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2020

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# Chapter 15 Toward a New Appreciation of Fra Mariano of Florence

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Fra Mariano of Florence (c. 1477–1523) once boasted about his expertise in Franciscan history. He promised that he would be able to refute recent Augustinian claims that Francis had originally been a hermit in their order because “I have some knowledge of the truth about the history of the Minorite order in which I have delighted from the beginning of my conversion.”<sup>1</sup> Certainly most scholars of the Franciscan movement have become familiar with this Observant friar as an enthusiastic and pious chronicler. Yet, as these two adjectives suggest, we often have discounted the merits of his perspective even as we mined his writings for information about the lives of medieval friars and sisters or used them for evidence about particular events. Our assessment has focused on both style and substance. For example, Luke Wadding dismissed his predecessor as an unsophisticated compiler of earlier materials, even though his *Annales Minorum* drew heavily from Mariano’s now-lost *Fasciculus Chronicarum*.<sup>2</sup> Zeffirino Lazzeri similarly characterized his efforts as those more of a collector and translator than an author in his own right.<sup>3</sup> More recently, André Vauchez complained about his “baleful influence over hagiographers and historians,” who have accepted his fictions that certain holy figures had been Franciscans.<sup>4</sup> I also have been guilty of this tendency to discount Mariano, having characterized his history of the order of Saint Clare as offering “familiar apologetics” and suggesting that his laudatory narrative failed to

account for differences in perspective between the friars and sisters.<sup>5</sup> But I have had to rethink those judgments as I have read more purposefully across his historical and hagiographical writings and considered his place within the chroniclers of the Observant reform movement.

My current project uses his work to explore religious culture in the Franciscan friaries and convents of central Italy at the end of the Middle Ages. This was a critical period for the order. In 1517, the papal bull *Ite vos* confirmed the Regular Observance as the main branch of the Franciscan order after nearly a century of conflict with the Conventuals. Surveys of medieval Franciscan history have tended to awkwardly position the Observance between institutional triumph and the supposed spiritual decline of later generations of Observant friars.<sup>6</sup> Mariano's writings addressed these battles for status waged between the order's major factions in the towns and ecclesiastical centers of late 15th- and early 16th-century Italy, as well as their rivalries with other religious orders. To some extent, his stories of deeply pious and humble Franciscans were intended to challenge the laxity he saw in contemporary friaries. But his interests which encompassed not only the friars but also the enclosed sisters, tertiaries and many pious laity associated with his order, reveal his self-conscious strategy to shape their collective spiritual identity through historical narrative.<sup>7</sup>

In October 2016, the Tuscan Province of Friars Minor sponsored the first conference dedicated to his writings. Now published in their journal, *Studi francescani* (2017), these articles by leading European scholars demonstrate Mariano's complex relationship to his historical evidence.<sup>8</sup> Analyses of individual treatises establish how he did not simply compile earlier texts but restructured and deliberately framed them for his didactic and devotional purposes. Indeed, compared to earlier Observant chroniclers, Filippo Sedda and Daniele Solvi suggest that Mariano's writings represent a transition from the need to defend reform to an emphasis on the order's unitary history.<sup>9</sup> Summarizing the conclusions reached from the conference's discussion, Michele Lodone observed that Mariano may well be one of the most notable historians of his generation.<sup>10</sup>

