The Place of Poverty in Hagiographic Documents at the Time of the Spirituals

André Vauchez

"La place de la pauvretë dans les documents hagiographiques à l'époque des spirituels"

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Translated by Edward Hagman, O.F.M. Cap.

he celebration of poverty in the lives of saints is not unique to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This virtue was already held in esteem in eleventh- and twelfth-century monastic hagiography, along with chastity, temperance and piety. The poverty mentioned in texts from this period is essentially ascetical. For monks, to be poor means above all to live a simple and austere life, showing no particular interest in money or the goods of this world. But beginning in the thirteenth century a new and more demanding concept of poverty became widespread thanks to the influence of St. Francis of Assisi and his spiritual followers. Within the evangelical movement spread by the mendicant orders and to which most of the period's great saints are linked, poverty is no longer one virtue among others but becomes the virtue par excellence.'

With St. Francis of Assisi, the religious content of the virtue of poverty becomes considerably broader. To be poor means not only to lead a simple and frugal life. It means above all to imitate Christ by refusing to settle down in one place or to own things, in order to be completely open to

On these questions I would like to refer to my article "La pauvreté volontaire au Moyen Âge," in *Annales E.S.C.* 25 (1970), 1566-73.

the grace of the gospel and to fraternal love. This can lead very far, even to the point of relying on others for one's subsistence, in an act of complete abandonment to Providence.2 It is the new ideal of the vita apostolica based on begging. The founders of the new Franciscan and Dominican Orders no longer refer to the first Christian community settled in Jerusalem and owning goods in common (Acts 2:44), which until then had been taken as a model for monks. They base themselves on the example of Christ himself, who according to the Gospel sent his disciples out with neither money nor provisions (Mk 6:8-10). The Poverello's life itself reveals a gradual broadening of the meaning of poverty. Even before his conversion Francis gave alms: "One day he met a knight who was poor and well nigh naked; moved by pity he gave him for Christ's sake the costly garments he was wearing."3 After his conversion he went even further: he wanted to share the condition of the poor. He went from compassion for the poor to imitation of the poor Christ. The shock he received at the Portiuncula upon hearing the reading of a Gospel passsage (Mk 6:8-10) aroused in him a desire to give up everything. From then on he was determined to follow the Master "who had nowhere to lay his head" (Mt 8:20). Poverty became for him an ideal and a power in his life.

This economic break—rejection of riches and, concretely, his paternal inheritance—was demanded by a spiritual break. Franciscan poverty, which signals a break with the established order (even ecclesiastical), is above all a refusal to let oneself be caught in the trap of compromises that ownership inevitably involves. "My Lord," said Francis to Bishop Guido who was criticizing him for his extreme poverty, "if we had any possessions we should also be forced to have arms to protect them." There could be no better way to criticize in a few words the feudalization that had taken place in the Church beginning with ownership. But Franciscan poverty is not an economic demand. It is above all a spiritual aspiration, "the new world's rejection of the old solidarities of pride and avarice."

²The bibliography on Franciscan poverty is too extensive to be cited, even in part. The essential works will be found in M.D. Lambert's *Franciscan Poverty. The doctrine of the absolute poverty of Christ and the apostles in the Franciscan Order*, 1210-1323, London 1961.

³²Cel 5.

⁴M. D. Chenu, "Moines, clercs et laïcs au carrefour de la vie évangélique (XII° siècle)," in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 49 (1954), 58-89.

This elevation of poverty to the rank of a higher virtue, a prerequisite for holiness, was the work of Francis himself during his lifetime, if we are to believe the saint's words as reported by his biographers: "He claimed that poverty was the queen of virtues because it shone forth so preeminently in the King of Kings and in the Queen, his mother." And again: "For our sake God became poor on earth. That is why, following his example and that of his holy mother, we have chosen the way of the most authentic poverty. We should be moved by the examples of poverty of the Son of God more than other religious."

For St. Francis and his followers, poverty is the basis of a total gospel experience. Christians must conduct themselves as pilgrims and strangers in this world. In other words, they must rely on Providence to care for their life and not trust in money. The Satriano incident is very revealing in this regard. Some knights were looking for a place to buy food in this village but in vain. They returned to Francis who said to them:

"You find nothing because you trust more in your flies than in God." For he called money flies. "Go back," he said, "to the houses which you visited and offering God's love in place of money, beg humbly for an alms. Do not be ashamed, for all things have been given to us as an alms after sin, and that great Almsgiver bestows his gifts with loving kindness to the worthy and the unworthy."

