

Joachimite Bibliography: 1969-1988

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(orig. Valeria De Fraja, *Gioacchino da Fiore: bibliografia 1969-1988*, «Florensia», 2 (1988), p. 7-59).

The release of the volume by Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy* was undoubtedly a milestone in the study of the figure of Joachim of Fiore and the history of his influence. Since 1969 this text has been (or should have been) a mandatory reference for those who have researched the abbot, his thoughts, and his fortune. We therefore decided to collect what has been written about Joachim since 1969, in order to underline the stimulus that Joachimite studies have received from the essay written Reeves.

The following bibliography collects the studies on Joachim, on his biography, on his thought and its reception, on his works (including the spurious ones) and on their manuscript tradition; it also includes studies relating to Joachimite historiography and to those – not very numerous – on the Florentine Order. We did not include studies concerning the abbot's followers over the centuries, starting from the Franciscan Joachists; scholarship on Joachim and on his works is enough to give us a sense of the growth of the studies over the last twenty years; extending this collection also to Joachite authors would have compromised the completeness of the work.

Studies on Joachite authors are, however, included in older bibliographies: see F. Russo, *Bibliografia gioachimita*, Florence 1954 (Biblioteca di Bibliografia Italiana, 58); M.W. Bloomfield, *Joachim of Flora. A Critical Survey of his Canon, Teachings, Sources, Biography and Influence*, «Traditio», 13 (1957), p. 249-311; F. Russo, *Rassegna bibliografica gioachimita (1958-1967)*, «Cîteaux. Commentarii Cisternciensis», 19 (1968), p. 206-214. In more recent years, there have been contributions by M.W. Bloomfield, *Recent Scholarship on Joachim of Fiore and His Influence*, in *Prophecy and Millenarianism. Essays in Honour of Marjorie Reeves*, ed. A. Williams, Harlow, Longman's Press 1980, p. 21-52; and by B. McGinn, *Awaiting an end. Research in medieval apocalypticism, 1974-1981*, «Medievalia et humanistica», n.s. 11 (1982), p. 263-289; and also the last chapter of D.C. West and S. Zimdars-Swartz, *Joachim of Fiore. A Study in Spiritual Perception and History*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1983, p. 113-125, which includes a good bibliography. The last three studies have been of great use to me in collecting the material.

The studies are ordered by year, starting – as mentioned – from 1969. This choice is motivated by the fact that – in addition to its being a 'neutral' arrangement, so to speak – it can better account for the development and progress of the studies, both in general and on individual topics.

BARROIS GEORGES A., *La fin des synthèses médiévales, déclin ou moisson?*, in *Arts libéraux et philosophie au moyen âge*, Actes du quatrième Congrès International, Université de Montreal, 1967, Montreal and Paris 1969, p. 739-744.

Joachim of Fiore was able to revive the past thanks to his idea of a new dispensation. This idea renews history and is able to give it a whole new relevance with respect to the tradition of that period, in which a nostalgic perspective of the past was prevalent.

DANIEL E. RANDOLPH, *Apocalyptic Conversion. The Joachite Alternative to the Crusades*, «Traditio», 25 (1969), p. 127-154.

The idea of an apocalyptic conversion, stimulated by the approaching of a turning point in history, in Joachim and his followers, is opposed to the conversion pursued by force, which was typical of the crusades. The apocalyptic conversion will therefore initially see the end of the division between the Greek Church and the Latin Church; this will then be followed by the conversion of the Jews, the Muslims and the pagans, including the Tartars.

DESROCHE HENRI, *Dieux d'Homme. Dictionnaire des Messianismes et Millénarismes de l'Ere Chrétienne*, Paris-La Haye 1969.

For Joachim of Fiore and the pseudo-Joachim, see the entry on p. 153.

MANTEUFFEL TADEUSZ, *Woczekiwaniu ery wolnosci i pokoju: historiozofia Joachima z Fiore*, «Przegląd Historyczny», 60 (1969), p. 234-256.

The article (*Waiting for an era of freedom and peace: the philosophy of history of Joachim of Fiore*), is part of a study on the concept of the future in medieval civilization; it examines the life and the thought of Joachim and the development of Joachism also outside of Italy. It is preceded by an abstract in French.

1970

BARROIS GEORGES A., *A Note on a Manuscript of the Pseudo-Joachim*, «Studies in medieval culture», 3 (1970), p. 117-123.

FÖRSCHNER FRANZ, *Concordia: Urgestalt und Sinnbild in der Geschichtsdeutung des Joachims von Floris. Eine Studie zum Symbolismus des Mittelalters*, Inaugural Dissertation... der Albert-Ludwigs-Universität zu Freiburg im Breisgau, 1970.

The A. deals with the hermeneutics and philosophy of history in Joachim. He examines the importance of medieval symbolism in the education of the abbot, and highlights that the incarnation does not play a very important role in his theology of history.

MANSELLI RAOUL, *La terza Età, Babylon e l'Anticristo mistico (a proposito di Pietro di Giovanni Olivi)*, «Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo», 82 (1970), p. 47-79.

Analysis of the relationships and in particular of the differences between aspects of the thoughts of Joachim of Fiore and Peter John Olivi; the A. examines in particular the idea of "third age" in the two thinkers.