With these themes in mind, this essay revisits my long-standing interest in Mariano's *Libro delle degnità et excellentie del ordine della seraphica madre delle povere donne Sancta Chiara da Asisi* [sic].<sup>11</sup> This 1519 treatise was the first institutional history dedicated to the Poor Clares. As Karin Mair aptly described it, the *Libro* sought to link the contemporary Observant sisters to Clare and the early sisterhood through theologized readings of the development of the female order and exemplary *vitae*.<sup>12</sup> I earlier had offered a similar characterization of this pious genealogy, while critiquing the accuracy of some of his historical claims. I also contrasted the 15th-century sisters' attention to the historical Clare and their uses of her spiritual authority with the friars' predominant understanding of female religious life shaped through monastic legislation and pastoral care. My focus on periods of conflict between the friars and Poor Clares was a way of examining the sisters' agency in the face of various clerical agendas.<sup>13</sup> While those tensions clearly shaped the female order, I now would give greater significance to Mariano's efforts to educate the sisters about the origins of the female order during the 13th century.<sup>14</sup> In other words, Mariano's narrative may be explicitly devotional, but it was also an argument based on his close reading of historical evidence.

## 1 Mariano as a Franciscan Historian

Little is known about Mariano prior to his entry into the Franciscan order around 1498.<sup>15</sup> Following his novitiate, perhaps in Fiesole or more likely at San Salvatore in his native Florence, Mariano appeared to have been a fairly ordinary Franciscan friar who performed typical clerical duties throughout his life. He never held higher offices such as guardian or lector, but instead served variously as a confessor and an instructor of novices, while also carrying out other responsibilities in both his native city and other Tuscan convents where he lived for short periods of time.

Unlike most friars who held those roles—that is, in comparison to his order’s preachers or those responsible for training them—Mariano also became a prolific author.<sup>16</sup> His fifteen known works range from shorter devotional pieces to lengthy treatises in both Latin and Italian that primarily focused on Franciscan figures events and places.<sup>17</sup> They survive mostly in single or at best a few manuscript copies, sometimes in his own *bastarda* hand. [See the TABLE at the conclusion of this article]. In some cases, their contents overlap, which may have contributed to his reputation as a mere copyist even as contemporary readers valued that practice. Mariano wrote in his prologue to his life of Francis (c. 1520) that he had been asked to assemble some of his *vitae* of exemplary friars and sisters in one volume, as it presumably would be more convenient for devotional reading.<sup>18</sup> But he did not complete that task and other treatises remain incomplete. The *Trattato del Terz’Ordine* ends abruptly in the middle of a *vita*.<sup>19</sup> The oldest manuscript of his *Vitae Fratrum* lacks an introduction and has many lives in draft form, including one where Mariano wrote in the margins that was not yet ready to be read aloud.<sup>20</sup> This condition resulted from his death in 1523 from plague, contracted while caring for the poor at the Ospedale del Ceppo near Pistoia.<sup>21</sup> Little more than a half-century later, Dionisio Pulinari regretted that so many of his predecessor’s works had been lost, especially as few other Observants had recorded their movement’s history. Indeed, Mariano’s own history of the Tuscan Province survives only in passages transcribed in Pulinari’s chronicle.<sup>22</sup>

Given these losses, it is notable that Mariano’s *Libro delle Dignità* is a full text surviving in four complete manuscripts dating to the early 16th century. The oldest copy was finished at the convent of San Lino in Volterra by Sister Dorothea Broccardi shortly after its completion in December 1519.<sup>23</sup> Other copies may now be lost or might be awaiting discovery in convent archives such as those visited by Mariano as he researched his own project. The *Libro*’s prologue described how Poor Clares in Rome, Foligno, Perugia, Aquila, Urbino and Pesaro had eagerly joined the sisters at San Lino in encouraging him to write about the history of the female order.<sup>24</sup> These women contributed more than just excitement or secretarial skills to this project. Mariano soon would have exhausted information about the order of Saint Clare contained in his 14th-century sources like the *Chronicon xxiv Generalium* and Bartholomew of Pisa’s *De Conformitate*.<sup>25</sup> He traveled throughout central Italy and eagerly sought out convent chronicles, letters, bulls, hagiographical materials and other texts composed or collected by the sisters.<sup>26</sup> He also interviewed sisters and incorporated personal observations from visits to their houses. His *Libro* thus both relied upon and celebrated a contemporary network of Observant sisters who were effecting reform by moving between houses and sharing key texts. Writing both to and with the women, they were shaping not only a devotional work, but also a didactic message.

