

Alexander Patschovsky, *Ein kurialer Ketzerprozeß in Avignon (1354): die Verurteilung der Franziskanerspiritualen Giovanni di Castiglione und Francesco d'Arquata* (Monumenta Germaniae Historica Studien und Texte 64), Harrassowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden 2018.

In 1353 two men were caught in Montpellier by servants of Midi's inquisitor. These men, Giovanni di Castiglione and Francesco d'Arquata were Franciscans, the first a priest and the latter a lay brother. Both were suspected of heresy, more precisely of belonging to the Spiritual Franciscans, proponents of extreme poverty within the Franciscan order who had been persecuted as heretics since 1318. In their trials in the hands of the inquisitor in Carcassonne and later in papal curia in Avignon, a little book, *parvus libellus*, containing a declaration of their faith and a list of martyred Spirituals, proved to be a crucial and fatal piece of evidence. Equally important for our understanding of late medieval heresy is this *parvus libellus* by Alexander Patschovsky, containing a careful edition of the sources and an introduction by one of the foremost scholars of medieval heresy and inquisition. It is published in the Monumenta Germaniae Historica subseries Studien und Texte.

The edition presents the proceedings of the inquisition against Giovanni di Castiglione and Francesco d'Arquata led by the Cistercian cardinal Guillaume Court to whom Pope Innocent VI had entrusted the matter in spring 1354. The proceedings are divided into thirteen parts: (1) the procedural formalities and commission by Innocent VI as well as the beginning of the inquisition against Giovanni di Castiglione; (2) Giovanni's declaration of faith (*confessio*) extracted from 'the little book'; (3) a list of 113 martyred Spirituals from 'the little book'; (4) continuation of Giovanni's interrogation; (5) an extract from the proceedings against Giovanni in Carcassonne in 1353; (6) the end of Giovanni's interrogation; (7) the beginning of Francesco d'Arquata's interrogation; (8) Francesco's declaration of faith extracted from 'the little book'; (9) continuation of Francesco's interrogation; (10) a description of the process by Cardinal Guillaume Court, fragment; (11) the final sentence of Giovanni di Castiglione as an obstinate and impenitent heretic; (12) the degradation of Giovanni from priesthood; (13) the final sentence of Francesco d'Arquata as a relapsed and impenitent heretic; (14) a sermon against the two heretics by Guillaume Court. The edition has both a critical apparatus of variant readings as well as detailed commentary footnotes. These are work of a careful and experienced editor and have significant added value to scholars of medieval heresy, pointing out for example similarities between the sentences declared in 1354 and formularies in Bernard Gui's *Practica inquisitionis* (Nr. 11–13). All in all, the edition takes about half of the book's 154 pages.

The edition is preceded by an introduction that provides the reader with the necessary historical background of the process and explains its course, persons involved, and the preceding events in Montpellier and Carcassonne. It is sufficiently detailed but not too long, and it gives the reader enough information so that they can plunge into the sometimes challenging heresy proceedings. For more expert readers, the description of manuscript transmission offers insights into how information about heresy spread in the fourteenth century, and finally, the editorial choices are explicated in sufficient detail.

This is an important book for two reasons. Firstly, the story it tells is absolutely thrilling. This might be rarely said about an edition of medieval Latin documents with a German introduction, but it is true. Giovanni di Castiglione's and Francesco d'Arquata's story is exciting and touching. The two men had met in the town of Sant' Angelo (probably the one in Apulia) in 1353 and decided to make a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela. Their route took them through Midi, and in Montpellier the servants of the inquisitor of Carcassonne, apparently supervising the flow of pilgrims in case of suspicious characters, caught them. Giovanni and Francesco had in their possession the already mentioned 'little book', the contents of which quickly revealed to the inquisitor Amédée de Langres that they were Spiritual Franciscans. In Carcassonne's inquisitor's prison, they were held in harsh conditions, suffering from cold, thirst and lack of food, so that Francesco d'Arquata eventually confessed and abjured heresy in order to get released. Giovanni di Castiglione later told Guillaume Court that he was at times forced to drink his own urine to quell his thirst. However, the events took an unexpected turn: the papal curia in Avignon took the process to its own hands, which was rare. Usually, the papacy delegated inquiries into heresy to specifically nominated inquisitors, and the curia was, if anything, a court of appeal. It was not the case with Giovanni di Castiglione and Francesco d'Arquata. The possible reason for the papacy's involvement was, so according to Patschovsky (p. 20–21), to win converts in the highly political question of Franciscan poverty. Also, the two Spirituals seem to have been protégés of an influential figure in Italian politics, count Louis of Durazzo.