Franciscanism is seen as an experience of total trust in God, who reveals himself by an act of absolute "disappropriation." Christians must live in poverty and humility, for the only thing they possess as their own is their vices and sins. Salvation itself is an alms given to us by God, and when all is said and done our love for God is no more than just restitution.

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What was the attitude of the Church, especially the hierarchy, with regard to this new and radical concept of poverty? The question is of special interest to us inasmuch as canonization made it necessary for the hierarchy, and the papacy in particular, to define the criteria of holiness. These were explicitly stated in the bulls of canonization, published whenever a saint was

⁵Bonaventure, LM VII, 1.

⁶²Cel 61.

⁷Ibid., 77.

officially canonized by the Pope, or the virtues in the saint's life that had seemed most noteworthy and of use to the Church were especially highlighted and praised.⁸

Bulls from the first half of this century are of no great interest to historians, for they are composed in an allegorical and pompous style. They reflect only very imperfectly the figure and virtues of the saints whose merits they celebrate. But beginning with Innocent IV a change takes place. The bulls of canonization are no longer exercises in rhetoric; they become more concrete in their form and more pastoral in their aim. After an initial eulogy of the saint, the text contains a short life which analyzes in succession the main virtues in which the saint excelled. Next are mentioned a few important miracles, and in a closing address the Pope authorizes and recommends the saint's cult. Subsequently, the form will scarcely vary at all, and fourteenth-century bulls of canonization will be composed in the same manner and spirit.

The first bull of canonization in which the Franciscan concept of poverty clearly appears is that of St. Clare of Assisi, canonized by Alexander IV in 1253. The bull that had been composed for St. Francis merely compared him to Samson and praised the aid he had been to the Church in its battle against the heretics. St. Clare, on the other hand, is presented in this way:

An extraordinary lover of poverty and its zealous cultivator, she so rooted it in her spirit, so fixed it in her desires that, more steadfast in its love and more ardent in its embrace, she never departed from her stronger and more eager union with it for any necessity. She could not be induced by any persuasion to consent to have any possessions in her monastery, even though Pope Gregory of happy memory, our predecessor, thinking about the great indigence of her monastery, generously wanted to endow sufficient and appropriate possessions for the sustenance of her sisters. ⁹

As can be seen from this text, the poverty of St. Clare is presented as a virtue to be admired, the foundation of her holiness. Many saints from the mid-thirteenth and early fourteenth century are linked to this Franciscan

^{*}The text of most of these will be found in G. Fontanini, Codex constitutionum quas summi pontifices ediderunt in solemni canonizatione sanctorum (993-1720), Rome 1729.

G. Fontanini, op.cit., 92-96 [tr. R. J. Armstrong].

movement for which poverty is queen of the virtues. Most of the saints canonized at this time belong in fact to the mendicant orders or lived within their orbit, as tertiaries for example. In their bulls of canonization these new saints are praised especially for their poverty and humility, virtues which, along with piety, are the foundation of holiness. That had already been true for St. Elizabeth of Thuringia in 1235.10 St. Louis (who was canonized in 1297 and whose religious life developed in the wake of the mendicant orders) is presented as a friend of the poor. He sought out their company and founded many charitable institutions on their behalf.11 Lastly, Celestine V (canonized in 1313) appears as the poor Pope, who led an austere life even after ascending the papal throne. He preferred to resign from his office so that he might continue to live a life of detachment and simplicity.12 Unquestionably, during this period a broader place is given to poverty in reckoning holiness. There is praise not only for the saints' compassion toward the poor, but also for their desire to identify with them, even in dress and lifestyle.

This development is all the more remarkable in that it ended very suddenly around 1330. After the canonization of St. Louis of Anjou—which, as we shall see, represents a turning point—other virtues are extolled more than poverty in the bulls of canonization. Foremost among the virtues praised are the saint's obedience to the Church, orthodox doctrine and true piety. Granted, love for the poor always has the place of honor, but there is no longer any question of genuine concrete poverty. In 1320, the papal bull for the canonization of the holy bishop of Hereford, Thomas of Cantiloupe, says that he was "poor in spirit and rich in goods...." We cannot help but be struck by this eclipse of the Franciscan concept of poverty and the return, in the fourteenth century, of the traditional meaning of the term in the official definition of holiness. No doubt, this development must be linked to the conflicts about poverty that broke out in the Church and especially in the Franciscan Order.