The resulting history of the Poor Clares is lengthy: the modern edition runs 360 pages. Mariano divided the *Libro* into two treatises (*tractati*). Following the prologue, the first treatise described how Scripture had prophesized the order of Saint Clare. The second began with a theologized assessment of Clare’s conformities with both Christ and the Virgin Mary, which he modeled explicitly after Bartholomew of Pisa. It then shifted into a more historical register, moving from the foundation at San Damiano, to the growth of the order, and then into the *vitae* of 44 exemplary sisters and accounts of their communities’ reform.<sup>27</sup> The second treatise thus conceptualized his genealogy linking the Observant sisters and their communities to Clare and San Damiano, while the first treatise had set the institutional parameters. It is worth emphasizing Mair’s point that the *Libro* is not primarily a biography of Clare, even as she was presented as a central figure within the female order. In fact, the attention given to her life is relatively small compared to that addressed to those of contemporary Observant sisters.<sup>28</sup> What this means is that we should think of Mariano’s approach to female Franciscan identity as not so much Clare-centered as centered on the *Rule of Saint Clare*—the sisters’ *prima regola*.

## 2 Mariano and the *Prima Regola*

Mariano and his fellow Observants understood the sisters' *prima regola* as the rule which Francis had prepared and given to Clare—that is, her *forma vitae*—combined with subsequent modifications, particularly those confirmed by Pope Eugenius iv (1435).<sup>29</sup> Its profession—in place of the 1263 *Rule of Pope Urban iv*—had become a mark of the sisters' reformed status by the middle of the 15th century.<sup>30</sup> Mariano acknowledged that it was not an easy transformation for many communities. The *vitae* in the second part of the *Libro* present convents which struggled either internally among the sisters or externally with the Conventual friars for the reformed status they desired.<sup>31</sup> While some of these conflicts concerned specific provisions such as whether the convent could have endowments or who would provide pastoral care to the community, in practice the various modifications limited the text's perceived austerity. That raises the question of why the *prima regola* became so important to Observant reformers. For Mariano, the explanation was simple: it signified the sisters' return to their spiritual origins.

Certainly, his narrative sometimes conflated the papal curia's efforts to regularize female religious life in central Italy with the fairly limited influence of Clare's community at San Damiano during the 13th century.<sup>32</sup> For example, to explain how Francis had drafted the rule, Mariano explained that after Cardinal Hugolino had persuaded him that the friars should provide pastoral care to the Poor Ladies, he adapted the *Regula bullata* for the sisters, removing only those things that applied to religious men. Francis himself then took his rule (which the cardinal wrote out) to San Damiano. There, he compelled Clare to accept the office of abbess, which she would have refused due to her humility. Her pious example helped grow the female order.<sup>33</sup> The next chapter emphasized how Clare understood apostolic poverty as the heart of this rule and the spiritual ideals they drew from Francis. Mariano discussed how its conformities with the friars' *Regula bullata* demonstrated that both male and female branches of the order shared a spiritual perfection that had been prophesied in Scripture.<sup>34</sup>

Mariano acknowledged that several other rules also had been prepared for the sisters. Many of them lacked Clare's own spiritual resolve to live in complete fidelity to Francis' ideals and needed relaxations of the rule's requirements, which contributed to laxity in some houses. Moreover, these varied standards meant that the sisters needed a new rule which would standardize observance across Franciscan convents as represented in the new constitution promoted by Pope Innocent iv (1247). This situation both frustrated Clare, who saw the order moving away from their early ideals, and strengthened her desire to secure papal approval for the rule which Francis had given to the sisters.<sup>35</sup> Innocent iv withdrew his rule at the recommendation of Cardinal Rainaldo (now protector of the female order), a situation which ultimately led to his deathbed approval of the *prima regola*. This brief and surely familiar summary does not do justice to all the details Mariano included, of course. But it does demonstrate how he sought to balance an insistence that the rule was drafted by Francis and included a commitment to the poverty which Clare insisted upon with his thorough review of papal bulls and legislation that allowed for more relaxed standards.<sup>36</sup> Indeed, it was the spiritual perfection embedded within these rules that allowed for these modifications.

