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RIVISTA DI STUDI STORICI E FRANCESCANI

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# PICENUM SERAPHICUM

## RIVISTA DI STUDI STORICI E FRANCESCANI

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Note

# New Evidence for the Reception of the Michaelist Treatise *Allegationes de potestate imperiali* (1338-39): The *Parvum Decretum* of Pierre Ceffons and the *Somnium Viridarii*

Chris Schabel, Roberto Lambertini

The so-called *Allegationes de potestate imperiali* is among many treatises composed by Franciscans who, under the leadership of Michael of Cesena, rebelled against Pope John XXII and supported Emperor Louis of Bavaria<sup>1</sup>. William of Ockham and Bonagratia of Bergamo are mentioned in some manuscripts as its authors, while the later *Chronica de ducibus Bavariae* even assigns the *Allegationes* to Francis of Marchia and Ockham together<sup>2</sup>. These attributions should not be taken at face value, however, as the British scholar Hilary Seton Offler has shown. In 1986 in the venerable *Deutsches Archiv*, Offler published one of his few articles devoted to the *Allegationes*<sup>3</sup>, arguing at length and convincingly that it is impossible to ascribe this work to a single author, although people active at the court of Louis of Bavaria, such as Bonagratia and Ockham, likely exerted some influence on the various versions. Offler designates what he considers to be the first redaction as “G”, while he calls one of the later redactions “Z”. The latter version is a reworking and expansion of “G” inserted into the collection of texts with commentary known as the *Chronicle of Nicholas the Minorite*, but extant in just two of the manuscripts of the *Chronicle* (Paris, BnF, lat. 5154 and BAV,

<sup>1</sup> Excerpts from this work were published in R. Scholz, *Unbekannte kirchenpolitische Streitschriften aus der Zeit Ludwigs des Bayerns (1327-1354)*, Teil II: *Texte*, Rome 1914, pp. 417-431.

<sup>2</sup> *Chronica de ducibus Bavariae*, in *Bayerische Chroniken des XIV. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by G. Leidinger (MGH *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, 19), Hannover-Leipzig 1918, p. 164: Available also online URL = <[https://www.dmg.de/mgh\\_ss\\_rer\\_germ\\_19/index.htm#page/164/mode/1up](https://www.dmg.de/mgh_ss_rer_germ_19/index.htm#page/164/mode/1up)> (last visited 15 november 2020)

<sup>3</sup> H.S. Offler, *Zum Verfasser der ‘Allegaciones de potestate imperiali’ (1338)*, «*Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*», 42 (1986), pp. 555-619; at p. 555. Offler thanks Jürgen Miethke, who had mediated the publication of the article in the prestigious journal of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, for his encouragement and assistance. The paper has been reprinted with the original pagination in H.S. Offler, *Church and Crown in the Fourteenth Century. Studies in European History and Political Thought*, ed. by A.I. Doyle, Aldershot *et alii* 2000, study no. VI.

Vat. lat. 4008). According to Offler, the *Allegationes* are a “collective enterprise” of the Michaelist dissidents, although redaction “G” seems to be influenced more by Bonagrata of Bergamo’s style and attitude, while “Z” reveals a more distinctive Ockhamistic flavor<sup>4</sup>.

Offler died in 1991, but his edition of the *Allegationes* was not published in Ockham’s *Opera Politica* until more than a decade after the *Deutsches Archiv* article<sup>5</sup>. In the meantime, another enterprise was almost independently brought to an end. In 1996 Gedeon Gál (with David Flood’s help for the historical commentary and the English summaries of the documents) edited the so-called *Chronicle of Nicholas the Minorite*, in a Franciscan Institute volume that was intended to be “a Source Book”<sup>6</sup>. The last piece of the collection of documents constitutes the *Allegationes* (version “Z”), although Gál preferred the title *Tractatus de potestate papae*, most probably because he found it in the manuscript of the *Chronicle* on which he based his edition, namely Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 5154. As Jürgen Miethke remarked in his balanced but critical review article, Offler’s contribution had been completely ignored<sup>7</sup>.

