Women of the Humiliati

A Lay Religious Order in Medieval Civic Life

Sally Mayall Brasher

WOMEN OF THE HUMILIATI

MEDIEVAL HISTORY AND CULTURE
VOLUME 19

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ROUTLEDGE
New York & London

Published in 2003 by
Routledge
29 West 35th Street
New York, NY 10001
www.routledge-ny.com

Published in Great Britain by
Routledge
11 New Fetter Lane
London EC4P 4EE

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Brasher, Sally Mayall, 1961–
Women of the Humiliati: a lay religious order in medieval civic life/by Sally Mayall Brasher.
p. cm.—(Studies in medieval history and culture; v. 19)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 0-415-96634-5 (alk. paper)
1. Humiliati. 2. Monastic and religious life of women—Italy—History—Middle Ages, 500–1500. I. Title. II. Series.
BX3688.B73 2003
271'.97–dc21
2003001484

ISBN 0-203-01171-6 Master e-book ISBN

Series Editor's Foreword

Far from providing just a musty whiff of yesteryear, research in Medieval Studies enters the new century as fresh and vigorous as never before. Scholars representing all disciplines and generations are consistently producing works of research of the highest caliber, utilizing new approaches and methodologies. Volumes in the Medieval History and Culture series will include studies on individual works and authors of Latin and vernacular literatures, historical personalities and events, theological and philosophical issues, and new critical approaches to medieval literature and culture.

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Francis G.Gentry
Pennsylvania State University

To Kelsey and Charlie

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Acknowledgments

I would like to express my gratitude and appreciation to a number of individuals whose assistance and guidance was indispensable in completing this work. Foremost among these is Dr. Katherine Jansen. Her teaching inspired my choice of subject matter, her professionalism kept me focused, and her encouragement and constant guidance saw me through to the end. I would also like to thank Dr. Lawrence Poos and Dr. Robert Schneider for their suggestions and support. The field research was greatly aided by the enthusiastic assistance of a number of wonderful archivists in state archive system of the cities of Milan, Como, Lodi, Pavia, Genoa, Bergamo, Verona, and Brescia. I would also like to thank Vic and Sandi Coroscio for their editing assistance.

Finally, and most importantly, I would like to thank all the members of my family, particularly my children Kelsey and Charlie, my father Broun Mayall and mother Melba Mayall (who made a terrific research assistant), and especially my husband Niel for his patience, constant support and unfailing enthusiasm.

Abbreviations

ASB	=	Archivio di Stato di Bergamo
ASB, ACV	=	Archivio di Stato di Bergamo, Archivio della Curia Vescovile
ASB, AN	=	Archivio di Stato di Bergamo, Archivio Notarile
ASB, AC	=	Archivio di Stato di Bergamo, Archivio Capitolare
ASBr	=	Archivio di Stato di Brescia
ASCo	=	Archivio di Stato di Como
ASMi	=	Archivio di Stato di Milano
ASP	=	Archivio di Stato di Palermo (col. perg. for Cremona)
ASPv	=	Archivio di Stato di Pavia
ASPv, OSM	=	Archivio di Stato di Pavia, Archivio dell'Ospedale S.Mateo
ASVer	=	Archivio di Stato di Verona
ASVc	=	Archivio di Stato di Vercelli
ASVs	=	Archivio di Stato di Varese
Bib. Amb.	=	Biblioteca Ambrosiana
BCAM	=	Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai di Bergamo
BCAM, ORF	=	Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, Archivio del Orfanotrofi
BCAM, MIA	=	Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, Archivio del Consorzio della Misericordia
OBP	=	*Omnis Boni Principium,* ed. Zanoni, *Gli Umiliati,* pp. 352–370.
VHM	=	*Vetera Humiliatorum Monumenta,* vol. I–III, ed. G.Tiraboschi

CHAPTER ONE
Introduction and Historiography

The twelfth and thirteenth centuries saw profound change in religious practices among the laity throughout Europe. Current scholarship suggests that the proliferation of lay religious orders and heretical groups was part of a response to major changes occurring in all facets of medieval life. It was a response to a changing economic and social environment as well as the narrowing of clerical roles and the curtailment of female monastic options. This study looks at the Humiliati, a lay religious group that was active in northern and central Italy in the twelfth through the fourteenth centuries. I argue that women made up the majority of membership in the movement, forcing us to reconsider the very nature of the group. New evidence suggests a much more complex organization, one which participated in a wider variety of social and economic activities than previously believed.

There is currently very little scholarship in English specifically on the Humiliati movement and even less on women's roles within that movement. In both cases scholars tend to use the group to illustrate several larger themes. In his seminal work on religious movements of the Middle Ages, Herbert Grundmann included the Humiliati in a pan-European movement of lay piety, minimizing doctrinal differences between groups and stressing the importance of a common desire for apostolic living.[1] This view illuminated the religious aspects of the group but dealt little with the economic elements. Economic historians have focused attention on the Humiliati's participation in the textile industry and suggested that they existed as an alternative labor organization to the early guild system.[2] Italian studies of the group tend to focus on a particular city or region, providing excellent detailed information on individual houses and regional differences, without giving a comprehensive overview of the Humiliati movement as a whole.[3]

The thematic divergence of scholarship on the Humiliati is mirrored in the current historiography of women in the Middle Ages. Martha Howell, Diane Owen Hughes, and others have illuminated the nature of women's work and roles within society and the family, while historians such as Brenda Bolton and Caroline Walker Bynum have delved into women's spirituality. The difficulty in bringing together the realms of work and spirituality has stirred discussion among scholars regarding the motivation for participation in the Humiliati movement.[4]

Central to these deliberations are questions of social status, wealth, and gender of participants. While there are many proposed answers to these questions, they are generally based on theoretical constructs or prescriptive medieval sources. Local studies provide anecdotal evidence, but this has yet to be compiled and analyzed for the entire group.

Without a comprehensive examination of both the spiritual and economic elements of the order, as well as a consideration of its membership and economic activity, we cannot fully understand its place in medieval society. Through the use of original archival research, combined with an extensive evaluation of published sources, this study will answer questions regarding who participated in the movement and thus suggest answers to the question of motivation for membership. Focusing on both the spiritual and economic aspects of the group enhances our understanding of the dynamic relationship between spirituality and labor for women in the Middle Ages.

In particular, this study examines women's participation in the Humiliati movement, addressing questions such as the level of participation of women, their social status, their roles within the structure of the group and within the wider community, and their motivations for choosing this particular spiritual path. There has been no study that specifically examines the role of gender in the group; nor has there been any attempt to quantify the sex ratio of the movement. This is especially relevant, as the predominance of one gender or the other greatly affects our understanding of the very nature of the movement. This study argues that if women made up the majority of membership in the Humiliati, then we must reconsider all factors that may have influenced motivation for membership, as well as the economic options chosen by members.

This thesis asserts that Humiliati women came from a variety of social classes, having in common only their desire for a spiritual life and determination to live by their hands, not for personal economic gain but for the good of their community, and that this represented both a spiritual and an economic motivation for participation. For women of diverse social classes, the economic security, the opportunity to lead an apostolic life in which spirituality was expressed through labor and contribution to community, and the ability to remain within the urban community, all of which the Humiliati movement offered, represented an attractive option for women who were increasingly closed out of the institutional Church and who had to live within a changing urban market society.

From this thesis it follows that the difficulty in reconciling the two veins of scholarship in the areas of both religious history and economic history reflects a modern inability to synthesize the two. The medieval concept of spirituality encompassed all elements of daily living. As daily life changed, people had to construct new contexts for moral living. An increasingly interdependent urban society required greater attention to communal life; issues such as poor relief and care for the sick became paramount. A change to a profit-based society created new challenges to traditional moral values and introduced new tensions between existing religious institutions and teachings and emerging urban communities.

This study indicates the need to view spirituality not just as one element of medieval individuals' lives, but rather as a defining context in which their lives were ordered. The Humiliati represent one way in which some medieval citizens met the spiritual, economic and social challenges posed by their unique environment. By examining the labor of the Humiliati in this light, this research illustrates that the guiding motivation for membership in the group was the spiritual benefit of a life devoted to manual labor, with the economic advantages of this labor being of secondary importance.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The earliest references to the Humiliati prior to their approval by Innocent III in 1201, appear in the commentary of Jacques de Vitry who reported numerous groups of Humiliati living in and around Milan as early as the 1170s[5] and in the work of the anonymous chronicler of Laon from around 1178–1184 who reported:

> At that time there were certain inhabitants of Lombard towns who lived at home with their families, who chose a peculiar form of religious life, refrained from lies, oaths, and law suits, were satisfied with plain clothing and presented themselves as upholding the Catholic faith. They called themselves Humiliati, because they did not use colored cloth for clothing but restricted themselves to plain dress.[6]

The group begins to appear frequently in documentation from around the Lombard region after 1220. They appear to have reached their zenith in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, were in serious decline by the end of the fifteenth century, and were finally suppressed as an order in the 1570s.[7]

The Humiliati were mainly centered in Lombardy, with the highest concentration of houses in and around Milan, as well as the cities of Bergamo, Brescia, Crema, Como, Cremona, Pavia, Lodi, and Varese. A few communities were found outside of Lombardy, including houses in the cities of Vicenza and Verona, and as far south as Florence, as well as in the coastal city of Genoa. The group developed into three orders of both men and women. The first canonical order was comprised of clerics and canonesses, the second was a more monastic order of sisters and brothers, and the third included male and female lay members who lived outside the communal houses in their own homes with their families.

Herbert Grundmann included the Humiliati among the various groups that arose in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries who wanted to participate fully in a life that followed the model of the apostles.[8] According to Grundmann, various groups interpreted the *vita apostolica* differently, producing no single movement but rather many options that ranged from orthodox new orders to heretical sects such as the Cathars and Waldensians, all of which represented a wave of renewed lay piety. The Humiliati themselves span the whole of this spectrum, from their

condemnation as heretics by Lucius III in 1184 to their approval by Innocent III in 1201.

Their beliefs foreshadowed those of the mendicant groups such as the Franciscans and Dominicans: they wished to preach, to participate in voluntary poverty, and to lead humble lives of hard work and charitable giving. In fact, it has been suggested that their approval paved the way for the legitimization of the mendicant orders.[9] However, unlike the mendicants, there is no single individual whom the Humiliati claimed as a founder, nor did they support themselves through begging. They did not lead itinerant lives, as did the Franciscans and Dominicans who moved around the countryside preaching and who expanded well outside of their area of origin to all parts of Europe. The Humiliati's organization adumbrated that of mendicant groups such as the Franciscans in that they comprised two clerical orders and a tertiary group that remained part of lay society.[10] The mendicants' and Humiliati's vows of poverty have been viewed as a reaction to the increased complexity and moral uncertainty of medieval society, differing only in the manner by which they chose to sustain themselves.[11]

The *vita apostolica* was attractive to women as well, and the mendicant groups attracted a large number of female followers. The female orders that were founded under the Franciscan and Dominican ideals were never completely allowed to follow the tenet of public preaching and poverty that they desired. The Poor Clares of the Franciscan order, for example, were eventually forced to accept limited poverty and increased enclosure. The Franciscan and Dominican orders accommodated women but they remained as separate orders.[12] In contrast, women in the Humiliati lived in brother/sister houses as well on their own, and there appears to have been little difference in the rules for men and women.

Eventually, the Franciscans also established an order of penitents, who were not members of the first or second orders but who wished to live the apostolic life within the community. They were responsible for administering the bequests and donations made in the name of the group. The tertiaries of the mendicant orders were only some of the various lay groups created to deal with the administration of charity to the poor.[13] As the Humiliati organized prior to the emergence of the Franciscans, it is possible that they provided a model for this aspect of the mendicant organization.

The Humiliati's seventeen-year censure as heretics has caused scholars to link them to the Cathars, Waldensians, and the Lombard Poor, even though the charge of heresy was based on little more than the desire by their lay members to preach and their refusal to take oaths. Their doctrines were never as controversial as were those of other heretical sects. In fact, one of their main tenets was to preach against heresy. In reality, their condemnation as heretics reflects the Church's fear of the proliferation of new, unorthodox groups appearing in an increasing number at the end of the twelfth century.

As with both the Cathars and the Waldensians, women were allowed a role in the leadership of the Humiliati. Although there was a misogynystic element in the doctrine of the Cathars, they did allow worthy women to become perfects and

lead congregations, while the Waldensians allowed women to preach.[14] Women of the Humiliati were found as leaders of individual communities. However, there is little evidence that they participated in preaching, although there was no specific injunction against this practice either.

The Humiliati have also been compared to the Beguines of northern Europe, and many similarities exist between these two groups. The Beguines, a predominately female lay order contemporary to the Humiliati, worked in their communities in charitable pursuits. The Beguines did not have a single founder and, like the Humiliati differed in their institutional structure from place to place.[15] However, the inclusion of whole families in the third order of the Humiliati, as well as their closer institutional ties to the Church, set them apart from the Beguines.

Grundmann suggests that the development of such lay religious orders was most concentrated in the urban areas of medieval Europe. The Lombard, Piedmont and Veneto regions of northern Italy contained the highest concentration of population and had the greatest number of large towns and cities anywhere in Europe in the twelfth through fourteenth centuries. The capital of the Lombard region, Milan, had more than 80,000 inhabitants in the fourteenth century. Cremona and Brescia had populations within the city walls of more than 40,000. Verona in the Veneto region and Genoa in Piedmont also had more than 40,000 inhabitants. There were countless other towns that numbered in the tens of thousands of inhabitants.[16]

Many of these commercial centers had survived and flourished from Roman times, and so were able to readily embrace the new commercial economy that developed during this period. This region witnessed the growth of communal government, which was based on the organization of corporate interests with the goal of independence from noble overlords, economic self-protection, and increased prosperity. Powerful merchant guilds developed to ensure the security of economic and political interests within the cities and came to rule all aspects of the commune's life. Over the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries these guilds became increasingly powerful and exclusive. In response, members of the lower classes and craft professions organized their interests in the form of craft guilds, confraternities, and even political movements.[17] According to some scholars, the *popolo* movement of the fourteenth century represented the first organized attempt by a disenfranchised laboring class to assert their rights and demand participation in the governing of the cities.[18]

As opposed to the maritime trading centers of Venice and Pisa, the wealth of the Lombard region was based to a great extent on the production of wool and cotton textiles. This highly competitive industry created the most powerful guilds in all of the major cities of the region. Members of wool guilds became the virtual rulers of cities such as Milan.[19] Even the great trading center, Genoa, gained much of its wealth and power from importing wool and exporting finished textiles.[20]

The cities attracted an influx of labor from the surrounding *contado*. However, even those individuals who remained in agricultural production were often involved in the raising of sheep or other production processes necessary for the textile industry. The particular nature of textile production and marketing necessitated a combination of crafts that were practiced in both rural and urban areas. Small craftsmen bought the raw wool, either from a local farm or from importers. After cleaning, the raw wool was "put out" to independent combers, carders, and then spinners. The wool was woven either by the original buyer or by independent weavers. The textile was then put out again to fullers. Merchants often took care of dyeing, finishing, and selling the final product.[21] All of these various stages of production were found in both the cities and the countryside. In addition, the rural areas of this northern region of Italy would not have felt the economic or cultural isolation of similar regions in other parts of Europe, as great distances did not separate cities, and all were connected by an ancient network of roadways.

The increased urbanization of the area altered many facets of society, from politics and economics to religion and kinship structures. The new commercial economy demanded a fundamental alteration of the very foundations of medieval society. Traditional familial bonds were severed when individuals and families migrated to cities. Wage labor and urban liberties created new economic options and challenges for these migrants and their employers.[22] Economic competition necessitated creative responses and spawned individualism. All of these changes posed moral dilemmas for urban inhabitants, and the traditional theology of the Church was not adequate in answering these new questions as it had always decried the accumulation of wealth, greed, and usury.

It is in this context that the Humiliati movement should be viewed. Along with confraternal groups, new mendicant orders, penitent groups, and heretical sects, the Humiliati reflect attempts by urban dwellers to reorganize their society along lines that reflected the reality of urban living, while also meeting the needs of a renewed sense of spirituality and a desire for moral guidance. Greater participation in community life fostered a desire for greater participation in religious life.

In addition, urban life illuminated new societal problems that demanded a community response. With severed kinship ties and an economy that favored the strong and successful, there were large numbers of poor and sick who found themselves at the mercy of city inhabitants. As such groups challenged the social order, urban dwellers developed a new sense of social responsibility. All of the communal organizations, from the merchant guilds to the confraternities and penitent groups, promoted the importance of civic responsibility. Charitable organizations such as hospitals, which were often founded and administered by these groups, flourished and met social needs. The desire to preach, central to the mendicant orders as well as to the Humiliati, reflects a desire to reinforce moral guidelines for the community but also suggests that people did not find the traditional Church to be guiding them adequately.[23]

HISTORIOGRAPHY

While they have been compared or contrasted to the various lay religious groups and urban organizations cited above, the Humiliati have been the subject of very few comprehensive studies, due in part to the scarcity and diffusion of contemporary sources, as well as the difficulty in categorizing the movement or understanding its appeal. In what follows, I will detail the treatment of the Humiliati in the scholarly literature and indicate how my research intersects or departs from that of other scholars.

A great deal of the scholarship dealing with the history of the Church, such as the extensive treatment given to the Humiliati by Brenda Bolton in her work on Innocent III, has depended primarily on evidence gleaned exclusively from ecclesiastical sources, and as they reflect only the Church's viewpoint can not be viewed as unbiased or comprehensive.[24] Desiring to have the stigma of heresy removed, the group submitted their *propositum,* or proposed way of living, to the Church's officials several years prior to 1201. The original documentation is not extant. We are left only with Innocent III's response after he considered their *propositum* and the recommendations of two committees of papal inquiry. The letters from Innocent III to all three orders approving this *propositum* in 1201 represent not only his review of their request, but also most probably his prescriptive addendum.[25] Innocent III recognized both the need to take advantage of the group's desire to remain within the Church's hierarchy, while also wishing to curb the practices that led to their condemnation.[26] As such, these sources must be viewed as the somewhat compromised acceptance of the group's desired charter. They may omit much of what the group had initially hoped to achieve. It is possible that the very legitimization of the Humiliati by the Church altered the original nature of the movement. Also, such sources represent a prescriptive view of the group and may not reflect the reality of group life.

For other religious movements such as the Franciscans, the ecclesiastical evidence can be compared to the prolific chronicles of the order often written by its members. Prior to the fifteenth century there is no such evidence for the Humiliati. The earliest descriptive documentation regarding the Humiliati is found in the chronicles of two outsiders to the movement. The earliest mention of the Humiliati is found in the Anonymous Chronicle of Laon from around 1219. Not exclusively dealing with the Humiliati, this account gives a brief description of the movement and indicates the presence of the group in the Lombardy region as early as 1178.[27]

A more detailed account of the Humiliati is given by Jacque de Vitry, first in a letter from 1216 and then later in his work, *Historia Occidentalis*. Vitry encountered the Humiliati while traveling to Milan in 1216. His account of the group includes discussions regarding the size and success of the movement in the region of Milan. He provides much information regarding the rule followed by the group and even describes the living conditions of some of the members. He stresses the importance of labor and humility to the group and describes their

participation in the wool industry. He indicates the presence of women in the movement and suggests that there were literate, wealthy individuals among the membership.[28] His account has been relied on heavily by all subsequent scholarship on the Humiliati. However, while it is highly descriptive it is also very general, dealing with the order as a whole and not individual houses. Also, it is based on the impressions of an outsider who actually spent a very short time in the region and could not have been familiar with all of the various houses. In addition, Vitry was not an unbiased observer. He was a supporter of lay movements such as the Humiliati as his writings on the Beguines of northern Europe suggest, and he can be viewed as an apologist for such unorthodoxy. Finally, his descriptions of the organization of the order and their rules for daily living do not contain anything contradictory to the Church writings. Nor does he provide a great deal of additional information except with regard to the size and success of the organization, and the accuracy of this data is difficult to substantiate.

In the thirteenth century, two Dominican chroniclers provide us with accounts of the origins of the order. Francesco Pipino, writing in 1328, briefly refers to the Humiliati and suggests that the tertiaries were the original founders of the order and that the group predated the Friars. His account is highly inaccurate with regards to events and dates, but is used by subsequent scholars to support their contention for the importance of the third order to the movement. Galvano Fiamma, writing around the same time, also attributes the foundation of the movement to the tertiaries. It has been suggested that both of these chroniclers were attempting to bolster the prestige of the third order, as it was losing members and power within the order at this time.[29]

The first comprehensive account of the Humiliati by a member of the order is that of John of Brera from 1419.[30] His chronicle is the most extensive dealing with the origins of the movement as well as cataloging information with regards to its size and administration. He is frequently cited to support the contention of noble origins of the group. He provides two legends surrounding the founding of the movement. The first suggests that the original members were exiled Lombard nobles who confessed the errors of their ways and vowed to give up their worldly goods and live humbly by their own hands. They won the support of Emperor Henry II and founded the tertiary movement of the Humiliati. The second legend he recounts, attributes the foundation of the order to an individual, John of Meda, thus providing the order with a founding saint.[31]

Although this work as been extensively cited in the scholarship on the Humiliati it is highly problematic for several reasons. It was written in 1419 when the movement was in serious decline. Brera reports that there were only 33 male and 20 female houses still in operation. In addition, at this time, the Church was attempting to alter the administration of the group so that the members had less say in choosing their leaders. It is possible to view both legends of the origins of the order as attempts to establish the legitimacy and nobility of the original members of the movement. The identification with a saint would associate it with the more successful movements of the time. Brera's account must be viewed as

reaction to events of the fifteenth century. His purpose in writing the chronicle was most likely to influence the perception of the movement to his contemporaries, and should not be viewed as a strictly historical text.

Brera also includes in his chronicle four illustrations that depict Humiliati members in various stages of cloth production and marketing. These illustrations have been cited as evidence of the group's participation in the cloth industry and are useful in illustrating the division of labor between men and women. However, as these were drawn around 1419, long after the Humiliati had ceased to produce or sell wool, they must also be viewed as illustrative of an attempt to depict the glorious past of the organization and were not based on first-hand knowledge.[32]

While these chronicles are all useful in providing early evidence of the Humiliati movement, they must be used with great caution. Brera's account of the founding of the order by nobility has been accepted unquestionably by generations of scholars, although it is based on no concrete evidence. In light of the lack of contemporary writing by members of the Humiliati at the height of the movement's popularity, it is necessary to turn to indirect evidence such as notarial documents which record the activity of the Humiliati and give a glimpse into the reality of their existence. The focus of this work will be on such evidence.

Italian scholars, led by Maria Pia Alberzoni, have begun such archival research focusing on local studies. These studies are instrumental in shedding light on organizational aspects of the movement, as well as elements of size, location, communal and Church relations, economic activity, and daily living.[33] The difficulty arises when attempting to synthesize this information into a comprehensive study of the movement as a whole. The recently published work by Frances Andrews, *The Early Humiliati,* represents the most complete survey of the entire movement to date.[34] This exhaustive examination of the early development of the group, while combining both Church records, contemporary descriptions, and archival sources, is mainly concerned with the initial formation of the movement and its incorporation into the local community and the ecclesiastical structure. Andrews has not only provided the blueprint for further analysis of the development of the group, but has also illuminated the possible uses of archival sources to tease out further information regarding the daily life and social composition of members.

Because the Humiliati movement was not a typical apostolic order, and because its *propositum* focused so much attention on the group's desire to live by their hands, they have come to the attention of economic and labor historians who have provided a much more secularized view of the group. Luigi Zanoni, writing in 1911, provided the first extensive scholarly work on the Humiliati, emphasizing their participation in the textile industry and suggesting that they were an early example of a labor group that was responding to economic pressures of emerging capitalism.[35] Zanoni's writings were heavily influenced by trends in economic history in the early part of the twentieth century, and his argument has been revised in recent scholarship.[36] Yet it is still the only

comprehensive treatment of the economic activity of the order.[37] By focusing on the economic aspect of the group based on archival evidence, Zanoni reached very different conclusions from those of religious scholars as to the social origins and spiritual motivations of the group. He believed that the appeal of the movement for members of the artisan class was primarily its ability to provide economic security and protection for the small-time worker during a period when capitalism was on the rise and corporate entities in the form of guilds were creating an increasingly elitist wool industry.[38]

Some recent local studies such as that of Maria Teresa Brolis for Bergamo have included consideration of the Humiliati's economic aspect in their surveys. Archival evidence from these studies confirms the Humiliati's participation in the economy of northern Italy, but indicates this activity was much more diverse and complex than described by Zanoni.[39] Evidence accumulated for this study confirms this view of the heterogeneous nature of the movement, suggesting the vision of the Humiliati as mendicant brother or artisan wool-worker is overly simplistic.

My contention is that a comprehensive evaluation of the movement which takes into consideration both the ecclesiastical documents that outline the prescriptive, idealized vision of the Humiliati as well as the archival evidence that will reveal the actual practices of the group is needed. In addition, I consider the changing urban environment, the importance of labor, the role of poverty and charity, and the movement's gender composition in order to fully understand the nature of the movement.

Urban Context

Most scholars, religious and economic, consider the Humiliati movement to be a primarily urban phenomenon. They differ, however, in their interpretation of the group's specific responses to the urban environment. Did they most closely foreshadow the mendicant movements who sought to renounce the moral decay posed by commercial society, or did they reflect a novel commercial solution to that society?

Zanoni believed that for members of the artisan class, the primary moti vation for joining the Humiliati was protection from the increasingly restrictive practices of the capitalist class within the cities. He found that such a group was particularly attractive to textile workers as their industry employed many low-skilled workers but was run by wealthy master artisans and entrepreneurs.[40] Grundmann disagreed with the economic determinism of Zanoni's findings but not with the contention that the group offered an alternative form of urban living. In this view, the motivation to form fraternal professional bonds was due more to the ability of the profession to meet the spiritual requirements of the group than the economic ones.[41] Most weavers were small independent craftsmen who were able to work on their own within their homes in a morally humble way. Their product was in high demand, and so they did not fear competition. According to Grundmann,

the urban environment presented a morally degenerate atmosphere where worldly desires and ostentatious living challenged those who desired a more spiritual existence. He saw the development of such groups as the Humiliati as a religiously motivated response to these societal changes.[42]

Following Lester Little's thesis that the interest in new forms of religious expression and living that arose in the high Middle Ages reflected a need to accommodate conflicting pressures of a changing urban society,[43] economic scholars such as Steven Epstein have examined the Humiliati as a phenomenon similar to the growth of the guild system and confraternities.[44] The profit economy demanded moral justification as well as a social reorganization. Tensions between workers and entrepreneurs, as well as between the ancient landowning classes and the new urban elite, created the need for organizations that could provide self-protection and brotherhood. These groups were typically organized along craft or professional lines, although they often had some form of religious premise that unified them and provided opportunities for social interaction. For these scholars, however, the primary purpose of the organization was economic self-protection and security.

The changing nature of urban society spawned new formations of social groups and fraternal and kinship ties. Scholars from various fields have outlined the development of organizations, both spiritual and social, that responded to the challenges posed by an urban society in which traditional kinship ties were being severed. These organizations took various forms that included confraternities, craft guilds, and lay religious orders. The rise of guilds in medieval Italian society has been well documented. Scholars such as Epstein, Hyde, and Sara Ruben Blanshei have illustrated how the craft guilds represented the increasing political and social awareness of the artisan classes.[45] Zanoni believed the Humiliati should be viewed as a reaction to commercial and political society that manifested itself in fraternal organizations similar to those of the guilds.[46] When the Humiliati are considered in the context of these groups, it is apparent that it is overly simplistic to the view their appeal as strictly economic or, conversely, solely spiritual in nature. It is more relevant to view the group within the context of a myriad of orga nizational responses by medieval individuals to changing social and economic challenges.

The findings of local studies, as well as my research, make it necessary to reconsider the notion of the purely urban nature of the movement. Renata Crotti Pasi, in her work on the Humiliati of Pavia, as well as Longini for Brianza, and Brolis for Bergamo, have each found evidence of a number of Humiliati houses which were primarily involved in agricultural activity. Furthermore, many of those houses found in rural areas were involved in a range of economic activity dealing mostly with the cultivation or milling of crops.[47] These studies, as well as my research, have also have turned up anecdotal accounts of individual Humiliati members who were merchants, farmers, wealthy citizens, influential priests, political refugees, widows, and even servants before joining the group.[48]

Therefore, it is necessary, through a careful and comprehensive examination of archival sources, to account for the differences in rural and urban houses, as well as the variety of economic pursuits in which members were involved. As will be shown, the very existence of such a variety suggests greater complexity with regard to motivation for membership as well as in the social make-up and structure of individual communities.

The Nature of Their Response

If the development of the Humiliati movement is viewed as a response to societal pressures, then the particular character of that response must also be considered in order to determine how it differed from that of other groups. An important element of the Humiliati's doctrine, voluntary poverty, has been interpreted by scholars as indicative of their similarity to other apostolic groups. Grundmann believed that the reforming efforts of Gregory VII awakened a desire for greater individual participation in spiritual life, while it also created a hierarchically ordered Church that left participation only to the ordained few. The laity's desire to follow the examples of the apostles and to take part in a more spiritual, less material existence, therefore, fostered a movement toward Christian poverty.[49]

For scholars such as Grundmann and Bolton, the voluntary poverty of the Humiliati supports their argument that the movement was made up of wealthy individuals, as the renunciation of worldly goods would only be important to those with goods to renounce. [50] Bolton bolsters this claim with evidence of the prosperity of the movement that she believes was derived from wealthy entrants' donations.[51] Once again, however, these arguments are too simplistic; they do not reflect the complexity of the experiences within the movement. Members of the first and second orders experienced poverty much differently than did members of the third order, who did not have the communal financial support of a group house. The presence of the Humiliati in the textile industry suggests that although they practiced voluntary poverty, they also were involved in the accumulation of capital, invest ment, and even profit. These activities indicate that while they may have objected to certain elements of commercial society, they were also dependent upon, and highly involved in that society.

In addition, Bolton's argument does not take into consideration the role of charity in creating wealth for Humiliati houses. It was increasingly customary during this period for individuals to bequeath land and money to groups such as the Humiliati, and donors were not necessarily members of that order. Studies of charity and wills of the period indicate that the Humiliati received a percentage typical of charitable donations given to similar religious organizations.[52] Local studies, as well as evidence collected for this thesis, provide a much clearer picture of bequests to individual houses, and while there are indications of wealthy donors giving entrance dowries for daughters, or widows bequeathing houses and lands upon profession, there are also examples of poor servants entering the order

with few or no goods.[53] The evidence suggests that individuals from many social classes chose to become members of the order.

The Humiliati's *propositum* aids in determining the nature of the group's response to the pressures of urban society. In the section of the document that deals with their relationship to worldly goods, one is able to see not only a concern with apostolic living, but also a reaction to contemporary urban economic issues. For example, Innocent III's request that they "not lay up treasures on earth" appears to be an injunction toward the *vita apostolica* as does "do not love the world."[54] However, the *propositum* also includes injunctions such as returning goods gained by usury or other improper means, and instructions to avoid oath-taking.[55] In addition, the Humiliati are advised to live and dress humbly.[56] This last injunction mirrors a social phenomenon that occurred with the growth of the popular commune. Communal government sought to limit ostentatious living in the form of dress and livery.[57] These references reflect urban society's moral ambivalence to the prevalence of usury to the corruption evident in some facets of urban commerce. However, they also indicate the centrality of economic activity to the movement.

Economic Activity

The Humiliati's participation in the textile industry has been a central theme in all scholarly discussion regarding the group. For Zanoni, this activity represented the central motivating factor in the creation and sustenance of the order. The Humiliati found economic security and prosperity by their organizing into a labor movement. Yet again, Herbert Grundmann disagreed with Zanoni's findings in this regard. He argued that the Humiliati became involved in the textile industry only after forming their religious association; further, he indicated the economic prescriptions suggested by their *propositum* could be seen in a purely religious light.[58]

Grundmann perhaps minimized the importance of labor to the character of the Humiliati because it is an element that makes it stand out from the other apostolic and heretical movements of the period. Scholars such as Andrews and Paolini believe that it is this element of the Humiliati movement that made it different from other such lay groups. A central tenet of the Humiliati was their belief in the goodness of a humble life of manual labor, while the mendicant orders, as well as heretical sects such as the Waldensians, stressed poverty as essential to the spiritual life.[59] Paolini believes that labor provided the primary motivation for membership in the Humiliati and that the humble weaver, laboring for the glory of God, represented the epitome of true apostolic life.[60]

To some degree, the archival evidence is helpful in resolving this dispute. However, its conclusiveness can be overstated. Zanoni based his entire thesis on only eleven documents that pertain to the production or sale of textiles. More recent research has added very little actual documentation to this total. However, there is circumstantial evidence that suggests the Humiliati were an important part of the textile industry in northern Italy.[61] A close examination of the

evidence of economic activity shows the Humiliati involved not only in various processes of wool production, but also in a variety of other activities. Thus, while textile manufacturing may not have been as central to the order as previously thought, the Humiliati were still very active in the economy of the region to a greater degree than Zanoni indicated.

This study will attempt to determine the level of participation in textile manufacturing by the Humiliati, as the structure of that industry influenced many societal relationships and was an important part of northern Italian economic prosperity. Labor historians have reevaluated Zanoni's contention that the movement developed solely among artisan textile workers, suggesting that the industry would have been appealing to individuals of various social backgrounds. In his work on labor and guilds, Steven Epstein observes that the goal of the Humiliati was to work with their hands, and as wool was the major industry in the urban areas of Lombardy, they took this up as a profession regardless of past social status or occupation.[62] Thus, the motivation of members of different social standings may have varied, but the attraction of a fraternal order of economic and spiritual cohesion seems to have been strong.

The importance of the fraternal aspects of the Humiliati and its similarity to other urban fraternal groups is illustrated in their *propositum*. It requires that the Humiliati come to each other's aid in times of economic or personal hardship. Studies on the guilds and confraternities as well as on the medieval textile industry also indicate the evidence of a desire for mutual aid and economic protection.[63] Specifically, the fraternal nature of the group gave its members many of the same protections and benefits of the guilds and confraternities and provided a replacement for traditional kinship networks.[64] In addition, membership in this industry would have met the spiritual requirements of the Humiliati to live and dress humbly. The production of cheap cloth also would have met their desire to aid the poor within the community.

Missing from any of the literature on the Humiliati is a detailed analysis of their resemblance to confraternal associations of the day. Father Gilles Meersseman's definitive work on confraternities stresses the development of brotherhoods of both a spiritual and social nature. Confraternities created alternatives to urban social structures that were becoming increasingly complex and hierarchical. They provided socially leveling organizations that offered support and kinship to a wide variety of individuals, and they were usually organized along neighborhood or professional lines.[65] In addition, the religious elements of the confraternity allowed members to confront the moral dilemmas that their commercial dealings often produced.[66]

Meersseman compares confraternities to other mendicant and penitent groups and stresses their desire to stay within the community and family as indicative of their basic difference from these groups.[67] It is in this aspect that one finds great similarity between the confraternities and members of the third order of the Humiliati. In addition to their desire to remain active in their families and communities, another aspect of the Humiliati movement that can be compared to

confraternities of the era is the importance of charity and the administration of poor relief. In his discussion of confraternities, John Henderson stresses the interconnectedness of social activism and personal spiritual devotion, indicating that these groups developed in response to growing social challenges such as poverty. Fraternal groups provided an organizational structure through which to deal with these challenges.[68]

If we view the phenomenon of the Humiliati in a societal context, in which professional guilds and confraternities as well as lay religious orders developed in response to urban society, then the division between economic and spiritual components of the movement seems inappropriate. In order to understand how the Humiliati differed from these other responses, it is necessary to create as detailed a picture as possible of the movement, including its structure, membership, unique spiritual program, and the purpose of its various economic endeavors.