Bartholomew of Pisa's *Conformities* was the model for this discussion; however, Mariano drew from a much wider source-base in his account. He drew evidence from Clare's own writings including the *forma vitae*, her hagiographical legend and canonization process, and other chronicles. Most impressive, though, was his effort to collect the many different bulls addressed to the sisters.<sup>37</sup> The effect of these and his discussion of other prescriptive documents, such as the 15th-century rule commentaries by John of Capistrano and Nicholas Osimo—which he compared to the text of the *prima regola*—was to move his history beyond pious inspiration to practical edification showing how the past connected with their present experiences.

Recall that Mariano's inspiration for the *Libro* arose in part from the encouragement of the sisters at San Lino in Volterra, where Mariano was part of the friars' community at San Girolamo from around 1516–19. He perhaps

even served as their confessor. Given this familiarity, it is striking that the *Libro* had little to say about San Lino, unlike almost every other house in the history, who received not only attention for their communities but often also their relations with local friars, ecclesiastical figures and, in some cases, the townspeople. To some extent, San Lino’s absence may be explained by the newness of its foundation. In 1480, the humanist scholar Raffaello Maffei initiated his patronage of a small community of Franciscan lay women.<sup>38</sup> Mainly widows from local families under the leadership of a certain Piera de’ Mattonari, they were still tertiaries in 1496 when they formally affiliated with friars from the Observant Reform branch of the Franciscan order. At this time, four other women—two sisters each from Siena and Prato—joined them.<sup>39</sup> The community became known as Santa Elisabetta, in honor of the famous Franciscan tertiary. However, in 1519, they changed their name to San Lino when the sisters gained permission to enter the order of Saint Clare.<sup>40</sup> At the same time, they moved into a new cloister and dormitory. The monastic complex also included an adjacent church and oratory, all built for them by their patron—Raffaello Maffei—on the site identified as the home of San Lino, the first Latin pope (Linus) and Peter’s immediate successor. The construction of San Lino was a significant event for Volterra. It was the first major religious building erected since Florentine troops had sacked and effectively razed much of the town in 1472. The convent was also linked to Maffei whose family was among the most prominent in the region—wealthy and well-connected to both the papal court and Medici government in Florence.<sup>41</sup> Based on the treatment of other communities in the *Libro*, it might have been expected that Mariano would have mentioned either detail in reference to San Lino but perhaps he was less invested in Volterra’s local traditions.<sup>42</sup> Yet missing also in his chronicle are any references to local miracles or pious sisters, even though Pulinari’s later chronicle provided examples that fall within the time-frame of Mariano’s contact with the community.<sup>43</sup> Perhaps the Volterran Clarisses were still defining their religious identity and developing their understanding of their movement’s history through the *Libro delle degnità*. Even for those communities who had long been incorporated into the Franciscan order, this narrative enhanced a historical understanding of female Franciscanism for sisters whose identity as religious women were more often connected to their families and cities than to their orders.<sup>44</sup>

### 3 Conclusion

Zeffirino Lazzeri’s appreciation for Mariano of Florence grew with additional study to such an extent that the early 20th-century scholar came to praise him as “the father of Franciscan history.”<sup>45</sup> Similarly, I have sought to suggest how paying greater attention to how Mariano used his sources and constructed his historical narratives within the context of his prolific writing schemes allows us to understand his goals. Taken in isolation from his other chronicles about the three branches of the medieval Franciscan order, the *Libro delle degnità* can appear overly pious and interested in constructing the idea of a Franciscan order centered on Clare of Assisi and San Damiano. Without denying that Mariano’s attention to Clare was an important part of the treatise, the sisters’ legislation emerges as the key source for understanding the sisters’ return to their origins and their use of historical narrative to do so.