Volume IV of Ockham’s *Opera Politica*, containing both authentic works of the *Venerabilis Inceptor* and some *dubia* (among which Offler included the *Allegationes*), was published posthumously under Offler’s name in 1997, one year after Gál and Flood had completed their task. Today the *Allegationes* treatise is therefore available in two printed editions: Gál transcribed redaction “Z” under the title *Tractatus de potestate papae* from the most reliable witness of the last section of the so-called *Chronicle of Nicholas the Minorite*, while Offler offered a critical edition of the text, in which the *apparatus criticus* records the variants between redactions “G” and “Z”.

In the context of Chris Schabel’s wider project concerning the Cistercian Pierre Ceffons<sup>8</sup>, we have identified a new witness to the *Allegationes*: Ceffons’ *Parvum Decretum*

<sup>4</sup> Offler, *Zum Verfasser* cit., pp. 616-617: here Offler argues persuasively that some passages in redaction “Z” are closer to Ockham’s position. The question of the authorship of this redaction, however, remains open; see also Id., *Introduction to Allegationes de potestate imperiali*, in William of Ockham, *Opera politica*, IV, ed. by H.S. Offler, Oxford et alii 1997, pp. 362-363.

<sup>5</sup> *Allegationes de potestate imperiali*, *ibid.*, pp.367-444.

<sup>6</sup> *Nicolaus Minorita:Chronica. Documentation on Pope John XXII, Michael of Cesena and the Poverty of Christ with Summaries in English. A Source Book*, ed. by G. Gál e D. Flood, St. Bonaventure NY, 1996.

<sup>7</sup> J. Miethke, *Der erste vollständige Druck der sogenannten “Chronik des Nicolaus Minorita” (von 1330-1338). Bemerkungen zur Präsentation eines “Farbbuches” des 14. Jahrhunderts*, «Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters», 54 (1998), pp. 623-642, in part. p. 636; for further information on the manuscripts tradition and an attempt at a new interpretation of the *Chronicle*, see H.J Mierau, *Die sog. ‘Chronica n. minorita’: Rezeptionswege und das sich wandelnde Bild von Johannes XXII.*, in *Papst Johannes XXII. Konzepte und Verfahren seines Pontifikats*, hrsg von H.-J.Schmidt e M- Rohde, Berlin-Boston 2014, pp. 427-465; this article deserves attention, since some of Mierau’s claims need a critical examination. As she does not directly deal with the *Allegationes*, however, a discussion would be inappropriate for the present note.

<sup>8</sup> C. Schabel, *Pierre Ceffons et le déterminisme radical au temps de peste noire*, Paris 2019, p. 57, and Id., *Pierre Ceffons*, in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Philosophy*, ed. by H. Lagerlund, Dordrecht 2020 <[http://doi-org-443.webvpn.fjmu.edu.cn/10.1007/978-94-024-1665-7\\_558Z](http://doi-org-443.webvpn.fjmu.edu.cn/10.1007/978-94-024-1665-7_558Z)> (last visited 15 November 2020). On Ceffons and his works, see also D. Trapp, *Peter Ceffons of Clairvaux*, «Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale», 24 (1957), pp. 101-154, and C. Schabel, *Lucifer princeps tenebrarum... The Epistola Luciferi and Other Correspondence of the Cistercian Pierre Ceffons (fl. 1348-1353)*, «Vivarium», 56 (2008), pp. 126-175, esp. pp. 140-145.

*de potestate sancti Petri*, written in the early 1350s and, like the *Allegationes* itself, also incorporated into a larger work, in this case in Ceffons' questions on Book IV of the *Sentences*, based on lectures originally delivered at the Bernardins in Paris in 1348-49<sup>9</sup>. Accordingly, the *Parvum Decretum* exhibits the structure of a typical scholastic *quaestio*, centered around the problem of the scope of papal authority. More precisely, Ceffons asks whether the authority of the Supreme Pontiff in temporal matters is somehow extended over the secular princes<sup>10</sup>. The text is divided into three distinctions, the second of which is devoted to the arguments of the opponents of papal claims in the temporal sphere. Part of this second distinction consists of the *rationes* that Ceffons claims to have found in a quire (*quaternus*). Unlike in most cases, Ceffons is uncertain of the authorship of the *rationes*, but he thinks that Marsilius of Padua or John of Jandun was responsible. In reality, it turns out that Ceffons quotes passages from the *Allegationes*.