Three Separate Orders

Central to the difficulty of understanding the Humiliati is the inability to reconcile structural differences between the three orders with the evidence of a variety of economic activity and living arrangements. There is a tendency among historians of religion and economics to consider the group as one unified, homogeneous organization. In fact, the group was divided into three separate orders. The first and second orders mirrored many characteristics of other mendicant groups. They sought to live in group communities, chastely, disowning worldly goods while doing good works. The first two orders are the most thoroughly documented and are often those cited as examples, particularly by religious scholars. The third order of the Humiliati was unique in that its members stayed with their families, often remaining married. These individuals worked with their hands, often in the same trade in which they were occupied prior to their association with the Humiliati. It is this group which has received the most attention from economic historians. As they did not have group houses that had to be administered or overseen by the Church, there are far fewer documents regarding their lives.

There is debate, however, as to whether this delineation between orders originated with the founders of the movement or was instituted by Innocent III as he strove to force them to conform to an approved ecclesiastical structure and attempted to organize an inherently unstructured group.[69] According to Bolton, Innocent III originally intended to bring all three groups together under one rule, but was convinced of the impossibility of this plan by his investigators.[70] In fact, archival evidence shows that the delineation of orders was not uniform among all houses, or in all areas, and therefore may have been more useful for administration purposes than integral to the self definition of the group.

In addition, there is discussion as to whether or not the creation of the three orders reflected preexisting social divisions. It has been suggested that the three

orders merely reflected the group's organization according to their preconceived conception of the differences in social standings among its members.[71] However, if their vow of poverty and style of simple living was meant to negate social difference, it would seem contradictory to divide into groups which emphasized such differences.

It is also difficult to determine which order arose first. If the movement was initiated by members of the first or second order then there is some substantiation to the claim of nobler elements in the founding and purpose of the group. Conversely, if the tertiaries were the earliest members, this might support the argument for economic or social causation. However, as Frances Andrews aptly points out in her discussion of the problematic nature of the various chronicles documenting the groups' origins, it is practically impossible to discern the truth of which came first from these sources.[72]

The desire of the members of the third order to remain in their homes with their families and yet follow a life of apostolic living similar to mendicant groups represents one of the most unique aspects of the Humiliati movement. However, beyond being recognized by contemporary chroniclers, there is very little evidence to illuminate these members of the order. Scholars acknowledge their presence and its uniqueness but have not attempted to analyze this facet of the order. This is quite understandable as these are clearly the most underrepresented members in the documentary evidence. However, there are a number of documents, such as wills and professions of vows, which begin to illuminate these family groups.[73] While evidence for the third order is the least abundant, this study will compile and analyze those records available in order to add to our understanding of this segment of the Humiliati movement.

Women in the Historiography

In addition to the complexity of the movement illustrated by the variety of experiences within the three orders, the gender composition of the group adds to the difficulty in analysis. Unlike other apostolic groups, the Humiliati were not originally, nor exclusively male or female organization. As will be shown in chapter three, houses of the first and second orders of the Humiliati, while often being labeled as *sister* or *brother* houses, sometimes housed both men and women, sometimes one group or the other. The third order complicates the picture even further as it included men and women in family units. The earliest sources, such as those of Jacques de Vitry and Humbert of Romans, comment on the abundant presence of women in the movement. [74] Most scholarship on the Humiliati acknowledges their presence, but few venture much analysis as to the degree to which the movement attracted women, the nature of their participation, the motivation for their becoming members, or their participation as workers.

In the archival sources employed by Brolis and Alberzoni, et al., there are indications that women were involved in all aspects of the movement. They were referred to as canonesses in the first order and sisters in the communities of the

second order; as family members and textile workers would surely have had a role in the third order. There are references to women joining the movement, women donating money to the order upon entrance, and women interacting with the larger community and the Church. Apart from descriptive analyses of a few of these records, women's roles in the movement have not been analyzed in any depth.[75] The only study that specifically considers women's role in the economic sphere is Paolini's article on the Humiliati and labor. However, as his focus is on the role of labor in the movement as a whole, he deals with both men and women, the division of labor among the group, and its change over time.[76]

There appear to be several reasons for this lack of attention to the sisters of the order. The first is the lack of reference to women in the traditional sources. They are mentioned in the chronicles as being part of the movement, but not much else is said about them. Innocent III's correspondence may be addressed to the *fratres* and *sorores* of the Humiliati, but other than a few specific references dealing with their daily devotions and ability to move about in society, there is not a great deal of information regarding these women in his letters.[77]

References to women are found in the archival sources, but they are far sparser than those pertaining to the brothers, partially due to the necessity of a male agent who acted for the women on many occasions. Also, due to the unusual nature of the structure of the organization, it is difficult to quantify the participation of the women. Finally, the difficulty in understanding the role of women in the movement reflects the overall inability to synthesize the spiritual, economic, and social elements of the movement as a whole. The difficulty in bringing together the realms of work and spirituality, is also characteristic of the current historiography of medieval women, which adds to the complexity of understanding women's place within the order.

Women and the *Vita Apostolica*

Herbert Grundmann's work provided the model of women's participation in religious movements. His thesis that women were drawn to the new apostolic life offered by such groups went unchallenged for many years. Grundmann believed that women desired more active participation in religious experience than the Church was offering them, and that they were in fact being shut out of traditional avenues of participation by an increasingly hierarchical and patriarchal Church.[78]

More recent scholarship on women's spirituality suggests that lay religious orders provided women with opportunities to live honorably outside the family or cloister, challenging society's ideal of appropriate femininity.[79] To a certain extent, these orders brought women outside of the dominion of male authority and allowed them to participate in the public sphere, often gaining respect and status within their communities as they contributed economically and culturally through their works and philanthropy.[80]

Caroline Walker Bynum identifies some common impulses of medieval women that were satisfied by the emergent lay orders. Less a matter of reacting to an

increasingly restrictive or unwelcoming Church, she believes that these movements offered novel solutions to the changing character of spiritual desires in women. She finds that women sought alternative movements in order to satisfy a desire for personal religious experience. These forms included penitential asceticism, direct spiritual inspiration without the intercession of clerical authority, and an emphasis on a Christ-like devotion to humanity.[81] Although Bynum plays down the role of the Church in forcing women into these alternative groups, it is clear that the form of spirituality she is talking about went against Church tradition. An alternative to traditional spirituality, the appeal of the lay movement focused on an apostolic lifestyle including good works and charity. This meant adherents had to interact with the greater society. For women this meant leaving the cloister. The Church and even certain mendicant and monastic orders, not to mention husbands, fathers, and community leaders, did not believe single women should have such public roles.

The Church was forced to respond to this development, and while there is some disagreement as to the effectiveness of its response, it is clear that women influenced the character of religious innovation and institutional change during this period. Most scholars agree that Innocent III was particularly adept at recognizing the need to respond to popular demand for greater avenues of spiritual expression while aspiring to protect the institutional Church.[82] The inclusion of women in the mendicant orders, as well as the increase in female canonization in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, is evidence of the Church's attempt to answer the changing needs of women and, in effect, to bring errant females back into the fold.[83]

Grundmann, however, points out that although the Church was responsive to the changing desires of the lay community, after the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 it allowed for the formation of no new orders. Thus, all movements had to be incorporated in some way into existing orders. He suggests that this was always the case with women, even prior to 1215. The Church firmly believed that women's orders could exist only within the framework of an already existing male order. Therefore, according to Grundmann, the Church was not as open or responsive to women's desires for new avenues of spiritual living as it was toward men. In addition, he stresses the breadth of opposition mounted by most of the established orders themselves to taking on the responsibility of women.[84] In particular, medieval thinkers, ecclesiastical and lay, believed that women wishing to lead religious lives needed the protection of enclosure. Grundmann concludes that the success of women's apostolic movements in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries must be examined in light of this extreme opposition to their cause. He believes credit must be given to the sheer force of their desire to lead such lives in the face of considerable societal and institutional pressures that stood against them.[85]

In addition, Grundmann suggests that there was a division between northern and southern Europe regarding the ability of women to participate in lay movements. He indicates that women were able to participate in established apostolic groups in northern Europe and in some cases founded their own orders

such as the Beguines. He goes so far as to say that, "In contrast to the Latinate countries, here [in Northern Europe] it was women who were most strongly seized by new religious ideas. In the religious movement in the North, it is always the female element which is central."[86]

André Vauchez, however, modifies this view, stressing women's desire to participate in the mendicant movements such as the Franciscans, which arose in Italy. He believes the difference lies in the institutional nature of the movement in the north versus in the south, indicating women in the south chose a more individual spirituality and often chose to practice it within their own homes.[87] Although, this may have been due to a greater inability to create institutional structures for their religious impulses in Mediterranean society, nonetheless he suggests that the spirituality informing all forms of female piety was equally strong throughout Europe. It may also reflect an incomplete understanding of institutional forms of piety in Italian society. As this research will illustrate, women made up the majority of membership in the Humiliati. Thus, viewed as a large, primarily female movement, the Humiliati represent an organized, institutional form of female piety that originated in Mediterranean society. These findings suggest the need for a reevaluation of Grundmann's model of female piety —at least for Italy.

Why the Humiliati movement was particularly attractive to women can best be answered by comparing them to other groups that also attracted large numbers of women. The appeal of various groups, however, must be studied individually as not all of the new groups that emerged during the high Middle Ages encouraged participation by women, and conversely not all groups were equally attractive to women. As mentioned, the mendicant orders of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, in fact, resisted taking on the pastoral care of women; this conflicted with an increasing number of women who desired their form of spiritual life. They were thus forced to look for alternative movements; hence the development of the Beguines.[88] However, the novelty of a movement should not be seen as the sole criterion for its attraction for women. It may be assumed that women consciously chose those movements that most closely met their individual needs.

Scholars have studied doctrinal differences between the various groups, particularly the heretical sects, in order to determine variations in their attraction to women. For example, Eleanor McLaughlin's study of the Cathars suggests how various teachings may have discouraged women's involvment. Catharism's view of women both reiterated and strengthened a misogynystic view of women.[89] In her study of English Lollardy, Shannon McSheffrey examined Lollard communities and the teaching of Lollardy in order to understand why the movement would have been more appealing to women than the institutional Church. She found that the movement was indeed more restrictive in certain areas of women's lives than the traditional Church and that there were not a great number of women involved in the movement at their own instigation. McSheffrey also found, however, that women's involvement varied with social class and marital status. [90]

In Anna Benvenuti Papi's research on the *pinzochere* of northern Italy, she finds that because early penitential orders favored men or married women, unmarried women were forced to join or form new communities.[91] These studies suggest that within various movements, women's participation varied across classes and according to marital status, and that such variations must be considered in any analysis of individual groups.

Jacques de Vitry included women Humiliati alongside the Beguines, the Papalarda of France, the pinzochere of Italy and the Coquenunne of the German territories.[92] Humbert of Romans classified Humiliati women in the same category as those of Benedictine, Cistercian, Dominican, Augustinian, and Beguine orders.[93] These references indicate the vast array of possibilities for women both in relation to the Church and to their own spiritual needs, desires, and life choices. Although it is necessary, as Herbert Grundmann suggests, to view the lay piety movement of the high Middle Ages as a basic alteration in the spiritual orientation of a great many people, one must not lose sight of the variety of individual responses included in this movement among groups and between the genders. Because Beguines, Cathars, pinzochere, Franciscans, or Humiliati, all were attractive to their members for reasons intrinsic to their group they must—in contradiction to Grundmann—be studied individually.

Women in Urban Society

If the religious movement did not arise in a social or cultural vacuum, but was to a large degree a response to a changing society, and because the Humiliati, including its women, were active participants in many facets of society, we must also consider the social and economic context of the movement. In most cases women's experience within society was based on different expectations and values from men's. Therefore, this experience should be viewed separately from men's when evaluating possible motivation for joining the movement.

Demographic pressure and urban expansion have been considered by many historians to be central to the phenomenon of women in the lay movements. A historical tenet generally referred to as "the women question," or *Frauenfrage,* suggests that by the high Middle Ages there were more women than men of marriageable age, and that this affected social customs such as marriage age, dowry and religious options. While the importance of this demographic factor has been much debated, scholars such as David Herlihy and Benvenuti believe that the cities attracted women who were unable to make suitable marriages or to join regular religious orders for economic reasons. For them, such lay movements would have been appealing.[94] Other scholars such as Bynum believe this "surplus women theory" is too simplistic in regard to women's spiritual choices. They see a variety of possible motives for the attraction to the movement, believing women should be credited with a more active role in their spiritual choices rather than seeing them as forced in one direction or the other either by the Church or society.[95]

Carla Casagrande and Giovanna Casagrande's work on urban women illustrates how women were not completely excluded from business, trade, and religious life. Within the organized economy of guilds and corporations, however, women were often excluded or their participation was severely limited; thus, they found a more open environment within the confraternity, suggesting that the religious element of the association placed women in a more socially acceptable position than did labor. [96] These theories indicate that the Humiliati would have been very attractive to women, providing both alternative economic options as well as an opportunity to participate in the apostolic movement.

However, even the concept of inclusion versus exclusion becomes difficult to assess as one confronts the complicated terrain of women's historiography. There is much debate regarding women's status and power in the Middle Ages, as it is so difficult to quantify. Traditional gauges of status and power that work for the male do not always work for the female. Early feminist history tended to view this era in women's history as a golden age in women's status due to their role in the public arena.[97] This view has been much debated as it rests on modern constructs of power and status, relies mainly on male produced literary sources, and focuses on exceptional women and women of upper classes. Subsequent historians, such as Mary Erler, Maryanne Kowaleski, Diane Owen Hughes, and others, have focused on non-traditional avenues of power and status, and attempted to piece together a view of the lives of women of all social classes.[98]

This reevaluation is particularly relevant in northern Italy during the Middle Ages, because while the structure of society was highly patriarchal in nature, it was also increasingly urban. The traditional view of patriarchy represents a lack of women's power in the public sphere, while paradoxically, many believe that urbanization tended to increase women's power in that sphere. Fortunately, there have been a wealth of studies on women's participation in the urban environment that aid in understanding this apparent contradiction.[99]

Determining the participation of women in economic endeavors poses unique problems when dealing with northern Italy. For although the politics and culture of northern Italy were dominated to a far greater extent by the city than was the case in most northern European states, the role of women in the economy is much more difficult to trace and must take into consideration issues such as family and kinship, as well as official and unofficial roles. Most scholars accept the idea that there was a shift from the tenth to the fifteenth centuries from a feudal system where the power was family-based to an urban system with power shifting outside the family. There is consensus that at least in urban areas of northern Europe, some artisan women's presence in the public sphere grew greatly at this time. However, while some women's participation in this sphere increased, they were still subject to the legal and moral the authority of the male head of household.[100] While this patriarchal system and the importance of dowry shaped a greater range of classes in northern Italy than elsewhere, they were not universal among all people. The changes in status from the feudal to the patriarchal urban family affected the class of the wealthy merchants and magnates the most. The

burgeoning class of artisans and tradesmen faced the same societal expectations but were limited by economic circumstances from participating equally in the public realm with the upper classes.

There have been a number of studies that attempt to ascertain the level and nature of women's participation in the urban economy. Much research as to the actual roles of women in production and consumption within the city indicates that women were in fact involved in many elements of the public sphere. Kathryn Reyerson, Erika Uitz and others have been able to fuse research that uses archival sources to quantify specific details of women's lives with literary and biographical sources to place them in a larger context.[101] Within the spheres of production and consumption, the Italian woman's role in economic activity was not officially recognized by the social and political structure of the time. They were not found in the publicly sanctioned organizations such as guilds to the extent that northern European women were.[102] However, through research using sources such as tax rolls, court records and notary registers, it is possible to find numerous examples of women involved in many facets of economic activity. For example, Uitz is able to determine that 21.1 percent of trade contracts from Genoa in the first half of the thirteenth century were made by women.[103]

Perhaps the most monumental effort to interpret, describe, and quantify the existence of the urban Italian of the late medieval/early Renaissance period is found in David Herlihy and Christiane Klapische-Zuber's work, *Tuscans and Their Families: A Study of the Florentine Catasto of 1427*.[104] While invaluable for providing quantitative demographic and social information, it is still dependent upon the *catasto,* a tax assessment document, that is reflective of public values and laws of the commune. It does not provide insight into how women were influencing factors such as economics, politics, and religion in a more private or unofficial way.[105]

In order to understand the reality of Italian women's lives it is necessary to examine their roles in unofficial, private spheres. Diane Owen Hughes's body of work examines the issue of Italian urban women within the context of various societal roles and relationships. By examining the dowry system, changing kinship structures, and variations in experiences by social class and profession, she concludes that there was a discrepancy in the ideal behavior prescribed by male society and the reality of women's behavior, and that this too differed between classes.[106] Therefore, any study of women must consider evidence beyond the prescriptive or descriptive commentary written by representatives of official society such as the Church or city government. Examination of documentary evidence that illustrates actual community activities in which women were involved is integral to this process.

It is more difficult to find women's presence in such sources in Italy than in northern Europe because they often were represented by a male agent in most business and legal dealings. However, this was not universal across time or place, and some historians have been able to tease out some references to women acting on their own behalf. Mark Angelos's work on women in Genoese *commenda,* or

partnership contracts, from the middle of the twelfth to the beginning of the thirteenth century, illuminates a world of women business owners. He finds women using agents to represent them, but he also finds women acting on their own.[107] In a similar study for Montpellier, Kathryn Reyerson has found women involved in all types of business activity, including land and business investments, partnership agreements, and borrowing and lending money. For example, she found that women were involved in 24.4 percent of land sales partnership contracts in Montpellier.[108]

Using wills, Steven Epstein has been able to examine women's charitable patterns, which in turn has illuminated certain aspects of women's lives, their work, living arrangements, wealth, and relationships.[109] Although anecdotal, these references indicate that the reality of women's economic lives differed considerably from what was thought to be appropriate by Italian society.

The Humiliati seems to have attracted individuals of diverse backgrounds for varying reasons. By examining the social pressures inherent on all groups in society, and the various responses to these pressures, the nature of the movement becomes clearer, and its complexity more understandable.

The difficulty with piecing together a comprehensive view of the movement lies not only in the dual nature of their purpose, spiritual and economic, but also in the complexity of the group itself. The three orders— and the presence of both men and women and of families—make analysis and generalization difficult. In particular, comprehending women's roles within the movement is made even more problematic by the difficulty in understanding their formal and informal power, as well as in finding quantifiable evidence pertaining to their daily lives. Economically and spiritually, women were not free to make choices at will; they had to be made within the prescriptive environment created by male lawmakers and family members. The ability of women to carve out a place for themselves in both spiritual and economic life must be seen in this light. It is necessary first to attempt to quantify their presence in the Humiliati, as best as possible, and then to piece together the anecdotal references to their lives in order to better understand their place in the movement, and thus the movement's place within society as a whole. The Humiliati offered women of all classes an opportunity to realize their spiritual and economic ambitions in ways that were not available to them outside the movement. In addition, the movement afforded women an opportunity to respond through labor and good works to the challenges of their changing society directly. This activity in turn, provided them spiritual as well as economic sustenance.

METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES

In order to rectify the lack of consensus regarding aspects of the Humiliati movement, as well as to give a comprehensive view of the group, this study compiles evidence from archival sources and compares these to the prescriptive

documents of the Church. This provides a more accurate picture of the group's character, its relationship with the Church, and the reality of its existence.

Much of the current scholarship on the Humiliati is based on analysis of various writings on the Humiliati compiled by G.Tiraboschi in his work *Vetera Humiliatorum Monumenta,* published in 1766–68.[110] This collection, which includes correspondence between Pope Innocent III and the group, provides a picture of the relationship between the Church and the Humiliati. For the purposes of this work, attention will be paid to three particular letters entitled, *Incumbit nobis, Diligentiam pii patris,* and *Non omni spiritui,* written by Innocent III to the three orders of the Humiliati in response to their *propositum*.[111] In addition, the VHM includes inventories of some Humiliati houses from 1298 and 1344.[112] Tiraboschi's printed collection stands as the most comprehensive collection of documentation on the group, including many documents that have since been lost. His analysis and critique are still considered to be relevant and accurate. However, there is no correspondence on the part of the Humiliati themselves in this collection. As such, it reflects mainly the Church's response to the group and should, therefore, be viewed as prescriptive or descriptive and used accordingly. Zanoni included in his collection a part of a subsequent rule known as *Omnis boni principium* (OBP), which, while highly formulaic, does outline some specifics as to the rules of everyday life to which the Humiliati were expected to conform. My research contributes not only to understanding the nature of the movement as described in this correspondence, but also evaluates the motivations of the Church in its dealings with this group. I will show how the ecclesiastical evidence may not have reflected the original intentions or represented the reality of the Humiliati experience.

I compare these sources to, and supplement them with, original archival research conducted in the state archives and libraries in northern Italian cities, including Bergamo, Brescia, Como, Crema, Cremona, Genoa, Lodi, Milan, Pavia, Verona, Varese and Vicenza. For the most part, notarial records for particular cities or regions provide documentation for the Humiliati. Two types of records, business transactions and wills, provide the most informative sources of information on the group, particularly on their economic activity. Professions of vows were also recorded, and these as well as wills, provide information on family status, wealth, and charitable giving.

Records that indicate the presence of women are also examined. Often in legal records dealing with the Humiliati, even when a male agent is used as the primary actor, the names of each of the sisters he represents are included. In particular, I examine records that indicate some type of economic activity or transfer of goods or property. These include records of land transactions, debt payments, rental agreements, and mediations of disputes over such transactions. Professions of vows are useful in indicating the social class of the female initiate as they often listed the goods that she donated upon entering the order. These records are also useful in determining the wealth of the houses as they accumulated these goods.

In addition to contributing original archival evidence to the body of knowledge regarding the Humiliati, this research also synthesizes evidence found in local studies for a particular house or region. I then analyze the resulting comprehensive collection of archival data analyzed and compare it to the prescriptive documentation in order to achieve a general evaluation of the movement and women's place within the movement.

Due to the unique institutional nature of the Humiliati movement and the problems and questions posed due to their complicated structure, the second chapter of this study outlines organizational elements of the movement. In particular, consideration is given to the unique division of the group into three orders, including an analysis of the origin and legitimacy of this division and the importance of understanding the specific differences or similarities between the three. This chapter also includes an examination of all three letters from Innocent III responding to the group's *propositum,* the *Omnis boni principium* outlining the rules under which the Humiliati were compelled to live, their internal hierarchy, and their relationship to the greater Church structure. This evidence is compared with archival evidence from specific Humiliati houses in order to determine its accuracy as well illuminate the variety of structures within the movement.

Chapter three analyzes the gender composition of the movement and estimates the extent of its attraction to women. In order to determine the number and distribution of men and women in Humiliati settlements, the inventory of brothers and sisters in individual Humiliati houses found in Tiraboschi's VHM is compared with evidence of membership that I have collected for houses in Pavia, Bergamo, Milan, Como, Lodi, Cremona, Vicenza, Verona, and Brescia. Although the evidence is highly anecdotal and static with regards to time and place, by comparing all the possible evidence of numbers within these houses, conclusions are reached as to the proportion of men and women in particular houses and with regards to which areas attracted more or less women.

Chapter four provides a compilation of original archival sources as well as evidence from other studies to reveal the social status of the Humiliati women. Tiraboschi's work contains some testamentary information, including women's bequests to Humiliati houses. This type of evidence is used to estimate wealth and social status and is combined with my research based on archival records, including wills, purchase agreements, land sales, wool sales transactions, and labor contracts. Using such records, an analysis is made of the apparent differences in social origins between the various orders, in different geographical areas and between genders.

These sources are used to determine the scope and nature of the economic activity in which women of the Humiliati were involved. Chapter five includes a reexamination of the group's role in the textile industry, quantifying and analyzing the evidence of their participation as well as considering the importance of the industry to the movement and to the northern Italian region. In view of the findings of women's domination of the order, their participation in the industry must be reevaluated. It is clear that as women's choices were more

limited than men's, their involvement in the textile industry may not have been as deliberate as has been suggested for men.

Finally, chapter six examines alternative economic activities in which the Humiliati were involved: their ability to act for themselves in economic transactions, the nature and variety of their economic concerns, and the wealth of individual houses. In addition, this chapter discusses the importance of labor to the Humiliati. By examining the group's *propositum,* which outlines their belief in the value of labor as well as indicating their self-imposed regulations regarding labor and ownership, new insights emerge regarding the nature and importance of labor to the spirituality of the move ment. In addition to considering contemporary teachings on the value of labor and work in medieval society, I compare this prescriptive document with direct evidence of labor practices from the above-mentioned archival sources. Findings regarding the breadth and success of the Humiliati's participation in the economy reveal that labor itself, for the betterment of their individual souls as well as for the good of the larger community, was the most important of their spiritual motivations and the one unifying tenet among all houses.

SUMMARY

By examining these elements of the Humiliati movement, it is possible to determine that women were, in fact, attracted to the movement in large numbers. It is also becomes apparent that these women came from a variety of social backgrounds and participated in a number of activities within the movement. Finally, an analysis of this material provides insight into women's motivation for joining the Humiliati.

By looking at evidence from a broad range of Humiliati houses and compiling the information from a number of local studies, it is possible to make some initial generalizations regarding a group whose institutional and geographic diversity has made such synthesis difficult. The preponderance of female members in an organized religious movement suggests that the view of restricted spiritual options for Mediterranean females needs to be reexamined. In addition, the urban character of the Humiliati must not be overstated. While they were an integral part of the economy of northern Italy, they practiced a number of occupations including agricultural work and charitable administration.

Conclusions from this work may shed light on the relationship between social conditions and religious change. By focusing on all aspects of women's participation in a movement that represented one spiritual option during this period, I show how women responded to their spiritual, familial, and communal needs within their social context. The development of lay spiritual movements, as well as the growing attention to social issues such as poor relief during the high Middle Ages, represents a reaction to social change. Understanding the process for creating such options helps to illuminate the relationship between personal spirituality, organized religion, and the reality of daily living. Although they were

part of an overall movement of lay religiosity that occurred in the high Middle Ages, the Humiliati must be examined separately from other apostolic, penitential, confraternal and female spiritual groups. This research not only adds to our general knowledge of one aspect of lay piety, but also contributes to an overall understanding of the relationship between societal and religious change in the Middle Ages.

CHAPTER TWO
The Organizational Structure of the Humiliati

The debate regarding the social origins and motivation for membership in the Humiliati is constructed on a largely theoretical model of the institutional structure of the order based on prescriptive and anecdotal evidence. Both sides provide a theoretical construct that best illustrates their viewpoints. For Herbert Grundmann and his followers, the institutional structure of the group most resembled a semi-cloistered organization that followed set rules and focused on following their chosen spiritual path while aiding their fellow citizens. They envisioned groups of men and women, literate and fairly well off, who renounced their old way of life and came together for the purpose of following an apostolic lifestyle of voluntary poverty and evangelism. These scholars acknowledged the group's presence in the economy in the role of wool workers, but suggested that this role was undertaken as a simple and necessary form of group self-preservation. The evidence cited for this model is mainly garnered from ecclesiastical documents, along with direct and indirect evidence of a handful of houses of the first or second orders.

This same process can be attributed to the proponents of the view that see the Humiliati as a social movement first and a spiritual movement second. Zanoni and his successors depict the institution of the Humiliati as groups of men and women who came together out of economic necessity and formed an organization that would most allow them the security to continue their economic activity while providing a spiritual legitimacy to their efforts. As such, they envision small groups of artisans, often in family groups, ordered around the needs of their profession as well as their religious duties. These scholars are able to find documentation that illustrates this economic activity and which illuminates the nature of the labor and laborers involved. Although they indicate that this model represented mainly members of the third order, and suggest that this group was probably the largest, they are able to supply little documentation for these third order houses; therefore they must base their model on additional indirect evidence.

Both groups acknowledge the delineation of the three orders as it is described by contemporary chroniclers or in the correspondence of Innocent III. Yet each tends to appropriate either the first and second, or conversely the third order, as the illustrative example of the movement as they see it. This is highly problematic for several reasons. First, there is difficulty with the very delineation of the three

orders, as scholars disagree as to the origins of the delineation. As noted above, some find the separation of orders to be simply a legitimization of existing social divisions within the group, while others believe that the three orders were an imposition on the group by the Church and may not reflect the reality of the structure of the organization. Second, even within each order, the evidence suggests that there was a wide variation in structure, size, gender composition, and activity between various houses. Finally, both models of the group are based on the supposition that they were urban institutions and were primarily involved in wool working as their main form of income. Local studies, however, indicate that there was a wide variety of economic activity in which the Humiliati involved themselves. In fact, as will be shown, evidence indicates that there were a large number of houses located in rural areas.

The delineation of the three orders as laid out in Tiraboschi's *Vetera Humilatorum Monumenta* represents the Church's attempt, whether it was welcome or not, to organize the lay movement so that it was operating within the structured hierarchy of the ecclesiastical institution. By imposing a traditional institutional model of organization that was approved by the Church, Innocent III was recognizing the group's differences from other movements and allowing them to govern themselves while still maintaining the Church's authority and control over the order as much as possible. As such, we must read his description of the three orders and their prescribed way of life as *his* model for the structure of the institution of the Humiliati. However, to understand if this reflected the reality of the group's life or not, further evidence must be sought.

This chapter will examine the institutional structure of the Humiliati from two perspectives. First, it will be necessary to outline the structure of the first, second, and third orders as prescribed by Innocent III. His response to their *propositum* provides us with a cursory view of the individual structure of each order, its hierarchy of authority, and daily activities and responsibilities. This will be compared with archival evidence from regions and individual houses. Several of the more recent localized studies of the Humiliati have attempted to reach some conclusions regarding the structure of the movement regionally; these will be discussed along with a consideration of new research that provides anecdotal evidence of the variety of the Humiliati experience. The evidence indicates that there is not one institutional model that fits the entire group. The prescriptive rules given them by the Church were formulaic and meant to impose order on the movement that was, in reality, composed of a variety of institutional forms.

NON OMNI SPIRITUI

In letters written in 1201 to the leaders of several Humiliati houses in response to their *propositum,* Innocent III laid out a prescription for living for each order. These letters are rather vague and formulaic, using mainly gospel injunctions to instruct the group on how to live humble lives and avoid laying up worldly treasures; they also support the group's desire to refrain from swearing oaths.[1]

There is very little specificity with regard to daily living, nor is there an abundance of information regarding the differences between the orders. Andrews indicates that these documents should be viewed as "records of events to confirm the respectability of the communities, and as a guide to their general ethos, rather than practical regulations for daily life."[2] The letter to the first order, *Non omni spiritui,* is in the form of a privilege. It deals with the first order and, as might be expected for a clerical group, contains the most specific instructions about administration, authority, and relationship with the Church. It outlines the protection promised by the Church to the orders' churches, persons, and possessions, and its promise to intervene in the case of injustices done to the order. Part of the letter, which instructs the members how they should lead their religious lives, uses almost identical wording to that of the letters to the other two orders.[3]

Leaders of the first order who were given the title provosts, were answerable to the local bishop. Innocent III granted these provosts the ability to receive clerics and laymen into the order, the authority to receive churches into the order and build their own, and the permission to celebrate holy mass.[4] It appears from this particular letter, that the leaders of four of the first order houses, Cristoforo, Lodi, Viboldone, and Rondineto, were given authority over the other houses. The process of election of these provosts and a description of the administration of the annual charter illuminates to some extent the nature of the governmental hierarchy of the group. The provosts were to be elected with the aid of an outside agent; this agent selected two brothers who were clerics and one layman to be the electors. These electors were to fast for four days and then, after consulting the wishes of the community at large, elect the provost by unanimous vote. In the annual chapter meeting, these four provosts would join with four prelates of the second order and four ministers from the third as leaders of the meeting.[5] Although we are not told how these four leaders of the second and third order were chosen, we may assume it was by a similar process. Innocent III granted members of the first order status of official *religiosi,* and its members were to be tonsured and were to wear a habit similar to that worn by literate laymen in other orders. They lived together but were able to leave at will.[6]

DILIGENTIAM PII PATRIS

There is very little information regarding members of the first order's prescribed physical space or daily regime. This is also true for the letter to members of the second order. The letter to the leaders of the second order, *Diligentiam pii patris,* is the briefest and vaguest of the three. After general spiritual instruction, as well as a lengthy discussion regarding the swearing of oaths,[7] the letter deals superficially with living arrangements and regime. It suggests that members were to live in a common house but with separate spaces for men and women. They were instructed to pay tithes on their property but were exempt from tithes on the goods they produced, the profits of which were to be used to aid the poor.[8]

Their leaders were called prelates, but there is no indication of the procedure for their selection or of their specific authority or responsibilities. Like members of the first order, members of the second order were given the official term *religiosi*.[9] The only real difference between the rule given for the first and second orders appears to deal with tithes. Whereas members of the first order were given an exemption from tithes and were allowed to possess tithes from land they rented for their own use,[10] members of the second order had to pay tithes to their affiliated church except on land they worked and goods they produced.[11]

Similarities between the prescriptive documents for these two orders is unique in that they both combine clerical and monastic elements, so that the first and second orders could use the same rule. It has been suggested that this is illustrative of a change occurring in the twelfth century, which made the distinctions between the monastic orders and the traditional clergy more difficult to determine.[12] As such, it becomes very difficult to distinguish between the two. Brenda Bolton has suggested that Innocent III was originally attempting to bring all the Humiliati under a single rule and that only after several years of investigation did he find that this would be impossible.[13] Perhaps by providing very little delineation between the rules for the first two orders, he was hoping to indirectly move them closer together.

INCUMBIT NOBIS

Interestingly, the letter to the tertiaries, *Incumbit nobis,* is by far the most detailed and specific regarding living arrangements and daily regimes. This possibly reflected Innocent III's concern with the novel problems that might arise within a group whose members lived in their homes, often in family groups. The initial part of the letter is very similar to the other two, admonishing the members to live humbly and love God and their fellow man. A similar lengthy section follows on oath-taking.[14] The terminology used by Innocent III for the tertiaries is different and less uniform than for the others. He refers to them variously as *societas, fraternitas,* and *universitas*. This may indicate his recognition of their already being part of a civic or labor organization.[15] In fact, Innocent III's instructions to come to the aid of members of their community in times of illness and death are reflective of the rules for many confraternities and guilds.[16] They were to give aid in the form of temporal goods or spiritual sustenance to members in need. In case of death, they were to provide funerals for poor members and attend the funerals of all members, saying the Lord's prayer and the *Miserere* twelve times. Additionally, they were to pray for the living and the dead on a daily basis.[17]

Innocent III's letter to the third order does include some specific refer ences to daily living. He instructs them to follow the seven canonical hours, to say the Lord's prayer at each, and to fast on the fourth and sixth day of the week. They were to live and dress humbly, neither too elaborately nor too shabbily. When not fasting they were to eat two simple meals per day. They were specifically

instructed to forgo usury and the possession of illgotten gains, and they were admonished not to lay up treasures on earth.[18]

An important element of the rule of the third order dealt with their ability to meet and preach. Innocent III instructed them to meet every Sunday in a suitable place, at which time, those among them who were "wise in faith and expert in religion" could read from the bible. They were also allowed to preach words to "exhort them to a pious and earnest life," but they were not allowed to deal with theological questions, or deal with the articles of faith, or the sacraments of the Church.[19] This section of the letter illustrates the importance of this issue to the pope. Preaching in public was one of the main issues that led to their condemnation as heretics in the 1170s. Innocent III recognized this desire as one increasingly popular among the laity, and while wishing to accommodate this desire, he also wished to control it. By ensuring that doctrinal issues were handled only by clergy, but allowing them to extol the virtues of pious living, he was attempting to reach a fitting compromise. This is not unique to the Humiliati, as Innocent III dealt with the mendicant groups in a similar fashion.[20]

OATH-TAKING

The section of each of the three letters dealing with the Humiliati's desired exemption from swearing oaths is the longest and most detailed. There are several possible reasons for Innocent III's attention to this issue. First, the refusal to swear oaths was a common feature among heretical groups of the period, and as so much of medieval civic and ecclesiastical life was based upon the swearing of oaths, refusal to do so could be construed as a threat to the structure of authority. The tradition of not swearing oaths, however, was a long one within monastic circles and, thus, worthy of Innocent III's attention and clarification.[21] While acknowledging their desire to refrain from oath-taking, Innocent III recognized the difficulty of following this practice at all times. While acknowledging arguments based on biblical texts that decry the practice of oath-taking, Innocent III provided, also through biblical example, exceptions to these injunctions. He does not indicate concrete examples from real life, however, but speaks only general terms.[22]

It is also possible that Innocent III's attention to the question of oath-taking is due mainly to a preexisting controversy over the question and an attempt to ensure that, if necessary, the Humiliati would swear appropriate oaths in order to maintain social order. The group's refusal to swear oaths, and Innocent III's concern with this issue, can be interpreted in other ways as well. If they were, at the time of Innocent III's approval, already heavily involved in the textile industry or other economic activity, then they would have been constantly confronted with the need to swear oaths in their commercial dealings. In addition, if, as Steven Epstein suggests, they were in competition with other guilds, their ability to sidestep the oath issue could have given them an edge in the market. He indicates, for example, that in Genoa the Humiliati did not have to foreswear

working at night as was required by all of the other guilds.[23] As there is evidence that they worked long hours, they may have been able to produce more than those who had sworn not to work nights.