Table 15.1 Mariano of Florence’s Known Writings

Title and date	Complete Edition	Single ms.
<i>Fasciculus chronicarum</i> (c. 1503, edited up to 1518); lost		
<i>Corona B. Mariae Virginis</i> (1503)		X
<i>Historia quomodi habitus Beati Francisci de Monte Acuto Florentiam</i> (1503)	X	X
<i>Defensorio della verità</i> (c. 1506)	X	
<i>Brevis Chronica Provinciae Tusciae</i> (1515–1516); lost		
<i>Corona Domini Nostri Jesu Christi</i> (1517)	X	
<i>Tractatis de origine, nobilitate, et de excellentia Tusciae</i> (1517)		X

<i>Itinerarium Urbis Romae</i> (1518)	X	
<i>Vita di San Francesco</i> (1518)	X	
<i>Libro delle degnità et excellentie del Ordine della seraphica madre delle povere donne Sancta Chiara da Asisi</i> (1519)	X	
<i>Via spirituale</i> (1520)		X
<i>Libro delle vite dei Sancti Frati Minori</i> (1520–1521)		
<i>Dialogo del Sacro Monte della Verna</i> (1522)	X	
<i>Compendium Chronicarum</i> (1522)	X	X
<i>Il Trattato del Terz'Ordine o vero Libro come Santo Francesco istituì et ordinò el Tertio Ordine de Frati et Sore di Penitentia et della dignità o vero sanctità Sua</i> (1522)	X	X

## Notes

- 1 Dionisio Cresi (ed.), “L’opuscolo ‘*Defensorio della verità*’ di Mariano da Firenze,” *Studi francescani* 61 (1964), 168–212, quotation on p. 173. The fuller passage begins: “Onde perché secondo le legie canoniche et civili a ciascheduno è lecito difendere in causa propria la verità, però io, che ho alcune cognitione della verità delle storie del minoritico Ordine, nelle quali dal principio della mia conversione mi sono sempre delectato, postposto et spogliatomi ogni passione se in me fussi, mi sono disposto con la penna manifestare la verità...” The contemporary debate has recently been contextualized by Ippolita Checcoli, “*Con la penna manifestare la verità*: Il *Defensorio della verità* di Mariano da Firenze,” *Studi francescani* 114 (2017), 361–78.
- 2 He also disparaged his predecessor’s literary effort: “*prae omnibus opi fuit Mariani florentini historia MS. quinque libris distincta, stilo plusquam humili, imo frequenter barbaro, sed sincero discripta quam mihi transmitti...*” See *Annales Minorum seu trium ordinum a S. Francisco institutorum* (Quaracchi, 1931), 1: ix.
- 3 Zeffirino Lazzeri, “Una piccola vita inedita di S. Bonaventura,” *Studi francescani* 1 (1914), 113–37, esp. 117: “... ma non sembra del pari indiscutibile se egli ne sia proprio l’autore o non forse piuttosto il raccoglitore e il traduttore, benchè con cio stesso, la facesse poi, come è naturale, quasi cosa sua.”
- 4 André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge, 1997), p. 196, n. 128. Although these assertions appear in various works, the last section of the *Defensorio* presented Mariano’s (often incorrect) claims that particular *beati* such as Clare of Montefalco had been Franciscan tertiaries; see Checcoli, 368–69 [above, n. 1].
- 5 Lezlie S. Knox, *Creating Clare of Assisi: Female Franciscan Identities in Later Medieval Italy*, (The Medieval Franciscans 5) (Leiden, 2008), p. 145 and p. 187, for these two examples. The last two chapters made significant use of Mariano’s works.
- 6 This view is represented in most surveys of the order’s medieval history. However, recent research emphasizes the continued vitality of the Observant reform across religious orders; see the historiographical reviews in Michele Lodone, “Riforme e osservanze tra xiv e xvi secolo,” *Mélanges de l’École française de Rome. Moyen Âge* 130 (2018), 267–78 (with other articles in this issue addressing specific examples of reform). See also: *A Companion to Observant Reform in the Late Middle Ages and Beyond*, eds. Bert Roest and James L. Mixson (Leiden, 2015) and especially Mixson’s introduction, pp. 1–20.
- 7 This concern with self-fashioning was typical of later medieval authors across religious orders. For Dominican examples, see Anne Huijbers, *Zealots for Souls: Dominican Narratives of Self-Understanding during Observant Reforms, c. 1388–1517* (Berlin, 2018).
- 8 *Studi francescani* 114 (2017), 295–398. These articles refer to ongoing research including projects to edit his unpublished treatises, which will further contribute to our ongoing reassessment of Mariano.