A comparison demonstrates that the quotations are reproduced mostly verbatim:

1)

<i>Allegationes</i> , ed. Offler, p. 376	Ceffons, <i>Parvum Decretum</i> <sup>11</sup>
... quoniam temporale dominium universalis iurisdictionis derogat et obviat Christi et apostolicae paupertati, humilitati, charitati ac etiam aequitati et honestati. Derogat, inquam, Christi et apostolicae paupertati. Quoniam paupertas Christi et apostolica consistit in voluntaria renuntiatione et expropriatione regni et imperii temporalis ac cuiuslibet terreni domini.	Dominium universalis iurisdictionis derogat et obviat apostolicae paupertati, caritati et honestati, humilitati. Derogat inquam, apostolicae paupertati quia paupertas apostolica consistit in voluntaria renuntiatione et expropriatione regni et imperii temporalis et cuiuscumque terreni domini.

2)

<i>Allegationes</i> , ed. Offler, p. 381	Ceffons, <i>Parvum Decretum</i>
Tertio ostenditur quod tale regnum et imperium temporale et terrenum obviat Christi et apostolicae charitati. Quoniam Christi et apostolicae charitatis erat principes saeculi ad fidem catholicam attrahere et inducere, et non eos a fide avertere et retrahere. Si autem Christus et Apostoli regnum et imperium totius orbis sibi vindicassent, tunc ipsi a fide principes saeculi, qui sua regna et imperia non libenter dimittebant avertissent et retraxissent.	Tertio tale regnum et imperium obviat apostolicae caritati, quoniam apostolicae caritatis erat principes saeculi ad fidem catholicam attrahere et inducere, et non eos a fide avertere et retrahere. Si autem Christus et apostoli regnum et imperium totius orbis sibi vindicassent, tunc Christus a fide principes saeculi qui bona regna et imperia non libenter dimittebant avertissent et retraxissent.

<sup>9</sup> Schabel, *Pierre Ceffons* cit., pp. 50-54.

<sup>10</sup> For an excellent discussion of the debates on papal power from Aquinas to Ockham, see J. Miethke, *De potestate pape. Die päpstliche Amtskompetenz im Widerstreit der politischen Theorie von Thomas von Aquin bis Wilhelm von Ockham*, Tübingen 2000; Italian translation under the title *Ai Confini del potere. Il dibattito sulla potestas papale da Tommaso d'Aquino a Guglielmo d'Ockham*, Padova 2005.

<sup>11</sup> This text used for these comparisons was established by Chris Schabel on the basis of the entire manuscript tradition and will be available in our forthcoming edition of the *Parvum Decretum*.



As mentioned above, the tradition of the *Allegationes* can be divided in two main versions: Ceffons's quire was closer to "Z", that is, the later revision inserted into the *Chronicle of Nicholas the Minorite*. A comparison thus shows that, when the two versions diverge, the *Parvum Decretum* follows rather "Z":

3)