There is also documentary evidence that the Church stepped in to protect the group from being forced to swear oaths by secular authorities.[24] It appears from these and other documents that the group's refusal to swear oaths brought them into conflict with secular authorities on more than one occasion. Also, in at least one instance, the commune stepped in to protect the rights of the brothers to deny oaths, perhaps suggesting a conflict with other community members. In this case, the judge of the commune of Milan issued an edict that exonerated two brothers of an unspecified Humiliati house from swearing oaths.[25]

The issue of the group's refusal to swear oaths, as well as examples of their petitions for exemption from oaths, will be discussed in greater detail below. For the purposes of this chapter, such evidence suggests that Innocent III may have been attempting to regulate behavior within Humiliati society. It also suggests that he recognized the group was already heavily involved in the economic activity of their community. As this section of the letter is almost identical for all three orders, it may suggest that all three orders were involved in the market. In fact, there is evidence of members of all three orders of the Humiliati petitioning Innocent III for specific exemption from swearing oaths.[26]

OMNIS BONI PRINCIPIUM

Luigi Zanoni published a document called the *Omnis boni principium* (OBP) in the appendix of his work. His transcription appears to be the only extant copy of the entire document.[27] He indicates that it is the official, corrected, and confirmed approval of the rule for the first and second orders of the Humiliati; he dates it circa 1227. Andrews argues convincingly that it could have been written much earlier, perhaps even directly after Innocent III's approval in 1201.[28] Andrews and Daniela Castagnetti have both aptly pointed out that this document is very formulaic, following traditional monastic models, particularly the rule of St. Benedict.[29] As such, there is little in this document that can confirm the reality of daily life, the organizational structure of the group, or the homogeneity between houses and orders, unless they did in fact consciously model themselves after a Benedictine house. This seems contrary to their desire to form a new type of organization as well as antithetical to their active participation in the economy of the city. Also, although double houses are mentioned in the OBP, there are few direct references to women, and so little can be gleaned from this document regarding their participation in the movement.[30]

Still, there are some useful passages that illustrate the groups' devotion to work, and it is these that break most completely with the Benedictine model. These passages deal with the option of laboring after evening meals, the necessity of breaking silence at certain times while working, and the specific times in which members were to be occupied with labor. The Humiliati were instructed to work

literally from sun up to sun down, with labor only interrupted by observation of the canonical hours and by their two meals. They were given an option of working after dinner or reading quietly.[31] Paolini suggests that the importance placed on labor in this document reflects its centrality to the ethos of the movement. He believes the OBP suggests that work was at the center of the group's life and that all else revolved around this. For example, section XVII of the OBP, suggests that the recitation of the canonical hours must be done in such a way as not to damage work in progress. Paolini indicates that this is reflective of the group's view of work as not secondary to spiritual life but rather as an integral part of that life.[32]

CONTRADICTORY FINDINGS FROM THE ARCHIVAL EVIDENCE

There are some direct indications of contradictions between the rule and the lived reality as found in the documentary sources. Section XXXIX of the OBP indicates that the Humiliati were allowed to own land, were required to work it with their own hands, and were not allowed to accept rents for land.[33] According to archival evidence, however, the practice of accepting rents for land was very widespread. For example, the sisters of the domus di Paullo in Lodi were involved in at least six different transactions between 1283 and 1299, all of which included the leasing of land or buildings for annual rents.[34]

Also, in the brief sections that do mention women, XLIII and XLIV, the rule indicated that sisters should be kept cloistered and access to them should be severely limited. The sisters were not allowed to speak or interact with the outside world, or with men, except through an agent. They were also to be read to, which would seem to suggest that they were not literate.[35] This seems extremely prescriptive and not representative of reality in light of an abundance of documents that reveal women actively engaged in commercial and charitable activities. Once again, using the female house called domus di Paullo of Lodi as an example, in addition to the aforementioned rental agreements in which the *ministra* of the house acted without the aid of a male agent, there are eight individual instances where land was being bought or sold by the sisters without assistance or representation.[36] For certain transactions, the *ministra* represented the other sisters who were often listed by name, but frequently she acted alone along with the person with whom she contracted. For example, in a document from February 7, 1291, Caterina, *ministra* of the domus di Paullo, bought a piece of land and its buildings directly from a citizen of Lodi.[37] Clearly these women were dealing with outsiders and were actively engaged in the community. In addition, the presence of sisters as administrators of hospitals such as those of San Vitale and San Martino di Lezio in Como would indicate they were not remaining cloistered but were actively involved in their community.[38] Iacoba, the administrator of the hospital of Rivarolio, in the diocese of Genoa, was involved in a very public dispute over her position there with the brothers of a competing hospital.[39] Also,

there were double houses that included men and women and, as Paolini points out in his consideration of the wool working operation, although there was a division of labor between the men and women, they had to interact in order to complete production.[40]

In Innocent III's letters, as well as the OBP, there is a clear delineation between the terminology used for the leaders of each of the three orders. The leaders of the first were called provosts, leaders of the second order prelates, and leaders of the third ministers. There is, however, little consistency in notarial records with regard to these terms. Brolis found that for Bergamo, there is not even any reference to three separate orders in any of the thirteenth-century sources. She finds that up until the end of the twelfth century all the leaders were called ministers.[41] In sources from other areas, the same difficulty arises. For example, the leader of the sisters of the domus di Paullo in Lodi is generally called minister *(ministra);*[42] however, on one occasion Isabella, the head of the house, is identified as teacher *(maestra)*. As this same Isabella is identified in other sources as minister, it appears that this is simply a notarial preference or mistake, but it is impossible to tell.[43]

In other instances there is even greater confusion over the terminology used for the superiors of the house. For a third order house in Milan the term provost is used.[44] The sister in charge of the domus di S.Maria de Vallemarina in Cremona is called abbess in two separate documents from 1296 and 1299.[45] On several occasions, the superior will have more than one title. For a house in Milan the leader is called both minister and prelate.[46] In two separate documents for a brother house in Como, the brother in charge is addressed as both provost and *maestro generale,* suggesting perhaps that he held both offices.[47]

The evidence is also confusing regarding the division between first and second order houses. For example, Innocent III considered the house of Galgari in Bergamo to be a house of the first order. Although it was a double house, including both brothers and sisters, the sisters of the house appeared to be under the jurisdiction of the second order.[48]

In general, these contradictions tend to support the view that the letters from Innocent III, as well as the rule approved by him, are highly prescriptive and aimed at attempting to force the group to conform to preconceived models of monastic organization. Just how the group received these rules cannot be determined, but how they lived in actuality can be pieced together with greater confidence from archival evidence, as sporadic and anecdotal as it may be. But understanding the structure of the Humiliati using evidence from the archival sources is problematic as well. The terminology used for various houses and structures varies according to region, across time, and with different notarial styles.

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: THE INVENTORY OF 1298 AND ANECDOTAL EVIDENCE COMPARED

While it is clear from all sources that there was a wide diffusion of Humiliati houses throughout the Lombard and Piedmont regions, it is difficult to pinpoint the exact location of these houses. While the movement has been described as an urban movement, it is especially difficult to determine just how many houses were actually located within cities. The houses are occasionally named according to the place in which they are found, yet even these names can be misleading. For example, the domus de Burgo, cited in documentary records in Bergamo, would suggest an urban house in Bergamo; the house was actually located in the rural area of Almenno S.Salvatore along the major road between Bergamo and Lecco. Burgo was possibly used to distinguish it from a nearby house called domus de Platea.[49]

Tiraboschi's work includes a partial inventory of houses completed in 1298 that lists houses by geographic area.[50] The inventory lists houses in two ways. In the first section, the houses are listed by number of houses within a city and or diocese. Some are listed by city alone; others say "city and diocese." For example, for the city of Bergamo, the inventory lists twenty-one houses, but lists them under Bergamo and its diocese.[51] Brolis, in her exhaustive localized study of the Humiliati of Bergamo, lists thirty-four separate houses and plots their location on maps of the city and surrounding area. She finds that there were seventeen houses that she considers urban, fourteen of these located inside the city walls, and seventeen that were found in the surrounding countryside.[52] Gabriele Archetti has done a similar topographical plan for the diocese of Brescia in the thirteenth century. He finds that there were ten houses located within the city walls and an additional six found in the surrounding countryside.[53] Tiraboschi's inventory included fifteen houses under the heading of "Brescia and its diocese."[54]

Some of the inventoried houses are listed only by city and do not include the term diocese; thus it might be assumed that these were strictly urban houses. For example, for the city of Cremona, the catalogue indicates that there were five houses in the city. It does not include the term diocese.[55] It is possible, however, to find references in the sources to houses within the diocese of Cremona that would appear to be more rural. The house of S. Caterina in Cremona was active in buying up large tracts of land in the last three decades of the twelfth century. Some of these appear to have been bought as extensions to existing land holdings.[56] This large amount of land suggests that the house was located in a rural area, although this could also suggest that urban houses held land in rural areas.

The second section of Tiraboschi's catalogue lists the houses by name under place headings. For example, it lists the city of Milan and towns *(Civitate Mediolani & in Burgis)* and then lists the various houses by name. Some of these house names give an indication of location, such as *Porta Orientalis,* which would indicate it was located near a city gate, as would those listed as *S.Spiritus Portae Vercellinae* and *domus de Ottadis Portae Vercellinae*. Others appear to bear the name

of a church with which they were affiliated, such as the domus S.Trinitatis Mediolani, for example.[57] With the majority it is difficult to tell from the names exactly where the house was located.

Both Brolis and Pasi have concluded, for the areas of Bergamo and Pavia at least, that there were settlements in both the urban and rural areas; this suggests that, as such, they may have been structured differently.[58] Often the economic activity in which the house appears to have been involved will give some indication of its geographic location. For example, there are many documents that refer to land sales or rental agreements that indicate that the Humiliati were engaged in agricultural activities. While it is possible that they may have done so only in a secondary role as landlords, this still suggests certain conclusions as to their relationship to the land as well as to the people in their community.[59]

There are several instances where the type of activity taking place on the land is indicated. In a document for the domus di Denari in Lodi, a sale of land to the sisters of the house is described as "land with arable vines and which had earlier been used to cultivate fig trees."[60] Another document from the sister house of Bosto in Varese indicates that the sisters purchased a farm on which there were trees and grapevines.[61] This type of information can be used to garner evidence regarding urban activities as well. In a 1288 document from Milan, the donation of a small garden is recorded for the use of the sisters so that they may place a pillar there to sustain the wall of their weaving shop.[62] Scholars of local studies have remarked on the concentration of houses along major roads and near water sources.[63] Hospitals tended to be located in urban areas or along major roads.[64] The abundance of records dealing with the purchase or sale of mills suggests that many houses were located near water, which supports the evidence of the group's involvement in the wool industry as much of the wool process was dependent on having a nearby water source.[65]

Zanoni's thesis regarding the nature of the Humiliati movement is clearly based on their participation in wool industry. This is particularly true of members of the third order. While it is impossible to know if there were individual houses of these tertiaries located outside the city walls, it is possible to find evidence that these groups purchased real estate. It is worth noting that while many of the sales agreements for first and second houses deal with the sale of land, most of the existing documents for the tertiaries deal with the sale of buildings. In most instances, an individual tertiary buying property for a house or workshop would have had no reason to note his affiliation with the order. Therefore, as these were sold to the group, not an individual, it can be assumed they were probably buildings bought as meeting houses, which would explain the necessity of using the group's name. Most of these buildings appear to be in urban areas or villages.[66] The few instances where land was bought by the tertiaries may simply indicate that they bought the land on which to build a meeting house.[67]

A further examination of the specific economic activities in which the various houses were involved will be undertaken in chapter five. For the purposes of this chapter, it can be concluded that one single model of an urban institution cannot

be inferred from the sources. Clearly, the numerous houses of the Humiliati were located in cities, villages, and rural areas, and as this suggests varied ways of producing income to support themselves, it also suggests a variety of institutional structures in which to do so.

THE DOMUS

Indirect information from the archival records can also be used to contribute to an understanding of the actual physical structure of the Humiliati houses. The terminology with regard to the building in which the Humiliati resided is itself problematic. The word *domus,* while used frequently in the sources, is not universal, nor does it merely indicate a building. It could be used to mean either the physical structure of the group or simply a group of people living together in a structure. In fact, it could even simply mean the meeting place of the group and not necessarily imply that they also lived there.[68] In addition, it can be assumed that the housing for members of the third order would be different from that of the first or second. The few records we do have for individual tertiaries suggest single-family dwellings.[69]

There are, however, a few references to buildings in the sources from which we can draw some initial conclusions. Andrews finds evidence from a community near Verona that included an oratory, dormitory, and refectory.[70] She also finds evidence from double houses of separate oratories for sisters and brothers. She also includes, however, two documents regarding dual houses in which they were allowed to have an oratory built (just one) for the use of all members.[71] She indicates that even this is problematic, as there are very few such records and they may indicate "ownership or intention rather than everyday use."[72] There is evidence from Bergamo of a church connected with the house of Galgari that had a separate chapel for the sisters.[73]

There are two remaining extant Humiliati houses, and although they have undergone changes over the centuries, they do give some indication as to their original physical structure. The house of Viboldone outside of Milan includes original twelfth- and thirteenth-century buildings and, according to Andrews, appears to have been modeled after several Cistercian abbeys. The other, Ognissanti in Florence, followed a more traditionally mendicant plan.[74] Ognissanti itself, however, appears to differ from the majority of Lombard houses. Because it was much larger in number than most of the northern houses and housed only brothers, it would be difficult to generalize from this one house.

There is a plan for a house in Varese called S.Lorenzo de Cannobio, made in November of 1607 and reprinted in Besozzi's work on the Humiliati. Although the plan should be used with caution as it was made at such a late date, it suggests the possible layout for a Humiliati house. This house was categorized in the catalogue of 1298 as a *domus praelatorum* that housed seven brothers and three sisters. This plan does not delineate separate areas for the brothers and sisters. There is one chapel, one room that could have been the oratory, several rooms

that appear to be the dormitory, and other small rooms that might have accommodated daily living needs.[75] There are several references in the archives to buildings being donated to the Humiliati for use as communal houses. These suggest some groups within the order structured their living arrangements in accordance with a preexisting structure. For example, the Humiliati of Brescia were given a house by the Dominicans because their house had become too small for them.[76]

While members of the third order apparently remained in their family homes, there are indications that they purchased or were given dwellings to be used as meeting places. There are several notarial records of sales of land and buildings to the tertiaries as well as an interesting rental agreement that sheds some light on the nature of the transaction and the use of the house.[77] In 1343, the head of the hospital of SS Bernardo and Benedetto dei Sette Convegni rented a house to Filippo di Rozeno of the third order for an annual rent of fourteen Lire, plus an additional fee in the form of two capons, a number of eggs, a quantity of mature grapes, and a basket of chestnuts. In addition, the landlord requested that two brothers were to keep the building cleaned as it was the "place of the meeting, where according to the custom, the sermons were to be held."[78]

While it is impossible to tell for sure if those houses affiliated with hospitals had living quarters physically attached to the hospital, perhaps in some instances they were. Ultimately, however, archival documents can only provide limited glimpses into the living arrangements of the Humiliati.

FAMILIES

Perhaps the single most unique aspect of the Humiliati was the inclusion of family groups into the order. For members of the third order, we can assume that families lived in their own homes and followed the Humiliati rule while existing in the public and private spheres in ways similar to a typical medieval family. It is perhaps possible to compare the third order's structure to that of a penitential confraternity. André Vauchez's describes the confraternities' goals as including a desire to live a pious life of poverty and asceticism while remaining in the world. This description seems very compatible with that purpose that has been ascribed to the tertiaries of the Humiliati.[79] They were not, however, an independent confraternal group; they were part of the Humiliati organization and practiced specific spiritual and economic activities associated with that group.

There is some question as to the nature of the family unit within the movement as well. While it is clear that families entered the order, their status once involved is not clear. For example, in a family of the third order in Genoa, there is evidence that a husband and wife were involved as well as possibly the wife's two sisters. In two wills for this family, there is no indication that the sisters were married, or are there any children mentioned. This leads to Epstein's speculation that they may all have been practicing chastity.[80]

There is evidence in the notarial sources of families joining the movement as a group, including joining houses of the second order. For example, in a document from 1313 for the second order house of La Fontana in Bergamo, a family including two men and three women entered the order.[81] In a document from 1219 in Pavia for the house of S.Maria in Pertica, a husband and wife committed themselves and all their goods to the house.[82] There is also a case of a sister following her brother into the house of Galgari after she had become a widow.[83] There are also several cases of families entering the order with their children. In these instances there is usually a stipulation that the child will remain in the house until a certain age, at which time they are free to join the order or leave.[84] The inclusion of children in a house affected the structure of labor, since they would have learned the craft of the house and worked for the community. Paolini believes they can be viewed in this respect as part of the capital a family brought to a house.[85]

EVIDENCE OF CHANGE OVER TIME

A final difficulty in forming a clear picture of the institutional structure of the group deals with the problem of change and evolution over time. The houses listed in the inventory of 1298 represent the movement as it was in 1298. It is impossible to reach conclusions regarding the size or structure of the order across the three centuries of its existence from this one moment in time. Houses grew and decreased in size, combined with other houses, or simply changed their names. For example, the history of several houses in Cremona can be traced from the beginning of the twelfth century through the thirteenth, and it is possible to see how fluid the organization was from changes to these houses. In 1308 the houses of S.Guglielmo and Casa Nuova were united.[86] From the sources we can see that prior to 1328, the resulting house, called S.Guglielmo, was a male-only house. We also find that the domus di S.Caterina was a dual house. In 1328, theses two houses merged. After this date the resulting house is referred to as a double house, sometimes using both names, "domus di S.Guglielmo and S.Caterina," or variously "S. Caterina called S.Guglielmo," or just "S.Guglielmo." [87] Then, for no discernible reason, the house changed its name yet again in 1342. In several documents from that year, and from 1351, it is referred to as "casa di S. Spirito or di S.Guglielemo," "Casa di S.Spirito called S.Guglielmo," or "Casa di S.Spirito di S.Guglielmo."[88] In the catalogue of 1298 the houses of S.Guglielmo, S.Caterina, and Domus Nuova are all listed as separate houses, and they are all listed as brother houses.[89]

CONCLUSIONS

From these few sources it is clearly impossible to make any generalizations about the living and working space occupied by the Humiliati. It is apparent, however,

that historians' attempts to create one institutional model to describe the organizational and physical structure of the group is misguided

Alberzoni believes that the wide variation in rules and structure between houses may be due to the absence of a single founder venerated as a saint who would give a single religious model for living.[90] Whether or not this is the cause, it is clear that the institution as it evolved was far from homogeneous in its structure. We can conclude, from the evidence adduced, that the group was loosely organized around three orders, which followed a similar rule but not uniformly. The unifying principles for all members appear to be their desire to live within their community and work with their hands. It is impossible from the evidence to view the group as primarily urban or solely involved in the textile industry.[91] There is clearly also a unifying spiritual aspect for all members, illustrated by their affiliation and obedience to the Church hierarchy, as well as their daily rituals of religious observance. Beyond these basic principles, it appears that the group acted according to its surroundings, adapting to the physical and economic landscape, and meeting the needs of its members as well as those needy of the community.

CHAPTER THREE
Gender Composition of the Humiliati

In addition to determining the characteristics of the internal and external structure of the order, it is important to attempt an evaluation of the size of individual communities within the Humiliati movement and the gender composition of each. Unlike traditional monastic movements, there does not appear to have been a prescribed size for Humiliati houses, and the evidence suggests there was a vast variety in the number of members attached to any one house.[1] While difficult, it is worthwhile to attempt to quantify the size and sex ratio of the group as this can tell us much regarding the appeal of the movement.

Knowledge of the size of individual Humiliati communities, where they were located, and who they attracted as members aids us in understanding the movement in general and possibly resolves some of the disagreements regarding its nature. This chapter will compile and analyze the existing data on individual Humiliati houses as to the number of total members, as well as the number of women and men. This information will be examined according to region, domus type and order.

A close examination of the available quantitative data indicates three major findings. First, there was a predominance of women in the movement. Second, the designation of brother or sister house does not adequately describe its membership, especially for brother houses. Finally, women tended to live in smaller houses and in less urban areas. The view of the Humiliati as a predominately female phenomenon, suggests that motivation for membership as well as the group's role within the greater community would have reflected a feminine orientation that would have been quite different from that of male groups.

THE INVENTORY OF 1344

Tiraboschi's collection of documents includes an inventory of houses compiled by brother Jacob, a Master General of the order, completed in 1344. This document is not a comprehensive list of all Humiliati houses as it is possible to find a great many references in the archives to houses not on this list.[2] Nor does the document give a comprehensive picture of the movement across its entire history as it simply reflects the inventory drawn up for one period of time. However, it can be used

as a sample from which certain conclusions can be drawn. Brother Jacob's list includes 255 houses and a total of 3,197 members. The inventory is broken down in several ways. Houses are grouped and designated according to geographic area; for example, "Milan and diocese" or "in Tuscany." Headings for areas or towns also often include a statement regarding whether the house was a brother house *(domus fratrum),* sister house *(domus sororum),* a dual house *(domus fratrum & sororum)* or they are simply noted as house *(domus)*.[3]

It is not clear how brother Jacob arrived at the label "brother" or "sister" for a house. It has been suggested that these reflect administrative or geographic designations imposed on the order by ecclesiastical administration.[4] Individual communities are not generally referred to by these titles in notarial records. It is possible that the variety of labels of houses reflect the heterogeneity of the order and an inconsistency in the movement's expansion. Each community developed differently depending on its location and took on a designation that may have changed over time. The naming of a house as "domus" may simply refer to the physical structure that housed the community. This label was often followed by the name of the founder or the area in which the house was located.[5] For Example, in 1229 Bregundius Denarii donated a house to the order which then bore his name, eventually becoming known as "domus di Denarii."[6]

Following these headings, the houses are listed individually and include the number of brothers and sisters. Brother Jacob listed the number of known brothers and sisters in each house, and also noted those cases where it was known that a group was included in the house, but where he did not have actual numbers for this group. For the purposes of this analysis I will refer to these instances as having incomplete data. In addition to brothers and sisters there is a category for *"famulos"* suggesting lay members attached to the house.[7] For example, the inventory might read "fratres 15, sorores . . famulos 2," acknowledging that there were sisters in the house, but their numbers were unknown. This can be inferred because in cases where it appears there were no members of one group, they are not noted at all. For example, such an entry might read "brothers 15," indicating there were no sisters in this house.

The documents include headings for brother and sister houses, but it is clear that brother houses could contain sisters and that sister houses might have contained brothers. For example, the section for Modena is broken down into two subsections; one is headed "brother houses in the city of Modena," followed by a list of eight houses, six of which contain both brothers and sisters. The next section is headed "there are also sister houses," which includes two additional houses, one which has only sisters and one which lists both brothers and sisters, but has no numbers for brothers. At other times, such as for the first sister house in Modena, there is no category for brothers, suggesting they were not part of the house. For the city of Verona, the heading reads "in Verona there are several brother houses and one sister house." However, the list then includes ten houses that all contain brothers.[8]

The total number of brother houses listed (105) and the total number of sister houses (110) suggests that there were a similar number of houses for men and women. If one assumes a similar number of individuals in each house, it could be concluded that there were roughly equal numbers of men and women in the movement. However, as the following analysis will show, an examination of the specific numbers from this inventory indicates that there were more women involved in the movement than men. It appears that the designation of sister or brother house is not necessarily a good indicator of whether men or women were living in the house. It is, however, a much better indicator for sister houses than brother houses. A look at the number of members in all houses shows that there were sisters and brothers in brother houses, but there were only a few brothers in sister houses.

BROTHERS AND SISTERS IN THE 1344 INVENTORY

By examining the numbers of brothers and sisters within the houses in the inventory from 1344 and running them through a few descriptive statistical analyses one can gain insight into the scope of the movement and the involvement of brothers and sisters. The first major finding is that there were more women in the Humiliati than men. There were a total of 255 houses in this sample. In total, there were 1387 brothers, 1627 sisters and 183 *famuli*. Overall there was a mean of 5.66 brothers in the 237 houses with complete brother data, 7.36 sisters in the 217 houses with complete sister data and 0.94 *famuli* in the 187 houses with complete *famuli* data.[9]

Table 3.1 presents a comparison between the numbers of brothers and sisters in each house. For better statistical reliability, only the 217 houses that had complete brother and sister data were used. Examining the means presented in Table 3.1, one sees there were about two more sisters per house than brothers (7.40 sisters to 5.28 brothers). The medians are even more pronounced. The median number of brothers was only three as compared to seven for sisters. This implies that a few large houses were bringing up the mean for brothers and the "typical" house was even more female dominated.[10] This is best illustrated by looking at frequency distributions for brothers and sisters respectively.

Table 3.1: Gender Make-up of 217 Humiliati Houses in Inventory of 1344[11]

	Brothers	Sisters	Brothers and Sisters
Total members	1146	1606	2752
Mean per house	5.28	7.40	12.68
Median house	3	7	10

Source: VHM, Vol. II, 273–285.

Table 3.2 presents frequency distributions that show, even more conclusively than simple totals, that women were the dominant population of the Humiliati. Table 3.2 gives the frequency distribution of brothers and sisters by the number in each house. For example, the number of houses with between 6–10 brothers was 55. Or, in 25.3 percent of the 217 houses there were 6–10 brothers. As in table 3.1, only the 217 houses with complete data were used in the analysis.

One major finding presented in table 3.2 is that there were only three houses where there were no sisters. Thus, we can conclude that for the most part brothers did not live without sisters in brother-only houses. In contrast, in cases where there were data, 89 houses (41 percent of all houses) had no brothers, indicating that women *did* live only with other women in about two-fifths of the houses. The most common configuration, (40 percent of the houses), for both brothers and sisters was groups of six to ten members. About half of the houses had 10 or more members.

A comparison of the composition of brothers versus sisters in each house indicates two findings. First, in about two thirds of the houses there were as many or more sisters than brothers. Second, in the 59 percent of the houses where brothers were present, there were more brothers than sisters. These houses averaged about nine brothers and seven sisters.[12]

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION BY TYPE OF HOUSE

Table 3.3, which lists the frequency distribution of each group according to their designation of house type, supports the contention mentioned above that the terminology used to describe the type of house is not an accurate indicator of gender, as there were consistently sisters in all of the houses.

Table 3.2: Frequency Distribution of Brother and Sisters per House from 1344 Inventory.

	Number of Houses with Stated Number of Brothers	Number of Houses with Stated Number of Sisters	Number of Houses with Stated Number of Brothers and Sisters
Number	N (percent)	N (percent)	N (percent)
0	89 (41%)	3 (1.4%)	0
1–5	39 (18%)	75 (34.6%)	23 (10.6%)
6–10	55 (25.3%)	91 (41.9%)	87 (40.1%)
11–15	20 (9.2 %)	37 (17.1%)	50 (23.0%)
more than 15	14 (6.5 %)	11 (5.1%)	57 (26.3%)
Total houses	217 (100%)	217 (100%)	217 (100%)

Source: VHM, Vol. II, 273–285.

Table 3.3: Number of Members by House Type in 1344 Inventory

House Type (number)	Brothers		Sisters		Brothers and Sisters	
	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean
"domus" (35)	362	10.31	207	5.91	568	16.23
"sister" (100)	28	0.28	788	7.88	816	8.16
"brother" (79)	700	8.86	582	7.37	1282	16.22
"dual house" (3)	57	19.00	29	9.67	86	28.66
Total (217)	1146	5.28	1608	7.40	2754	12.68

Source: VHM, Vol. II, 273–285.

However, it does appear that the houses which come under the heading of "sister house," did in fact house more sisters than brothers. The total number of sisters living in sister houses was 788, with an average of 7.88 sisters per house, compared to brothers, whose numbers in these houses totaled a mere 28, or a mean of 0.28.[13] Brother houses on the other hand were much less one-sided. Houses labeled "brother" housed a total of 700 men and 582 women, for respective means of 8.86 and 7.37 per house. As indicated previously, in only three cases were there no sisters in brother houses. In dual houses, those listed as "brother and sister," there were a total of 57 brothers and 29 sisters, and for those labeled "domus," there was a total of 362 brothers and 207 sisters. Thus, one can conclude that the house designation had limited bearing on the gender make-up of the house except in the case of the "sister houses" which were clearly dominated by women. This tends to support the contention that the gender designations do not reflect the self-definition of the houses, but were most likely imposed by the church for administrative purposes.

Leonida Besozzi has proposed that the designation of a house as either "brother" or "sister" probably represents an ecclesiastically created administrative or regional delineation, but did not necessarily reflect the actual membership. It is possible that a house was designated as a brother house when it was an active urban house such as a hospital, and that it was designated as a sister house when was a more isolated religious house.[14] This suggests that at least some of the sister houses may have been more cloistered or removed from society than were others, or more so than were those considered brother houses.

HOUSES BY ORDER FROM INVENTORY OF 1298

Tiraboschi's collection also includes an inventory from 1298. This list does not include numbers of members, but includes the names of some houses and ranks them by the first or second order.[15] The houses named on this list can be compared to those listed in the inventory from 1344 in order to draw some

Table 3.4: Number of Houses in Movement by Order, Combining Inventory of 1344 with Inventory of 1298

Orders	Domus	Dual	Sister	Brother	Total
	N (percent)	N (percent)	N (percent)	N (percent)	N (percent)
First	7 (20 %)	2 (67%)	0 (0%)	19 (24%)	28 (13%)
Second	12 (34%)	0 (0%)	3 (3%)	14 (18%)	29 (13%)
Undetermined Order Matches	16 (46%)	1 (33%)	97 (97%)	46 (58%)	160 (74%)
Total	35 (100%)	3 (100%)	100 (100%)	79 (100%)	217 (100%)

Source: VHM, Vol. II, 273–285

conclusion as to the number of members per order. The two lists, which were completed almost fifty years apart by separate master generals, do not correspond exactly, but there are enough houses listed on both inventories to make some comparisons.

In the survey from 1298, there are 41 houses of the first order listed, 46 of the second order, and seven that were not specified as being of either first or second order. When the names of houses from this list are compared with those from the inventory from 1344, 36 houses listed as first order houses in the 1298 inventory are also found on the inventory from 1344. Thirty-five second order houses from the 1298 inventory are also found on the list from 1344, with a total of 16 houses from the 1298 list not found in the 1344 inventory. However, not all these houses had complete data for both brothers and sisters. When only those houses with complete data are considered, 28 first order houses and 29 second order houses remain. These 57 houses are used in the following analysis.

The data are greatly limited by the number of non-matches between the inventories. In the undetermined houses (non-matches) there were more than twice as many sisters as brothers. This may suggest that the houses that were not designated as first or second order were sister houses. This may also be an indication of a bias towards reporting brother houses on the part of the compiler of the inventory of 1298. Table 3.4 illustrates the relationship between the number of houses by order when combining the two inventories. The table shows that only three of the houses that were designated as first or second order were categorized as sister houses, as opposed to 33 (19 first order and 14 second order) categorized as brother houses and 19 simply as domus. Among the house types, brother houses were more likely to be first order and domus houses were more likely to be second order. Sister houses were almost always undetermined.

In those houses listed as first order houses in the 1298 inventory, there are a total of 390 brothers and 310 sisters. In those houses listed as second order houses, there are a total of 317 brothers and 147 sisters. (See table 3.5) In those

houses for which we do not have a delineation of first or second order, there are a total of 439 brothers and 1149 sisters.

It would appear from the numbers presented in table 3.5 that for those houses for which there is an indication of order, there were more brothers than sisters in both the first and second orders. The greatest difference appeared to be in the second order where on average there were 10.93 brothers while only 5.07 sisters. This implies that the first order was much more male dominated than the second order.

HOUSES BY REGION FROM THE 1344 INVENTORY

Because, in the inventory of 1344, brother Jacob broke the list down by region, it is possible to make some analysis of the size and gender ratio by region as well. However, as his description of location was not uniform for all areas, this analysis cannot be applied to all houses. Analysis of some of the regions is also difficult due to terminology, and brother Jacob's combining of some urban and rural areas. For example, Milan is labeled "in Civitate Mediolani & in Burgis," Alexandria is combined with Acqui and Casale, and Pavia is combined with Tortona and Genoa. Also, there are several headings that are regional and do not indicate cities, such as Piedmont, Tuscany and one heading which does not include specific city names but is labeled "diverse." In addition, it is not always clear if a house was located within a city or in an area around the city. Despite these difficulties it is possible, using demographic information from the period, to perform some analysis of the difference between houses in larger urban areas, (more than 10,000 inhabitants) and smaller more rural locations (less than 10,000 inhabitants).

The demographic information used to determine the regions is based on J.C.Russell's study, *Medieval Regions and Their Cities*.[17] Russell attempted to determine the population statistics for cities in the regions of Milan and Venice. His estimates are for the fourteenth century, prior to the plague, and indicate the population within the city walls. However, he indicates that this is very difficult to do with great accuracy for this region, as cities such as Milan, Pavia, Crema, and Lodi, were located so close together and had extensive suburban regions.[18]

Milan was unique for several reasons. First, it was by far the largest of the urban areas having a population of over 80,000 people, whereas the next largest cities, Brescia and Cremona had just over half that.[19] In addition, the inventory lists the houses of Milan under the heading "Milan and its Towns," suggesting a much wider region. Also, there are a total of 27 houses listed under this heading, and this would seem to be a very small sample of houses for this urban area. A contemporary account written in 1278 by a Humiliati tertiary, Bonvesin della Riva, reported that there were over 200 first and second order houses in the city and region of Milan alone.[20] While it is impossible to tell just how much territory he is including in this description, it does illustrate the difficulty in determining the

Table 3.5: Membership in the Movement by Order, Combining Inventory of 1344 with Inventory of 1298

	Brothers		Sisters		Brothers and Sisters	
Orders (N of Houses)	Number	Mean	Number	Mean	Number	Mean
First (N=28)	390	13.93	310	11.07	700	25.00
Second (N=29)	317	10.93	147	5.07	464	16.00
Both First and Second (N=57)	707	12.40	457	8.02	1164	20.4
Undetermined Order[16] Matches (N=160)	439	2.74	1149	7.18	1588	9.92

Source: VHM, Vol. II, 271–273, 273–285.

house size and membership for Milan. This is also problematic for other urban centers such as Pavia and Alexandria, as they are combined with two neighboring towns.

From a descriptive analysis of houses from those urban areas that had 10,000 or more inhabitants in the fourteenth century, it is possible to see that there was some similarity in their gender ratios according to the numbers obtained from analysis of the 1344 inventory. Except for Milan, the houses from larger cities tended to have a higher mean number of males (7.92) than females (5.68). Table 3.6 illustrates these findings.

The numbers for smaller towns reflect a different picture. From an analysis of towns with under 10,000 inhabitants, it appears that there are generally more sisters than brothers, and that the house sizes on the whole vary much more than in the larger cities. The mean number of brothers in the 129 in towns with under 10,000 inhabitants was 2.60 while the mean for sisters was 6.87. The houses that were categorized as "Regions and Other" had the same mean number of brothers and sisters (11.68). Figure 3.1 illustrates the location and number of houses by location as well as by size of cities.