¹⁰G. Fontanini, 73-75; see also A. Vauchez, "Charité et pauvreté chez sainte Elisabeth de Thuringe d'après les actes du procès de canonisation," in *Études sur* l'histoire de la pauvreté under the direction of M. Mollat, Paris 1974, I, 163-73.

¹¹G. Fontanini, 109-16.

¹²G. Fontanini, 117-21.

¹³G. Fontanini, 131-34.

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Ever since the death of St. Francis, his Order had faced the problem of knowing how to interpret the vow of poverty, which prohibited the friars from owning anything individually or in common. Specifically, Franciscans were not supposed to own conventual houses or extra habits, and they were forbidden to travel on horseback. But the Order had spread considerably, and its leaders were forced to get around the Rule with an appeal to the Pope. By the bull *Exiit qui seminat* of 1279, the Church becomes official owner of the buildings occupied by the Friars Minor; while it retains ownership (dominium) of them, it allows the friars their use (usus). Thanks to this subtle distinction, the Rule was formally respected. But an important segment of the Order was opposed to this fiction which betrayed the spirit of the Rule, and all the mitigations that had taken place since the founder's death. They were known as the Spirituals. 14

The conflict between the two parties of the Order—the Spirituals who were rigorists, and the others who made up the majority—grew worse between 1290 and 1320. A great controversy broke out in the Order and in the Church over the virtue of poverty. For the Spirituals, evangelical poverty is not only a means for reaching perfection; it is perfection itself, since it alone allows total renunciation. The rest of the Order, on the other hand, agreed with the Dominicans on this point and held that common ownership of the goods necessary for life is in accordance with evangelical perfection. As St. Thomas Aquinas says, citing the example of Abraham in whom perfection and great riches coexisted, "paupertas non valet propter se sed propter finem." The conflict became serious in some regions, for example Provence and the Kingdom of Naples, where there were many Spirituals. In 1322, a Beghard from Narbonne stated to the Dominican inquisitor who was questioning him that neither Christ nor his apostles had owned anything individually or in common. He was supported by the Spirituals

¹⁴For a more thorough study of these questions, see the works of R. Manselli, too numerous to be cited here. For the most recent state of the question, see "Franciscains d'Oc. Les Spirituels" (1280-1324), Cahiers de Fanjeaux 10 (1975), especially 99-126).

¹⁵On the Dominicans and their concept of poverty, see H. C. Lambermond, Das Armutsgedanke des bl. Dominikus und seines Ordens, Zwolle 1926, and W. A. Hinnebusch, "Poverty in the Order of Preachers," in The Catholic Historical Review 45 (1960), 436-53.

with whom he had previously been associated. The question was settled on a disciplinary level by the bull *Cum inter nonnullos* of John XXII (1323). In it the Pope stated that it was heretical to deny that Christ and his apostles had enjoyed sole ownership of certain things, and he authorized the Franciscan houses to assume direct ownership of their goods. Under the influence of this struggle, originally brought on by differing concepts of poverty, some Spirituals began to refuse to obey the Holy See and to deny the sacred character of the visible Church. For this reason, poverty in general tended to become a suspect idea in the Church.

This suspicion can be seen especially in the answers given by thirteen theologians consulted by John XXII on the subject of poverty. One of them, Hervé Nédellec, was master general of the Dominicans and a personal friend of the Pope. He wrote: "The poor are called blessed not because poverty in itself (essentialiter) is holiness, but because it predisposes to holiness insofar as temporal goods are an obstacle to love." "Moreover," he adds, "poverty can coexist with sentiments contrary to love. In fact, many poor people live in poverty yet may find themselves outside love." Moreover, is it not obscene to beg, since begging creates a permanent concern about our sustenance and distracts us from contemplation? Privation increases the desire for temporal goods and finally diverts us from good. Finally, "to rely on chance for the necessities of life when we can act otherwise seems dangerous. And to the extent that those who thus abandon themselves in this way say they are relying not on chance but on Providence, the danger is twofold, for this in a way is to tempt God rather than expect from divine Providence that which it is free to give or refuse, especially when we can obtain them by human labor."17

In itself, the story of these conflicts is of no interest to us here. But it is important to note, as E. Pásztor has done in her book *Per la storia di san Ludovico d'Angió*, that an important change in judging holiness took place during the same period. ¹⁸ In the bull of 1307 by which Clement V ordered the inquiry into the life and miracles of St. Louis of Anjou to be begun, the saint's voluntary poverty is emphasized: "Despising the world's pomp and

¹⁶R. Manselli, Spirituali e Beghini in Provenza, Rome 1959.