- 9 Filippo Sedda, “*Compendium chronicarum*: una storia perduta?” and Daniele Solvi, “Conclusioni,” *Studi francescani* 114 (2017), 295–312 and 393–96, respectively. This emphasis on *Ite vos* as a unifying rather than divisive text grew out of a conference sponsored by *Studi francescani*; see *Anno 1517. La divisione nella Chiesa e nell’Ordine francescano. Atti della Giornata di Studio (Firenze, 25 ottobre 2014)*, (Florence, 2016). Sedda challenged Claire Lappin’s focus on Mariano as an apologetic writer who sought to defend the Observance against its critics and to call for greater zeal among his contemporaries; see her *The Mirror of the Observance: Image, Ideal, and Identity in Observant Franciscan Literature, c. 1415–1528* (Ph.D. diss., University of Edinburgh, 2000).
- 10 See Michele Lodone’s summary of the conference discussion, including this statement of his historical significance: “L’opera storico-agiografico di frate Mariano da Firenze (1523),” *Frate Francesco* 83 (2017), 293–96.
- 11 Giovanni Boccali (ed.), *Libro delle dignità et excellentie del ordine della seraphica madre Sancta Chiara da Asisi* (Assisi, 1986). [Hereafter it will be cited as *Libro* with references to page numbers].
- 12 Karin Mair, “Il *Libro delle Dignità et Excellentie del Ordine della Madre delle Povere Donne Sancta Chiara da Asisi* di Mariano da Firenze,” *Studi francescani* 114 (2017), 341–59. Mair’s new study and German translation of the *Libro*, still unavailable in US libraries, thus could not be consulted for this article. See K. Mair (ed. and trans.), *Libro delle dignità et excellentie del ordine della seraphica madre delle povere donne Sancta Chiara da Asisi: Das Buch vom Orden der Heiligen Klara von Assisi* (Kiel, 2019).
- 13 Compare Knox, *Creating*, pp. 6–7, and then pp. 155–56 and 185–86 for summative statements.
- 14 See Solvi, 394–95, for observations on the focus upon origins across Mariano’s writings [see above, n. 9].
- 15 The conference articles confirm the limited evidence for Mariano’s family and early life. For the most recent biographical survey (with citations to earlier studies), see: Ottaviano Giovanetti, “Uno storiografo a S. Salvatore al Monte di Firenze,” *Studi francescani* 98 (2001), 331–47.
- 16 A useful introduction to their wide-ranging production is Bert Roest, *Franciscan Literature of Religious Instruction before the Council of Trent* (Leiden, 2004).
- 17 Two works appear to stand out from this list. The *Tractatus de origine, nobilitate, et de excellentia Tusciae* is a panegyric history of Tuscany dating to 1517. He also crafted a pilgrims’ guide to Rome the following year. Both drew liberally from texts first published in Rome in 1510 by Francesco Albertini, a Florentine cleric and humanist. See Caterina Papi, “Considerazioni sull’*Itinerarium Urbis Romae* di Mariano da Firenze,” *Studi francescani* 114 (2017), 327–40. The Tuscan history does include references to local Franciscan friars and sisters; it has not yet been edited and survives in one autograph manuscript: Florence, Archivio Provinciale Toscana dei Frati Minori ms. i.334, 86r–156v.
- 18 Dionisio Cresi (ed.), “La vita di San Francesco scritta da Mariano da Firenze,” *Studi francescani* 64 (1967), 76.
- 19 Massimo Papi (ed.), *Il Trattato del Terz’Ordine o vero Libro come Santo Francesco istituì et ordinò el Tertio Ordine de Frati et Sore di Penitentia et della dignità o vero Sanctità Sua* (Rome, 1985).
- 20 Indeed, the idea of the still unedited *Vitae fratrum* as an independent treatise is problematic. The title came from Dionisio Pulinari who copied the *Vitae* in 1541 (this manuscript is now Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Codex Sessoriano 412). Mariano’s hand appears on about half the pages in the earlier manuscript (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale ms. Landau-Finally 243), which includes other works by Mariano bound together in a 19th-century binding. See f. 231v where Mariano cautioned that the life was not yet ready for oral reading since it needed more editing. These texts certainly suggest that he may have intended a hagiographical collection focused on the friars that would parallel his accounts of the Poor Clares and tertiaries. A more focused study of the status of his *Vitae fratrum* and its manuscripts is part of my larger study of Mariano.
- 21 Mark of Lisbon noted his death and likely cause, as well as his admiration for Mariano’s efforts to record the lives of exemplary Italian Observants in his own chronicle dating from 1547. See the passage from *Delle*