TYPE OF HOUSE BY REGION

Besozzi's thesis regarding the designation of sister houses as those located in less urban areas is supported further if one analyzes the types of house by region. Houses which were labeled "sister," appeared in less urban areas, while houses that were labeled "brother" and "domus," were more frequently found in the large urban centers. Eighty-six of the 110 sister houses were found in towns of less than 10,000 inhabitants while only 46 of the 105 brother houses were in such areas. Table 3.7 illustrates this analysis.

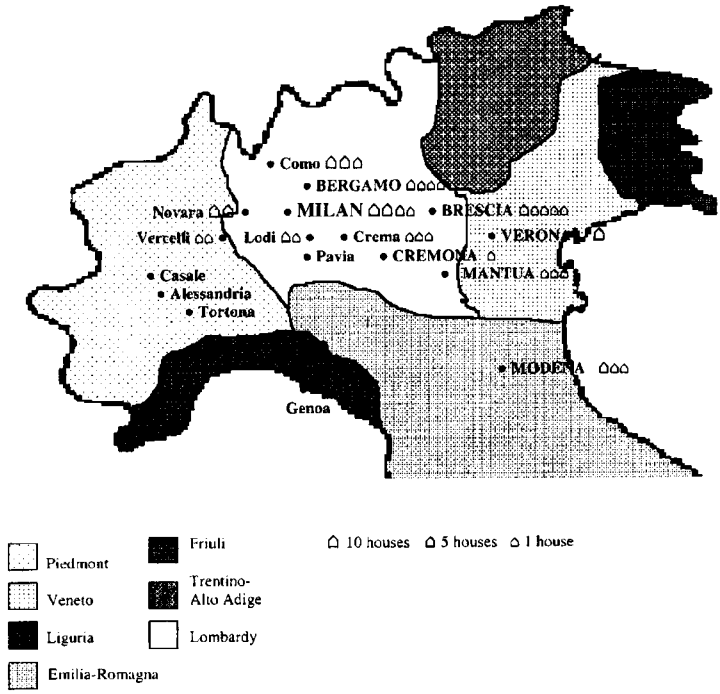
These findings indicate that by 1344, women tended to live in smaller more rural houses. While it is impossible to know if this was the case earlier in the movement's history, it does support the research which indicates a division of labor between sisters and brothers which occurred in the movement over time.

Table 3.6: Houses by Location[21]

	Cities	N of Houses	Brothers		Sisters		Brothers and Sisters	
			Total	Mean	Total	Mean	Total	Mean
	Milan	26	166	6.38	190	7.31	356	13.69
Cities over 10,000 People	Bergamo	8	76	9.50	29	3.62	105	13.12
	Brescia	9	76	8.44	49	5.44	125	13.89
	Verona	10	82	8.20	78	7.80	160	16.00
	Mantua	3	14	4.67	19	6.33	33	11.00
	Cremona	1	6	6.00	1	1.00	7	7.00
	Modena	7	47	6.71	40	5.71	87	12.42
	Over 10,000 Total	38	301	7.92	216	5.68	517	13.60
Cities Under 10,000 People	Seprio	33	82	2.48	203	6.15	285	8.64
	Martesana	26	31	1.19	155	5.96	186	7.15
	Folcherine	7	37	5.29	31	4.43	68	9.71
	Como	25	84	3.36	161	6.44	245	9.80
	Lodi	6	0	0.00	56	9.33	56	9.33
	Crema	3	17	5.67	15	5.00	32	10.67
	Novara	20	37	1.85	186	9.30	223	11.15
	Vercelli	2	29	14.50	31	15.50	60	30.00
	Under10,000 Total	122	317	2.60	838	6.87	1155	9.47
Regions and Combined Cities	Tuscany	1	1	1.00	15	15.00	16	16.00
	Various cities	6	74	12.33	23	3.83	97	16.17
	Alessandria/Acqui/ Casale	5	90	18.00	43	8.60	133	26.6
	Piedmont	10	87	8.70	176	17.60	263	26.30
	Pavia/Tortona/Genoa	6	53	8.83	76	12.67	129	21.50
	Bassani/ Bulgaria	3	57	19.00	29	9.67	86	28.67
	Region Total	31	362	11.68	362	11.68	724	23.35
	Total all Houses	217	1146	5.28	1606	7.40	2752	12.68

Source: VHM, Vol. II, 273–285.

Within textile production women were relegated to those elements of production which required little participation in the public sphere, and could be conducted in urban or rural areas, while the brothers became more involved in marketing the goods.[22] Smaller, more rural houses could have engaged in the "putting out" aspects of production, such as spinning or carding.



Casale, Alessandria, Tortona, Genoa, and Pavia were not listed separately, but as part of groups of cities. Casale, Alessandria and Acqui had 5 houses. Tortona, Genoa and Pavia had a total of 6 houses listed in the inventory.
Cities in caps represent those with over 10,000 inhabitants.
Source: VHM, Vol II, 273–285

Figure 3.1: Houses by Location from the 1344 Inventory

Table 3.7: Type of House by Region

	Milan	Over 10,000	Under 10,000	Mixed regions	Total
Domus	13	19	4	0	36
Sister	14	7	86	3	110
Brother	0	21	46	38	105
Dual	0	0	0	4	4
Total	27	47	136	45	255

Source: VHM, Vol. II, 273–285.

FAMULI IN 1344 INVENTORY

The inventory of 1344 includes a category that is variously labeled *fam* or on a few occasions, *famulos*. These were most probably members the monastic household who were not brothers or sisters but served the group in some capacity. In

Table 3.8: Number of *Famuli* by Number of Houses

Number of Famuli in a House	Number of Houses	Percent
0	119	61.3
1	57	29.4
2–5	13	6.7
5–10	4	2.0
more than 10	1	0.5
Total	194	100

Source: VHM, Vol. II, 273–285.

traditional monastic orders these were often referred to as *famuli conversi,* and were individuals or families who participated in spiritual life of the order, but had not professed their vows. They often served the group in some capacity, as household workers or agents in public dealings.[23] Andrews suggests that when families joined first or second order houses they did so in this capacity, not taking full vows, but sharing in the life of the community.[24]

Data were available for *famuli* in 194 of the 255 houses in the inventory of 1344. Out of 194 houses with complete data, 119 listed no *famuli* and 75 listed *famuli*. Most of the houses that had *famuli* only had one. Table 3.8 illustrates these findings.

The mean number of *famuli* in each house was .94. Where there were *famuli,* there was a mean of 2.44 *famuli*. The mean number of *famuli* attached to sister houses was .18. The mean number attached to brother houses was 1.34. Domus and double houses had the most with means 1.93 and 4.0 respectively. *Famuli* were only in about one tenth of sister houses, implying they were rarely attached to sister houses. Table 3.9 illustrates these findings.

The greatest number of *famuli* appear to have been attached to dual houses. Because there is only data on three of these houses it is difficult to make any generalizations. While it is difficult to know if these Humiliati *famuli* were men, women or families, it is true that often the traditional *famuli* included several members of one family, including children who were too young to profess their vows.

The category of *famuli* is problematic for several reasons. Traditional monastic communities often included a number of pious members who were attached to the order and were expected to follow its rules, but whose main responsibility was labor rather than prayer. These were often whole families who were allowed to share the life of the monastery in exchange for their services. By the twelfth century these members were often referred to as the *conversi* or *famuli conversi* and laid the foundations for the lay elements of the monastic orders.[25] For an order such as the Humiliati who were all committed to labor, such distinction between laborers and regular members would not have been relevant. It is possible, in the case of the sister houses that these *famuli* were acting as agents for the women in

Table 3.9: Number of *Famuli* by House Type from the 1344 Inventory

House type	Number of houses	Total number of famuli	Mean number of *famuli* per house	Percent with at least one *famuli*
Domus	27	52	1.93	70.4
Sister	87	16	.18	11.5
Brother	77	103	1.34	57.1
Dual	3	12	4.00	66.6
Total	194	183	.94	100.0

Source: VHM, Vol. II, 273–285.

their legal and business affairs. This would seem to be supported by the evidence that there were an average of less that one *famuli* per house. This is also supported by the anecdotal evidence which often includes a male agent representing a sister house.

ANECDOTAL EVIDENCE

Although there is no other single document which contains the amount of information on the movement as a whole as does the inventory of 1344, there are archival records for other houses and other periods of time which lend support to these findings. Brother Jacob's inventory represents a survey of houses completed in 1344. This year is rather late in the history of the movement, and possibly reflects a time when the movement was past its prime and membership may have been in decline.[26] In addition, it is impossible to tell from the inventory the comprehensiveness of this listing of houses. It appears to deal mainly with the first and second order. Also, although we must allow for some typical medieval exaggeration of numbers, the claim by Bonvesin della Riva that there were at least 200 houses in and around Milan, would suggest that this survey represented only a small sample of a much larger movement.[27] Anecdotal evidence gathered from notarial records and local studies, sparse though it may be, provides some additional information with which to make comparisons with the inventory from 1344, as well as giving some indication of change over time.

Occasionally, these types of sources include documents that contain references to numbers of members. Longini, Andrews, Brolis and Pasi have cited many of these sources in their individual studies. Combining these with documents from original research of my own from Como, Cremona, Milan and Lodi, it is possible to make some comparisons with brother Jacob's inventory to further develop an impression of the scope of the movement.

Notarial records of business transactions such as land sales and rental agreements, often contain names of the individuals involved. Often, such transactions indicate the consensus of the entire house, or were conducted by the

house as a whole, and thus the list of names attached would appear to be complete. For example, in a document from 1228, a farm is leased to the Humiliati house of Bulciago, which indicates that the lease was given to the whole group, whose names are then listed.[28] However, at other times a document will list names and then follow that with a notation such as "and sisters."[29] There are enough houses that do consistently list names of members to make some initial analysis.

For example, there are seven brothers listed as members of the house of S. Maria in Pertica in Pavia, in 1219. Another document from this same house from 1226 lists six brothers.[30] This house would appear to have changed very little over the course of seven years. Brolis has compiled information on thirteen houses in Bergamo, for which she found numbers of members for the years between 1273 and 1384. These provide us with several houses in which to make some comparisons of size and gender make-up over time. For example, she indicates that the domus de Comunis had a total of 9 brothers in 1275, and that this number was the same in 1331, but that the total number of members fell to five in 1354.[31] Andrews gives the example of the domus magna de Ranchate, which numbered sixteen sisters in both1260 and 1269, and then nineteen in 1272.[32] The domus de la Fontana housed a total of twenty members, five brothers and fifteen sisters in 1273 but fell to three brothers and eight sisters in 1313. The domus de Rasulo housed thirteen brothers in 1320, nine in 1342 and six in 1345.[33] In all houses from Bergamo, for which we have documents from more than one year, there appears to be a gradual decrease in the number of members in the beginning of the fourteenth century. Table 3.10 gives a listing of all of this anecdotal evidence that includes numbers of members.

Frustratingly, most of the documents for which we have lists of members or a reference to specific numbers, are not from houses which are listed in Tiraboschi's inventory, which would have made comparison much more certain. While this makes analysis difficult, it does provide proof that Brother Jacob's inventory of 1344 does not represent a complete list of houses in the movement. This is true even if we take into consideration the evidence that some houses changed names, or merged with other houses over time.[34] While this would account for some discrepancies between the two lists, it still cannot account for them all.

If we look at the numbers of members from these anecdotal sources and compare their average sizes with those of houses from the inventory we can make some cautious analysis as to size and gender make-up. Looking at the total number of sisters and brothers in these houses, there appears to be more women than men involved in the movement from this evidence as well. In the 12 houses with data for both brothers and sisters, 10 houses had more sisters than brothers. In six cases there is one man included in the house. This may be the legal representative for the house, and he may not have actually lived on the premises, and may have been from another house.

Table 3.10: Anecdotal Data on Numbers of Members

Name	Date	Brothers	Sisters
Brera[a]	1227	30	22
Brera	1230	21	
Brera	1251	28	
de Biolzago[b1]	1228	3	13
de Biolzago[b2]	1229	1	10
de Brugo de Lemen[c]	1358	4	2
de Galgari[c]	1317	14	
de Galgari	1319	11	
de Galgari	1384	7	
S. Andrea presso la fontana[c]	1313	5	15
S. Andrea presso la Fontana	1313	3	8
de la Rasulo[c]	1320	13	
de la Rasulo	1342	9	
de la Rasulo	1345	6	
de Sororum de Stezano[c]	1361		3
di Bosto[b3]	1297		11
Dolzago[b4]	1230	1	6
Domus Comunis[c]	1275	9	
Domus Comunis	1331	9	
Domus Comunis	1354	5	
Domus di S. Martino di Varese[b5]	1255	1	12
Domus nuova[b6]	1283	11	
Garbagnate Rotta[a]	1218		5
Garbagnate Rotta[a]	1220	1	5
Ghiara in Verona[a]	1272	14	44
Iohannes de Celso[b7]	1244		9
Ognissanti in Borghetto Lodi[b8]	1231		
Oltrecino[d]	1256	19	
Oriono[a]	1212		7
Oriono	1212		10
Oriono[b9]	1227	1	4
Pavia Porcorum[d]	1242		9
Ranchate[a]	1260		16
Ranchate	1269		16
Ranchate	1272		19
Ronco[a]	1261	2	12
Ronco	1261		7
S. Giorgio in Monte Falcone[d]	1255		14
S. Guglielmo[b10]	1295	18	
S. Maria in Pertica[d]	1226	6	
S. Maria Pertica[b11]	1219	7	
S. Martino in Varese [b12]	1255	1	10
Super Rodannum [b13]	1244		9

[a.] Documents for these houses are referred to in Andrews, *Early Humiliati,* 157.
[b.] b1 and b2, Bib. Amb. Ni 15, inf. fol 15r; b3, ASMi, FR. cart. 3856 (A); b4 and b5, Bib. Amb., NI 15, inf. 1, fol 24r; ASMi, FR. cart 2525B; b6, AVL, Arm. III, no. 86; b7 and b8, ASP coll. n. 1135, 1145; b9, Bib. Amb., Ni 15, inf. 15r; b10 ASP colloc. n. 1155; b11, ASMi, AD, cart. 666 B; b12, ASMi, FR, cart. 2525; b13, ASP colloc. dal n. 1102, 1137.
[c.] Brolis, *Gli Umiliati a Bergamo,* table 2 page 28.
[d.] These documents are referred to by Pasi in *Gli Umiliati a Pavia,* 322.

In 11 of the houses from the anecdotal documents, there are no sisters listed. This does not seem to support the findings from the inventory that brothers lived only with other brothers in the movement. However, as men generally represented women in legal issues, it is possible that sisters were members of these houses and were not included in all of these types of documents.

CONCLUSIONS

This initial analysis of the data from surveys of Humiliati houses during the last part of the thirteenth and early part of the fourteenth century, while far from being conclusive, does open up a window of understanding as to the gender composition of orders and houses and differences in these between urban and rural areas.

The major finding of the analysis of both the inventories recorded by Tiraboschi, as well as the compilation of anecdotal data, is that women made up the majority of membership in the Humiliati movement. While their presence was noted by contemporary chroniclers and has been recognized by scholars, there has been no attempt to quantify their presence. The terminology used by Brother Jacob in the inventory as well as that found in other documents is misleading in its reference to gender. In addition, it appears that Brother Jacob focused most of his attention on brother houses and mainly those of the first and second orders. As his information has been used as a primary source in most subsequent scholarship, his gender and order bias has been further perpetuated.

This analysis has shown that the designation used in Brother Jacob's inventory, as well as other documents, of "sister" or "brother" houses does not refer accurately to the gender composition of the majority of its members. This, coupled with the fact that women were probably underrepresented in ecclesiastical and legal documents where a male representative would have most often spoken for them, further obscures the reality of their presence. The sheer force of numbers illustrates women's pervasive presence in almost every house in the movement.

In addition, it is clear that men rarely lived in male only houses in the Humiliati movement, but that women lived in sister-only houses in a great many cases. It is also apparent from the analysis that women tended to live in smaller groups and in less urban locations on average. These findings, along with evidence of geographic location and economic activity that will be provided in chapter five, suggest that the model of the Humiliati member as male, urban artisan is too restrictive.

Adding to the picture of a widespread, heterogeneous movement, this evidence of the dominance of women in the Humiliati suggests the need for a reevaluation of the group as a whole. Women's approach to spirituality and their economic roles were not identical to men's and thus these issues need to be reexamined in a new light. This evidence suggests that the arguments for the social origins and motivation for membership in the Humiliati movement are based on a

misperception of the very composition of the order. Clearly, these finding indicate that evaluation of the archival evidence provides a very different picture of the order than that created from a reading of the prescriptive writings of the Church or anecdotal references from contemporary chroniclers.

CHAPTER FOUR
The Social Composition of the Humiliati

The question of the social origins of Humiliati members, while difficult to determine with any certainty, is still worthy of analysis. Grundmann and Zanoni have both illustrated that knowing the social background and economic status of members is crucial to understanding the motivation for membership in the movement. This question is central to the debate regarding how to view the development of this religious movement. Both schools of thought, reaching contradictory conclusions, rely heavily on contemporary commentaries and theoretical constructions rather than direct evidence.

Grundmann and others believe that the movement consisted of educated, prosperous individuals. They indicate that only those individuals who had worldly goods to renounce would find voluntary poverty appealing. They bolster this contention with observations by contemporaries, such as Jacques de Vitry, who report the presence of literate, prosperous members. They then extrapolate from this evidence to argue that the primary motivation for participation would have been a desire to follow an apostolic life of poverty and good works. They see the economic participation of the movement as necessary to the sustenance of the group and as a manifestation of the group's desire to aid their community, but not as a primary motivating force.[1] There is evidence in the correspondence between Innocent III and the Humiliati that suggests that at least early in their history, there were individuals representing the group who were of very high standing in society.[2]

Zanoni and his followers, on the other hand, believe that the Humiliati sought the economic protection and security that this confraternal group afforded in a changing urban environment. Accordingly, they indicate that those who needed such protection were those workers who were closed out of the elite dominated urban market: craftsmen and artisans on the lowest level of the economic scale. Also relying on evidence given by contemporary observers, they stress the importance of reports as to the size of the tertiary segment of the movement and the large number of artisan families involved as indicative of a popular base for a social and economic movement. They support these findings with examples from archival sources that illuminate specific economic functions of the group in order to provide direct evidence for individual members whose artisan status can be confirmed. They compare the development of the Humiliati to that of the artisan

guilds and confraternities, suggesting that these fraternal groups were a direct response to urban pressures and thus represent a popular movement of the lower classes for greater economic status. They thus conclude that this movement should be seen first as a social and economic movement, with religion forming a legitimizing and unifying, but secondary, function.

Some recent localized studies have found evidence that tends to support this theory. For example, Guerrini has found that in Brescia early members appear to have been from some of the lowest of classes within the city.[3] Andrews found professions of vows for artisans such as shoemakers and butchers.[4] Evidence of the artisan classes in these studies, however, tends to be found along side documents that suggest members of all classes becoming Humiliati.

In an attempt to reconcile these two views, more recent scholarship has suggested that while the founders may have been of the nobility, this does not mean that the groups' followers necessarily had to be of the same class.[5] Others have suggested that the order was structured along class lines, with members of the first and second orders coming from the upper classes and the tertiaries belonging to the artisan class.[6] It is possible to argue that there may have been differing motives for participation depending on the order to which one was attached, from which class one came, and at what time one joined the movement. As was shown in chapter two, however, it is probable that the division of orders was a construction of Innocent III and, therefore, does not reflect the intent or organization of the original members.[7] This, coupled with the evidence of individuals from various classes joining different orders, would seem to invalidate the argument for a separation of orders by class.

If the early Humiliati did not separate themselves into specific orders, then how did they divide themselves? Did they differentiate between occupations, wealth, or literacy? It has been suggested that voluntary poverty and humble dress were socially leveling aspects meant to erase the divisions between classes within such groups.[8] Would this have been necessary if they had all come from the same social background? If they did not divide themselves into orders initially, were they attempting to negate social differences, or were there no social differences in the first place? These questions need to be addressed before an understanding of the nature and motivation for membership of the group can be obtained.

The paucity of direct information on the social class of members has ensured that the debate regarding the origins remains unresolved. Grundmann and Zanoni, as well as subsequent historians, had little choice but to depend on contemporary observation or attempt to make generalizations by comparing the group to similar movements. There are very few sources that explicitly state the social origins of individual Humiliati members, and these are scattered throughout the archives of various communities. Still, the centrality of the issue to the question of the very nature of this organization would suggest that an attempt must be made to piece together what information there is from archival sources and localized studies.

This chapter will analyze the available anecdotal information regarding the social status of members within the Humiliati in order to answer some of these

questions. Such analysis will both aid in clarifying the nature of the movement and contribute to understanding motivation for membership in the group. While an attempt will be made to determine the social status of all members, it is necessary to examine and consider women's participation separately, as their experience within the movement and motivation for membership may have been quite different from that of male members. Also, as we have determined that women made up the majority of membership in the Humiliati, it is thus crucial to focus on women's social status. The findings of this study suggest that both men and women from a variety of social classes entered all three orders of the Humiliati. Also, it is clear that while membership in the Humiliati negated any previous social differences in wealth, members maintained some of their prior professional status while in the movement. The overall impression is that viewing the group as either simply an artisan-class economic movement or, conversely, as a moral reaction of the well-to-do is to misrepresent the heterogeneity of its members.

WOMEN AND SOCIAL STATUS

Beyond the fact that women dominated the movement, the issue of economic and social status is particularly relevant when considering women in the Humiliati. Medieval women's ability to choose a spiritual or economic path was much more limited than their brothers' and fathers' and also differed according to their social status and the presence and influence of men in their life. Therefore, a woman's motivation for joining a movement such as the Humiliati might be more complex than a man's.

A woman's choice of spiritual fulfillment or economic gain and security most often required approval of a father or husband. Marriageable women had less choice than did widows. A woman's choice of a religious life may have reflected a true spiritual vocation, an escape from an unwanted marriage, or the only available option to a woman with few choices. Women of means would have had a greater number of options than poor women, as they would have been able to afford the dowry for entry into traditional institutions. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries, however, saw a curtailment of new orders within these institutions and an increased pressure toward enclosure in the traditional orders.[9] This further constricted the monastic option for all women.

The trend of the high Middle Ages towards increased cloistering of religious women coincided with a period of economic growth, urban migration, and an increased presence of women in the economic sphere. In addition, there is demographic evidence for a surplus female population and migration of these women into urban areas. Thus, there were women who desired entrance into the economic arena but faced competition as well as financial and familial restraints. Financial pressure was placed on women's role in the private sphere as well. Dowry inflation of the late medieval period kept some women from entering the marriage market.[10] Some scholars have suggested that women were attracted to the confraternal organizations due to their limited access to labor organizations

such as guilds. Religious lay groups may have been more willing to accept women, both to control their access to the market and to allow them an acceptable place within the economic sphere.[11] Individual studies on similar lay religious orders tend to support these theories indicating that such groups offered options to women from a variety of social classes, but predominately those of the urban, artisan and bourgeois classes. These factors all increase the complexity of the issue of women's motivation for entering the Humiliati.

Unfortunately, it is extremely difficult to determine with any specificity the social origins of most Humiliati women. The sources that indicate such status are sparse, at best, for men but even less abundant for women. This is due mainly to women's legal status; they were usually represented by men in documents that might indicate their social or economic status. It is, therefore, often necessary to examine indirect evidence of women's social status, such as their names and places of origin, their charitable giving, or evidence of wealth based on wills and testaments. This information is useful for men as well. This chapter will consolidate and evaluate all available information regarding social class, then separate the information by gender.

THE SOURCES

Several different types of sources can be used to gain insight into the social standing of individuals. If members renounced their social status and worldly goods upon joining the order, then it would follow that it is imperative for us to determine their status prior to membership. There are quite a few extant records that describe the profession of faith of members as they entered a house; these are often the best indicators of social origins. In addition, documents that outline members' donations to Humiliati houses often give an indication of the donor's status or wealth. Wills provide a similar glimpse into the wealth and social standing of some members by indicating the value of their possessions. Brolis and Andrews have both made attempts to consolidate this information; their work provides much of the evidence for this analysis.[12]

It is possible on a few occasions to know the social standing of the individual by their name. Occasionally, the sources will indicate that a brother or sister is from an important family, or the surname will be one that is found in other political and legal documents suggesting families of wealth and power. This is more frequently true for men than women. Less abundant and less conclusive are wills and testaments of Humiliati that suggest a member's wealth and thus social standing.

Wills are an excellent but problematic source for understanding the wealth and charitable intentions of medieval individuals for whom we have little other direct information. By the thirteenth century most individuals— those with few possessions and those with property and wealth—obtained the services of a notary to record their last will and testament. Wills, then, are a good indicator wealth and social status. They are also useful in understanding relationships among family

members as they indicate inheritance patterns and express the testator's sentiments toward his heirs. Using the language of wills, historians have also traced changes in religious mentality and social commitment. In addition, wills have been used to chart trends in charitable giving by examining the changes in bequests to charitable institutions.[13]

There are, however, limitations to the usefulness of wills. Wills were generally dictated in the vernacular to a notary who then translated them into Latin, often using formulaic statements that may have had nothing to do with the testator's beliefs or intentions. Moreover, the particular style of a notary may have influenced the language and content of the wills. Finally, wills were often made in the final days of an individual's life and thus often reflected situations of extreme crisis. The testator's fear of death may have influenced the sentiment of his last will and testament.[14]

Wills for Humiliati members are not abundant. This can be attributed in part to the fact that members of the first and second orders gave up their worldly goods upon entering the group. Most often testamentary evidence for the Humiliati is found indirectly. For example, a testator would make a bequest to a Humiliati house in which a relative was listed as a member.[15] We can infer the social status and wealth of the testator from this and thus determine the social status of the relative in the order. Although members of the third order may have had some goods and property to bequeath, testamentary evidence for them is particularly scarce. This is probably due to this issue of notarial formula and language. It was not notarial practice to include all of one's social or religious affiliations in the will and testament. In only a few instances do we have an indication of affiliation with the tertiaries recorded in wills.

While it is difficult to know if a will adequately reflects the mentality of the testator, the information supplied regarding the distribution of his wealth and possessions is more straightforward. Several recent studies have examined medieval wills of central and northern Italy in order to determine inheritance patterns, to chart shifts in wealth, and to examine patterns of charitable giving. The few wills available for Humiliati members or their families can be compared to the findings of these studies in order to suggest some preliminary conclusions as to members' social standing and wealth. In addition, an examination of the Humiliati as recipients of charitable bequests can be compared to charitable giving overall in order to determine the wealth of the movement in general.[16]

PATRICIAN ELEMENTS

Brenda Bolton has suggested that only the literate, well-educated members could satisfactorily occupy the offices required of the first order of the Humiliati. She gives the evidence that Innocent III allowed members of the first order to wear the habit *"ut laicos litteratos,"* which she says was probably similar to that of the civil lawyers.[17] There is evidence of such individuals of noble origins in the documentation. James of Rondineto was from a wealthy and influential family

and was an influential advocate and representative of the Humiliati in their dealings with Innocent III. The house in which he resided bore his family name.[18]

In addition to the difficulties with this view regarding the delineation of orders,[19] there are examples to be found within the archival evidence that suggest members of the upper classes joined all three orders. For example, the wealthy widow Caracosa joined the house of Galgari in Bergamo, a second order house,[20] as was the house of S.Andrea presso la Fontana di Pignoli in Bergamo, which four women and one man from influential families in Bergamo joined.[21] Zanoni refers to a brother Maffeo Carugati from a patrician family who joined the third order in Monza in 1349.[22] There do appear to be more references to families of good name entering first and second order houses; however, there are far fewer records of professions of faith to the third order than there are to first or second order houses in general.

Brolis has made the most ambitious attempt to date to determine the social origins of members within her chosen area of study, the diocese of Bergamo. Out of a sample of 221 members, she has been able to find 206 surnames indicating family provenance or place of birth. By comparing these names with the same names in other sources from the region, she has been able to determine the social origins of only a few of these members. Several factors make this methodology highly problematic. The association of a family name with a place can mean several things; it is not always clear if the name refers to a family or simply to their place of residence or origin. In addition, even when the surname is distinguishable and other family members can be found with which to compare them, it is still possible that there may be various branches of the family in different places or belonging to different social classes.[23] Also, this information is concerned mainly with families of patrician origin. Usually, comparison of names with other family members is possible only if a family has some level of notoriety due either to its aristocratic origins or its participation in communal affairs.

Brolis gives the example of at least six members of the Humiliati over the course of the twelfth to fifteenth centuries who were members of the same family, the da Mapello. She knows that this family was well respected and powerful in the region, and heavily involved in the politics of the city. Thus she can say that members of this family who joined the group were from a prosperous, upper-class, urban family. Several members of this family became prelates of the Humiliati houses, suggesting that they moved from positions of leadership in the greater community to similar positions within the Humiliati. She indicates, however, that over time their family name became synonymous with the suburb from which the original members hailed. As such, it becomes difficult to tell for certain if some of the later members are actually from the family or from the suburb of the same name.[24]

Despite these difficulties, Brolis is able to make some valid identifications. In particular, she indicates that at least in the early stages of the movement there were individuals who, if not always noble, were at least people with the means to

contribute economically and politically to the establishment and development of the Humiliati houses. In particular she finds the relationships between the urban social institutions and the urban houses of the Humiliati to be strong and continuous. For example, she cites a contribution made in the fourteenth century by a nobleman, Girardo Della Sale, to the building of a chapel for the sister house of Rasulo as an example of this support. She indicates the Della Sale family had been involved with the Humiliati since at least 1277, when Bertramo Della Sale was the superior of the domus comunis in Bergamo.[25] She also finds evidence that these influential people were not just members of the first or second orders but also indicates that some family members took on leadership roles in the tertiaries as well.[26]

From the second order house, S.Andrea presso la fontana di Pignolo, Brolis has lists of members from two different years, 1273 and 1313. From these she is able to glean some information on social class. The list includes the names of twenty members, five men and fifteen women. She is able to determine that five of the members came from very important families in the area; one of the men, the minister of the house was from an important local family, as were four of the sisters. She is able to infer the importance of these families from records of their leadership roles in the political upheaval of the Guelph and Ghibelline conflict in the area. It is particularly interesting to note that two of the sisters were from families who were on opposite sides of the conflict.[27]

In similar research, Besozzi finds evidence of an important family that was involved in several different Humiliati houses. The important family of de Castiliono had several members in the domus alla SS.Trinità di Castiglio. In addition, a member of the family, Petrola de Castiliono, was listed as minister of the domus S.Martina in Varisio in 1346. In 1456 this same family had a sister, domina Laura Castiliono, listed as the minister of the house of SS. Trinità di Castiglio. There is also a document that lists a Johanda de Castelino as a sister of the monastery of S.Maria de Castelino.[28] Similar conclusions have been found in other local studies. In his study on Novara, Balosso finds the names of a number of important families involved in the foundation of houses in that area.[29] De Sandre Gasparini and Barbieri have found similar evidence for Verona, as has Alberzoni for Milan.[30]

While it is not always possible to tell how wealthy or influential a family was by its surname, there does appear to have been some distinction between individuals who were part of a well-known family and those who were not. Many of the records that list the names of the sisters of a house will include both first and last names for some sisters, but only first names for others. In some cases there is a reference to the woman's father or husband, indicating his social standing and thus hers. This seems to occur most often when the woman is a widow.[31] Often, especially in the case of wills or donations, the reference to a woman's family will be coupled with terms of her legacy, adding to the information on her wealth and social status. For example, Caracosa, who is listed as the daughter of the late Ruggero da Locate and the widow of Alberto Tiraboschi (two important

families), donated a large amount of land to the house of Galgari in Bergamo, on her admittance to the order.[32]

While it is impossible to reach definite conclusions from this suggestive information regarding the social standings of the families of these women, the fact that there are many documents like these, suggests that women from well-known families were referred to as such, thereby distinguishing them from the others. This contention is supported by those few cases in which we do know something about the social status of the sisters' families. For example, Longini includes in his study a document regarding a sister, Frissia, who was the daughter of Uberto de Landriano, a noble Milanese. Like many documents, this one includes the names of sisters of the house in the transaction. The list reads as follows: "Beldia, Bellanomata, Agnesina, Conforta, Frissia, figlia di Uberto de Landriano, Allegranzia, and all sisters of the house."[33] Only Frissia is listed with more than her first name.

Brolis's findings are mainly for urban houses in the Bergamo area. She stresses that the close relationship between the social leadership of the commune and the Humiliati houses can be found mostly for urban houses. One of her central arguments is that there were a large number of rural houses and that these differed greatly in organization and composition from the urban houses, but these findings cannot be generalized to the larger Humiliati movement, or even to all of the houses in the diocese of Bergamo. Most of the local studies have found that the patrician class is represented in only a small percentage of the total membership of the Humiliati. Brolis and others have indicated that the anecdotal evidence points to a wide variety of social groups represented in the movement's composition. It is simply easiest to tell the social standings of those who have a reputation or influence within the greater community great enough to have a recognizable name. But this evidence should not overshadow the presence of other less recognizable members.

EVIDENCE BY OCCUPATION

Paolini, in his work on the labor practices of the *Humiliati,* argues that there were upper bourgeoisie and noble elements in the urban houses and that these individuals were often involved with the foundation and leadership of houses. He believes, however, that these members do not account for all of the individuals or represent the complexity of the social composition of the movement as a whole.[34] Approaching the matter of social composition from a different perspective, he suggests social origins were of little or no importance to members of the order. Social composition was never homogeneous but rather differed from house to house, between regions, and between rural and urban houses. The unifying factors of the movement were their commitments to labor and the virtue of humility.[35] The variety of types of settlements, and their wide diffusion in both rural and urban areas, reflect a deliberate agenda of the founders. Original members of the Humiliati intended to create a movement that did not exclude

anyone based on gender, class, or profession. They also fostered conditions under which all members could practice humble work, utilize their skills, or learn new, simple skills.[36] More important than their wealth or social standing were the skills they could contribute to the group such as literacy or legal knowledge, but members who possessed such skills would not be afforded any greater place within the organization.

Citing Zanoni's documents, Paolini indicates that women were probably recruited from the artisan class, specifically for the skills they already possessed in the wool-working industry. Within the movement, women were most often given the most menial and labor-intensive jobs, including combing, carding, and spinning.[37] Early in their history the process was fairly simple, with labor divided among members of the house in small production units. However, over time, as the houses became more numerous and prosperous, and demand for the Humiliati wool product grew, the groups required the skills of merchants and intermediaries and notaries. These skills were usually performed by the male members, while women continued the process of manufacturing.[38] This change reflects a general trend in labor specialization within the textile industry in general over the course of the late thirteenth and fourteenth century.[39]

The success of the movement suggests that there were members with abilities which ranged from the lower level artisan skills such as combing, carding, and spinning to the more highly skilled tasks such as shearing, weaving, and dyeing. Administration, sales, and legal knowledge required at least literacy and most probably some prior experience. Certain documents pertaining to wool transactions among the Humiliati support this contention. There is even evidence that individuals had titles within the movement that mirrored such occupations in the wider community. There is a brother merchant, *frater mercator,* listed in a document dealing with a cloth transaction in 1302.[40] In a document from 1257, brothers from the house of S.Agata in Monza are called *mercanti,* or merchants.[41] Brolis also finds evidence of specific professions among the Bergamasque Humiliati that suggest social class. For example, there is evidence that notaries who joined the order continued to serve their houses in that capacity, retaining their titles.[42]

However, scholars such as Brenda Bolton, arguing that the upper classes predominated within the movement, suggest that this is not the only conclu sion that can be reached by viewing the group's labor practices. She argues that in their desire to embrace an apostolic life, nobles would be willing to embrace humble labor with their hands. Weaving and spinning were very simple skills that could have been acquired by anyone, and because this work was not overly arduous, it may have represented a relatively easy choice of manual labor for such individuals.[43] While this scenario is certainly plausible, I will show the Humiliati were engaged in a variety of menial labor tasks other than spinning and weaving, much of it centering around agricultural activity. As such, the appeal and adaptability of such labor to the nobleman or woman must also be considered.

ARTISAN ELEMENTS

The evidence for the presence of members of the upper classes can be substantiated to a degree because we know the names of such families and because they appear to have been involved in the foundation and administration of houses. However, it must be remembered that all of the authors who have found patrician influence in the movement point out that this represents only a small portion of the group and most conclude that there were a variety of social classes represented.