<i>Allegationes</i> , ed. Offler, p. 377	Version "Z", ed. Gál, p. 1172	Ceffons, <i>Parvum Decretum</i>
Renuntiatio autem universalis domini bonorum temporalium et retentio universalis domini regni vel imperii temporalis paupertati Christi et apostolicae obviat et repugnat. Quare retentio universalis domini regni vel imperii temporalis paupertati Christi et apostolicae obviat et repugnat.	Renuntiatio autem universalis domini bonorum temporalium et retentio universalis domini <u>ipsorum directe ad invicem obviat et repugnant</u> , quare universalis retentio universalis regni et imperii temporalis paupertati Christi et apostolicae obviat et repugnat. Unde beatus Hilarius super psalmo 69 dicit sic: "Egenus et pauper sum; Dominus adiuvat me. Neque regis dignitati neque regni opulentiae paupertatis ac inopiae professio congruit, sed eius qui ut nos ditisceremus peuperem se praestitit, cui ne ad Paschae quidem cenam nisi quesita et aliena domus fuerit. Adiuvaré se itaque rogat. In forma enim servi, oboediens usque ad mortem crucis factus est". Haec Hilarius.	Renuntiatio autem universalis domini bonorum temporalium et retentio universalis domini <u>ipsorum obviant recte ad invicem et repugnant</u> . Quare retentio universalis domini regni vel imperii temporalis apostolicae paupertatis obviare et repugnare videtur. Unde beatus Hilarius super Psalmo 69 dicit sic: "Egenus et pauper sum, dominus adiuvat me. Nec est regni dignitatis nec est regni opulentiae paupertati atque inopiae professio congruit" <sup>12</sup> .
Item, illa, quae Apostoli ex summa perfectione virtutis semel reliquerunt...	Item, illa quae Apostoli ex summa perfectione virtutis semel reliquerunt...	Et infra: "Adiuvari se itaque rogat in forma servi, cum oboediens usque crucis mortem factus est". Hec Hilarius. Item, illa quae apostoli ex summa perfectione virtutis semel reliquerunt...

4)

<i>Allegationes</i> , ed. Offler, p. 380	Version "Z", ed. Gál, p. 1174	Ceffons, <i>Parvum Decretum</i>
...terrores minime timere, pro veritate adversa diligere, prospera formidanda declinare, quia et ista saepe per tumorem cor inquinant et illa per dolorem purgant. Haec sanctus Gregorius.	...terrores minime timere, pro veritate adversa diligere, prospera <u>formidando</u> declinare, quia et ista saepe per <u>timorem</u> cor inquinant et illa per dolorem purgant. Haec Gregorius. Item, beatus Augustinus Super Psalmis exponens illum versiculum Et in cathedra pestilentiae non sedit, dicit sic:	...terrores minime timere, pro veritate adversa diligere, prospera <u>formidando</u> declinare, quia ista saepe per <u>timorem</u> coinquinant et illa per dolorem purgant. Haec Gregorius. Beatus quoque Augustinus super Psalmis, exponens illum versiculum <i>Et in cathedra pestilentiae non sedit</i> dicit sic:

<sup>12</sup> This sentence is grammatically flawed, probably because Ceffons or a scribe misread "nec<sub>3</sub>" as "nec est" rather than "neque". The *Somnium Viridarii* (see below) copies Ceffons' text, but, perhaps realizing the faulty grammar, the *Somnium* replaces "congruit" with "etc." and the French translation then opts for paraphrase.

Item, beatus Augustinus in epistola ad fratres Madaurenses...	“Regnum terrenum cum superbia noluit”. Haec Augustinus. Item, Augustinus ad fratres Madaurenses...	“Regnum terrenum cum superbia noluit”. Haec Augustinus. Item Augustinus in epistola ad fratres Madaurenses...
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As a matter of fact, Ceffons does not reproduce the text of the *Allegationes* in its totality. A closer examination reveals that the quotations found in the *Parvum Decretum* derive from only two of the seven *articuli* into which the text is divided in Offler's edition. To make a quantitative comparison easier, while the whole treatise occupies 77 printed pages, Ceffons inserts into his work texts deriving from the first 16 pages of Offler's edition. The relationship is quite similar vis-à-vis the Gál-Flood edition: the text covers 74 pages, but the *Parvum Decretum* reproduces portions of text that are contained on 14 pages.

It is possible that Ceffons adopted a very selective attitude toward the text, limiting himself to arguments that he found more relevant to the purposes of his *quaestio*. Given the distribution of the quotations, however, all concentrated in the first part of the treatise, it is more likely that the *quaternus* that came into the hands of our Cistercian monk already contained only a part of the *Allegationes*.

The critical edition of the *Parvum Decretum*, which is currently in progress, has therefore brought to light a new, although fragmentary, witness of the *Allegationes de potestate imperiali*. This discovery illustrates how a treatise produced at the court of Louis of Bavaria in support of his policies circulated more widely than one would assume solely on the basis of the extant manuscripts (Offler's edition is based on six witnesses<sup>13</sup>, to which a paraphrase must be added). In the early 1350s, just after the Black Death, when the Michaelist rebellion against John XXII was history and its main figures had already passed away, a Cistercian theologian active in Paris had at his disposition the *Allegationes* or at least a fragment thereof. Although he did not know who exactly had drafted the text (and in fact made a very imprecise conjecture), he considered the arguments contained in it as representative of the anti-papal position.

