

While this thesis has been focussed on uncovering the context of Salimbene’s embodied experiences and the way they informed his writing, in this instance concentration on the textual construction of the passage speaks volumes: For this is a case where Salimbene’s Franciscan body is very obviously textually positioned between the event and its prophetic importance.

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Salimbene’s eschatological and prophetic outlook was deeply embedded in his text in a number of important and complex ways. In particular Joachite prophecy afforded him notable agency both for the way he constructed his text and for his work in the world as a Franciscan priest. The fusion of Joachite ideas in Franciscan thought meant that Salimbene textually and contextually cultivated a complex relationship between his role as a witness, interpreter of, and agent in, God’s divine plan. In turn, this relationship was deployed as a narrative strategy by which Salimbene could represent his immediate material social space as a mirror-image of universal themes. The ways in which Salimbene accomplished this effect, while sometimes subtle and often perplexing, were a direct product of the changing social, spiritual and cultural milieus that were penetrating late-thirteenth century history writing. Through the identification of his narrative achievements, with respect to the way in which he constructed and deployed prophecy and his eschatological expectations as narrative strategies, it becomes clear that it is Salimbene’s authorship, his own agency, which links the sometimes incongruous elements of his *Cronica*. The prophetic and apocalyptic scenarios that Salimbene saw and experienced through his position as a Franciscan friar became the strategy that linked the local to the universal, thereby maintaining the ‘universality’ associated with the form that he chose for his *Cronica*.

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<sup>490</sup> Baird, p.589, Salimbene, p. 584 (my emphasis)

### ***Frater Salimbene de ordine fratrum Minorum***

Nobody could believe, unless they had seen as I have seen...<sup>491</sup>

Salimbene de Adam's documentation of his personal experiences in his historical narrative is an inescapable element of his *Cronica*. These self-references not only attest to his presence in the world but also to the important and numerous ways in which he carried out his work in the Franciscan Order. The ubiquitous nature of these self-references is evidence of their importance to Salimbene, and in turn, this thesis has established their importance for the study of his *Cronica*. Generally, modern historiography has perceived his personal voice to be a sign of a self-indulgent vanity or an antecedent to autobiographical narrative. At the same time his alleged self-interest has led many historians to conclude that Salimbene was not a 'true' Franciscan and that he merely carried out his duties without any real religious or spiritual dedication.<sup>492</sup> These misunderstandings have caused historians to adopt approaches which have isolated Salimbene and his *Cronica* from the context provided by his work in the Order. Furthermore by adopting these methodologies historians have often considered the differing elements of his *Cronica* individually. This not only sustains the idea that it is an historiographical oddity but it also significantly marginalises Salimbene's authorship and agency in the construction of the narrative.

While Salimbene's narrator involvement is multifaceted, shifting focus from the document to the exchange between textual and embodied authority found in the *Cronica* has produced some interesting and often challenging results. I have shown that methodologically, as some historians have begun to realise, a flexible approach is needed to explore and to explain thirteenth-century historical production in order not to miss important discussions. At the same time, historians need to once again prioritise the role of the author, as both the holder of *auctoritas* and the primary agent. It might be possible to argue that this is not always possible due to the numerous anonymous sources on which medieval historians often rely: As this thesis reveals, however, the embodied acts, which the author or historian performed, provide an important and

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<sup>491</sup> Baird, p.182; Salimbene, p.191

<sup>492</sup> Brooke, *Franciscan Government*, p.55; Gurevich, *Individualism*, p204.' Lapanski, *Evangelical Perfection*, p.270 ; Smalley, *Historians*, p.163

instrumental way in which to explore both their agency and intentions in writing, regardless of whether the author is directly named.

The exploration of his narrator involvement has demonstrated some of the many ways in which Salimbene, as an author, witness and agent in the world, ordered, informed and gave purpose to his *Cronica*. It has become clear consequently that his personal presence in the *Cronica* is neither outright vanity nor un-considered. Changing social and religious milieus in the thirteenth century converged in the historiographical sphere to irrevocably impact upon the role of the historian and the types of testimony and material they employed to construct their histories. Contextualising the *Cronica* within these shifts undermines the premise that Salimbene's ubiquitous personal presence reflects 'an incessant preoccupation to assert and fashion his self-identity'.<sup>493</sup> Drawing the discussion away from the modern autobiographical discourses, which have supported these ideas, has allowed a more focussed view of the unique historiographical context, in which the *Cronica* was produced. In particular, I have been able to show that the narration of Salimbene's personal experiences, and in fact his persona in the text, is reflective largely of a need to construct and exercise authority in writing history.