There are a few instances when a person's craft is mentioned along with his name. Andrews refers to several cases where there is direct reference to occupation. In 1264, Guiducius Beccarius, a butcher, joined the house of Modena with his wife and their niece or granddaughter.[44] In another instance Martin de Sesto, a tailor, served as a minister of a house in Lodi.[45] And finally, Brolis lists the profession of a servant who entered a house along with her mistress in 1268.[46] Documents collected by Zanoni and others, which indicate individuals involved in wool-working within the Humiliati, are problematic because, as discussed above, they may not have participated in this activity prior to joining the order. There are cases, however, particularly among the family groups of the third order, from which one can deduce with confidence prior artisan status despite their membership in the movement.

Giovanni de Vilmercato of Genoa, listed as *lanerius,* or wool weaver, and his wife Sofia provide an excellent example of artisan members of the third order. Their status can be reconstructed from their wills. Giovanni and Sofia lived in their own home with at least one apprentice and possibly Sofia's two sisters. They did not own their shop but owned the capital and tools of their industry. Most of their money went into their business and there was very little to leave in their wills, but they were not in debt, and in fact, their wills list two individuals with small debts owed them.[47] Sofia was the principal heir for Giovanni, and she left her goods to her sisters and her tools to her apprentice. They do not list any children in either will. She also left the profits from a capital investment to the children of a fellow Humiliati brother. It does not appear that she or Giovanni had any inheritance money, nor did they make donations to the order in their will as wealthier members did, suggesting they had no prior family money or status.[48] Their lives appear to mirror that of the typical artisan wool-worker of the time. Zanoni's appendix includes several documents that detail the sale of wool among the Humiliati, and these leave one with the same impression of artisans.[49]

The will of Sofia is a rare but informative documents which gives direct evidence of the life of a female member of the third order. Giovanni predeceased Sofia, but as a widow she continued on with the family business. Her will indicates that she continued to run the business quite effectively. She employed an apprentice and made enough money to leave a sum to her sisters.[50] It is difficult to determine whether Sofia represents a typical member of the movement or not; but if so, her life suggests a woman who was actively participating in the economy of a city, as

well as committing herself to following the rules of the Humiliati. It is intriguing that there is no mention of children in either the wills of Sofia or Giovanni's, and this may suggest they were living chastely, but it is impossible to know for sure or to make any general assumptions regarding chastity from this one reference. While we cannot know why she joined the order, we can see that she chose to remain with the order after her husband's death and that it was an important enough element of her life for her to identify herself as a member.

DONATIONS AND BEQUESTS

One indicator of wealth among the Humiliati, for which there are enough records to attempt some quantitative analysis, deals with their charitable and testamentary giving. As their *propositum* instructed them to donate all of their worldly goods upon entrance, any inventory of these goods will suggest the wealth of the individual. In addition, many members made provisions for the support of their heirs, and such directives also provide an indication of wealth. Also, by examining the existing bequests of money donated to the order and comparing this giving with charity given to other organizations, it is possible to gain an appreciation of the wealth of members as represented by their charitable giving.

This type of information for the Humiliati can be found in several forms. As members donated all of their goods to the house when joining the order, documents recording their profession of faith sometime record exactly what goods they donated upon admission. For example, when Petracius Calciatus and his wife joined the house of Sta Maria in Pertica, he ceded all of this property to the house along with an additional 200 L.[51] While it is impossible from this document to determine exactly what these properties consisted of, 200 L was a substantial amount,[52] and this coupled with the fact that the testament lists several separate properties in different areas, indicates a family of substantial means. When Marchisius Burri and Leo Borrinus and their families from Senago joined the order, they ceded a house to the community that then became the house in which the entire community lived.[53] This would seem to suggest some wealth, as the structure would have to have been large enough to house the whole community. Bregundius Denarii left his house and all the goods and utensils within to the Humiliati of Lodi in 1229 with the stipulation that it be used by the community to house its members. He also indicated that his wife was allowed to live there with the sisters if she remained chaste.[54] This house came to bear his name Domus de Denarus, and was later named S.Giacomo dei Denari.[55]

In cases where whole families joined the order, there are often references to their donation of goods, including provisions for their families. For example, Domina Adelaxia, her husband Guidotus, and their daughters, aged ten and five, joined the movement in 1233. They left all of their goods including 50 L from her dowry and some land with buildings to the house, with the stipulation that their children should be supported by the profits of that donation until they were

fourteen years of age. Upon coming of age, the children were allowed to leave the order, if they chose, with a share of the donation but not the profits.[56] Tomardus de Tomardi, a brother of the house of Brera in Milan, donated several properties that included vineyards, farms and a house in the city to the Humiliati, which they would receive after the death of his daughter and her son. He also made allowances for another daughter, son, and granddaughter who joined the order with him. If they desired to leave the order, the son could take 200 L or the equivalent property, and the daughters would receive 50 L each.[57] Andrews has compiled a list of four such families who made donations and provisions for their children. All four families listed in Andrews's table represent families of appreciable wealth and are from various houses and orders.[58]

There are also a few records of donations to houses by individuals who were not themselves members of the order but made a donation when members of their families joined. In 1268, for instance, a Domina Richa donated 50 gold coins to a house in Vicenza when her granddaughter entered that house.[59] Other records do not specify if the benefactor was a member, or if they had family in the order. In the case of Aldizia, daughter of Martino da Pallatino, who made a donation to the sisters of the Casa Nuova in Lodi of all her goods, moveable and immovable, it can be assumed she was a member of the order as this is not a will but a donation. She would not have given away all of her worldly goods while still alive if she were not joining some religious order. Since she donated these goods to the Humiliati house, it can be assumed she was joining that order.[60] Another intriguing document refers to the donation by a brother Paxio, member of the order of Humiliati of the house of S.Trinità in 1287. Brother Paxio left all of his goods to sister Isabella, minister of another Humiliati house, di Paullo in Lodi.[61] Early that same year, Columbina, daugher of Bassiano Altrochi, made a donation of land and buildings to brother Paxio of the Humiliati, which she then specified, "and through brother Paxio to the same house of Humiliati of Paullo."[62] This suggests that these two houses, probably brother and sister houses, were closely tied, and that perhaps brother Paxio acted as a male representative for the sister house. However, we are left wondering why brother Paxio left *his* worldly possessions to a house other than the one in which he was residing.

In most cases, professions of faith did not specify what the goods were that an individual brought to the house upon entrance. Frequently these documents of profession simply list all the novice's moveable and immovable goods, *tutti i suoi beni mobili e immobili*.[63] In other cases, the document will give an indication of goods in only very broad terms. For instance, when Domina Alegrancia joined the house of Pignoli in 1273, she left "all of her inheritance, including property and buildings."[64] When Alasina joined the house of S.Agata Vercelli in 1322, she brought with her "certain properties" that she ceded to the house.[65] It is tempting to infer that in cases where a profession of faith only lists "tutti i suoi beni," there may not be any goods of value to merit specific attention, thus indicating a less wealthy entrant. However, while this is possible, there is not enough evidence to conclude this with certainty.

TESTAMENTARY BEQUESTS

The second type of document that provides some indication of wealth is that which indicates testamentary bequests. This type of information can be broken down into several further categories. The first is testaments by Humiliati members themselves. Although members were instructed to donate all of their goods upon admission into the order, they occasionally set aside a portion for their heirs outside the order. For example, when Tomardo Tomardi, a brother of the third order, professed his faith to the Humiliati, he made provisions for his heirs after his death. To his legitimate heir, Giorgio, he left a house and smaller buildings and to his daughter, Hieronima, he bequeathed another five buildings. It appears that Giorgio was also a member of the order and the house left to him may have been used by the group.[66] Apparently, this member of the third order was rather wealthy.[67]

More prevalent are wills by individuals who left something to a Humiliati house when individuals in their family were members. For example, Ursa of Savona left the Humiliati house of Murtedo, 60 imperial L in 1230. Her brother was a member of this house.[68] Pomus de Porta Sancti Stephani left land valued at 25 L to the house of Beverara where his daughter was a member.[69] Usually such bequests represent only a part of a testator's legacy; by looking at their total bequests, it is possible to gain some understanding of their wealth. Ursa, for example, also left 40 L to other charitable organizations.[70] Her total donations of 100 L suggest she was a woman of substantial means.[71] In 1258, Dominus Bonauentura de Maga S.Sebastiani bequeathed a half share of three plots of land to his daughter, Desiderata, who was a sister in the house of Ghiara. He indicated that the other half should go to her sister Anna, who does not appear to be a member of the Humiliati.[72] Oto de Caliario de Porto left the profits of 60 L from land to be sold to his daughter, sister Liadasio, a member of the house of Porto. His son, Bonaventura, is listed as his executor, and so one would assume there was more to his estate than just this legacy to Liadasio.[73] Bregundius Denarii's legacy of a house to the order was only part of a list of pious bequests that included money to be divided between several monasteries, four hospitals, and each of the other Humiliati houses in Lodi.[74]

Finally, there are a number of records of individuals not associated with a Humiliati house who made a donation to the Humiliati movement as part of their greater legacy. While this does not indicate the wealth of Humiliati members upon joining, it does provide a framework for comparing the amount houses received from members to donations from the general public. In addition, this information can be used to compare the charitable donations each house received, which can provide some indication of the wealth of the house. For example, Brolis tabulated the charitable giving for the houses of Bergamo and found that the second order house of Galgari received a great deal more bequests than did any of the other houses.[75]

It has been shown that in the late Middle Ages there was a trend in charitable giving in which individuals bequeathed small amounts to a variety of civic and spiritual recipients. The practice mirrored an increased concern with social issues such as poverty and care for the ill.[76] Therefore an examination of the total bequests listed by a testator, can provide a picture of their overall wealth. The two following examples of pious bequests from such wills in which charities included the Humiliati illustrate this division of charitable giving:

Testator: Ser Ventura de Brivio
40 imperial solidi to the Friars minor
20 imperial solidi to the Domus Comunis, *Humiliati*
10 imperial solidi to each of the other *Humiliati* houses in Bergamo
20 imperial Lire to the Church of Galgari, attached to the *Humiliati*
3 imperial Lire to the Hospital of San Leonardo
additional property to the poor according to greatest need[77]
Testator: Dominus Mannara
20 imperial solidi to the hospital S.Luca
6 imperial Lire to the *poor sisters*
10 imperial Lire to the *Domus Ghiara, Humiliati*
40 imperial solidi to each house of *Humiliati* in Verona
all goods to be distributed among the poor[78]

These two wills illustrate typical giving patterns by testators; small amounts divided among a number of charities. The popularity of the religious movements such as the Humiliati is illustrated by their representation as the largest recipients. The concern of the urban dweller to the poor and sick is also indicated by the donations to these groups.

The following is a breakdown of charitable giving for an individual who does not include the Humiliati among her benefactors but who is representative of the very wealthy among Genoese society:

20 imperial Lire to the works of the harbor
10 imperial Lire to the sick of Capo Fari
10 imperial Lire to the hospital of San Giovanni
20 imperial Lire for the aid to the holy land
10 imperial solidi to the Hospital of Pozolo
2 imperial Lire for the bridges at Lavagna and Pocifera
1 imperial Lire for the Monastery of Mesema
40 imperial Lire for orphans, widows and dowries for paupers
5 imperial Lire to Sant' Andrea de Porta for Masses[79]

Obviously, this woman was considerably wealthy and, as such, her will provides an excellent example of the array of possible charities available to testators. Once again, civic concerns dominate lists of recipients. It is difficult, however, from

Table 4.1 Total Bequests by Gender for Genoa

	Over L. 100	L. 50–100	L. 25–50	L. 10–25	L. 5–10	L. 1–5	s.1-L.1
Men	17	16	27	44	38	131	13
Women	9	9	35	49	53	110	13
Total	26	25	62	93	91	241	26

L.=Genoese Lire
s.=Genoese solidi
Source: Epstein, *Wills and Wealth,* 141

these few wills to get an impression of the typical size of a testament. Epstein provides a breakdown of charitable bequests of Genoese by gender between the period of 1150 and 1250 that is very useful in comparing the bequests made to and by the Humiliati. These figures are illustrated in table 4.1.[80]

These numbers represent total bequests and are not broken down by charitable organization. While one must consider the fluctuation in monetary values across time and between different regions, it is possible to make some observations regarding wealth from these figures.[81] According to Epstein, individuals who were able to leave a total of 100 L. or more represent the elite of Genoese society.[82] Men outnumber women in bequests only substantially in those gifts of more than 50 L, indicating they had more disposable wealth. Overall, women made more bequests of 50 L and less.

Accordingly, a donation such as that of Ursa of Savona of 60 Imperial Lire to the Humiliati, in addition to 40 L left to another charitable organization, would indicate a woman of some wealth.[83] Dominus Mannara and Ventura de Brivio, on the other hand, appear to have left legacies of a more modest level; their bequests would place them on a much more moderate scale. Bregundius Denarii, whom we know was a member of the Humiliati, left a total of well over 100 L to various charitable organizations in addition to his home and its goods. It is apparent, then, that he was a man of considerable wealth.[84] Likewise, Oto de Caliario de Porto's legacy to his daughter's house of 60 L would seem to indicate some wealth, especially as it is clear she was not his only heir.[85]

In cases such as Oto's, where we only know how much the testator gave to the Humiliati, but not what his other charitable giving included, it is helpful to look at Samuel Cohn's breakdown of legacies to charities after 1275 for Tuscany. Of a total of 21,357 legacies for this period, 4,878 legacies were given to mendicant orders, which represents the highest number of all pious choices. Parishes ranked second, with 3,539, and hospitals (with which the Humiliati were often involved), at 2,829, came next.[8687] These figures offer only a suggestion as to the priority given to groups such as the Humiliati. They represent all mendicant groups, and as the Humiliati had a comparatively small presence in Tuscany, they

do not adequately represent the group. However, this number does reflect the importance of pious giving to groups such as the Humiliati.

WOMEN

While these few cases are far from conclusive, they do suggest several observations regarding the participation of women. First, there were obviously women of wealth and prestige involved in the movement. They did not necessarily join as part of a family group, although they did so on occasion. Sisters such as Liadosio of domus Porto seemed to have joined with the blessing of the family, as they made donations to the house on her behalf.[88] Women of means such as Domina Alegrancia of Pignoli and Alasina of S. Agata Vercelli appear to have joined of their own free will as they brought with them their inheritance or other goods, perhaps dowries, for donations.[89] It is difficult to know for sure if women who joined as part of family groups did so of their own choice. However, Brother Denarii's stipulation that his wife could remain in the house he donated to the order, living with the sisters as long as she remained chaste, suggests his wife was not a member although he was. In this particular case, it appears the woman was offered the choice of membership.[90] This is true as well for Sofia, who it is clear remained in the third order after her husband Giovanni had died.[91]

There is also evidence that, on occasion, sisters from prominent families became leaders of the house. There are, however, more cases where their names are listed simply among the sisters the house. It can be concluded that these women joined houses of the first and second order predominantly but there is also evidence that they were members of the third order. The lack of evidence of membership in the third order may have more to do with the paucity of documentation than the number of women of wealth attached to it.

It is far more difficult to reach conclusions regarding the participation of women of the lower classes. Still, from all of the documents examined for this study, there are seventeen that list the names of sisters, and the majority of these specify only first names and nothing of their origin or background. There are at least eleven documents that do list a sister's family name, often indicating her status as wife or daughter. In several cases, these women with family names are listed right alongside sisters with only one name. If we can assume that the anonymity of these women implies a simpler familial origin, then the numbers of these women would be far greater than those of the wealthier women.

However, if we view the evidence from donations and professions of vows, which possibly indicate status by specifying quantities of goods or property, we must conclude that most entrants had some property to donate at their time of admission. Andrews found from the professions of vows for Verona that out of twenty men and forty-eight women who entered the order, twenty-seven listed no specific goods to be donated.[92] She believes this represents a high number of members without goods; however, as this figure represents less than half the

entrants, it would appear that the majority of members did donate some goods upon entrance. From documents which I have collected for this study, which detail donations from 17 different individuals to the order, the majority of donations made by members represent modest to larger amounts of goods and properties. Two women donated only enough to cover the cost of their housing and clothes, eight made contributions of land or money of a value greater than 50 Lire, and the remainder made donations of small amounts of coinage.[93] These few cases would suggest that there were women from a variety of social standings and that they certainly do not represent only Zanoni's proletarians.

The documents that list a profession along with a member's name are almost exclusively concerned with men. This is not surprising as a man's profession often suggested his legal and social status, whereas a woman's status was more likely to be identified by her relationship to a father, husband, or brother. More documents such as the wills of Giovanni and Sofia that give evidence of women's status by profession are needed in order to make a firmer conclusion. There are a few intriguing documents that hint at a woman's profession, but they cannot be satisfactorily substantiated.[94]

CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions implied by these findings tend to support the growing tendency among scholars to suggest that a variety of social classes of both genders was represented in the Humiliati. Individuals did not appear to join in any great preponderance from any particular social class. In addition, while it is apparent that influential and possibly better educated members of the community tended to take on leadership roles within the houses, they did so for all three orders, not just the first or second order. It can also be concluded that while members with the means to do so often founded houses, these houses contained individuals from a variety of social backgrounds.

The suggestion that membership in the Humiliati created a leveling of social divisions can also be supported by this evidence. Members renounced all worldly goods upon entrance and appeared to join the first, second, or third orders not based on their prior social standing but based on some other motivation. The attraction of certain members to certain houses must be examined more closely in order to better understand why individuals of such varied social composition chose one house over another. This evidence clearly indicates that viewing the Humiliati purely as a social movement, either one of disenfranchised proletariats or of a disillusioned nobility, is inaccurate. The impression that individuals of all social classes were involved in all three orders in various capacities suggests that social class cannot be seen as a motivation for membership.

We must also reconsider the argument for the primacy of spirituality as the motivating factor for joining in the order. Grundmann and others argued that the unifying tenet of religious movements of the late Middle Ages was their renunciation of all worldly goods: but of course, one had to possess goods in the

first place in order to renounce them. My research has shown that it was not only those who had wealth who were interested in voluntary poverty. Therefore, the argument that the apostolic life would be appealing only to those of means is overstated. This does not necessarily deny the importance of Humiliati spirituality but indicates the nature of their particular spirituality must be reevaluated. It is also apparent from these findings that the model of the working-class Humiliati is also misguided. Since there were a variety of social classes involved in the movement, it is necessary to reevaluate the economic practices of the group. The following chapter examines the scope and variety of the Humiliati's participation in the economy of northern Italy.

CHAPTER FIVE
The Humiliati as "Humble Weavers"

Both Humbert of Romans and Jacques de Vitry made a point of indicating the importance of manual labor to the Humiliati. Both stressed work as an organizing and guiding principle of the movement, and both emphasized the humble nature of their work.[1] In the *Omnis boni principium,* the pope dictated the guidelines under which the Humiliati should labor.[2] In business transactions they were identified as brother weavers and their presence in the wool industry was confirmed by evidence of a lower grade, undyed, woolen cloth that bore their name, *panno Umiliato*.[3] There is visual evidence of their participation in both wool-working and the commerce of wool in three drawings in a manuscript dated from 1421.[4] They used as their symbol, the Lamb of God, combining the product of wool and the virtue of humility.[5]

Luigi Zanoni believed that manual labor was not simply a guiding spiritual principle of the order, but the keystone around which the movement was organized. Scholarship since Zanoni has accepted his description of the character of the group's economic activity, if not its centrality to the motivation for membership in the order. Lester Little and Stephen Esptein both used the group as an example of a response to a changing urban environment, indicating that whether for spiritual or economic reasons, the humble work of the weaver represented a typical urban occupation, and the organization into a corporate body of such workers was a defining characteristic of the commercial revolution.

Scholars have universally accepted the group's identification with the textile industry. The disagreement between religious and economic scholars has been over whether the members of the group were textile workers first or came to that profession after forming their religious society. Grundmann, Epstein, and others argue that the established textile industry provided easily acquired skills and little capital, making it an attractive option for an order committed to working with their hands.[6]

All scholarship regarding the group's participation in the textile industry has relied on Zanoni's work. His depiction of the humble wool-worker has not been challenged, although his thesis in general has been criticized on many fundamental points. No study has attempted to analyze or add to the evidence for this activity in order to determine the accuracy of seeing textile production and marketing as central to the movement's character.[7] Although many studies

indicate the variety of economic activities in which the group was involved, none attempted to reconcile this with the evidence of wool-working.

This chapter will analyze the available evidence for the Humiliati's participation in textile manufacturing and trade. This will include an analysis and evaluation of Zanoni's sources as well as a compilation of additional evidence. Direct evidence for the Humiliati's participation in the textile industry is scarce and suggests that its importance may have been overstated. Indirect and circumstantial evidence however, does indicate there may have been more activity than we have documentation. This chapter will also examine the role of women Humiliati in the textile industry. The preponderance of women in the movement, as well as women's traditional roles in textile manufacturing, suggests that the conflicting images of the Humiliati as proletarian artisan and conversely, mendicant brother choosing a humble profession are both overdrawn.

ZANONI'S "FRATI DELLA LANA" RECONSIDERED

Zanoni's work actually includes only six documents that directly link the Humiliati to the production or sale of cloth. These are mainly transactions in which certain amounts of wool produced by the Humiliati are bought.[8] He argues credibly however, that the scarcity of direct documentary evidence should not obscure their presence in that industry, suggesting that many transactions would not have included direct reference to the Humiliati.[9]

In her consideration of the Humiliati of Bergamo, Brolis includes an extensive section on their economic activities. While acknowledging their participation in the cloth market, and even providing some documents never before published which support their presence there, Brolis believes we need to be wary of overstating this element of the movement.[10] Nevertheless, Brolis believes that the presence of the Humiliati in the textile industry is probably underrepresented in the available sources.[11] She herself has found several documents that attest to wool-work in the diocese of Bergamo.[12] From these she is able to conclude that the houses of Comunis, Galgare, Fontana di Pignoli and Chignolo were all actively engaged in wool production. She cautions however, against extrapolating from these cases to suggest that all houses of the Humiliati were engaged in some facet of the wool industry.[13] It is clear that the documentary evidence does not adequately in depict the level of Humiliati wool-working.

Zanoni based much of his thesis on the fact that the Humiliati were founded and developed contemporaneously in the same northern Italian region with the wool industry, the primary industry of the area. He traces the development of textile manufacturing in the period to illustrate how increased competition favored the creation of corporate bodies that regu lated prices, labor, and quality of product. The developing guilds tended increasingly to protect the interests of the merchants over those of the craftsmen. It then became necessary for the individual artisans to organize themselves. In doing so under the auspices of a

religious order, they were facilitating the ability to amass capital through pious donations and legacies as well as creating a labor network which provided economic security.[14]

Zanoni's vision depends on focusing attention on the development of the third order. His analysis suggests that in the increasingly competitive and restrictive wool market of northern Italy, small-time craftsmen were forced to join forces to protect their interests. He then traces their success within the industry. Their ability to obtain capital and train workers led to their prosperity and security. He gives evidence of their growing participation in the financial arena of the commune, indicating the recognition they received for their product suggests their active engagement in the local economy and in the burgeoning textile industry.[15] However, while his thesis focuses on the individual craftsmen of the third order, most of his evidence of financial activity is based on documents from group houses of the first and second orders. And while he comments on the paucity of sources on the third order and textile production, he does not account for this deficiency.

Recent scholarship has found value in much of Zanoni's thesis, noting how the development of the order coincides with the development and concentration of textile production in Italy.[16] The economics of the wool and cotton industries in northern Italy favored the participation of such a lay group. An increased dependence on foreign wool meant that textile prices rose above that affordable to most individuals. The demand for an inexpensive, locally produced product rose at precisely the same time that the Humiliati movement was expanding.[17] In addition, providing affordable cloth for the poor met with the moral obligations of such an apostolic order.

The cloth the Humiliati produced was inexpensive wool or sometimes a cotton and flax blend cloth called fustian. By the middle of the twelfth century, the competition in the wool market among the French, Flemish, Germans, and Italians became intense, with the lower quality Italian wool losing out to the others. The land around the Po River was better suited to raising crops than sheep, and so the Italians were forced to import much of their raw wool. At the same time the population was expanding and the demand for cheap cloth was rising. As most northern Italians could not afford the costly imported woolen fabrics, the cheap wool and fustian industries grew to meet demand.[18]

As the market tightened, an already elitist wool guild further restricted its membership policies and closed out the small craftsmen and merchants. The fustian industry did not have an organized guild, and the entire process from manufacturing to selling the cloth remained in the hands of the producer. While this aided in curtailing costs, it also meant that there was little protection offered to the apprentice or journeyman craftsman.[19] Not only did the guilds close ranks on membership, but master wool-workers began to employ fewer apprentices and journeymen outside their families with the result that laborers had to look for alternative avenues to practice their craft. Such groups as the Humiliati, which represented an organized, protective, regulating corporation and a way to amass

and pool capital, and which furthermore provided a new and competitive product, would have been very attractive to the artisan class of the period.[20]

From his thesis that the Humiliati's developed in opposition to the restrictive, elitist wool industry, Zanoni posited his conclusion as to the social composition of the order. He surmised that the order was originally and generally made up of manual workers, not wealthier individuals or even merchants or members of the wool guild.[21] He believed that eventually their success in the industry led to an increased role in the economy and the need for a greater presence of brother merchants, and perhaps the inclusion of a greater variety of social classes over time.[22] Manselli supported this thesis to an extent, indicating that it was quite probable that the Humiliati practiced a craft in which they were already skilled, indicating artisan class membership in the order. He believed, however, the group's primary desire was to engage in manual labor to support their vision of apostolic living. That they then engaged as a group in the production of wool was incidental and due mainly to their familiarity with the industry.[23]

Grundmann argued that the group's initial participation in the textile industry did not necessarily indicate the social status of its members. If the original motivation for membership included desiring an apostolic life of manual labor, the urban textile industry, which required only easily acquired, basic skills would have been appealing. In addition, the choice of weaving a poor-grade cloth had the dual benefit of allowing them into the competitive commercial market as well as enabling them to provide a social service: the production of inexpensive cloth for the poor.[24] Manselli insists that the fact that they produced a poor quality cloth indicates that the economic interests of the group were secondary. He suggests they were not producing a cloth that was of a quality that would compete within the existing textile market; their intention was to provide the cloth for themselves and for the poor.[25] It may be impossible to reconcile this disagreement completely, but by determining how dominant wool-working was in the movement's economic activity, it may be possible to better understand their purpose and motivation.

Much of Zanoni's analysis rests on indirect inferences of their activities as well as their reputation as weavers. In particular, he stresses the proximity of the houses to the center of wool production and sales in the region. In addition, he relies heavily on a codex from the fifteenth century for visual reinforcement. While these documents are certainly relevant and his interpretation of them appears to be reasonable, further evaluation and interpretation of alternative sources may provide greater insight into the validity of his conclusions.

GEOGRAPHIC EVIDENCE OF WOOL PRODUCTION AND SALES

Citing evidence from a recently discovered document that lists 268 Humiliati houses and their locations, Barbieri suggests that the connection between the textile industry and Humiliati can be substantiated by evidence of the location of

their houses. These houses were concentrated in an area that was the center of wool production for the Lombard region. The growth in numbers and the prosperity of the houses, which coincided with the growth and prosperity of the wool industry, suggests wool-work could have been the key activity of the order. Even those houses that do not appear to fit the model of the urban wool-workshop, but rather were rural agricultural entities, could have supported wool-working in some way or another. Rural houses were often built by water, necessary for textile production, or along major trade routes necessary for marketing wool products. Many of the rural houses probably raised sheep or provided foodstuffs for the urban houses. Also, in order to produce a low cost wool, the group would have used local sheep whenever possible.[26] Rural houses with a great deal of land may have been used to raise sheep for the houses that processed the wool. In addition, once the wool was sheared it had to go through a process of washing and brushing which necessitated proximity to running water. As we have already seen, many of the rural and urban houses were located near a water source.

From this point of view, the diversity of activities and combination of urban and rural houses can be seen within the framework of textile production. The picture of the group which emerges is that of a large, homogeneous, interconnected organization, made up of hundreds of smaller houses that carved out an economic niche for itself in the textile industry of northern Italy.[27]

Local studies have found additional evidence which suggests that the locations of a house can indicate textile production or trade. For example, Brolis suggests that the house of Galgari in Bergamo, for which she has found documentation of textile manufacturing, was in an area that is particularly favorable to the industry.[28] In addition, she observes that the groups' participation in the community, as well as their prosperity and land accumulation and investments, suggest that they were actively involved in this market segment. She also warns however, against generalizing about all houses from these few documented cases. She suggests that we do not understand enough about land ownership in this period to make such conclusions.[29]

While recognizing that some rural houses may have been providing raw materials for wool production, evidence from rural houses in which the Humiliati were engaged in agricultural activities which had nothing to do with textile production needs to be evaluated. There are indications that some rural houses grew crops such as wheat and rye and were involved in working orchards and vineyards.[30] For example, in a document from 1237 the house of Garbagnate Rotta in Brianza paid its rent, in addition to cash, in the form of measures of wheat, rye, chickens, and eggs. This was obviously a very active farming community.[31] There are several sources that indicate the houses were involved in the sale or rent of a mill.[32] As will be shown in the following chapter, the level of land accumulation as well as the amount of agricultural activity suggests that there was more land held and worked by the Humiliati than would have been necessary to support the textile manufacturers.

INDIRECT EVIDENCE OF WOOL-WORKING

While there is clearly support for the contention that rural houses may have been supplementing the textile production of the whole group, it is also probable that not all of the houses were engaged in supporting the industry or working as an interconnected network. By attempting to stress the importance of wool-work by the Humiliati, there is a danger of seeing the group as one-dimensional or homogeneous. There is also a change in the activity of the group over time that must also be taken into consideration.

Paolini's is the only study to date that attempts to track the group's labor practices over time. He believes that early in the movement there was a concentration on the activity of wool-working. Early members, especially women, were recruited from the lower classes while the third order was comprised largely of members involved directly in simple cloth production. Over the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries however, the order became more complex, showing a greater diversity in occupations, including support industries such as granges, mills, and sheep farming.[33]

In addition, he indicates that over time, as the group became successful and then more institutionalized and fragmented, a division of labor developed. For example, he cites evidence reported by Zanoni that early in the history of the order the brothers did the heavy manual labor including shearing, washing, drying, separating, beating, and stretching the wool.[34] However, the illustrations of Humiliati engaged in wool-work from the Ambrosiana codex of 1421 indicate that by the fourteenth century the sisters had taken over most of this work as the brothers became more heavily involved in the public aspect of the order, including the marketing of the wool and the activities within the commune.[35] It is also possible that a division developed between the workers and the merchants within the three orders, with the merchant functions being held by the first and second orders and the production resting mainly in the hands of the third order and women in the other two orders.[36]

Both Zanoni and Paolini depend, to a great extent, on the above-mentioned codex to determine the nature of the production process of the group.[37] There are a total of four illustrations that detail the wool working process. Two of the illustrations are reproduced below (figures 5.1 and 5.2). The illustrations show the brothers and sisters involved in the various processes of wool production. The first of the two figures not reproduced in this work, show brothers of the second order preparing the wool for process ing. One brother is shown separating, or carding the wool, while another combs the wool using a small metal comb with bent teeth. The second figure shows the interior of a house in which three sisters are involved in spinning and weaving. One sister spins the wool, another draws the wool from twelve spools and the third operates a horizontal loom to weave the thread. The other two figures, reproduced here, (figures 5.1 and 5.2), also clearly indicate a division of labor between men and women. Figure 5.1 shows the activities of a dual house. Outside the house, two brothers carry bolts of cloth

toward the domus while two others stretch cloth onto a frame set on high ground for better aeration. Inside the house, three sisters are engaged in shearing the finished wool cloth. In the last illustration (figure 5.2), brothers of the first order are shown marketing the finished product to merchants.[38]

Initially, in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, the small-scale operation of individual wool shops would have favored a sharing of labor responsibilities among all members. This type of manual labor would have met the apostolic requirements of the group's original intentions. In the larger group houses, and as the order grew and became more prosperous, a process of specialization would have developed.

By the latter part of the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries, prosperity and growth, along with a clericalization of the order, created a fundamental change in the nature of the work and the organization. This change, in turn, affects evaluation of the history of the group. As the order grew it became more institutionalized with a greater emphasis on the clerical roles and liturgical duties, while less attention was paid to lay labor.[39] In addition to increased clericalization, the first and second orders became highly involved in communal government activities in the fourteenth century.[40] This created a division between the upper orders and the women and workers of the third order that led finally to curtailment of their work in the industry.[41] This suggests that motivation for membership may have changed over time. As the group grew and prospered, it may have attracted different individuals for different purposes.

Barbieri believes that the very prosperity, growth, and diversity of the order indicates that they were active, competitive, successful producers and merchants in the textile industry. Their ability to expand and prosper in a period of only a few years after their approval by Innocent III indicates their successful participation in the social and economic fabric of the community. Their growth in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries corresponded directly with the growth of the communal government that was backed by and often peopled by, the powerful successful textile industry in the region. Barbieri does not see an inherent contradiction in their increased purchase of land not directly tied to the houses, believing that this activity reflected a trend of the period in which merchants and other wealthy citizens tended to invest profit through land ownership. Nor does he feel that the success of their organization and increased participation in urban affairs indicate a change in membership. [42]

However, as shown in chapter four, the Humiliati were represented by people of diverse social classes and occupations.[43] When the movement grew, prospered, and became more complex, it may have been more appealing to individuals of other professions. For example, greater participation in commerce and the community would have demanded increased assistance by lawyers and notaries. Members of these professions may have found joining the order an appealing way to respond to the perceived moral problems of society while offering their particular services to the community. The increased number of these individuals does indicate a change in membership over time.

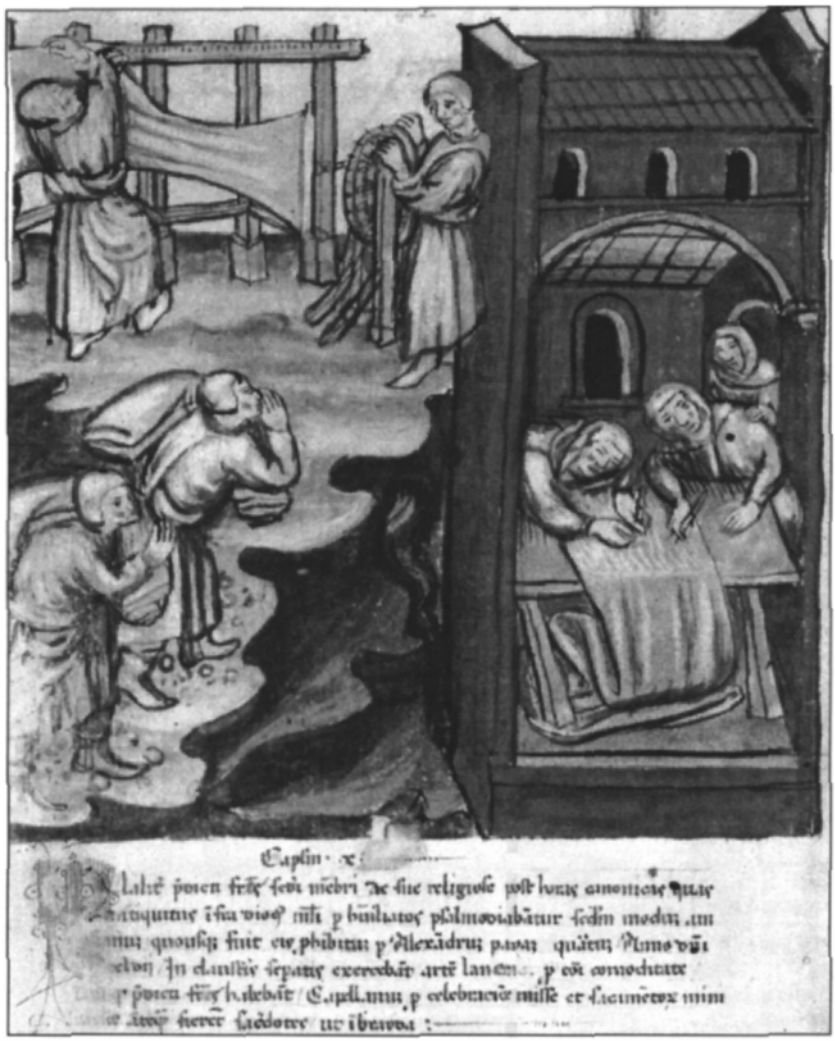


Figure 5.1: Brother and sister Humiliati engaged in the various tasks of textile production. Codex Ambrosiana, G. 301 Inf.