¹⁷J. G. Sikes, "Hervaeus Natalis, Liber de paupertate Christi et apostolorum," in *Archives d'histoire littéraire et doctrinale du Moyen Âge* 11 (1937) 209-97.

¹⁸E. Pásztor, Per la storia di san Ludovico d'Angiò, 1274-1297, Rome 1955.

vanity, he followed in the footsteps of the poor Christ and, entering the Order of Friars Minor which professes poverty, he bore the yoke of regular observance in a praise-worthy manner."¹⁹

On the other hand, if we examine John XXII's bull of canonization of St. Louis in 1317, we see that it mentions only his knowledge, piety, chastity and austerity of life.20 It no longer speaks in terms of his love for poverty but of his compassion toward the poor. The Pope's text stresses his contempt for earthly things and explains his entry into the Order of Friars Minor by his desire for humility. Finally it recalls the young saint's apostolic zeal as bishop of Toulouse and the spirit with which he assumed this charge entrusted to him by Boniface VIII. Only three incidents from his life are recalled in this bull: his renunciation of the throne of Naples, his secret profession marking his entry into the Franciscan Order, and his public profession as a Friar Minor. But nothing is said about his strict fidelity to the Rule of St. Francis (under the influence of Olivi) or about his desire to renounce the episcopal dignity, which he saw as incompatible with his ideal of absolute poverty.21 We can only conclude from these differences that between the beginning and end of the canonization process—a space of ten years—a remarkable change took place in the interpretation of holiness and the definition of its criteria. In fact, since 1312 the conflict between Pope and Spirituals had taken a sharp turn. By canonizing a saint who leaned toward positions he was otherwise opposing, John XXII could have given the impression he was contradicting himself. Not at all, for he knew how to give this canonization the meaning he thought the Church needed, by deliberately omitting all mention of the young prince's passionate attachment to an ideal of poverty that was beginning to become suspect.

Franciscan poverty had been compromised in the eyes of the Church's hierarchy by the disobedience and excesses of the Spirituals. Its bad reputation is also indirectly attested by John XXII's choices for canonization and the intentions they reveal. The clearest example is that of St. Thomas Aquinas. By canonizing the most glorious of the Friars Preachers in 1323, the Pope was definitely approving the doctrine and Rule of an order he could depend upon without fear, just when the Friars Minor

¹⁹Text in AF VII, Quaracchi 1951, 2.

²⁰G. Fontanini, op.cit., 122-30.

²¹E. Pásztor, Per la storia di san Ludovico d'Angiò, 28-29 and 40-42.

were splitting up and becoming a center of heresy. But in praising St. Thomas, John XXII was also approving the Dominicans' much more moderate views on poverty—which they had practically given up—and their way of life which he implicitly contrasted to that of the Fraticelli. All of this is summarized in the sermon he preached on the day of the canonization. Among other things the Pope said that the life led by this saint in the holy Order of Preachers was apostolic, seeing that the order owns nothing by right and in private, but in common. He added: "This form of life we declare to be apostolic." Since the Dominicans had shown themselves to be effective and obedient agents of the Pope, he praises their ideal and proposes them as models for Christians. The Dominican concept of poverty was gaining the upper hand over the Franciscan concepts. St. Louis of Anjou had been canonized despite the fact that he was a Franciscan; St. Thomas Aquinas would be canonized as a distinguished member of the Order of Preachers.

Another indirect sign of poverty's bad reputation among church leaders is provided by the failure, or more precisely, by the lack of progress of a number of canonization processes during the fourteenth century. All of them concern women saints more or less closely associated with the Franciscan movement. I will cite just three examples that I think are very typical. The first is St. Clare of Montefalco, who died with a reputation for holiness in 1308. An inquiry concerning her life and miracles was ordered by John XXII in 1317. Even though this nun and her companions followed the Rule of St. Augustine, as did many women's communities of the time, they were nonetheless surrounded by Franciscans and much influenced by them. One of these, the only accusing witness who appears in the process, said she had had contacts with some friars tainted by the heresy of the Free Spirit.