The recovery of the many ways in which Salimbene's Franciscan experience shaped and informed his text provides the most indisputable justification for the methodology which underpins this thesis. In prioritising both his authorship and his deployment of *auctoritas* in the construction of his text, this thesis has revealed that Salimbene's performances in the Order clearly translated into narrative strategies, which provided the social, spiritual and ideological foundations of the *Cronica*. Salimbene's performances reflect embodied frameworks of writing that informed and shaped the structures, narrative style and descriptive parameters of his text, but also, importantly, they facilitated his purposes in writing. Through his physical performances as an historian, preacher, confessor and priest, Salimbene developed a body-centred approach to writing history. This not only encapsulates the way his own body was fundamentally engaged both as an author and witness, but also to the ways in which the performances of the Franciscan Order provided an associative logic to the ostensibly confusing generic structures of the *Cronica*. Changes in the eschatological and social milieus in the thirteenth century,

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<sup>493</sup> Husain, 'Writing Identity', p.267

inspired largely by the influence of Joachimite concepts and the formalisation of confession, combined with the itinerant lifestyle of the Order to mean that ‘the body’, whether it was Salimbene’s or his fellow brothers, acquired special significance. The Franciscan body subsequently provided a centre in which apocalyptic expectations of the role of the *viri spirituales* in the End Times and the social status accrued through preaching and confession performances found expression. Simultaneously, through their performances, the Franciscans’ spiritual objectives became socialised and their social functions spiritualised: a dynamic which is clearly evident in Salimbene’s *Cronica*.

Each of Salimbene’s roles in the Order converged to create his distinctive engagement in the world and in his text. Exploring them individually, however, has allowed the construction of a flexible framework in which the multifaceted dimensions of his narrative involvement could be demonstrated. In contrast to many historians who have failed to discuss the universal form of Salimbene’s *Cronica* with any significant meaning, analysing his tasks as an historian challenged some long-standing assumptions in modern historiography. By disputing the twelfth-century archetype model from a formalist and social perspective, a more flexible view of universal history emerges, one that is based on an understanding of its conceptual and ideological associations with the Christian community. This approach revealed that Salimbene’s choice to ‘contain’ his eyewitness testimony in universal form was specific and considered. It provided him with a broad and stable framework, and, because of its integral links with the salvation process of the Christian community, it also acted as a device which conferred authority and power. While there is little doubt that Salimbene approached the generic structures of his *Cronica* with an inherent flexibility, nevertheless the different elements, by which it was constructed, were grounded firmly in the distinctive social and ideological milieus that were coming to pervade the historiographical sphere during the thirteenth century. Themes traditionally associated with universal history, such as salvation, the Empire and the Papacy featured prominently in the *Cronica*. At the same time, ‘universal history’ was employed as a type of tool, which Salimbene used to provide narrative structure and social meaning to the world in which he lived. As a result, he was able to supplement the structure of his narrative with ideological layers, which exploited universal history’s traditional authority and potential to both construct and historicise his vision of the Christian community in the present and for the future. The intricate ways in which

Salimbene manipulated the formal and ideological characteristics of universal history based on principles and concepts that justified his Franciscan experiences, illustrates the extent to which notions of authority and authorisation underpinned his strong authorial presence.

Salimbene's authorial presence in the *Cronica* is articulated through three general narrative 'voices': the historical, the de-centred or ethical and the embodied agent. With respect to the latter, one of the more significant observations made in this thesis is with regard to the way Salimbene's narrative presence represents both the construction and deployment of an embodied theory of *auctoritas*. As the body acquired increasing significance through their travels, the physical and performance-orientated nature of the Franciscan preaching culture equally influenced ideas of an extra-textual location of authority. The Franciscan preacher was authorised not only institutionally through the Church, but more importantly through their ability to embody and exercise charisma in their preaching performances. Many of Salimbene's personal narratives were inserted into his text as both demonstration and evidence of his charismatic presence. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the thrice repeated phrase regarding Pope Innocent IV, 'for I was next to him and always touching him.'<sup>494</sup> Phrases such as this highlight Salimbene's continual awareness of his own body and those of others. Additionally, they reveal the way that *auctoritas* was held, illustrated and exercised by the body, often in participation with other performing bodies.