The codex, while very intriguing for its visual references, is highly problematic. More direct evidence of the Humiliati's participation in and identification with the textile industry can be found in documents that refer in general terms to the Humiliati as wool-workers or to the product itself as Humiliati wool. For example, in a document from 1434, the Humiliati of the hospital of S.Martino di Lezio were addressed as *frati della lana,* or brothers of the wool.[44] Several of the sales transactions from the latter part of the thirteenth century collected by Zanoni refer to the product as "panno Umiliato,"[45] or simply "Umiliati,"

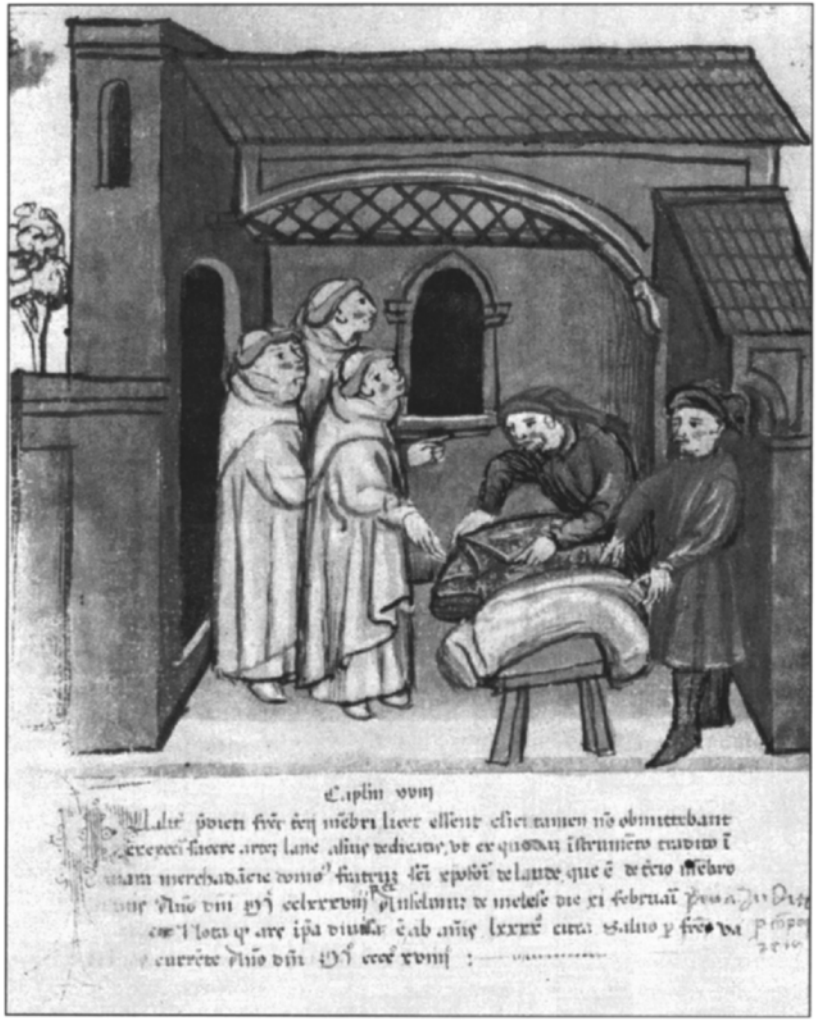


Figure 5.2: Brothers of the Humiliati engaged in the sale of finished cloth. Codex Ambrosiana, G. 301 inf.

suggesting that the cloth had become so well known as to bear the name of its makers, and to be identified as such.[46] These documents, while few, offer a much more definitive image of the group's involvement in the industry. The identification of a product with the name of the group proves that they were involved in the industry enough to gain a reputation for themselves and their product.

SISTERS OF THE WOOL

The absence of direct references to the Humiliati's presence in the textile industry is magnified in the evidence regarding women. Paolini's thesis as to the division of labor appears to be supported by the dearth of women in any of the documents that deal with sales transactions of wool. A few indirect sources however, do imply the presence of women in production. For example, in an interesting document from 1288, the sisters of the house of S.Marcellino in Milan lease a small piece of land from the Church of S.Marcellino for the purpose of placing a pillar to sustain the wall of their weaving shop.[47] Also, the will of Giovanni and Sophia of Genoa, depicts a woman of the third order involved directly in wool production in a small home-based workshop. She owned weaving equipment, employed an apprentice, and made enough money to make loans.[48] It is reasonable to assume that the huge number of undocumented third order houses would have contained women similar to Sophia who worked within the family unit in the production of wool. We can depend however, only on Sophia as our singular example of this phenomenon.

If we accept that women made up the majority of membership in the Humiliati, then this fact alone supports the argument for the group's participation in the wool industry. Women were traditionally employed in many of the occupations required in the industry such as combing, carding, spinning and weaving. In the medieval period, these occupations were common, not only among laywomen, but among female religious communities as well.[49] In documents from as early as the fifth century we find evidence of textile work employing religious women.[50] Indeed, textile manufacturing was a common means of economic support for both male and female religious houses, especially in urban areas where the industry thrived.[51]

Carding and spinning were traditional tasks allotted to women within the patriarchal structure of the craft guilds. These occupations, which required only the "ceaseless repetition of a basic manual act," enabled women to participate in the industry with only minimal training or credentials.[52] Women who worked in the industry were generally excluded or restricted from full membership in the guilds, and over the course of the fourteenth century, this exclusion intensified.[53] In addition, women of all classes had traditionally practiced weaving, but by the twelfth century it appears to have been relegated primarily to women of the lower classes.[54] Women therefore faced greater obstacles to full participation in the economy at a time when demographic pressures were forcing more women into the economic sphere. This suggests that an alternate avenue towards economic independence and security would be highly appealing to women. As a result, these women fit very nicely into Zanoni's model of a disenfranchised proletariat in search of economic security and gain. It can also be argued, as suggested by Paolini, that women were attracted to the movement for spiritual reasons and brought previously acquired skills with them or easily acquired such traditional female skills. We can conclude, then, that this religious movement

acquired an industry to sustain it and to fulfill its members' obligation to manual labor.[55] The industry sustained the Humiliati and allowed them to follow their religious principals, but these principals included the importance of hard work.

In describing the process of wool production Paolini illustrates how this industry would have been highly suitable to the variety of houses and organizations of the Humiliati sisters. After the wool was processed it was spun. This operation could be carried out in a rural or urban house. It was probably done exclusively by sisters and took the efforts of only two sisters at time, which means it could have been done by a large or small group, or in the home of a tertiary family. Younger family members could be easily trained to aid in this type of work.[56] Because of this versatility, spinning has always been an attractive occupation for women. It is an excellent example of the supplementary nature of women's work.[57] The next step in the operation, the weaving, was probably originally done by both brothers and sisters. This was the case in the textile industry as a whole, as both men and women were involved in weaving. This part of the manufacturing process required more skill and capital than harvesting the wool or spinning. The quality of the finished product depended on precision and ability. Most weaving was done in workshops located in urban areas, but the size of the operation could vary from a family unit to members of a large monastery. Different houses produced different quality products, with smaller houses probably producing handicraft quality cloth, possibly for internal use only.[58]

Because the sale of the wool necessitated interaction in the public sphere, it appears that the men of the order carried out this role almost exclusively. As scholars of gender history have shown, though, the prohibition against women, particularly spiritual women, acting in the public sphere was often more real in theory than in fact. While we do find evidence for Humiliati women involved in public activities such as land sales and rental agreements, we do not have any evidence of their participation in the sale of cloth. It appears, then, that the division of labor in the Humiliati cloth industry was very real, at least with regard to the sale of cloth. Within the production process the brothers became less and less involved, particularly in the lower skilled tasks, as the order grew and prospered. By the fourteenth century it appears that the brothers, particularly those of the first order, removed themselves from the production process and concentrated on the sale of the wool and administration of the order. The women were confined to the occupations of spinning, carding, and some weaving.[59]

It could be said that over time the male Humiliati members became more worldly, becoming involved in the affairs of the market and the community, while the women were increasingly closed out of this sphere. This mirrors a trend in religious communities of the period that favored communal charity. This form of charity required interaction with the public, yet the Church restricted the public role of religious women, leading to greater public participation by religious brothers. Therefore, it cannot be assumed that an increased presence in the public arena, or the increased prosperity of the Humiliati, signaled a change from a

spiritual to an economic or secular group character as this was reflective of the changing nature of religious groups of the period in general.

SUMMARY

Although direct documentary evidence is scarce, the Humiliati's presence in a region centered on textile production, as well as their reputation as weavers and the reputation of their cloth, suggests that this is an under recorded but crucial part of the history of the movement. We can conclude that we should not abandon the vision of the "humble weaver," but we must take into consideration the presence of other economic responses by the group and focus on the common denominator of all of this activity, which appears to be manual labor for the good of the community.

It is clear that the heterogeneity of the movement is evident in the structure of the order, the make-up of membership and also in the economic activities in which they were involved. It is necessary, therefore, to examine all of the various activities in which the group participated. While the Humiliati were clearly involved in the economy of the area, their purpose for this activity must be considered. As they were also committed to caring for the needy within society, their activities in this realm must also be considered in order to fully comprehend nature of the organization.

CHAPTER SIX
Evidence of Economic Activity and Charity

The emphasis on the Humiliati's participation in the textile industry has caused their activities in other economic arenas to be ignored or overshadowed. The evidence indicates that the Humiliati were participating in a variety of economic pursuits and that they were quite successful at whatever they did. We need to examine their industriousness and prosperity as it does not fit the model of the *vita apostolica* in many respects. The group earned profits, invested in land, and interacted with the public in a number of business and legal proceedings. As women dominated the movement, this is particularly important to consider. Not only were women not remaining within the cloister, they were actively engaged with the greater community, often acting on their own in business for the order.

Part of the *vita apostolica* which the Humiliati lived out, but which has received little attention, is the administration of charitable concerns. Contemporaries would have recognized the Humiliati name in connection with hospitals as much if not more than with wool products. The Church recognized their proficiency at providing these services to the community early in their history. In 1180 it gave administration of the troubled hospital of Bardonezza, located on the road between Piacenza and Pavia to the Humiliati, possibly in recognition of their ability to successfully administer such institutions.[1]

This chapter will examine the Humiliati's participation in economic activities outside the textile industry as well as their charitable activities and community involvement. As one examines the full range of the Humiliati's economic endeavors as well as their charitable work, it becomes clear that a commitment to hard, manual labor was central to the ethos of the group. Whether the labor was in the form of artisan wool- working, farming, or tending the sick and poor, the Humiliati worked hard enough to be successful in all areas. Their success meant that they had to deal with those very elements of commercial society to which they had organized in opposition. It is possible that by working hard within the system they decried they were attempting to correct its shortcomings.

LABOR AND POVERTY

It is apparent that by the fifteenth century the order had become very prosperous, and their participation in the economy of the region had changed dramatically.

Zanoni and others have pointed out their increased participation in the affairs of the commune, the popularity of their product, and the breadth of their movement as indicative of their increased prosperity.[2] By the middle of the fourteenth century, they had almost completely ceased their production of wool.[3] By the fifteenth century they were accused of decadence and corruption.[4] It would seem that the order suffered the same fate as many other monastic groups such as the Cistercians. Their economic success was at odds with their original apostolic purpose, and as the order grew and prospered, they lost their original motivation. However, if one views the group as an economic movement primarily, then their prosperity must be considered differently. Did their decline most closely model that of other monastic groups, or did it reflect a general decline in the guild system or wool industry of the area? In order to attempt to answer these questions, it is necessary first to evaluate how closely their actual economic practices, especially early in the history of the movement, reflected their purpose as inferred by the "rule" given them by the church. Then we must determine how these practices changed over time and how they reflected the economic practices of society as a whole. In addition, it is necessary to determine the difference in the activities practiced by the various orders, since we have determined that their motivations may have been different.

In his response to their *propositum,* Innocent III does not refer to any specific occupation practiced by the Humiliati. In letters to all three groups, he mainly instructs them to work humbly at manual labor and not lay up treasures on earth. In addition they are to refrain from usury and ill-gotten gains.[5] These admonitions were fairly formulaic and do not appear to be directed at the professions practiced by the group. The first order was exempt from tithes and was allowed to collect them for their own purpose, whereas the second and third orders were required to pay tithes on their property and not collect their own. In addition, the second and third orders were exempt from tithes on the goods they produced, and the profits were to be used to aid the poor.[6]

This difference among the first, second, and third orders in the appropriation of tithes would surely have had consequences for the administration of the order as a whole. It is possible to see how the first order could have amassed a great deal of wealth from the collection of tithes from lands they owned. The second and third orders, however, would have had to pay tithes on property, but not on the goods they produced. One could envision, then, that if the movement were economically motivated, the first order would accumulate lands, and the other two orders would be more concerned with producing products that used less capital, especially in the form of land.

Evidence of land ownership and leasing, which will be considered in depth below, suggests that the first and second orders were actively involved in the acquisition of land. Urban houses of Bergamo such as Comunis (first order) and Galgari (second order), for whom there is also evidence of activity in the wool industry, purchased a large amount of land in and outside of the city of Bergamo.[7] A document from 1304 indicates that the brothers of Galgari leased land used for

wheat cultivation.[8] It would seem that the amount of land held by these houses was beyond that needed to meet the immediate needs of any single community. There are also documents that indicate the buying and leasing of buildings by the tertiaries. The majority of these transactions appear to be for buildings within the city, most probably meeting houses.[9] These documents generally indicate that the entire group made the purchase. There are several documents that deal with the tertiaries leasing a building or land, and one document in which they are involved in buying a lease for a small piece of land.[10] While tertiaries do not appear to be engaged in buying quantities of land, it is impossible to know precisely the activities of third order members as they did not necessarily list their affiliation with the order in individual transactions. However, we can conclude that the tertiaries as a group were not as heavily involved in the buying, selling, and leasing of land as were the first and second order houses, who were actively engaged in purchasing and leasing land despite their differences in paying tithes on land.

Innocent III indicated in the *Omnis boni principium* that members of the first and second orders were not to own land that they did not work themselves.[11] In reality their activity included many instances where they owned land but did not work it directly, as indicated by the numerous documents in which citizen tenants of the Humiliati's land are mentioned.[12] It was also very common, however, for religious houses to come into possession of land that they would not have been able to work themselves. Often, such institutions were endowed with property and would have had to rent it out to maintain its worth.[13] In addition, a change in pious donations in the fourteenth century led to a proliferation of stipulations attached to donations of land. These included provisions against reselling or donating the land, forcing the institution to maintain the upkeep of the property.[14] Over the course of time, if endowments to a house decreased, or if the number of members able to work the land decreased, leasing may have been a necessity.

Documents also suggest that the group deviated from their original intention of providing a plain, cheap cloth for charitable purposes. In their original *propositum* they were attributed with making a colorless plain cloth, or *berettino,* but there are several documents that describe the Humiliati product as variously colored. There is reference to black and white cloth, green cloth, and cloth described as "colored."[15] Brolis has recently found two additional documents for the house of Galgari which indicate their administration of a dye shop. As the Humiliati only wore plain, undyed garments, and were to produce the same for the poor, she believes that we can conclude from these documents that the Humiliati were not simply making cloth for themselves or for charity alone.[16] This second order house was actively engaged in production of wool, including a higher-quality wool, and they were investing their wealth in land, including rural properties.

POVERTY

A central element of all three orders was their vow of personal poverty. It is essential to understand the nature of this pledge in order to determine how their economic activities affected their ability or desire to maintain such a vow. Upon entering the group, members of the first and second orders donated all of their goods to the house. This became common property, and each member practiced personal poverty. Any profits from their work would have become communal profits.[17] It is hard to say, therefore, how the prosperity of the group house affected the individual member. Paolini and Manselli believe that the profits earned by the Humiliati were originally intended to benefit charity, not produce wealth.[18] Indeed, Innocent III instructs them that they are not to accrue wealth but return it to the community.[19] If so, then any profits gained and put back into the community in the form of charity would have been welcomed. Viewed in this way, even those houses actively involved in a variety of lucrative economic activities were maintaining their original apostolic function; communal poverty and profits made for the betterment of society.

CHARITY AND LABOR

We must consider the Humiliati's various economic activities in the context of their interest in charity and community. While not all of this activity is indicative of generating or administering charity, the connection between the groups' participation in urban culture and their desired pursuit of a life of charitable works is clearly important and worthy of emphasis. Their apostolic vow of living charitably meant providing for those in their community. As the difficulties faced by members of the greater community were often economic, this meant the Humiliati had to participate in the economy in order to offer assistance.

The most prevalent example of the Humiliati's charitable work is in the administration and endowment of hospitals. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries witnessed a proliferation of charitable hospitals administered by monastic or lay orders throughout Europe. The purpose of these institutions was not simply, or even primarily, to care for the sick. They filled a need for relief of the problems that were a condition of urban life, but which were not yet met by municipal authorities.[20] They were primarily charitable institutions, or precursors to a social welfare system. In addition to caring for the sick, they were involved in activities that included housing the homeless and lending money, as well as buying, selling, and renting land. They often served as asylums for the elderly and widowed, as well as for clerics and students.[21]

Miri Rubin's examination of the administration of a hospital in medieval Cambridge can serve as a model for understanding the various purposes of this type institution. She indicates that in the thirteenth century, it was believed that poor relief was best handled by subjecting the needy to the institutional rigors of communal religious life. Thus religious orders easily took over the administration

of these houses. By the fourteenth century there was a shift towards secular administration of hospitals by "laymen in a religious environment."[22] As we have seen, the Humiliati were ideally suited for leading such institutions. In fact, most of the documentation which associates the Humiliati with hospitals dates from the mid-fourteenth to early fifteenth century, suggesting, perhaps, that the Humiliati became increasingly involved in hospital administration later in their history.[23]

Rubin also documents the Cambridge hospital's role as landowners and landlords. She indicates that it was not uncommon for religious houses and hospitals to become actively involved in such pursuits. Most of these institutions were sustained by endowments of land from private citizens, some of which included rental properties, which the hospital administered.[24] In addition, she suggests that it was common practice for hospitals to depend on rents from properties for part of their income.[25] Since the hospital could not always depend on income from charitable donations alone, "it tried to combine the piecemeal gifts with well-planned purchases and exchanges for the improvement of its estate."[26] The hospital acted as a source of charitable finance for the community. They provided loans for individuals, lending to those in need of ready cash, or acting to alleviate the burden of interest charged by moneylenders. Due to the prohibition against usury, the hospitals were often forced to disguise some of their transactions. However, it is clear that the hospitals also demanded some form of return for their investment.[27]

In the latter half of the fourteenth century, the hospital di S.Martin de Lezio in Como was actively involved in the collection of rents for a number of properties.[28] Also located in Como, the brothers and sisters of the hospital of S.Vitale received the sum of 150 L as two years' rent for property they owned.[29] While it is not clear whether the hospitals acquired these properties through charitable endowments or direct purchases, it is clear they were involved in accruing income from the properties.

There are far fewer documents detailing the economic activities of the hospitals than for other Humiliati houses, but this may be due to their being a small part of the movement as a whole. Only 18 documents from eight different hospitals were found for this study.[30] Their economic activity tends to support the model of the charitable institution sustaining itself through the careful administration of its endowments and purchases. There is little evidence of the actual activities carried out within the hospitals by members, which would aid in understanding the extent of the charitable activities. On the other hand, it is possible to obtain a sense as to the charitable contributions of members of the third order from these records.

In several cases, there are records of Humiliati hospitals being founded by tertiaries. For example, in 1346 the Hospital of SS.Bernardo and Benedetto in Milan was founded with funds and property given by seven different tertiary groups in the city.[31] Other documents suggest the association and possible administration of hospitals by members of the third order. In a document from 1434, the hospital of S.Martino di Lezio is associated with the *frati della lana*.[32] In 1282, the

Humiliati hospital of Nifontano in Varese is referred to as the "hospital, and the brothers and *conversi* of that hospital," suggesting administration by both brothers and lay members.

Further evidence needs to be unearthed in order to reach conclusions as to the specific nature of the charitable activities of the Humiliati. We cannot know how much of their cloth product they donated to the poor, but we do know that they were actively selling their cloth. However, if we view their economic activity as a part of a charitable system meant to sustain their houses, as well as aid those whom urban society had adversely affected, we can see that charity cannot be divorced from other aspects of their movement. In fact, the charitable and economic activities of the group were central to their purpose. The desire to lead the *vita apostolica* included giving aid to those in need. The group's economic and charitable labors were aimed at meeting those needs.

The concept of charity in the late Middle Ages was evolving in an often contradictory fashion. The belief that charity could only be given by those with the means to do so legitimized the continued acquisition of goods and property. Traditionally, the Church had always believed that while personal poverty was a virtue, the accruement of communal property was necessary for the continued supply of alms for the poor.[33] The Franciscans challenged this belief, stressing the appeal of communal poverty and mendicancy. But at the same time the view of the poor was undergoing changes. The increased presence of the indigent in cities, as well as increased economic pressure, caused thirteenth-century writers to distinguish between the deserving and undeserving poor and to stress the importance of hard work. A school of thought arose which admonished all to hard work with the expectation that the products of their labor would go towards taking care of those who were most deserving.[34]

LAND OWNERSHIP

The extent to which Humiliati profits were meant to sustain the order or contribute to the social welfare of the greater community is difficult to determine, but a comprehensive examination of the records of land ownership by the group provides a sense of the magnitude of their wealth. Some of the most abundant records dealing with the Humiliati include sales and rental agreements of land.

As stated above, wealth during this period was based on property. In addition, property provided economic security and the basis for the provision of charity. Even in the urban areas of Northern Italy, there was a tendency to invest profit in land. Much of this land was then leased to tenants who worked it and paid an annual fee in either cash or produce. It appears from the sources that the Humiliati were actively engaged in this type of investment. By examining the records of sales, we see clearly that the amounts of land purchased by many of the houses went far beyond that needed to sustain the individual house.

For example, the second order brother house of Brera in Milan was involved in 48 separate land transactions between 1231 and 1317.[35] They purchased various

parcels of land in Milan, its suburbs, and the surrounding countryside. Much of the land they purchased appears to be small farm holdings, although they also included several individual houses, a mill, a garden, and intriguingly, a *piscina amara,* perhaps a sulfur pool.[36] This house was important and wealthy, and this amount of land acquisition suggests that they used their profits to buy land. Obviously, even a large house could not actively work all of this land, so they must have also acted in the capacity of landlords. This is supported by several rental agreements.[37]

Most of the land bought by the brothers of Brera was in small quantities of 1 to 20 *pertiche*. In Pavia, the house of Ultra Ticinum (Oltrecino) was involved in five land sales agreements between 1243 and 1271 in which they bought very large pieces of land. The smallest parcel was 113 *pertiche;* the largest 424 *pertiche*. All of this land was listed as cultivated.[38] This second order double house was located outside the city of Pavia, near a river, and thus probably actively involved in agriculture.[39] However, the size of these acquisitions, which were located in various places around Pavia, suggests that the group was investing in the land for profit beyond simple sustenance.

Another house that was heavily involved in land transactions was that of S.Caterina in Cremona. This house conducted sales or rental transactions between 1271 and 1342. They purchased a wide variety of tracts spread throughout several different districts near Cremona. Their largest purchase, or at least the most valuable, appears to have been for *varie pertiche* of land, purchased for the sum of 167 Lire and 4 solidi. Their smallest purchase was for one and a half *tavole* of land for 20 solidi.[40] If we combine this information with what else we know about the house of S.Caterina, a picture of a growing, prosperous, active community emerges. S.Caterina was originally a brother house, but by 1277 it housed men and women. In 1328 it joined with the house of S.Guglielmo and then probably united with another house in 1342 when its name was changed to S.Spirito.[41] Their largest land purchases coincide with this last union. They were involved in five separate purchase agreements between 1340 and 1342, totaling over 500 Lira.[42]

The buying and selling of land by domus di Paullo in Lodi is probably typical of the average Humiliati house. Between the years of 1255 and 1290, this sister house was involved in thirteen sales or rental transactions. The land involved was almost exclusively farmland and was generally small and inexpensive. Their largest purchase was for 25 Lire and their smallest for 25 solidi. The sisters conducted rental agreements on at least five separate occa sions, which included several vineyards, with one, at 30 *pertiche,* being a sizable operation.[43]

These documents provide excellent information on women's economic activity. In all but three of the transactions, the *ministra* of the house took part in the agreement. In all of the documents in which the *ministra* was involved, she acted on her own without a male representative. In three cases she did so with the consent of the sisters who were then listed by name.[44] All of the documents except two refer to the land as cultivated, including two vineyards and an orchard of fig trees. Clearly, the sisters were not working all of this land themselves. They

leased out the vineyards as well as other farmland; there is also an intriguing reference to the lease of two parts of a house. Although none of these holdings appear to be large, especially if compared to the wealth generated by the investments of the members of Ultra Ticinum, the sisters of di Paulo were actively participating in the administration of these lands and in the redistribution of their wealth through land ownership.

Land transactions suggest that the Humiliati were active in economic pursuits outside of textile manufacturing. They also indicate that they earned enough profits to need an investment strategy. They were not simply putting their profits back into the community via charity. That they did so, however, should not imply that they were intentionally amassing wealth for its own sake, nor should we infer that they were acting purely from a motive of maximum profit. As Penelope Johnson points out in her work on traditional monastic orders, land ownership was a typical avenue of income for many monastic communities, including women's. The upkeep for a community would have been considerable and often could not be met simply by charitable donations and donations upon entry. Since many expenses were met by the additional income from rental properties,[45] it was wise to invest donations or profits in land, which would then continue to yield further profit in the form of rents. Such income also fits nicely into the needs of a community whose property was communal and whose members practiced personal poverty, as income from land could benefit the whole community.

Members of the third order would have experienced the vow of poverty differently. As they lived within their own homes and depended on their own labor for their livelihood, their vow of poverty could extend only as far as keeping them from starving. It is possible to see their vow as one of humble living rather than communal poverty. Even if the profits from their home workshops were distributed to the poor, their stake in maintaining economic security would have been higher than the individual first or second order members. Although supported by the group in times of need, they did not have the security of a group house and group profits to sustain them. It is not difficult to accept that their view of the purpose of the organization may have been different. To a small-time craftsman, who was barely maintaining his place in the economic marketplace, charity might have begun in the home. Although his product may have been sold or given to charity, assuredly he and his family also used it. In addition, it is not likely that such a small operation could amass profits similar to that of the group houses. They could not produce as much product, and there would be no donations for entry. It is conceivable that some profit would have gone to charity, but most likely it would have gone into capital to continue with production. It is possible to suggest, therefore, that for members of the third order, the economic security of the organization may have been more immediately important to them than the tenet of apostolic living. Or at least their interpretation of apostolic living may have varied from that of the other orders.

HUMILIATI AND USURY

It has been argued that the intensity of the group's economic activity suggests that they were not simply attempting to support themselves; that their activity contradicts the apostolic ideal suggested by the *propositum*. Given the evidence of their practice of accumulating capital and investing in land and goods, it is likely that their labor was intended to generate profit, but profit for the purpose of charity.[46] They may not have foreseen the possibility of their success or the ensuing complications. Regarding the contradiction between Innocent III's injunction against usury and their participation in borrowing and lending money, it can be argued that the group may have believed this was an unavoidable evil in the pursuit of work towards charity instead of personal profit.[47]

From the documents it is clear that this necessary evil was a constant part of their daily existence. The Humiliati were not only involved in borrowing money with which it might be assumed they generated capital or invested in land, but they were also actively engaged in lending money. For example, in 1422 the sisters of the house of Arcagnago loaned a tenant 40 Lire.[48] A document from 1319 deals with a series of debt totaling over 200 Lire owed to the Humiliati by the commune of Bergamo.[49] This document also attests to the active participation of sisters and brothers in the economic community at large. Loans were not limited to landed interests, either. In 1322 the brothers of S.Guglielmo in Cremona loaned an impressive sum of 150 imperial Lire to a citizen to invest in the wool industry.[50] It is not clear from these documents if they charged interest but as was often the case due to the injunction against usury, the interest was probably disguised in the legal document. It is unlikely that the investors would not have expected some return for their money.[51]

It is possible, as stated above, that some of this lending activity may have been intended to aid the community's avoidance of usury. As Rubin has shown in her work on medieval hospitals, such institutions often paid the loans of individuals in order to aid members of the community in avoiding the high rates of the moneylenders.[52] Alberzoni has recently suggested that the Humiliati were also engaged in this type of charitable debt relief.[53] However, several documents that involve lending activity indicate that they did charge and pay interest on loans. For example, in 1291 the Humiliati hospital della Colombetta in Milan loaned 50 L to brother Ambrogio Alieri and his wife, who promised to pay an interest of 4 L annually.[54] In 1305, the Humiliati hospital Nuovo promised an annual payment of 6 *moggia* of wheat or the sum of 40 solidi, in interest on a loan of 100 L.[55] We can speculate that if typical, the rate of the interest on the loan by the hospital della Columbetta, at eight percent, was rather low compared to evidence of loans made by the other merchants which reached fifteen, twenty-five, and even thirty percent.[56] It is possible, then, that even if the Humiliati were charging interest on loans, they were doing so at a very low rate, which could have been viewed as a charitable activity.

The Church's thinking towards usury was forced to undergo a change in the thirteenth century as business practices evolved. Their prohibition against loans with interest reflected the early medieval type of borrowing, which dealt mainly with loans for consumption and which usually placed a severe burden on the borrower. The Church's recognition of loans as a means of investment and securing property, and the importance of the loans to the general economy, necessitated a rethinking of the issue of usury. In the end, the notion of "fair rates" replaced blanket condemnation of usury.[57]

THE PROTECTION OF THE CHURCH

The groups' ability to lead such active and often risky economic lives was aided by the promised protection of the Church. For all members, whether spiritually or economically motivated, the assurance of the backing of Rome would have been welcome support. The economic protection provided by the Humiliati's affiliation with the Church is apparent in the documents. In 1246, Innocent IV responded to a petition by brothers and sisters of the first and second orders by reiterating the inviolability of any sales, exchanges, investitures, and mortgages made by all houses. He also promised the Church's protection in these activities.[58]

Such documents also serve to illustrate the prosperity of the group. For example, on several occasions members of the movement petitioned the Church for protection against the monetary demands of the commune. On several other occasions the group petitioned the church to intercede with the civil authorities who were imposing taxes on their members.[59] These petitions came from all three orders. In a response to the brothers of the third order written in 1251, the protection afforded by the Church is very apparent. Innocent IV decrees that "no *podestà,* or commune or *universitas,* or any other place may force them or the brothers of their order, who live in their own homes with their families, to take up arms, keep horses, do military service or expeditions on horseback, or to give oaths. Nor may they oppress them more than their fellow citizens in the payment of taxes and loans."[60] A similar document from 1236 also admonishes the secular state to refrain from forcing members of the third order to go to war or be taxed more than their fellow citizens.[61] These provide a clear example of the social protection that affiliation with the movement provided the worker who would have otherwise been at the mercy of the commune, the guilds and the market.

Incidentally, these documents hint at a possible ulterior motive for membership, at least by some individuals. Warfare and political turmoil were constant elements of urban living at this time. The protection of the Church from enforced involvement in these conflicts might have been appealing for spiritual or practical reasons. In one extreme case from 1264, Guiduccius Beccarius entered the order with his family because he feared for his safety and property during a period of warfare. When the danger had passed, he left the order and demanded the return

of his goods.[62] While this was most probably an exceptional case, it does illustrate quite well the security offered by membership in such a group during socially insecure times.

The dates of these documents also suggest that the group was involved in the affairs of the commune and prosperous enough to merit the greed of the tax collectors fairly early in their history. In 1252 Innocent IV responded to a petition from the second order of the Humiliati of Milan to intercede on their behalf with the commune in order to stop it from demanding that the Humiliati hold public office and loan money to the commune.[63] In 1249 Innocent stepped in to stop the podestà of Milan from attempting to exact taxes on properties donated to the order by brothers upon entering the group.[64] Clearly, at least some of the Humiliati houses were wealthy enough, or housed enough wealthy, influential members to excite the attention of the commune.

As has been discussed, all three orders were exempted from the swearing of oaths, apparently at their request. We have shown how problematic this injunction was in a society that was based on the use of such contracts. Their disinclination to swear oaths can be variously interpreted as typical of the disillusionment with the morality of urban medieval society, or even as giving them additional protection and an edge in the competitive market. Or it may possibly reflect a literal reading of biblical injunctions against the practice.[65] While we cannot conclusively determine which of these is valid, it is possible to glimpse the difficulties such a prohibition caused. There are several documents in which the Humiliati appealed to the Church to mediate a dispute regarding such oath-taking. Often these documents are contradictory and afford a view of the difficult position in which the group found itself. For example, answering a petition by the Humiliati, Gregory IX writes to the archbishop of Milan in 1227 requesting that he prevent secular authorities from forcing the Humiliati to take oaths[66] However, in 1232 and again in 1238, Gregory IX responds to other petitions by the group in which he allows them both to give and to demand oaths when necessary.[67] The day-to-day difficulties avoiding oaths are illustrated in a document from 1320, in which a communal judge in Bergamo exonerates two Humiliati brothers acting as witnesses from the requirement of swearing an oath in court.[68]

The swearing of oaths would have more directly affected members of the third order, who would have had to interact constantly with the wider public.[69] In addition, it seems possible that the brother *mercatores* would have had to deal with oath-taking more often than the workers or sisters. For example, in 1274 the wool guild of Genoa took an oath to buy only raw material directly from suppliers to cut out the middleman. There is evidence that several Humiliati merchants signed the agreement.[70] However, although only the merchant brothers may have been involved in selling cloth, the workers would have had to deal with the oaths requested by the guilds with regards to labor restrictions. Members of the Humiliati were conspicuously absent from an agreement made among wool artisans of Genoa not to work at night.[71] The sale and rental of land, as well as its

administration, would have often required the swearing of oaths. And all members, including women, practiced these activities to a certain degree.

SISTERS IN PUBLIC LIFE

As stated, there are very few documents that directly link women Humiliati to the public role of marketing the product of their labor. The absence of documentation may indicate the Humiliati's division of labor in which the women were involved in the production of goods while men interacted in the public forum.[72] This would tend to support the desire of the Church, especially after 1300, to cloister religious women as much as possible.[73] *Omnis boni principium* specifically instructs the Humiliati women that they are to remain out of public society.[74] However, if we look at documents other than wool industry transactions, we find women involved in a multitude of economic activities that entail their public presence.