- croniche de frati Minori del serafico padre san Francesco* (Venice, 1522), part 3, pp. 307–08, quoted in Sedda, 302 [see above, n. 9].
- 22 Dionisio Pulinari, *Cronache dei Frati Minori della Provincia di Toscana, secondo l'autografo di Ognissanti*, ed. Saturino Mercherini (Arezzo, 1913), p. 92. Mencherini's notes confuse Mariano of Florence with Mariano Ughi, a Dominican friar connected to Savonarola.
- 23 *Libro*, p. 360 [see above, n. 11]. The manuscripts are Volterra, Biblioteca Guarnacci, 6146; Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Fondo Magliabecchiano xxxviii, 226 (also from Volterra); Florence, Biblioteca della Provincia di San Francesco Stigmatizzato dei Frati Minori in Toscana, 331.i; and Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana H19. All date from the first half of the 16th century.
- 24 *Libro*, p. 39.
- 25 These texts are referred to directly in *Libro*, pp. 43, 64 and 69.
- 26 For the literary activities of later medieval sisters, see Bert Roest, *Order and Disorder: The Poor Clares between Foundation and Reform*, (The Medieval Franciscans 8) (Leiden, 2013), pp. 283–346 (which now could be expanded by drawing on new work on the monasteries of Monteluce in Perugia and Santa Lucia in Foligno, as well as the prolific author Battista da Varano, among others).
- 27 The divisions are: prologue (*Libro*, pp. 39–40), first treatise on scriptural pre-figurations (pp. 40–107), second treatise beginning with Clare's conformities (pp. 109–46), and concluding with the lives of noted Franciscan sisters (pp. 146–360).
- 28 Mair, p. 357 [see above, n. 12].
- 29 For example, *Libro*, p. 84: "*tucti questi vivono sotto la prefacta regola di sancta Chiara havuta da sancto Francesco, in somma povertà come li frati minori, e con la decta modificatione di papa Eugenio.*"
- 30 For an orientation to the historical and historiographical challenges around Clare's *formula vitae*, see Lezlie Knox, "The Form of Life of the Poor Ladies," in *Letters, Form of Life, Testament and Blessing* [sic], eds. Michael W. Blastic et al., (St. Bonaventure, NY, 2011), pp. 59–104.
- 31 See the chapters focused on convents especially in Bologna, Aquila, Perugia, Foligno and Messina, as well as the discussion in Knox, *Creating Clare of Assisi*, pp. 144–56.
- 32 A lengthy historiographical tradition has untangled that relationship, including the deliberate confusions engendered by curial actors such as Cardinal Hugolino who established the order of San Damiano that became the institutional foundation of the order of Poor Ladies. We have also explored questions of how these early sources preserve evidence of Clare's agency, even with its limitations. See most recently Catherine M. Mooney, *Clare of Assisi and the Thirteenth-Century Church* (Philadelphia, 2016) with citations of earlier studies, particularly those of Maria Pia Alberzoni.
- 33 *Libro*, pp. 58–63 for the chapter "*Come sancto Francesco prese la cura di tucti li monasterii, et scripse loro la regola.*"
- 34 *Idem*, pp. 63–67, "*Come questo ordine è fundato nel sancto evangelio et della sua perfectione et confirmatione.*"
- 35 *Idem*, pp. 67–69, "*Come sono da diversi sommi pontifici diverse regule state ordinate.*"
- 36 *Idem*, pp. 67–80, which ultimately brought the Poor Clare's history up to the 15th-century reform movements.
- 37 *Idem*, pp. 85–107, which represents the last two chapters of the first treatise. The final one, containing contemporary documents, is extensive.
- 38 Pulinari, pp. 332–39 [see above, n. 22]. See also Ilaria Bianchi, "La gloria della serafica Chiara e del suo ordine: suor Dorotea Broccardi copiista e miniatrice nel convento di San Lino a Volterra," in *Vita artistica nel monastero femminile: Exempla*, ed. Vera Fortunati (Bologna, 2002), pp. 107–13.
- 39 Pulinari, p. 334.
- 40 Although the building was completed in 1517 and Mariano refers to the house as a part of the order of Saint Clare in his history (as does Pulinari), a marble inscription in the church of San Lino claims 1529 as the