The discovery of this new witness is not so much important from a philological point of view, since the text transmitted by the *Parvum Decretum* is not likely to be useful for improving Offler's editorial work, but rather as evidence for the lasting influence of the *Allegationes*. We have identified three surviving copies of the *Parvum Decretum*, one of which was in the papal library in Avignon, in addition a fourth in the sole extant copy of the Ceffons' questions on the *Sentences*. Moreover, in a forthcoming article, we will demonstrate that, through Ceffons' *Parvum Decretum*, in the 1370s some passages of the *Allegationes* were inserted by Evrart de Tramaugon into his *Somnium Viridarii* among the arguments put forward by the *miles*. Specifically, the bulk of 18 chapters of book II of the *Somnium*, almost 200 lines, come verbatim or paraphrased from distinction 2, chapter 2 of Ceffons' *Parvum Decretum*, material itself

<sup>13</sup> Unfortunately, there are a couple of errors on p. 362 of Offler's introduction to his edition: 'Vat. lat. 48' must be corrected to '4008', while 'ff. 2r-211r', should be 'ff. 200r-211r'.

taken verbatim or paraphrased from the *Allegationes*. In his seminal article about the sources of the *Somnium*, Carl Müller had guessed that the passages in question derived from the literary output of the Munich dissidents<sup>14</sup>, but pointed to a rather vague resemblance with Michael of Cesena's *Litterae deprecatoriae*<sup>15</sup>. The very texts he inserts in a long footnote, however, are taken from the *Allegationes*. The *Somnium* itself survives in seven manuscripts and an early printing, but thanks to the *Somnium*'s popular translation into the vernacular as *Le Songe du Verger*, almost all of the arguments from the *Allegationes* that had made their way into the *Somnium* became widely available to an audience that could not read Latin<sup>16</sup>, expanding, albeit tacitly, the influence of the Michaelist text.

<sup>14</sup> C. Müller, *Über das Somnium Viridarii, Beitrag zur Geschichte der Literatur über Kirche und Staat im XIV. Jahrhundert*, «Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht», 14 (1877), pp. 134-205, in especially pp. 143-146; Müller admits, however, that the use of Michael of Cesena's letter «nicht so wörtlich ist» (p. 143, note 7).

<sup>15</sup> Schnerb-Lièvre is aware of the weakness of Müller's conjecture: *Introduction to Somnium Viridarii*, ed. by M. Schnerb-Lièvre, 2 vols., Paris 1995, vol. I, p. xxx. Michael of Cesena's *Litterae Deprecatoriae* are printed in M. Goldast, *Monarchia S. Romani Imperii*, II, Frankfurt 1614, pp. 1344-1360. On this text, see C. Dolcini, *Il pensiero politico di Michele da Cesena 1328-1338*, in Id., *Crisi di poteri e politologia in crisi. Da Sinibaldo Fieschi a Guglielmo d'Ockham*, Bologna 1988, especially pp. 152 and 199-212, with reference to previous scholarship.

<sup>16</sup> For example, the text used above for comparison number 3 is copied into the *Somnium Viridarii*, II, c. LV, nn. 2-3, ed. by Schnerb-Lièvre, vol. II, p. 30 (repeating Ceffons' errors in copying the *Allegationes*' quotation from Hilary), and then translated into French (the chapter numbers do not always correspond) in *Le Songe du Vergier*, II, c. LIII, nn. 2-3, ed. by M. Schnerb-Lièvre, 2 vols., Paris 1982, vol. II, p. 41 (cutting the flawed Hilary quotation short and resorting to paraphrase). The chapters in question are the odd-numbered chapters XXXIX-LXXIII of book II of the *Somnium* (pp. 22-40), mostly translated within the odd-numbered chapters XXXIX-LXVII of the *Songe* (pp. 30-52).