²²P. Mandonnet, "La canonisation de s. Thomas d'Aquin," in *Mélanges Thomistes*, Le Saulchoir 1923.

²³Text cited by M.H. Laurent, Fontes vitae sancti Thomas Aquinatis, St. Maximin 1937, 513.

²⁴John XXII, bull *Magne nobis exultationis*, 25 October 1317, ed. S. Nessi, "I processi per la canonizzazione di santa Chiara da Montefalco," in *Bollettino della Deputazione di Storia Patria per l'Umbria* 45 (1968) 136-38. The process took place in 1318.

²⁵As has been well shown by S. Nessi, "S. Chiara da Montefalco e il francescanesimo," in *Miscellanea Franciscana* 69 (1969) 369-408.

But all the other witnesses tried to clear her of this accusation by stressing that on the contrary she had always unmasked and denounced them.²⁶ But the sisters could not help testifying to her love for total poverty, which at the beginning of her religious life extended to begging. Granted, it is stressed that she never begged alone and never entered people's homes or ate or drank anything outside the monastery. Still she begged ("propter zelum honestatis"), and she wanted her community to be without resources and live on alms, uncertain about tomorrow.²⁷ In the religious context of John XXII's pontificate, it is not surprising that this cause, so deserving in many other respects, was unsuccessful. The Church would have to wait until Leo XIII before Clare of Montefalco was canonized in 1881.

The second example is that of Delfina of Sabran (d. 1360) wife of St. Elzear.28 If her contemporaries seem to have been struck by her virginal marriage, during the canonization process, which took place at Apt in 1363, many witnesses stress her attachment to absolute poverty. Not only had she sold all her castles and goods after she was widowed, but she desired with all her heart be poor and to remain in that "state of perfection." Several lay people testify having seen her beg. Some say that she lived on alms; on the other hand, some stress that she begged more for reasons of humility. Whatever the case, her spirituality must have been very centered on poverty, for those who acknowledge during the process that they had been converted by her all say that from that time on they adopted a poor lifestyle. Many noble women and even religious were touched by Delfina's example, and no longer wishing to live from the goods of the monastery, they lived by begging outside and inside. Moreover, it is clear from one deposition that she had had ties with Ubertino of Casale when the latter was in Avignon. Once again the process was discontinued, at least in the Middle Ages, and we may wonder whether at the time the holy countess's reputation as a "beguine" was not a serious obstacle to the advancement of her cause.

²⁶L. Oliger, *De secta Spiritus libertatis in Umbria saec. XIV*, Rome 1943, especially the first chapter entitled "S. Clara de Montefalco et Spiritus libertatis."

²⁷Process of canonization of St. Clare of Montefalco, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Riti, *Processus* 2929, passim.

²⁸While awaiting the edition of the canonization process prepared by J. Cambell, we will refer to what the author says in the introduction to his work *Vies occitanes de S. Auzias et de Ste. Delphine*, Rome 1963.

The most typical case of this growing conflict during the fourteenth century between the Church's leaders and the religious movements that valued poverty is surely that of blessed Giovanni Colombini of Siena.29 He is a witness to the survival, in certain lay circles, of the primitive Franciscan ideal to which the Spirituals claimed to remain faithful. This merchant, a trader in cloth and other goods who seemed no more of a money grabber than the others, converted while reading the life of St. Mary of Egypt. He chose the most abject and vile form of poverty, that which was seen as least and regarded as worst in the eyes and opinion of others. After he left his wife and placed his children in monasteries, he sold his goods, which amounted to 10,000 florins. Having seen to the needs of his family, he led a poor life with a disciple named Francesco. His biographer Feo Belcari gives us a good explanation of his attitude, reporting his words in these terms: "He said that in all Christendom he saw more acts of virtue, morality and knowledge than ever, more ceremonies and offices than ever; but as for charity, that true charity which burned in the heart of Christ, he found hardly any."30