Women were actively engaged in the administration of many houses and hospitals, although the use of a representative in legal and business proceedings often obscures these roles. Given that we have determined that there were a majority of sister houses, we can assume a high number of women were involved in leadership roles. As administrators they would have been aware of and active in the business negotiations involving their houses, even if they needed a male to represent them in public transactions. In fact, there are quite a few documents, such as those dealing with land acquisitions, in which women operated independently on behalf of their houses. In addition to the business activities of the sisters of the domus di Paullo in Lodi, there are various anecdotal references to women involved in sales or rental agreements with members of the larger community. For example, as early as 1196, Bellavitha, abbess of a Humiliati house in Cremona, bought a piece of land from a local blacksmith.[75] Sister Varisia, *ministra* of the house of Humiliati of Bosto, was directly involved in the transfer of several pieces of orchard lands which were given to the house in settlement of a debt owed to the community.[76]

More frequently the documents indicate the name of the *ministra* of the house and list several sisters, but also include the name of a male representative. Still, it is apparent that the agent was operating with the approval of the sisters. In some instances it will state that the agent "in the presence of" the *ministra* or sisters of the house was conducting business. Often these documents list the sisters by name, indicating their direct involvement in the operation.[77] In 1255 all sisters of the house of S.Martino di Varese are listed, (represented by a male,) in the sale of land including a water mill, millstone, small meadow, and buildings.[78] In several cases a transaction will indicate that it is being made by the brothers and sisters of the house. In instances where we know the house had a majority of sisters, we can assume a high level of participation in the sale. For example, in a document from 1228, 2 brothers and 13 sisters of the house of Bulziago approve the lease of a farm.[79]

The documents from the house of S.Caterina in Cremona give an example of a double house heavily involved in land investment. In some of the documents the sisters are listed, but in others only the minister's name appears. The buying of land needed the approval of all the members, and as the house purchased land in at least 14 different instances over the course of 74 years, the sisters could hardly have been indifferent to such activity.[80] This activity is also apparent for the sister house of di Paullo in Lodi, which records 9 land transactions over the course of forty years in which the *minstra* of the house was directly involved.[81]

Sisters also acted as landlords, and this entailed much more attention and activity than a single purchase of land. For example, in documents from 1296 and 1299, Rogeria di Tercio, *ministra* of a house in Cremona, acted on her own in receiving the annual rent of 6 Lira from a tenant.[82] These agreements were not always simple monetary transactions and often would have required additional administrative skills. In 1328 *ministra* Adelizia de Durentibus, in the presence of the prelate and sisters of the house of Chignolo in Bergamo, accepted as an annual rent payment wheat, rye, millet and game birds.[83] The ongoing and complicated relationship between the landlord sisters and the public is indicated in a document from 1422 in which the sisters of the house of Arcagnago loan 40 florins to one of their tenants to be invested with part of the profit returned to the sisters.[84] The large amount of land purchased by the house of S.Caterina in Cremona must be seen as investment property and thus was probably worked by tenants. The sisters of the house, or at least the *ministra,* would have been forced to take on a public role in the administration of such activity. In some rental agreements sisters are listed along with a brother agent and it is possible that such an agent was used in the direct administration of property. However, because the sisters' names are often included along with the agent's, and because it is often stipulated that an agreement was made with all sisters, it is probable that they did participate to some degree.[85]

Although the documents concerning land transactions are the most numerous, there are incidental references to other activities in which women Humiliati were involved. In 1249 a sister Iacoba was involved in a dispute over the administration of a hospital in Genoa. She had been named successor to the late minister and administrator of the hospital but was being challenged by a brother from another house. She appealed to Innocent IV, and he interceded on her behalf.[86] Clearly, she played a public role in administering the hospital, and she was confident of her place within the hierarchy of the order.

Although we have only a few documents that directly specify women's involvement in wool production, these can provide information on auxiliary activity. The document in which sister Tedeschina, *ministra* of the house of S.Marcellino in Milan, rents a garden next to the house in order to build a buttress to sustain a wall of their weaving shop, suggests more than just her participation in the industry. She acted on her own to rent the property, and one would have to assume she then hired the labor needed to erect the buttress.[87]

The complicated nature of the activity in which these women were involved is indicated by a document from Milan in1356. This document states that the chapter of wool workers approved the union of the sister house of S.Sisto with the hospital of S.Vitale. Although it is difficult to interpret the various relationships suggested by this document, (i.e., just who the chapter of wool-workers were), it is clear that there was a connection between the groups and that the sisters were involved in various activities.[88] Also, the hospitals were also often involved in the sale or renting of land, as when the sisters and brothers of the above-mentioned hospital signed a rental agreement in 1360.[89]

In fact, this evidence suggests that the role of *ministra* provided women with a very active public leadership role that would not have been available to them in most areas of life. While we can not know for sure the social origins of all of these women, we do have evidence that several did come from prominent families, and we know that leadership roles within the organization were often held by those individuals whose families had leadership roles within the greater community.[90] However, even women from the most illustrious families would not have been able to participate in the economic realm of the secular community. The *ministra* of the Humiliati was responsible for the administration of her house, usually with oversight from a brother and who answered to Church authorities. However, the evidence illustrates that she was quite active in the affairs of her house, including the managing of its economic affairs. The variety of activities this involved could have included the running of a farm, textile shop, or hospital. In addition, she often acted as landlord and banker. The rules for lay religious orders, while still favoring male dominance, gave unprecedented privileges and honors to women.[91] Ministra Iacoba was not only capable of administering a hospital, but she was willing to stand up for her rights against male prerogatives in the organization and was eventually supported in her cause by the pope.

The evidence for women in the third order is almost non-existent. This is understandable since they were living with their families and a male family member would have represented them. More wills, such as that if Sofia of Genoa, need to come to light to give evidence of economic activity and membership in the group.[92] We can also tentatively assume that women such as Gisla, a wet nurse, who had several business dealings with various Humiliati members, including investment of her income in their work, may have also been a Humiliati member of the third order herself.[93]

CONCLUSIONS

Writing at the height of popularity of viewing history through an economic lens in order to understand the rapid social upheaval of the time, Zanoni believed that he found in the Humiliati the origins of a social movement, a medieval example of an economic response of the disenfranchised lower class. For him, the Humiliati represented a rational response to economic and social pressures in the new urban environment. The religious aspect of the group, he argued, was the

ideology used to unite and to protect its members, but their purpose was survival in an increasingly constricting economic environment. Although modified, the vision of the artisan brother and sister has retained its allure for many economic historians, and their presence in the movement can be substantiated with documented evidence.

The ongoing debate over the social composition of the movement and the accompanying discussion of economic or spiritual motivation appear to be irreconcilable due to the contradictory nature of the extant evidence for the groups' participation in the economy. The artisan weaver actually appears very infrequently in the documents. The groups' *propositum* deals very vaguely with the nature of the labor practiced by the order, but rather provides a formula for manual labor for the purpose of humble living, sustenance, and charity. The pope's ratification of their intention to avoid profit and usury certainly suggests a desire by the group to renounce the influence of the changing economic society around them. This, coupled with evidence of a variety of social classes in the movement and the presence of clerics in the first two orders, certainly tends to support Grundmann's model of the apostolic religious movement of the period.

However, when the archival evidence of economic activity is compiled and analyzed, it does not appear to support conclusively either of these opposing viewpoints. The Humiliati were clearly involved in the wool industry, although we must infer much of this activity from references to the popularity of their cloth and their reputation. From the few tantalizing references we have, we know that the cloth they produced was not always a cheap, plain textile made to be affordable to the poor. We also know that they made a profit from their production and participated actively in the textile market. This evidence tends to support Zanoni's view of an artisan class attempting to compete in the urban textile market.

However, we cannot know for sure if the members were textile workers when they joined the order, or if due to a spiritual desire to work with their hands, they appropriated this occupation once they became Humiliati. The presence of various classes in the movement tends to suggest this might be the case. In addition, the textile industry included many skills that were traditionally performed by women, and in a movement dominated by women, it could be argued that these sisters would undertake whatever occupation was familiar to them and that would most easily sustain them.

The evidence of their economic activity outside of the industry further complicates the vision of the Humiliati as artisan wool-workers. The documents indicate that they were active in agriculture and hospital administration, as well as wool-working. There is debate among scholars as to whether the agricultural activity was mainly for the purpose of supporting textile production, or if some houses engaged in agricultural activities not directly related to the needs of the industry. Anecdotal references to the farming of wheat and the tending of vineyards and orchards would tend to support this latter contention.

Even more compelling is the evidence of the groups' participation in the buying, selling, and leasing of land. Following the customs of the period, the Humiliati were clearly investing their wealth in land. The amounts of land that they were purchasing indicate a great deal more than what was needed to support the weaving houses. It was a great deal more than necessary to provide sustenance for the individual rural house as well. Their role as landlords also indicates that they used the land as a constant source of profit. This facet of the group's activity most directly contradicts the rule outlined for them by Innocent III. They amassed wealth, loaned money, and owned land for use other than their own maintenance. It also tends to contradict the view that they were inclined to retreat from urban society. Clearly, in their capacity as both wool-workers and landowners they were active in regional markets.

Arguably, this pattern mirrors the course of many a monastic group as the Humiliati perhaps unintentionally became wealthy and needed to find secure investments for their wealth. But the affluence of the group house did not necessarily affect the individual members who had renounced their personal wealth when joining the order and lived in communal poverty. We must however, consider all three orders of the Humiliati if we are to understand the movement as a whole, and the process of land accumulation, as well as communal poverty, was relevant only for members of the first and second orders. Third order members, who most probably were involved mainly in the textile industry, would have dealt with issues of charity and profit differently. The few references we have for these members suggest they were attempting to create a stable, profitable economic course for themselves. They used capital for their industry, they loaned money and entered into partnerships, invested in others' work, and marketed their product to such an extent as to gain a reputation for themselves and their product.

As charity was a fundamental element of the Humiliati's doctrine, it is imperative that we understand, to the extent the evidence allows us, the nature of the group's charitable activities. The evidence for their participation in the endowment and administration of hospitals indicates that they were actively engaged in the pursuit of solutions to pressing urban social problems such as poor relief. That these activities necessitated their participation in diverse economic activities such as land ownership and leasing, extending credit, and loaning money, should not prejudice our view of the basic purpose of this activity. As were other religious groups of the period, the Humiliati were responding to the moral and social challenges of a changing society. Because their interest was in alleviating social problems caused by economic pressures, they attempted to mitigate those problems by operating within the economic system.

We must also take into consideration the evolution of the movement over time. It is possible that over the course of several centuries the nature of the movement changed. It may be that the movement originally attracted artisan members, particularly women who were skilled in most aspects of textile production. When the movement was smaller and less prosperous these

individuals would have been involved in much of the entire process of wool-working from sheering to sales. As the order grew and became more institutionalized and complex, a division of labor occurred as well as increased specialization. The subsequent growth and prosperity of the movement necessitated a transition into land ownership that required new economic activity.

The heterogeneity of the membership, the complexity of their economic enterprise, and the variation in their settlement patterns seem to indicate that this movement represented more than the singular economic aspirations of an artisan class of urban textile workers. While we can assuredly say that the Humiliati were actively engaged in their urban environment, they also appear to have been involved in a variety of capacities. As a movement dominated by women, their presence in the wool industry, along with their administration of hospitals, can be viewed in light of traditional female occupations. This suggests that labor was central to their movement, but that its purpose may not have been protection from the elitist, capitalist merchant class. Instead, their labor may well have been intended to support their movement as well as enhance their community.

A complete picture of the movement must take into consideration the differences in the three orders. The economic activity practiced by the group, as well as their relationship to the ideal of voluntary poverty and charity, illustrates the danger in viewing the movement as a singular phenomenon. The first and second order houses made and used profit in different ways from the tertiaries. It could be concluded that the former more closely resembled traditional monastic orders in its approach to manual labor, land patrimony, and communal poverty. As such, for these members, motivation for membership may have resembled the spiritual aspirations of those traditional orders. The apostolic and chaste life that Grundmann modeled appears to describe these members more precisely. The individuals of the third order, who lived with their families and worked for very little profit at the edge of economic security, fit into Zanoni's vision more precisely. Their spirituality, however can not be denied as they participated in charitable giving and the administration of hospitals.

Paolini has suggested that for the Humiliati, labor itself had the most important intrinsic value. The group believed that hard manual labor produced two valuable results. One was the personal spiritual fulfillment of a life of hard work, and the other was the provision of a social service: goods and services for the poor. He points out that during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries a recurrent image in popular culture was that of the religious weaver, combining both religious and social elements. The Humiliati would have viewed work as spiritually rewarding and socially useful. In addition, he indicates that this was particularly true for women, providing them with a sense of purpose and a "redemption of the female condition."[94] Placed in this context, the work practiced by the Humiliati certainly seems to support Lester Little's thesis which argued that new religious groups were a novel response to the challenges presented by urban living and urban moral dilemmas. It also fits the model of the phenomena of religious movements

described by Grundmann that stressed apostolic poverty, humble living, and community support.

The Humiliati were certainly active in the economy of northern Italy to such a degree that they gained renown for their efforts and became quite successful as a result. It is a mistake, however, to attempt to divorce this activity from the spiritual basis of their movement. Their commitment to the ideals of the *vita apostolica* found expression in their duty to the greater community and dedication to hard work for the benefit of that community. Strict economic or religious explanations are not sufficient. Manual labor in various forms, from the sister spinner to the brother *mercatore,* to the hospitaler to the rural farmer, is the unifying motivational element of the Humiliati.

Conclusion

Herbert Grundmann's seminal work on religious movements of the twelfth through fourteenth centuries has focused subsequent scholarly attention on a period of widespread, revolutionary change in the religious practices throughout Europe. Grundmann aptly argued that the various movements that arose during this time reflected a fundamental challenge to orthodoxy and a unified change in spiritual orientation. His thesis provides an essential framework within which to view the development of both the Church and the laity and which explains the continued evolution in lay religiosity which occurred during this period.

A model for the nature of the religious movements of the period has aided scholars in understanding apostolic, mendicant, penitent, and confraternal groups throughout Europe. Recent scholarship has sought to place these movements in a social context, indicating that much of the change was due to the new commercial economic society that arose at this time. In response to an increased awareness of the difficulties urban, communal living, the Franciscans, Dominicans, Humiliati, and Beguines as well as the penitential and heretical groups can all then be viewed in light of a renewed desire for apostolic living, emphasizing the humanity of Christ. The similarities among the movements however, should not be overstated and an examination of the individual characteristics of each group can shed even greater light on the nature of both the spiritual and the social challenges faced by the medieval individual. Not all groups responded in the exact same fashion, hence the development of such a wide variety of orders, which included the heretical as well as the extremely orthodox.

The inability of scholars to agree on who made up membership in the Humiliati—and what their motivation for membership was—reflects a larger difficulty with comprehending just how these various movements fit into the larger social context. While urban life certainly created new spiritual challenges, it created new economic ones as well. Attempting to determine which challenge was greater—and thus which provided motivation for membership in the group—seems to introduce a polarity where one may not exist. By examining the Humiliati in depth, a picture emerges of a group whose spiritual incentives cannot be separated from the economic ones.

Much of the confusion regarding the Humiliati stems from the contra dictions encountered when attempting to reconcile the reality of their existence found in

the archival evidence with the prescriptive directives found in the papal documents. A great deal of the scholarship regarding the Humiliati, particularly that which is part of a broader study of religious movements of the period, is based on the biased correspondence of Innocent III. He was attempting to accommodate the desires of an organization whose practices teetered on the edge of heresy. He wanted to bring them back into the fold under the watchful eye of the Church hierarchy, while recognizing their desire for alternative spiritual practices. His approval of their *propositum* reflects this desire and can be seen as prescriptive and compromising. The formulaic style of the *Omnis boni principium* does not reflect ecclesiastical laziness or bureaucratic standardization by the Church, but clearly represents the effort of the Church to gently force the group to conform to traditional standards.

We can determine by examining the extant archival sources that reality did not always reflect these prescriptions constructed by the pope. The prescribed structure of the movement into three orders illustrates this desired imposition of hierarchy and orthodoxy on the group by the Church. The delineation of orders appears to be a construct of Innocent III's. The Humiliati do not appear to have ordered themselves thus prior to Innocent III's approval in 1201. In addition, the creation within the orders of a hierarchy reflected by titles of leadership does not appear to be consistent throughout the movement. The differences between the first and second orders suggest a strictly administrative division and can thus also be assumed to reflect Innocent's attempt to order and administer them. While the first order contained clerics who were responsible for the overall management of the group as well as its relationship with the Church, my research indicates that first order houses did not only contain clerical members and also housed women who would not have been able to administer liturgical rites required of the clerics.

The third order is the most clearly unique of the three, and yet the Church gave them only slightly different rules from those of the first two. We must understand, however that a group that lived with their families in individual familial and economic units would have had an entirely different orientation to the movement. The communal life of the first two orders would have ensured the economic security of its members, while members of the third order would have constantly been required to provide their own security while also attempting to administer charity as the movement required. The third order closely resembles the confraternal groups of the time, creating new kinship ties and social security measures, while giving expression to new forms of lay piety. Unlike other fraternal organizations however, the Humiliati was part of a greater religious order that included clerics and direct organizational ties to the Church. Also contrary to most confraternal organizations, an essential part of the Humiliati's doctrine was their desire to preach and practice voluntary poverty.

The documentary evidence from this research as well as that of recent local studies resolves the argument as to the social composition of the order. We can find references to women and men from a variety of social classes including the

magnates as well as the lowly artisanal and servant classes. In addition, we find this diversity in all three orders. There was definitely a patrician element in the movement, and these members tended to be found in individual houses and rise to leadership roles both in the group and in the community. There were however, also artisan members as well as members of a more middling class in all three orders. Wills and professions of vows indicate that individuals of means contributed and joined the order but so did individuals with very little income. Clearly the movement served as a social leveler. Once members joined they renounced their worldly goods and lived very simple, humble lives. It is true that the most educated among them tended to rise to leadership roles, but often they had to act with the consent of all members. There was no exclusionary policy or dowry requirement that prejudiced the acceptance of any individual to any of the houses.

Perhaps the most significant finding of this research is that women made up the majority of membership in the Humiliati. We know that men almost never lived alone in the movement, but that sisters often did. We also know that women tended to live in the smaller more rural houses. Women were members of all three orders and actively participated in the very public roles of leadership within the houses. Contrary to Innocent III's instructions they bought, sold and rented out land. They administered hospitals and worked in the wool industry. While their presence is acknowledged in the scholarship, their predominance suggests we must alter our basic view of all facets of the movement to incorporate this information. Women's status in the Middle Ages was much different from men's as were their options and the characteristics of their religiosity.

The fact that the Humiliati movement was so large, successful and centered in the patriarchal Mediterranean region suggests a new dimension to the question of women's religion in this area. A renewed comparison with the Beguines of northern Europe might provide additional information as to the religious responses to urban culture by women. Humiliati women's participation in the economy of this region and their success in that economy indicates women's economic choices were more varied in northern Italy than previously assumed. Closed out of the male dominated guild system, and excluded from full participation in the confraternal organizations, Zanoni's artisan proletariat now appears to be an even more excluded group, that of women. Their successful challenge to the industry of the region illuminates the ability of women to overcome in non-traditional ways the patriarchal system of production.

The vision of the artisan wool-worker must also be reevaluated in light of the finding that women dominated the movement. As spinning, carding and even weaving were traditional female activities, the appropriation of these occupations by a group of primarily female participants, especially those who lived separately in sister houses, and had to support themselves, seems quite appropriate. One cannot discount however, the third order families who were numerous and who were most probably artisan wool-workers as well. It is impossible to say which developed first within the Humiliati, the sister wool-worker or the artisan family

wool-worker. We can conclude however, that the movement developed alongside an industry that was open to women and allowed them economic stability and the opportunity to lead a spiritually fulfilling life.

What is compelling and requires further analysis, is the division of labor and specialization within the industry of the movement that occurred over time. While women played an active public role in many economic facets of the movement, it appears that they were increasingly excluded from the higher skilled textile production and the public transaction of textile sales. This mirrors the increased exclusion of women from skilled or public work in all facets of medieval economic society. However, they continued to play a role in the administration of their houses, which required their presence in the public realm as landowners, landlords and administers of communal charity. Evidence for women in the third order suggests that they acted much like their counterparts in the greater community. Forming partnerships, often with husbands, and actively engaged in the household production of the cloth, they bought, sold, made loans, employed and trained apprentices.

It can also be concluded from this research that not all members, sisters or brothers, were involved only in the textile industry. We actually have very little documentary evidence of this activity. We can only deduce the breadth of participation in this occupation by the reputation the group and its product obtained, and by a few documents regarding the production and sale of wool. My research does indicate that the Humiliati were engaged in agricultural activities throughout the region. While some of this activity would have been undertaken for the sake of self-sustenance, clearly the scale of land being traded suggests more than subsistence production. Contrary to the rule set out for them in the *Omnis boni principium,* members of both first and second order houses were engaged in buying and selling land, more than they could have tended themselves, and they were also active in collecting the rent for land. In particular, women were not excluded from these very public activities. Sister houses were active, often with the entire membership, in the sale and rental of property.

This research suggests that even early in the history of the movement, the group was producing higher-grade cloth and making a profit from its sale, as well as the sale of land. This is difficult to reconcile with the apostolic ideal of humble living and profit for charity's sake only. Therefore it is necessary to seek an alternative explanation for their extreme industriousness in many facets of the economy and community. A great deal of this activity can be understood within the context of charity in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Much of the land held and administered by the group was probably obtained from endowments to the Humiliati houses, and the income from this land would have been used for the continual support of these houses. In addition, the practice of extending credit and lending money can be viewed as providing charitable debt relief from the high rates of commercial moneylenders. However, the amount of land bought by the Humiliati, as well as their investments in the textile industry

and the production of quality goods, cannot simply be explained by viewing their actions as part of the charity system.

As difficult as it is for the modern scholar, it is necessary to attempt to merge the economic with the spiritual. Hard work for the Humiliati was not a byproduct of the apostolic life, or simply a means of social charity or economic security, but a spiritual end in itself. In the new commercial society of which they were a part, success meant the ability to adapt to the economic environment while maintaining their moral belief system. For the Humiliati there would have been no contradiction between success and humble living as long as the currency used was hard physical work. The glory and reward was in the work itself and the style of living such labor required. Their devotion to community in the form of charity and preaching reflected their belief that the new commercial society required a communal effort of moral purity and industriousness. Their desire to respond to social challenges such as poverty, illness, and the demands of capitalist economy was common to many religious movements of the period. However, their belief in the value of labor for the betterment of the soul and the community is unique.

Knowing that women made up the majority of the members of this movement suggests why they chose the industries they did and how they succeeded in these industries, but it also indicates a more communal, less individual spiritual option for women. Contrary to recent scholarship which views medieval women's spirituality, particularly in southern Europe, as being more individual and mystical, the portrait of the Humiliati sister suggests a spiritual motivation that stresses participation in the wider community with the aim of bettering society as well as improving the soul.

The picture that emerges of the women who joined the group is one of women who were interested in pursuing a path of spiritual piety and communal involvement. A woman of any class sought out the companionship of other sisters and brothers, who felt that the increasing complexity of their lives and the lives of those in their community required a unique response. Chastity appears to have been desirable for some, but not requisite. Charity and good works were of greater importance, but manual labor was a priority. Although the Church implored Humiliati women to separate themselves from the greater society, their constant involvement in their community indicates the importance of this element of the movement to the women. Once a part of the order, women of wealthier families tended to find places in the leadership of the sister houses, but this was not necessarily true for all houses, for all women, or all of the time. Social class did not determine who would desire to become a Humiliati member, which order they would be attached to, or whether or not they would be accepted.

The unifying element of all three orders was the perceived good of hard manual labor meant not for personal gain or gratification, but for the good of the community and the soul. The women who became Humiliati, both as sisters and as third order family members, probably chose the textile industry as it was a field which provided the basis of the economy in their region, required skills with which they would have been familiar, and was viewed as a spiritually and morally

humble occupation. As the order grew, it expanded to include agricultural labor as well as aiding the sick and poor in hospitals, occupations which would have also allowed a woman a socially approved avenue for participation in the economic, laboring community while also affording her an opportunity for personal spiritual fulfillment.

Notes

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

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33. See above page 2, n. 3.
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43. Little, *Religious Poverty*.
44. Epstein, *Wage Labor and Guilds,* 91–93.
45. Sara Ruben Blanshei, "Perugia, 1260–1340: Conflict and Change in a Medieval Italian Urban Society," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society,* vol. 66, part 2 (1976): 7; Brenda Bolton, *Innocent III,* 132. Steven A. Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese,* 100; Diane Owen Hughes, "Kinsmen and Neighbors in Medieval Genoa," in *The Medieval City,* eds. Harry A. Miskimin, David Herlihy and A.L.Udovitch (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 95–111; Hughes, "Urban Growth and Family Structure in Medieval Genoa," *Past and Present* 66 (1978), 20–21; Hyde, *Society and Politics,* 65–66; James M.Powell, "Religious Diversity and Communal Politics in Thirteenth-Century Italy," in *Portraits of Medieval and Renaissance Living: Essays in Memory of David Herlihy,* eds. Samuel K.Cohn, Jr. and Steven A. Epstein (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 363–381.
46. Zanoni, *Gli Umiliati,* 157–159.
47. Longini, "Gli Umiliati in Brianza," 798; Renata Crotti Pasi, "Gli Umiliati a Pavia nei secoli XII e XIII," *Sulle trace degli Umiliati,* 318–323.

48. These findings will be discussed in chapter three; they are drawn from my research as well as the works of Alberzoni, et al., *Sulle tracce degli Umiliati;* Andrews, *The Early Humiliati;* Brolis, *Gli Umiliati a Bergamo;* G.De Sandre Gasparini, "Aspetti di vita religiosa, sociale ed economica di chiese e monasteri nei secoli XIII-XIV," *Chiese e monasteri nel territorio Veronese, 132–194;* P. Guerrini, "Gli Umiliati a Brescia," *Miscellanea Pio Paschini. Studi di storia ecclesiastica,* I, (Roma,1948); V.Longini, "Gli Umiliati in Brianza."
49. Grundmann, *Religious Movements,* 7–8.
50. Bolton, "Poverty and the Humiliati," 52–59.
51. Ibid.
52. These will be discussed in depth below, 70–74. For a general discussion of patterns of charitable giving see, Epstein, *Wills and Wealth in Medieval Genoa, 1150–1250* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), as well as Samuel K.Cohn, *Death and Property in Siena* and *The Cult of Remembrance*.
53. See, for example, Brolis, *Gli Umiliati a Bergamo,* 117, 231, 232.
54. VHM, vol. II, 131.
55. Ibid.
56. Ibid., 132.
57. Herlihy, "Family Solidarity in Medieval Italian History," in *Economy, Society, and Government,* 178. On sumptuary legislation see also, James Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); Hughes, "Sumptuary Laws and Social Relations in Renaissance Italy," in *Disputes and Settlements: Law and Human Relations in the West,* ed. John Bossy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983) 69–99.
58. Grundmann, *Religious Movements,* 70.
59. Andrews, *Early Humiliati,* 26–27; L. Paolini "Le Umiliate al lavoro," 229–267.
60. Paolini,"Le Umiliate al lavoro," 240–242. Paolini's thesis will be discussed in depth in chapter six.
61. Zanoni's evidence, as well as additional and circumstantial evidence for the Humiliati's participation in the textile industry, will be discussed in chapters 5 and 6.
62. Epstein, *Wage Labor and Guilds,* 95
63. VHM, vol. II, 135–138.
64. Maureen Fennell Mazzaoui, *The Italian Cotton Industry in the Later Middle Ages, 1100–1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981). See also, Thomas Bloomquist "The Drapers of Lucca," in *Economy, Society, and Government in Medieval Italy,* 65–75, for an example of the separation of workers and entrepreneurs of the period.
65. Giles G.Meersseman, *Ordo fraternitatis: Confraternite e pietà dei laici nel medioevo,* 3 vols. (Rome: Herder, 1977), Italia Sacra 24–26, 44–45. See also Ronald F.E.Weissman. *Ritual Brotherhood in Renaissance Florence* (New York: Academic Press, 1982), 28–29.
66. Susan Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900–1300* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997; 2nd ed.), 67–73. Reynolds indicates that the distinction made by many scholars between guilds, which were based on occupation and confraternities which fulfilled a more social role, is too sharp. Both these fraternal organizations met the social, religious and even political needs of their members in various ways.

67. Meersseman, *Ordo fraternitatis,* 24–26. See also, André Vauchez, *The Laity in the Mlddle Ages: Religious Beliefs and Devotional Practices* (Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 1993), 113.
68. Henderson, *Piety and Charity,* 411–116.
69. Andrews, *Early Humiliati,* 69.
70. Bolton, "Innocent III's Treatment of the *Humiliati,*" 74–76.
71. Andrews, *Early Humiliati,* 69–70.
72. Ibid., 6–13.
73. This evidence will be discussed in chapters three and four.
74. Jacques de Vitry, *Lettres,* p. 73; Humbert of Romans, *Sermones ad Humiliatos,* ed., Zanoni, *Gli Umiliati,* 261–3.
75. The only one of the local studies to place women under a separate heading is Brolis, *Gli Umiliati a Bergamo,* 90–101.
76. Paolini, "Le *Umiliate* al lavoro," 230–265. Paolini's findings will be discussed in chapter 6.
77. The specific references to women will be dealt with in chapter two.
78. Grundmann, *Religious Movements,* 233–234.
79. Katherine Gill, "Open Monasteries for Women in Late Medieval and Early Modern Italy: Two Roman Examples," in *The Crannied Wall: Women, Religion, and the Arts in Early Modern Europe,* ed. C.Monson (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 18.
80. Monson, *The Crannied Wall,* 22–23.
81. Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 16–17.
82. R.I.Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950–1250* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1987), 71.
83. Vauchez, *The Laity in the Middle Ages,* 172–175. Beginning in the twelfth century a popular trend of crediting sanctity to a growing number of women was grudgingly recognized by the Church in the form of increased canonization of women. Vauchez indicates 58.5 percent of all lay saints canonized between 1198 and 1431 were women.
84. Grundmann, *Religious Movements,* 89–91.
85. Ibid., 134.
86. Ibid., 77.
87. Vauchez, *The Laity in the Middle Ages,* 174–175.
88. Eleanor McLaughlin, "Les femmes et l'hérésie médiévale: un problème dans l'histoire de la spiritualité," *Concilium* III (1976):73–90.
89. Ibid.
90. Shannon McSheffrey, *Gender and Heresy: Women and Men in Lollard Communities, 1420–1530* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995).
91. Anna Benvenuti Papi, "Mendicant Friars and Female Pinzochere in Tuscany: From Social Marginality to Models of Sanctity," in *Women and Religion in Medieval and Renaissance Italy,* eds. Daniel Bornstein and Roberto Rusconi, trans. Margery Schneider (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).
92. Jacques de Vitry, *Sermo ad virgines,* ed. Joseph Greven, *Historisches Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft* 35 (1914): 44–45, partially reprinted in Grundmann, *Religious Movements,* 161 and 364, n. 47.

93. Humbert of Romans, *Liber de eruditione praedicatorum,* in *Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum et antiquorum Scriptorum* (Lyons: Anissonius, 1677), XXV, 424–567.
94. Benvenuti, "Mendicant Friars," 90–91; Herlihy, *Opera Muliebria: Women and Work in Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990), 67. See also, Little, *Religious Poverty,* 29.
95. Bynum, *Holy Feast,* 19–20.
96. Carla Casagrande, "The Protected Woman," *A History of Women in the West; vol. II: Silences of the Middle Ages,* ed. Georges Duby and Michelle Perrot (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994), 74; Giovanna Casagrande, "Women in Confraternities between the Middle Ages and the Modern Age. Research in Umbria," trans. Rodney Lokaj, *Confraternitas,* vol. 5, no. 2, 3–13.
97. For the seminal argument of this view see, Joan Kelly, "Did Women have a Renaissance?" in *Becoming Visible: Women in European History,* eds. Renate Bridenthal and Claudia Koontz (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1977) 137–164.
98. See Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski, *Women and Power in the Middle Ages* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1988); Diane Owen Hughes, "Invisible Madonnas? The Italian Historiographical Tradition and the Women in Medieval Italy," in *Women in Medieval History and Historiography,* ed. Susan Mosher Stuard (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987).
99. For example, Judith Bennett ed., *Sisters and Workers in the Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989); Jennifer Carpenter and Sally-Beth Maclean, eds., *The Power of the Weak: Studies on Medieval Women* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990); Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, ed., *A History of Women in the West;* Margaret Wade Labarge, *A Small Sound of the Trumpet: Women in Medieval Life* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986); Erika Uitz, *The Legend of Good Women: Medieval Women in Towns and Cities,* trans. Sheila Marne (Mt. Kisco, New York: Moyer Bell Ltd. 1988).
100. For more on the changing urban patriarchal system see, Martha C.Howell, *Women, Production, and Patriarchy in Late Medieval Cities* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).
101. Kathryn Ryerson, *Business, Banking, and Finance in Medieval Montpellier* (Toronto, Canada: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1985); Hughes, "Invisible Madonnas?," 115–143; Uitz, *The Legend of Good Women.*
102. Uitz, *The Legend of Good Women,* 57.
103. Ibid., 37.
104. David Herlihy and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *Tuscans and Their Families: A Study of the Florentine Catasto of 1427* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).
105. Klapisch-Zuber does attempt to analyze these elements of women's lives in subsequent work such as *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy,* trans. Lydia Cochrane (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987) and "Women Servants in Florence During the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," *Women and Work, 56–80.*
106. Diane Owen Hughes, "Domestic Ideals and Social Behavior: Evidence from Medieval Genoa," *The Family in History,* ed. Charles E.Rosenberg (Philadelphia: Univeristy of Pennsylvania Press, 1975):115–143; "Invisible Madonnas?"; "Urban Growth and Family Structure", 3–28.
107. Mark Angelos, "Women in Genoese *Commenda* Contracts, 1155–1216," *Journal of Medieval History* 20 (1994):299–312.
108. Reyerson, *Business, Banking, and Finance,* 17, 22, 74–76.

109. Epstein, *Wills and Wealth*.
110. VHM, vols. I, II, III.
111. Ibid., 128–134, 135–138, 139–148.

CHAPTER TWO: THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE HUMILIATI

1. VHM, vol. II, 128–148.
2. Andrews, *Early Humiliati,* 105.
3. VHM, vol. II, 141.
4. Ibid., 144.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., 136, 139, 141–142.
7. For a detailed discussion, see below, 33–35.
8. VHM, vol. II, 135–138.
9. Ibid., 136.
10. Ibid., 141–142.
11. Ibid., 136–137.
12. Andrews, *Early Humiliati,* 127.
13. Bolton, "Innocent III's treatment," 77. It appears that this invcstigation began in 1199 in response to a petition by the Humiliati for recognition and was possibly due, in part, to reports against discrimination against Humiliati citizens of Verona.
14. VHM, vol. II, 131.
15. Bolton, "Innocent III's treatment," 75.
16. For a further explanation of the spiritual responsibilities of various guilds and confraternities see Epstein, *Wage Labor and Guilds,* 164–166.
17. VHM, vol. II, 132.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid., 133–134.
20. Grundmann, *Religious Movements,* 55–58.
21. Andrews, *Early Humiliati,* 100–101.
22. VHM, vol., II, for *Incumbit Nobis,* 128–134; for *Diligentiam pii patris* 135–138; for *Non omni spiritui,* 139–148.
23. Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese*.
24. Andrews, *Early Humiliati,* appendix I, no. 262.
25. Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai (BCAM), arch. cons. della mis.(MIA) fondo pergamene, 86.
26. Andrews, *Early Humiliati,* appendix I, no. 52, for the first order house of Rondineto; no. 88 for a third order house.
27. *Omnis boni principium* (OBP), printed in its entirety in Zanoni, *Gli Umiliati,* 352–370.
28. Andrews, *Early Humiliati,* 110–111.
29. Ibid., 112 . Also see Daniela Castagnetti, "Le regola del primo e secondo ordine," *Sulle tracce,* 163–249, in which she argues that out of seventy chapters of the OBP, only eighteen are not directly adapted from the Benedictine rule.
30. Maria Pia Alberzoni, "Sub eadem clausura sequestrati. Uomini e donne nelle prime comunità umiliate Lombarde," *Uomini e donne in comunità. Quaderni di storia religiosa* (Verona: Cierre Edizioni, 1994), 71.