- date when the community moved there and entered the order of Saint Clare; see a transcription in Alessandro Furiesi and Cecilia Guelfi, "La città e il territorio," in *Dizionario di Volterra* (Pisa, 1997), 2: 519.
- 41 On Raffaello Maffei's career in the papal chancery and the family's status in Volterra, see most recently Alison Knowles Frazier, *Possible Lives: Authors and Saints in Renaissance Italy* (New York, 2005), with references to earlier scholarship.
- 42 He did often mention Florence in the *Libro*. On the friars' itinerancy and its relationship to place, see Robert Brentano, "Do Not Say That This is a Man from Assisi'," in *Beyond Florence: The Contours of Medieval and Early Modern Italy*, eds. Paula Findlen et al. (Stanford, CA, 2003), pp. 72–80.
- 43 Pulinari, 335: "In questo monastero sono state molte monache, che hanno fatti molti miracoli e hanno avute molte belle visioni, e che hanno avuto spirito di profezia. In fra le altre nell'anno 1500 ci era una monaca chiamata suora Maria del Borgo, luoco della Maremma, ma vescovato di Volterra, la quale essendo in chiesa all'orazione, insieme con una suora Orsola, se vide uno splendore sopra i tetti della chiesa, che i secolari corsero a chiamare le monache, con dire che la chiesa bruciava. Onde, andate le monache alla chiesa, trovarono quelle due monache in orazione,alzata da terra, con splendore grandissimo intorno e quello era il fuoco."
- 44 For a broader perspective on the relationship between religious women and their religious orders, see Sherri Franks Johnson, *Monastic Women and Religious Orders in Late Medieval Bologna* (Cambridge, 2014).
- 45 Lazzeri, "Fra Mariano da Firenze: appunti bio-bibliografico-cronologici," *Studi francescani* 7 (1921), 243.