During the interrogations, Cardinal Guillaume Court seems genuine in his patient attempts to make the two accused to recant their heresy. Also, since the curia's involvement, the accused were treated relatively well and provided with all the necessities. However, the cardinal's hopes were in vain: both men stood steadfastly in their faith, refusing to abjure heresy. When Guillaume Court offered Giovanni di Castiglione his prayers on behalf of the accused's soul, Giovanni responded with bravado: "I am in the way of salvation and truth, and I do not need your prayers. You, on the other hand, are in error and away from the way of truth and more in need of our prayers" (p. 80). The process ended as one can expect from such words: the two men were handed over to secular justice and burned as heretics in June 1354.

Secondly, the book has excellent timing. There is growing interest in late medieval heresy, marked for example by the recent (2018) volume *Late Medieval Heresy: New Perspectives*, (ed. by Michael D. Bailey and Sean L. Field) and the related sessions in the 2019 Leeds IMC. The on-going scholarly discussion will significantly benefit from this book. The proceedings and other documents edited by Patschovsky did not remain in Avignon but influenced late medieval persecution of heresy. None other than the Dominican inquisitor Nicolaus Eymerich owned at least the list of martyred Spirituals (Manuscript E, pp. 28–29). The proceedings against Giovanni di Castiglione and Francesco d'Arquata reached such hotbeds of late medieval heresy as Mainz (Manuscript M, pp. 30–32) and Prague at the turn of the fifteenth century (Manuscript P, p. 32). It is therefore high time to have a critical edition of these texts, so far available only in a partial nineteenth-century edition in Döllinger's *Sektengeschichte 2*, a source collection of notoriously poor quality.

The book deserves very few critical remarks. Naming conventions are complicated, and it is hardly possible to find a perfect solution. The edition follows name forms of the sources, with moderate normalisation (see p. 47.) The convention followed in the introduction is not explicated, but the known historical figures, such as the Cardinal Guillaume Court appear in their established, localised name form. Less known persons, for example, notaries and some witnesses, maintain their Latin form, so we have Karlinus Sicapanis and Guilelmus Textoris. However, the main characters are given Italian, normalised names Giovanni di Castiglione and Francesco d'Arquata. The reason is, quite justifiably, brevity and clarity (see p. 2). However, with the normalisation of Archata to Arquata, the author might have been too bold. As he admits, one can only assume that the place in question is Arquata del Tronto in Marche. In order to avoid that an assumption becomes a fact, it might have been better to maintain the Latin Archata.

It is also worth considering how unavoidable capital punishment was for a relapsed heretic. In the introduction, Patschovsky states that Francesco d'Arquata had no possibility to survive the process alive, as he had abjured heresy in front of Carcassonne's inquisitor and then revoked his abjuration (p. 13, 19). It is true that the punishment for a relapsus was death. However, the proceedings give an impression that Guillaume Court repeatedly tried to make Francesco save himself, and perhaps not only his soul. The horrible conditions in Carcassonne's inquisitor's prison are duly noted, and Francesco himself claimed that his oath was not legally valid, as it was made under fear for his life. There is even some canonical basis for this claim, which Patschovsky remarks in footnotes (p. 92). It is bound to remain speculation, but if Francesco would have shown penitence, and if the cardinal had wanted, there would have been enough grounds to deem the previous abjuration invalid and absolve Francesco as a penitent heretic. Such mercy was perhaps rare but not unheard. The Celestine inquisitor Petrus Zwicker absolved some Waldensian *relapsi* as first-timers in Stettin in 1392, apparently regarding the prior sentences by ecclesiastic and lay authorities invalid.

These critical observations are minor, and in no way diminish the value of this book. In the preface, Patschovsky expresses his sorrow that the edition of these sources, the existence of which he remarked already in 1974, took half a century. Better late than never, and the edition will certainly serve well in years to come. This is an important publication and deserves the attention of all scholars and students of late medieval dissidence, inquisition and papal justice. One can only hope that in these times when knowledge of both Latin and German is in decline, the book finds readers also outside German-speaking academic world.

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