31. Zanoni, *Gli Umiliati,* OBP, no. X–XIX, 358–360.
32. Paolini, "Le Umiliate al lavoro," 240. He is citing Zanoni, *Gli Umiliati,* OBP, no. XVII, p. 360.
33. Ibid., no. XXXIX, 366.
34. Archivio Vescovile di Lodi, (AVL), Arm. VIII, cart. I, nos. 32, 75, 76, 89, 94, 111.
35. Zanoni, *Gli Umiliati,* OBP, no. XLIII, XLIV, 368–369.
36. AVL, Amr. VIII, cart. I, nos. 30, 33, 45, 56, 68, 71, 95.
37. Ibid., no. 95.
38. Archivio di Stato di Como (ASCO), Fondo S.Anna, Sez. Ospedaletti antichi, S.Leonardo, cart. 6, nos. 6, 7, 12, 17; ASCO, fondo Ospedale S.Anna, cart. 7, nos. 22, 13.
39. Andrews, *Early Humiliati,* appendix I, no. 72
40. Paolini, "Le Umiliate al lavoro," 250–255, for a discussion of the Paolini's argument regarding the division of labor between men and women, see chapter 5, 86–87.
41. Brolis, *Gli Umiliati a Bergamo,* 34–35.
42. AVL, Arm. VIII, cart. I, nos. 56, 65, 68, 69, 71, 75, 76, 84, 89, 94, 95, 111. The term minister is used in all of these documents.
43. Ibid., no. 63.
44. Archivio di Stato di Milano, (ASMi), archivio Ospedale Maggiore.
45. Archivio di Stato di Palermo (ASPa), colloc. dal perg. n. 1131,1135, compiled in V.Alessandro, *Le Pergamene degli Umiliati di Cremona* (Palermo: Università degli Studi di Palermo, Istituto di Storia, 1964).
46. ASMi, Fondo religioso S.Ambrogio, no. 111, 112.
47. ASCo, Fondo S.Anna, Sez. Ospedaletti antichi, S.Leonardo; cart. no. 6, no. 18.
48. Brolis, *Gli Umiliati a Bergamo,* 113.
49. Brolis, *Gli Umiliati a Bergamo,* 71–74.
50. VHM, vol. III, 271–273. This inventory is discussed in greater depth in chapter three.
51. Brolis, *Gli Umiliati a Bergamo,* 71–74.
52. Ibid., 239–243.
53. Gabriele Archetti, "Gli Umiliati e i vescovi alla fine del duecento," *Sulle tracce,* 313–314.
54. VHM, vol. III, 213.
55. Ibid., 272.
56. ASPa, colloc. dal perg n. 1122, 1125, 1126, 1138, 1140, 1145.
57. VHM, vol. III, 274.
58. Brolis, *Gli Umiliati a Bergamo,* 205–206; Pasi, "Gli Umiliati a Pavia," *Sulle tracce,* 319–330.
59. These activities will be discussed in detail below, chapter five.
60. AVL, Arm. VIII, cart. 1, no 55.
61. ASMi, Fondo religioso, pergamene antico, cart. 3846.
62. ASMi, Fondo religioso, S.Marcellino, in Zanoni, 303.
63. Paolini, Le *Umiliate al lavoro,* 247.
64. Brolis, *Gli Umiliati a Bergamo,* 72.
65. ASMi, Fondo religioso, S.Ambrogio n. 111; ASMi, Fondo religioso, cart. 2525 [B]. For more on the wool process see below, 151–152, 157–158.

66. ASMi, arch. Ospedale Maggiore, colloc. perg. documents dated, December 31, 1236, October 3, 1305, August 28, 1328, June 18, 1343, May 24, 1347, October 19, 1348. These documents are printed in Zanoni, *Gli Umiliati,* 270–295.
67. Ibid., July 25, 1328, Zanoni, *Gli Umiliati,* 279.
68. Andrews, *Early Humiliati,* 138–139.
69. Archivio di Stato di Genoa, (ASG), CN, cart. n. 18, pt. II 313r., cart. n. 21, pt I, 52v.
70. Archivio di Stato di Verona, (ASVer), fond. di S.Maria della Ghiara 218.
71. Andrews, *Early Humiliati,* Index I, no. 43, 86.
72. Ibid., 144.
73. Brolis, *Gli Umiliati a Bergamo,* 113.
74. Andrews, *Early Humiliati,* 146.
75. L.Besozzi, "L'Ultimo preposito degli Umiliati di Cannobio," *Verbanus* 5 (1984):413–444, 436.
76. Andrews, *Early Humiliati,* index I, 71.
77. For examples of sales of land and houses to tertiaries, see Arch. Ospedale Maggiore Milano, pergamene, and Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Raccolta detta della Croce, DS, IV 14, f. 202, printed in Zanoni, *Gli Umiliati,* index, 271, 283.
78. Ibid., 284.
79. Vauchez, *Laity in the Middle Ages,* 113.
80. Epstein, *Wage Labor and Guilds,* 93.
81. ASB, Archivio Capitolare (AC), pergamene no. 3401.
82. ASMi, Arch. Diplomatico, PF, cart. 632 [A]
83. Brolis, *Gli Umiliati a Bergamo,* 113–4.
84. ASMi, Fondo religioso, S.Maria di Brera, cart. 1251–1275, ASMi, perg. S. Eustorgio, sec. XII, n. 136.
85. Paolini, "Le Umiliate al Lavoro," 244.
86. ASPa, colloc. dal perg. n. 1140, reprinted in Alessandro, *Le Pergamene degli Umiliati.*
87. ASPa, colloc. dal perg. n. 1153, confirms the union of the two houses. Documents prior to that date which deal with the houses separately include; n.1271, 1145, 1125, 1126, 1130, 1140, 1146. Documents which mention the two houses after their union include, 1153, 1155, 1157, 1156, 1157, 1158, 1159, 1160, reprinted in Alessandro, *Le Pergamene degli Umiliati.*
88. ASPa, colloc. dal perg. n.1157, 1161, 1165, reprinted in Alessandro, *Le Pergamene degli Umiliati.*
89. VHM, vol III, 174.
90. Alberzoni, "Sub eadem clausura sequestrati," 70.
91. The variety of economic activity in which they were involved will be examined further in chapter five.

CHAPTER THREE: GENDER COMPOSITION OF THE HUMILIATI

1. While the number of members prescribed by the Church was often dependent upon the ability of the order to sustain them, most orders such as the Franciscans had a minimum of 12. See Andrews, *Early Humiliati,* 157; Johnson, *Equal in Monastic Profession,* 47, 74.

2. VHM, Vol. II, 273–285. Tiraboschi indicates that there is little explanation for this document as well as the inventory of houses from 1298. They represent an attempt at cataloging all of the houses of the Humiliati, but for whatever reason not all of the houses were included. For a further discussion of the inventory from 1298, see Maria Motta Broggi, "Il Catalogo del 1298, " in *Sulle tracce,* 3–44.
3. Ibid.
4. Leonida Besozzi, "L'ultimo preposito degli Umiliati," 415.
5. Andrews, *Early Humiliati,* 137–140.
6. Ibid., Appendix II, no. 8.
7. *Famulos,* believed to be a form of *famuli,* is a broad term that covered a variety of individuals attached to monastic houses. Also known as *conversi,* they were often families or individuals who participated in the spiritual life of the community but also served them in some form. See Andrews, *Early Humiliati,* 197–198; Johnson, *Equal in Monastic Profession,* 176–179. For the connection between *conversi* and *famulos* see Armand Veilleux, "Apologia de Barbis: Understanding the Laybrothers' Vocation in the Cistercian Order," presented at the 26th International Congress on Medieval Studies, May 1991, http:// www.agora.stm.it/A.Veilleux/brothers/htm. This designation will be dealt with in depth below, 55–58.
8. VHM, Vol. II, 275.
9. Missing data figures represent those cases in which it appears there were brothers or sisters but no number is recorded. For the purposes of this analysis only those cases with complete data are used. See above, page 81.
10. A close examination of the data supports this finding. Eleven houses had more than 20 brothers while only three houses had more than 20 sisters.
11. Tables 3.1 through 3.5 report only those cases where there is data for both brothers and sisters.
12. This reflects the fact that there were no brothers in 89 houses.
13. There were brothers in only 12 of the 100 sister houses and in 9 of the 12 there was only one brother.
14. Besozzi, "L'ultimo preposito," 415.
15. Ibid., 270–273.
16. These are the cases where a match between the 1344 and 1298 inventories could not be made.
17. Russell, *Medieval Regions and their Cities,* 62–76.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. Bonvesin della Riva, *De magnalibus mediolani. Meraviglie di Milano,* ed. Maria Corti, trans. Giuseppe Pontiggia (Milan: Bompiani, 1974), 81.
21. In the inventory the houses are listed variously by diocese, by city and surrounding area, or by city alone. Therefore, it is possible that some houses listed as being in cities of over 10,000 people are actually outside the city in a suburb.
22. Paolini, "Le Umiliate al lavoro," 245–257. This will be discussed in depth in chapters 5 and 6.
23. Veilleux, "Apologia," 2.
24. Andrews, *Early Humiliati,* 198.
25. Veilleux, "Apologia," 2.
26. Brolis suggests that this is the case for Bergamo at least, indicating that there were 21 houses in 1298 and only 10 in 1344. Brolis, *Gli Umiliati a Bergamo,* 110. Besozzi

agrees, indicating that there was a movement-wide decrease in membership around 1344, Besozzi, *Le case degli Umiliati,* 15.
27. Bonvesin della Riva, *De magnalibus mediolani,* 81.
28. Bib. Amb., Ni 15, inf. 15.
29. Ibid., Ni 15, fol. 24r.
30. Benvenuti, *Gli Umiliati a Pavia,* 332, ASMi, AD, PF, cart. 660 [B] auth. copy sec. XIII.
31. Brolis, "Gli *Umiliati* a Bergamo," 129.
32. Andrews, *Early Humiliati,* 157–8.
33. Ibid., 131, 135.
34. ASP, collac. dalle pergamene, n. 1153, 1328, see above chapter two.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF THE HUMILIATI

1. Grundmann, *Religious Movements,* 70–74; Bolton, "Poverty Among the Humiliati," 52–54.
2. Andrews, *Early Humiliati,* 74–75, gives the example of James of Rondineto who was a member of the prestigious Rusca family.
3. Guerrini, "Gli Umiliati a Brescia", 193–4.
4. Andrews, *Early Humiliati,* 179, 189.
5. J.B.Freed, *The Friars and German Society in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977), 110–111.
6. Bolton, "Poverty among the Humiliati," 52–59, and *Innocent III*, xv,129. Bolton believes there is a division between the orders. She suggests the higher orders were peopled mainly by alienated lower nobility who were responding to the challenge of the growing bourgeois class.
7. See above, 30–31.
8. Powell, "Religious Diversity," 380.
9. For further general information on women's spiritual choices see, Bornstein, ed., *Women and Religion in Medieval Italy;* Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast; Jesus as Mother;* Grundmann, *Religious Movements,* 75–152; Johnson, *Equal in Monastic Profession;* Ranft, *Women and the Religious Life;* Vauchez, *The Laity in the Middle Ages*.
10. For further general information regarding women's options in the economic sphere see, Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski, eds., *Women and Power in the Middle Ages;* Barbara Hanawalt, ed., *Women and Work in Preindustrial Europe;* Hughes, "Urban Growth and Family Structure," 3–28; Eileen Power, *Medieval Women* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Erika Uitz, *The Legend of Good Women*.
11. Casagrande, "Women and Confraternities in the Middle Ages," 3–13.
12. Andrews, *Early Humiliati,* 160–161, 173–201; Brolis, *Gli Umiliati a Bergamo,* 102–111.
13. For further information on the use of wills in social history see, Cohn, *The Cult of Remembrance* and *Death and Property in Siena*. Epstein, *Wills and Wealth;* William T.Hoffman, *Church and Community in the Diocese of Lyon, 1500–1789,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984); J.Goody, J.Thirsk and E.P.Thompson, *Family and Inheritance: Rural Society in Western Europe, 1200–1800* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1976.)

14. Epstein, *Wills and Wealth,* 16.
15. ASVer, Ghiara 146, c.
16. Epstein, *Wills and Wealth;* Cohn, *The Cult of Remembrance* and *Death and Property in Siena.*
17. Bolton, "Innocent's Treatment," 78.
18. Alberzoni, "Giacomo di Rondineto, contributo per una biografia," *Sulle tracce,* 117–125.
19. See above, 30–31.
20. BCAM, Archivio del Consorzio della Misericordia (MIA), perg. 8851. Galgari is alternatively spelled Galgare. Galgari will be used for this study.
21. Brolis, *Gli Umiliati a Bergamo,* 109–110.
22. Zanoni, *Gli Umiliati,* 199.
23. Brolis, *Gli Umiliati a Bergamo,* 104–105.
24. Ibid., 104–106.
25. Ibid., 107.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid., 109–110.
28. Besozzi, "Le case degli Umiliati nell' alto Seprio," 14–15.
29. Balosso, "Gli Umiliati nel Novarese," *Novarien,* (1982), 78–9.
30. Gapsarini, "Aspetti di . religiosa," 140; Barbieri, Un insediemento dell'ordine degli Umiliati" in *Chiese e monasteri nel territorio veronese,* ed. G.Borelli (Verona, 1981), 197; Alberzoni, "Florina Crivelli fondatrice di S.Maria di Cantalupo. Contributo per la storia degli Umiliati in Milano," in *Ricerche storiche sulla chiesa ambrosiana,* VII (Milan, 1977), 88.
31. BCAM, arch. MIA, perg. 8710.
32. BCAM, arch. MIA, perg. 8851.
33. Bib. Amb. NI 15 inf. fol. 2; and in Longini, "Gli Umiliati in Brianza," 809, 822.
34. Paolini, "Le Umiliate al lavoro," 234.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid., 246.
37. Ibid., 248. The textile manufacturing process and the division of labor among the Humiliati will be treated in depth in chapter five.
38. Ibid., 256–7.
39. Hunt, *A History of Business,* 38–41.
40. ASB, Archivio Notarile (AN), cart. 2 fasc. 5 p. 13.
41. ASMi, Fondo religioso, perg. S.Ambrogio, n. 1.11.
42. Ibid., 108; Andrews, *Early Humiliati,* 191, lists 6 individuals who were notaries and members of *Humiliati* houses in Verona.
43. Bolton, "Innocent III," 52–59.
44. Andrews, *Early Humiliati,* 189.
45. Ibid., 166.
46. Ibid., 188.
47. ASG, CN, cart. n. 18, part II 313r and cart. n. 21 part I, 52v. See also Steven Epstein's discussion of Giovanni and Sofia in *Wage Labor and Guilds,* 93–96.
48. Ibid.
49. Zanoni, *Gli Umiliati,* 301, 302, 303, 305, 308, 324.
50. ASG, CN, cart. n. 18, part II 313r and cart. n. 21 part I, 52v.
51. Andrews, *Early Humiliati,* 199.

52. The average value of property ceded by the entrants in the order from evidence collected for this research was approximately 40 L.
53. Zanoni, *Gli Umiliati,* 59.
54. AVL, Arm. VIII, cart. I, no. 5
55. Andrews, *Early Humiliati,* 141, 230.
56. Ibid., 193.
57. Ibid., 193, 196–7.
58. Ibid.
59. Ibid., 185.
60. AVL, Arm VIII, cart. I, no. 43.
61. Ibid., 84
62. Ibid., 66.
63. ASMi, perg. Sta Maria de Brera, n. 471.
64. BCAM, Arch. MIA, perg. 5520.
65. Archivio di Stato di Vercelli, (ASVc), Arch. del capitolo perg. 6 of Umiliati di S.Agata.
66. ASMi, perg. Sta Maria de Brera, n. 471.
67. See my discussion of relative wealth; below, n. 81.
68. Epstein, *Wills and Wealth,* 143.
69. Andrews, *Early Humiliati,* 314.
70. Epstein, *Wills and Wealth,* 143
71. Epstein suggests that bequests of 100L or more indicate individuals of high status. See below, 73.
72. Andrews, *Early Humiliati,* 319.
73. AVL, Arm VIII, cart. I, n. 5.
74. Andrews, *Early Humiliati,* 309–311.
75. Brolis, *Gli Umiliati a Bergamo,* 201–205. Brolis indicates that out of ten testaments, Galgari received a total of 25 imperial Lire, 77 imperial solidi and 12 imperial denari. Domus Comunis received 5 imperial Lire and 40 solidi, de la Fontana, 20 imperial solidi, de Bianzano, 20 imperial solidi, de Orsaniga 20 imperial solidi, de Lemen de supra 20 imperial solidi, de Lemen de suptus, 20 imperial solidi and sorores de Stazano 10 imperial solidi.
76. Cohn, *Death and Property in Siena,* and *The Cult of Remembrance;* Epstein, *Wills and Wealth.*
77. ASB, AN, cart. I, 189.
78. ASVer, Ghiara 115.
79. Epstein, *Wills and Wealth,* 140.
80. These figures are from ASG, Cartolari Notarili, compiled and tabulated by Epstein in *Wills and Wealth,* 141.
81. Epstein indicates that for the purposes of his work, the sums of money represent Genoese Lira. Each Lira consisted of 240 denari, which equaled 20 solidi of 1.2 denarii each. Epstein, *Wills and Wealth,* appendix B, 239. The rate of the Genoese Lira can be compared to the Lira Imperiale of Milan and the Lira of Pavia which were the main currencies of exchange for Lombardy. These currencies had various local rate fluctuations but were based on a similar system of solidi and denari and their rate of exchange indicates their similar values. For further information on the rates of exchange for these currencies see, Peter Spufford, *Handbook of Medieval Exchange,* (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1986) 96–116.

82. Epstein, *Wills and Wealth,* 141.
83. Ibid., 143.
84. AVL, Arm. VIII, cart. I, n. 5.
85. Andrews, *Early Humiliati,* 313.
86. Cohn, *The Cult of Remembrance,* 35.
87. Brolis indicates that from the middle of the twelfth century testaments to hospitals rose sharply in Bergamo and that this would have included the *Humiliati*-run hospitals. Brolis, *Gli Umiliati a Bergamo,* 200.
88. See above, 72.
89. See above, 71.
90. See above, 70.
91. See above, 68.
92. Andrews, *Early Humiliati,* 174.
93. BCAM, Arch. MIA, perg. 5520, 8851; ASMi, perg. Sta Maria de Brera, fondo religioso, 470,471; AVL, Arm. VIII, cart. I, no. 5, ASPv, Archivio Comunale, Pergamene Comunali n.113; BCAM, Archivio degli Orfanotrofi (ORF) pergamene, 1453 ASB, Arch. AN, cart. 1; ASVc, Arch. del capitolo 6.
94. For example, there is a document referring to a sister Margherita di Nebbione who painted several portraits for the house of S.Agata in Vercelli, *Matrix,* at http://matrix.bc.edu/index.html, community no. 723. Also interesting is the reference to the wet nurse Gisla who was in a financial partnership with the minister of the house of Murtedo, but whose status within the organization is unclear, Epstein, *Wage Labor and Guilds,* 96–97.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE HUMILIATI AS "HUMBLE WEAVERS"

1. Humbert of Romans, *Sermo ad Humiliatos,* 144.
2. OPB, 19, 21, in Zanoni, *Gli Umiliati,* pp. 360, 361.
3. ASG, Atti., not. G.De Corsio, reg. 1 f. 170, in Zanoni, *Gli Umiliati,* 305.
4. Bib. Amb., G 301 inf, 302 inf. see below, 152–4.
5. Zanoni, *Gli Umiliati,* 145.
6. Epstein, *Wage Labor,* 92–93; Grundmann, *Religious Movements,* 69–74; Bolton, "The Poverty of the Humiliati," 125–133.
7. With the exception of a section in Brolis, *Gli Umiliati a Bergamo,* 141–147.
8. Zanoni, *Gli Umiliati,* 301, nos. XXIII, XXIV, XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII, XXIX.
9. Ibid., 145–167.
10. Brolis, *Gli Umiliati a Bergamo,* 141–145.
11. Ibid. The case for under-representation could also be made if one considers that most of the documents that discuss textile transactions are dealing with first or second order houses. This discounts all of those individual family workshops of the third order, which were probably the most numerous.
12. BCAM, Arch. MIA, 5911, 11933, see discussion in Brolis, *Gli Umiliati,* 152–153.
13. Brolis, *Gli Umiliati,* 155.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid., 203–243.

16. Barbieri, "La funzione economica," 145; Raoul Manselli, "Gli Umiliati, lavoratori di lana," *Produzione, commercio e consumo dei panni di lana (nei secoli XII e XIII),* a cura di M.Spallanzani, (Florence, 1976), 233.
17. Little, *Religious Poverty,* 118.
18. Ibid. See also Mazzaoui, *The Italian Cotton Industry,* 60–75.
19. Little, *Religious Poverty,* 118–119.
20. Epstein, *Wage and Labor,* 92.
21. Zanoni, *Gli Umiliati,* 154.
22. Ibid., 191–198.
23. Manselli, "Gli Umiliati, lavoratori di lana," 231–233.
24. Epstein, *Wage Labor,* 92–93; Grundmann, *Religious Movements,* 69–74; Bolton, "Innocent's Treatment of the Humiliati," 73–82; "The Poverty of the Humiliati," 125–133.
25. Manselli, "Gli Umiliati, lavoratori di lana," 233.
26. Paolini, "Le Umiliate al lavoro," 246–248.
27. Barbieri, "La funzione economica," 147.
28. Ibid., 151.
29. Ibid.,143.
30. See for example, ASB, Arch., AN cart. 2, fasc. 4. This document indicates the lease of land that was used for wheat farming and which was to be held and worked by the brothers; ASMi, fondo religioso, perg. cart. 3846, details the sale of a farm and orchard to a sister house in 1293.
31. Longini, "Gli Umiliati in Brianza," 802–804.
32. ASMi, Sta. Maria di Brera, no. 470, ASMi, perg. S.Ambrosiana, n. 111, ASMi, Ammin. del fondo religioso, cart., 2525, 2525 B.
33. Paolini, "Le Umiliate al lavoro," 245–257; Manselli, "Gli Umiliati, lavoratori di lana," 233, also indicates that the rural houses probably supported the urban wool-workshops, indicating (without giving any specific sources) that the group raised their own sheep for their wool.
34. See above, page 141, n. 4. For a comprehensive discussion of the wool-working process and skill required, see John H.Munro, *Textiles, Towns, and Trade: Essays in the Economic History of Late-Medieval England and the Low Countries* (Great Britain: Variorum, 1994), 1–24; also, Jules Kirshner, ed., *Business, Banking, and Economic Thought in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Selected Studies of Raymond de Roover* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 92–101.
35. Paolini, "Le Umiliate al lavoro," 258. Illustrations are described below, 82.
36. Ibid., 245–247.
37. Ibid., 256, and Zanoni, *Gli Umiliati,* 170. These illustrations were included in John of Brera's chronicle from 1421, a late date in the movement's history, when the Humiliati has ceased to be involved in the cloth industry. As such, they depict an idealized view of Humiliati labor and were meant to convey an impression of the groups' industriousness. See above, Chap. I, 17.
38. Bib. Amb. G. 301, inf. and G. 302, inf. See also Paolini, "Le Umiliate al lavoro," 256–7.
39. Paolini, "Le Umiliate al lavoro," 256–260.
40. For example, brother Bernard of the Humiliati acted as treasurer of the leading Sienese financial magistracy, and became embroiled in the politics of the commune. William Bowsky, "The Anatomy of Rebellion in Fourteenth-Century Siena: From

Commune to Signory?" in *Violence and Civil Disorder in Italian Cities, 1200–1500,* ed. Lauro Martines (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 242.
41. Manselli, "Gli Umiliati, lavoratori di lana," 233–234.
42. Barbieri, "La funzione economica," 145–147.
43. See, above chapter four.
44. ASCo, Fondo Ospedale S.Anna Sez., Ospedaletti Antichi, cart. 7, no. 22.
45. ASG, not. Leonardo Negrino, reg. I, f. 145 v., printed in Zanoni, *Gli Umiliati,* 306.
46. ASG, not. Giovanni de Corsio, reg. I, f. 170, Bib. Civ. Genoa, N.D.Muzzio, f. 24, printed in Zanoni, *Gli Umiliati,* 305–6. See above, page 143, n.8.
47. ASMi, fondo religioso, per S.Marcellino, printed in Zanoni, *Gli Umiliati,* 303.
48. ASG, CN, cart. N. 21, pt. I, 52 v. Matteo de Predono, notary.
49. Paolini, "Le Umiliate al lavoro," 233–235.
50. See, for example, the rules for the nuns written by bishop Caesarius of Arles in the sixth century, which states that the sisters should humbly and industriously complete their claily tasks of wool-working, D.G.Morin, ed. *Sancti Caesarii Episcopi Arelatensis Opera Omnia, Vol. II; Opera Varia,* (Maretioli, 1942). Also see: Herlihy, *Opera Muliebria.*
51. Benvenuti, "Mendicant Friars," 98.
52. Epstein, *Wage Labor,* 123.
53. Ibid., 210.
54. Benvenuti, 98.
55. Paolini, "Le Umilate al lavoro," 222–234.
56. Ibid., 259
57. Barbara Hanawalt, "Peasant Women's Contribution to the Home Economy," in *Women and Work,* 11.
58. Paolini, "Le Umiliate al lavoro," 257.
59. Ibid., 256.

CHAPTER SIX:
EVIDENCE OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY AND CHARITY

1. Andrews, *Early Humiliati,* 51.
2. Zanoni, *Gli Umiliati,* 203–242.
3. Manselli, "Gli Umiliati, lavoratori di lana," 235.
4. Simona Schenone, "Frate Mario Pizzi e la decadenza degli Umiliati," *Sulle tracce,* 67–100.
5. VHM, vol. I, 128–145.
6. VHM, vol. II, 132, 135–138;
7. Brolis, *Gli Umiliati a Bergamo,* 166–168.
8. ASB, Arch., AN cart. 2 fasc. 4.
9. Zanoni, *Gli Umiliati,* 277–295, includes six documents which detail the sale of buildings to the tertiaries in the city of Milan in the latter part of the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth centuries.
10. Ibid.
11. OBP, 38, 366.
12. ASCo, Fondo Ospedale S.Anna, Sez. Ospedaletti antichi, S.Leonardo, cart., nos. 6, 7 (2213), 9, 12; BCAM, Arch. MIA, perg., 5520, 8852; Bib. Amb., NI 15 inf., 15v,

NI 15 inf., fols., 24, 36; ASMi, fondo religioso p.a. cart., 2525, 6081, fondo religioso per S. Ambrogio, n. 111, 112, 113, 114, Arch. Ospedalc Maggiore, in Zanoni, *Gli Umiliati,* 295–299.

13. Rubin, *Community and Charity in Medieval Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 205–212.
14. Samuel K.Cohn, Jr., *The Cult of Remembrance,* 162–164.
15. ASG, not. Leonardo Negrino, reg. i.f. 145 v, in Zanoni, 306; ASPa, sez. diplomatico tabul. del Mon. di S. Martino delle Scale, n. 1145, in Zanoni, 303–4; ASB, AN, cart. 2, fasc. 1.
16. Brolis, *Gli Umiliati a Bergamo,* 152–155.
17. Bolton, "The Poverty of the Humiliati," 52–59.
18. Paolini, "Le Umiliati al lavoro," 237–8; Manselli, "Gli Umiliati, lavoratori di lana," 233–234.
19. Zanoni, *Gli Umiliati,* 366.
20. James William Brodman, *Charity and Welfare: Hospitals and the Poor in Medieval Catalonia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 28, 48–49.
21. Miri Rubin, "Imagining Medieval Hospitals," in *Medicine and Charity before the Welfare State,* ed. Jonathan Barry and Colin Jones, (London: Routledge Press, 1991), 15.
22. Rubin, *Charity and Community,* 146–147.
23. ASCo, Fondo Ospedale S.Anna, Sez. Ospedaletti antichi, S.Lconardo, cart. 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 12, 13, 17, 19, 22; ASMi, Arch. Osp. Maggiore, Milano, Pergamene, June, 18, 1343, March 22, 1347, May 24, 1347, September, 28, 1347, October, 19, 1348, printed in Zanoni, *Gli Umiliati* 284–297; ASP, collo. dalle perg. n 1165.
24. Rubin, *Charity and Community,* 200–207.
25. Ibid., 226–235.
26. Ibid., 210–211.
27. Ibid., 217–226. Peter Spufford, *Money and its Use,* 336–337; suggests that loans to individuals were often ruinous due to high interest rates or collateral demands, and that at first charitable institutions and then, by the middle of the fifteenth century, Italian municipalities began to offer loans at a much lower rate to peasants and small business owners.
28. ASCo, Fondo Ospedale S.Anna, Sez. Ospedaletti antichi, S.Leonardo, cart. 6, nos. 12, 13, 22.
29. Ibid., no. 9.
30. For the Ospedale SS.Bernardo and Benedetto in Milan see, ASMi, Arch. Osp. Magg., 1347 (2), 1348; for the Ospedale della Columbetta in Milan see, ASMi, Arch. Osp. Magg. Milan perg. 1291; for the Ospedale S.Leonardo in Como see, ASCo, Fondo Ospedale S.Anna, Sez. Ospedaletti antichi, S.Leonardo, cart. 6, nos. 12, 17, 19; for the Ospedale S.Martino di Lezio in Como see, ASCo, Fondo Ospedale S.Anna, Sez. Ospedaletti antichi, S.Leonardo cart. 6, no. 6, cart. 7, nos. 12, 13, 22; for the Ospedale del Nifontano in Varese see, ASVs, misc. cart. 72, ASMi, Fondo religioso, PA, cart 3823; for the Ospedale Nuovo in Milan see, ASMi, Arch. Osp. Magg. Milan, perg. 1305; for the Ospedale di Rivarolio in Genoa see, Archivio segreto vaticano, (ASVat.), Reg. Vat. 21a, fo. 317r–8r, 640; for the Ospedale S.Vitale (Vitelo) in Como see, ASCo, Fondo Ospedale S.Anna, Sez. Ospedaletti antichi, S.Leonardo, cart. 6, nos. 3, 9.
31. Zanoni, *Gli Umiliati,* 287–291.

32. ASCo, Fondo Ospedale S.Anna, Sez. Ospedaletti antichi, S.Leonardo, cart. 7, 22.
33. Christopher Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages; Social Change in England, c. 1200–1520* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 236–237.
34. Rubin, *Charity and Community,* 72–74.
35. ASMi, Arch. Religioso, fondo S.Maria di Brera, nos. 470 and 471.
36. The sales agreements generally listed land in several ways; a *pertica* was a measure of land similar to an acre, a *tavola* was a smaller parcel of land; a *sedimine* was a land holding, usually meaning a farm. The land would often be described in terms such as cultivated, orchard land, meadow or vineyard. If the land included buildings these would be included under a general description such as "e gli edifici."
37. ASMi, Arch. Religioso, fondo S.Maria di Brera, no. 470 (April 23, 1252); 471, (July 1284).
38. ASMi, Arch. Diplimatico, PF, cart. 640, 707.
39. Pasi, "Gli Umiliati a Pavia," 321–323.
40. ASP, colloc. N. perg. nos., 1102, 1125, 1126, 1130, 1137, 1140, 1145, 1151, 1156, 1157, 1158, 1159, 1160, printed in V.D'Alessandro, ed., *Le Pergamene degli Umiliati di Cremona,* (Palermo, 1964).
41. See above, 76–77.
42. ASP, colloc. N. perg. nos. 1151, 1157, 1158, 1159, 1160, printed in D'Alessandro, *Le Pergamene.*
43. AVL, Arm. VIII, cart. I, nos. 30, 33, 45, 55, 57, 69, 71, 74, 75, 76, 89, 94, 95.
44. Ibid., nos, 30, 33, 45, 55, 69, 71, 74, 89,94, 95.
45. Johnson, *Equal in Monastic Profession,* 206–208. See also, Miri Rubin, *Charity and Community,* 212–215.
46. Brolis, *Gli Umiliati a Bergamo,* 158.
47. Ibid., 159.
48. Bib. Ambr., Fondo pergamene, n. 3278
49. BCAM, Arch. MIA, perg. 8533, printed in Brolis, *Gli Umiliati a Bergamo,* appendix II, 233.
50. ASP colloc. N. perg. 1146.
51. Richard K.Marshall, *The Local Merchants of Prato: Small Entrepreneurs in the Late Medieval Economy* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 98–100.
52. Rubin, *Charity and Community,* 220.
53. Alberzoni, "L'esperienza caritativa presso gli Umiliati," in *La carità a Milano nei secoli xii–xv,* ed. M.P.Alberzoni, and O.Grassi, (Milan, Jaca Book,1989), 201–223.
54. Zanoni, *Gli Umiliati,* 319.
55. Ibid., 320.
56. Marshall, *The Local Merchants,* 99; Spufford indicates that in thirteenth-century Genoa commercial loans rates were generally around 20%, *Medieval Money and Its Use,* 261.
57. Spufford, *Medieval Money and Its Use,* 260–261.
58. ASVat. Registro Vaticano 21, fols. 336r-7r 193, printed in Andrews, *Early Humiliati,* appendix I, 270.
59. VMH, vol II, 221, 226–228. 249–252, 253,259 printed in Andrews, *Early Humiliati,* appendix I, 276–279.
60. ASVat. Registro Vaticano, 22, fol. II5v 19, printed in Andrews, *Early Humiliati,* appendix I, 280.
61. Ibid., 18, fi, 115r 407, printed in Andrews, *Early Humiliati,* appendix I, 267.

62. Andrews, *Early Humiliati,* 189.
63. VHM, vol. II, 253, printed in Andrews, *Early Humiliati,* appendix I, 284.
64. VHM, vol. II, 229–30, printed in Andrews, *Early Humiliati,* appendix I, 277.
65. See discussion above, chapter two.
66. VHM, vol II, 166–7, printed in Andrews, *Early Humiliati,* appendix I, 262.
67. VHM, vol. II, 182–3, printed in Andrews, *Early Humiliati,* appendix I, 265; ASVat., Registro Vaticano, 19, fol. 53v 273, printed in Ibid., appendix I, 268.
68. BCAM, Arch. MIA n. 8364.
69. Andrews, *Early Humiliati,* 132.
70. Epstein, *Wage Labor,* 97.
71. Ibid.
72. Paolini, "Le Umiliati al lavoro," 250–257.
73. Elizabeth Makowski, *Canon Law and Cloistered Women: Periculoso and Its Commentators, 1298–1545* (Washington, DC: Catholic University Press, 1997).
74. OBP, 44, printed in Zanoni 369.
75. ASP, coll. dal n. 1102 and 1137.
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80. ASP, coll. dal n. perg, 1125, 1126, 1130,1138, 1140, 1156, 1157, 1158, 1160, 1165.
81. AVL, Arm. III, n. 30, 33, 45, 55, 69, 71, 74, 89, 94.
82. ASP coll, dal. n. 1131, 1135.
83. BCAM coll. pergamene 3868, printed in Brolis, *Gli Umiliati a Bergamo,* 234.
84. Bib. Amb., fond. Perg. no. 3278.
85. Bib. Amb. NI inf. fol. 15 inf, 15v; NI inf., fol. 65r–65v; NI 15, inf. fol. 2, ASMi, fondo religioso S.Ambrogio, no. 2326.
86. ASVat., Registro Vaticano 21a, printed in Andrews, *Early Humiliati,* 275.
87. ASMi, fondo religioso, S.Marcellino, printed in Zanoni, *Gli Umiliati,* 303.
88. ASCo, fondo Ospedale S.Anna, Sez. Ospedaletti antichi, S.Leonardo, cart 6 no. 7.
89. Ibid., cart. 6 no. 9.
90. See above, chapter four, p. 64–70.
91. Giovanna Casagrande, "Le donne penitenti negli archivi di Umbria," in *Clavis Scientiae; Miscellanea di Studi Offerti a Isidoro Agudo da Villapadierna in occasione del suo 80 Compleanno,* a cura di Vincenzo Crisculo (Rome: Istituto Storico dei Cappuccini, 1999),122–123.
92. ASG, CN, cart. n. 18, 21, Matteo de Predono notary.
93. ASG, CN, cart. n. 11, p. 142.
94. Paolini, "Le Umiliate al lavoro," 235–243.

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b. Archivio Comunale, Pergamene Comunali, n. 113, 278, 1086, 1096.
c. Archivio di Stato di Pavia, Archivio Comunali, Registri Comunali scat. n. 6; scat. n 10, atto n. 41., cc 17re 31 3; scat. n. 11.

Varese

1. Archivio di Stato di Varese (ASVs)

a. Misc. cart. no. 72

Vercelli

1. Archivio di Stato di Vercelli (ASVc)

a. Archivio del capitolo, perg. 6 of the Umiliati di S. Agata

Verona

1. Archivio di Stato di Verona (ASVr)

a. Fondo di S.Maria della Ghiara, nos. 115, 171, 173, 178, 180, 182, 190, 192,194,200,218.
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