Yet Salimbene's awareness of his body did not really equal an awareness of 'Self.' Despite the persistence of modern historians that the confession process, formalised during the thirteenth century, incited or led to the creation of 'unique' and 'self-conscious literary characters',<sup>495</sup> this does not seem to be the case for Salimbene. Even the narration of his 'ecstatic' vision of Christ and his ubiquitous physical presence in the text allows an intimate glimpse of his personality, this does not mean that he held an individualised sense of 'Self' based on the dialogue of the confessional. Confession nevertheless did have an important role to play in the way Salimbene both understood and presented himself in the *Cronica*. It provided a space in which his religious objectives as a Franciscan became socialised as confession quickly gained an important

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<sup>494</sup> Salimbene, p.174: Eram enim iuxta eum et semper eum tangebam

<sup>495</sup> Meyer, 'Middle English Corpus', p.xi

place in the Franciscan mission of salvation after the *Omnis utriusque sexus* decree of Lateran IV. This socially important role was translated into his narrative in the way he engaged in the thirteenth century predilection for constructing and instructing the Christian society. Personal details and reference to the credentials of family, acquaintances and 'personal friends' were put at the service of his *auctoritas* as he sought to 'transform' the social and religious behaviour of the Christian community in preparation for the new age.

Salimbene's awareness of his mission, his body, his agency and of the way he was able to both cultivate and exercise his *auctoritas* was engendered and sustained by his position in the Franciscan Order. The Order provided more than the institutional backing and ethical community that facilitated the exercise of Salimbene's *auctoritas* as agency; it also shaped his social and spiritual objectives, which, when fused with the Joachite prophecy of the Third Age and *virī spirituales*, became an ideologically charged mission in the world. Due to this mission Salimbene carved out an integral role for himself as a witness, interpreter and agent in God's divine plan. The terms of this relationship are articulated clearly in the way that political prophecy provided a 'bridge' between his eschatological expectations and the historical realities of thirteenth century Italy. Prophecy also acted as a space in which Salimbene cultivated an important contextual and textual role as a mediator between the spiritual and material worlds. In this role, the analysis of Salimbene's authorial presence, which began with his tasks as an historian, essentially comes full circle. In this sense, Salimbene wielded universal history as a tool to negotiate a textual and embodied authority with which he was able to offer his immediate social and religious world as a small-scale mirror image of universal themes.

While Salimbene offers perhaps the most immediate and obvious way to observe the dynamic exchange between textuality and performance due to his continual personal presence, this thesis perhaps only represents a starting point for this type of methodology. While Bert Roest nominated the twentieth as the 'century of Salimbene studies',<sup>496</sup> Salimbene still has much to offer the twenty-first century historian. Historiographically, the possibilities seem endless. One such possibility would be the application of this sort of exploration to other contemporary histories. Of course the

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<sup>496</sup> Roest, *Reading the Book*, p.22

comparison that immediately springs to mind, one that has been touched on briefly by eminent historians such as Robert Brentano and Beryl Smalley, is with that other 'loud and obtrusive voice' of the thirteenth century: Matthew Paris. The Franciscans made a decisive break with their monastic predecessors both in their itinerant lifestyle and in their performances. A comparison between the narrative styles of Salimbene and his more sedentary contemporary Matthew would perhaps push performance orientated methodology to its limits. Yet based on the conclusions drawn from Salimbene it is likely that the results would be equally dynamic and challenging. Foremost, however, would be comparisons with universal chronicles such as those of Salimbene's fellow Franciscans Thomas Tuscus and Paulinus of Venice, although they do not have the same ubiquitous 'I'. It is through these comparisons that the Franciscan 'Experience' that is so persuasively and powerfully manifest in Salimbene's work could truly be explored.

Salimbene de Adam's Franciscan 'Experience' was manifold. This thesis has not only challenged the perception that Salimbene was not a 'true' Franciscan but has provided an illustration of the extent to which Salimbene's Franciscan life was imbricated in his text. The Order gave him a structure and purpose with which to undertake important work in the world: 'to aid in its salvation' as he says.<sup>497</sup> This mission both encouraged and justified the history that he wrote. Furthermore, because of his mission and the performances by which it was comprised, Salimbene's *Cronica* became a virtual embodiment of his work as a Franciscan. Through his strong authorial engagement he revealed his body as vessel in which *auctoritas* was both held and exercised. His embodied performances provided frameworks for his writing activities which meant that his text therefore became an extension of his *auctoritas* and was intended to carry on his mission in the world. The conclusions that have been drawn from this discussion are important not only to reinvigorate the study of Salimbene's *Cronica*. Fundamentally this thesis has demonstrated that writing activities reflect embodied experiences. This not only rehabilitates the agency of the late-medieval historian but utilises a methodology that begins to untangle the experience of the medieval author from the inflexible constraints and theories which are often imposed in modern historiography.

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<sup>497</sup> Salimbene, p.441



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