Once he decided to give his contemporaries an example of a poor life, Giovanni Colombini did the opposite of what he had done before, selling low and buying high. He begged even though once he had been very rich; he went about in ill-fitting and cheap clothes even though he used to love fur-lined and embroidered robes. Finally the sight of this antagonized his family and the people of his social class. Just as he was beginning to make disciples, he was accused of working to subvert the social order and was thrown out of the city. He began a preaching campaign in central Italy, insisting that material goods are an obstacle to the love of God. Recalled to Siena after a disaster had struck the city, he worked for the reform of monastic institutes, re-instituting the practice of poverty by abolishing private funds and forbidding use of the words meum and tuum. He also recommended that religious engage in the practices of manual labor and begging. Under his influence, a noted Dominican theologian sold his books, distributed his goods to the poor and began to beg for his sustenance. In

²⁹On this figure who lived from 1305 to 1367, see G. Petrocchi, "Le lettere del b. Colombini," in *Convivium* 1 (1950) 57-72, with bibliography, reprinted in *Ascesi e mistica trecentesca*, Florence 1957, 147-75.

³⁰Feo Belcari, *Vita del beato Giovanni Colombini*, chap. XIV. For this text, see the study by R.L. Guidi, "Influenza delle tradizioni religiose e agiografiche nella vita del beato Giovanni Colombini di Feo Belcari," in *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa* 5 (1969) 391-412.

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1367, Giovanni Colombini went with his companions, the "ingesuati" or jésuates, [the order founded by Jean Colombini in 1363] to Pope Urban V who had just landed at Corneto and sought approval for his way of life. Many of the cardinals thought he should be burned as a Fraticello, but the Pope, convinced of his complete orthodoxy, approved his order with certain reservations. Some 150 years later, the story of St. Francis and Innocent III would seem to be repeating itself. But the social and spiritual context were no longer the same. Giovanni Colombini was never canonized, and his order never experienced more than modest growth.

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At the end of this exposé on the place of poverty in hagiographic documents at the time of the Spirituals, it seems that the saints of the fourteenth century did not escape the repercussions of the crisis caused by tensions within the Franciscan Order. Through the expedient of canonizations, we see many signs of an obvious lack of esteem for poverty among the Church's leaders. The defeat of certain causes shows us that, no matter how we look at it, anything that might suggest the theses or behavior of the Spirituals or Fraticelli was ipso facto suspect: begging, rejection of ownership or even the adoption of a certain type of clothing. In the processes that have come down to us poverty of spirit is always esteemed, but the attempt to dissociate the Church from the world of power and money through the strict practice of voluntary poverty visibly failed after 1312. On a popular level, what is it that lies (directly or indirectly) behind reputations for holiness and without which cults cannot arise and develop? With few exceptions-more numerous in Provence and Italy than elsewhere—it seems the ideal of lived poverty lost prestige even in the minds of the simple faithful. This development, no doubt, is partly linked to the repressive attitude of civil and church authorities vis-à-vis the poor and the followers of poverty, as well as to the weariness caused by conflicts within the Franciscan Order.31 But it is also explained by the economic conditions that prevail in most of the West after 1340-1350. It says much that the great popular preachers of the fifteenth century—a Bernardine of Siena or a Vincent Ferrer—experienced great success among their listeners by railing

³¹Certain historians consider this last reason important as an explantion of why the Franciscans lost popularity. See Ch. De la Roncière, "L'influence des franciscains dans la campagne de Florence au XIV siècle (1280-1360)" in Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Moyen Âge-Temps Modernes 87 (1975) 27-103.

against rich hoarders of grain and against usurers. But we find in them no appeal to embrace poverty. As St. Bernardine said in one of his sermons: "I am not asking you for alms since I know that most of you have nothing to give...." In a society impoverished and traumatized by the fear of death, in a Christianity soon to be torn apart by schism and conciliar crisis, other virtues and other charisms—especially the prophetic gifts and mystical phenomena—would attract the faithful's attention more and constitute the basic criteria of holiness in their eyes. On the other hand, the poor, idle or imposters, no longer appear as a model to imitate or admire, for they are seen less as Christ and more as the potential danger and burden they represent to society.³²

³²On this subject, see the conclusion of the book by M. Mollat and Ph. Wolff, Ongles bleus, Jacques et Ciompi: les révolutions populaires en Europe aux XIV et XV siècles, Paris 1970.