MANSELLI RAOUL, *Ricerche sulle influenze della profezia nel basso medioevo*, «Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo», 82 (1970), p. 1-12.

Critical review of Marjorie Reeves's volume *The Influence of Prophecy*.

MARQUEZ A., *Estado actual de los estudios joaquinistas: obras, doctrina, influencias*, «Ciudad de Dios», 183 (1970), p. 525-535.

An assessment on the studies on Joachim, his writings, his thought, and the influence he exerted in the centuries which followed his death.

SANDRIL M., *Joachim de Flore, le messenger des derniers temps*, «Bullettin de l'Association Guillaume Budé», 3/IV (1970), p. 407-424.

SIMONI FIORELLA, *Il "Super Hieremiam" e il gioachimismo francescano*, «Buletino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo», 82 (1970), p. 13-46.

Discussion on the idea by Marjorie Reeves who attributed the *Super Hieremiam* to the Cistercian-Floresian circles of Calabria. The A. prefers the traditional hypothesis and attributes it to Calabrian Franciscans who were influenced by Joachim's eschatology. The A. underlines that, in order to resolve the issue, it is necessary to study the work in a critical edition.

THOMAS M., Zur kulturgeschichtlichen Einordnung der Armenbibel mit "Speculum humanae Salvationis" unter Berücksichtigung einer Dartstellung des "Liber Figurarum" in der Joachim de Fiore-Handschrift der Sächsischen Landesbibliothek Dresden (Mscr. Dresden A 121), «Archiv für Kulturgeschichte», 82 (1970), p. 192-225.

The A. Studies the relationships between the Dresden manuscript – which contains works by Joachim, including the *Liber Figurarum* – with the *Armenbibel* and the *Speculum humanae Salvationis*.

TOGNETTI GIAMPAOLO, *Note sul profetismo nel Ricascimento e la letteratura reattiva*, «Buletino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo», 82 (1970), p. 129-157.

Among other things, the A. deals with the Venetian first printed editions of Joachim's works (early 16th century), which were edited by Silvestro Meucci, an Augustinian friar, and are considered as the culmination of Joachimism in the Renaissance. He underlines the need to study the role of prophecy in daily life (in the 'periphery' of the literary world) and of Joachimism in the New World.

1971

BARAUT CYPRIEN, *1 Flore (San Giovanni), 2 Flore (Ordre de)*, in *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, XVII, Paris 1971, col. 513-515 and 515-520.

Entries concerning the information that have survived on the foundation of the abbey of San Giovanni in Fiore, and on the Floresian Order, from its detachment from the Cistercian Order (1188-1189), up to the year in which it was absorbed by the cistercians (1570), including the later history of the monastery up to its abandonment in the 19th century. The entry on the Order

examines four subjects: the origins, the characteristics, the development, the decadence and the fusion with the Cistercian Order.

BLOOMFIELD MORTON W., LEE HAROLD, *The Pierpont Morgan Manuscript of "De Septem Sigillis"*, «Recherches de thèologie ancienne et médiévale», 38 (1971), p. 137-148.

Edition of Joachim's *De septem sigillis* based on a manuscript not used in the first edition made by Reeves and Hirsch-Reich. In it (ms. 631 of the Pierpont Morgan Library of New York, 14th cent.), there are some differences, even significant ones: two introductory paragraphs are added and the concluding ones are omitted.

LAFAYE J., *Le Messie dans le monde ibérique: aperçu*, in *Mélanges de la Casa de Velasquez*, VIII, Paris, ed. E. Bocard, 1971, p. 163-185.

Introduction (from the 7th to the 18th century) on the concept of the Messiah in Christian and Jewish works. The appendix contains texts on the subject by Joachim, by Yosef Ha-Kohen and by Spinoza.

MANSELLI RAOUL, *Accettazione e rifiuto della terza Età*, in *Rivelazione e storia*, Roma 1971, p. 125-139.

Analysis of the way in which the idea of the "third age" was approached by Christian thinkers, from Joachim onwards. The A. examines this perspective of history among the spiritual Franciscans, in Dante, and in Petrarch. Throughout the 14th century, mystical and socio-political aspects of this interpretation of history are found in Provence, Italy, and Bohemia.

MCGINN BERNARD, *The Abbot and the Doctors: Scholastic Reactions to the Radical Eschatology of Joachim of Fiore*, «Church History», 40 (1971), p. 30-47; also in D.C. West (ed.), *Joachim of Fiore in Christian Thought*, II, p. 453-471 (see year 1975).

The A. discusses the way in which the theological positions of Joachim, and in particular his theology of history, were judged by the two great doctors of the 13th century: St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Bonaventure.

PICKERING F., *Irrwege der mittelalterlichen Geschichtsschreibung (Rupert von Deutz, Joachim von Fiore)*, «Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur», 100 (1971), p. 270-296.

Rupert and Joachim are considered as typical authors who use the spiritual senses of the Scriptures in a historiographical perspective.

1972

ARENA GIUSEPPE, *La chiesa di Fontelaurato*, «Quaderni dell'Universita di Catania», 4 (1972), p. 39-52.

The A. examines the history of the foundation of Fontelaurato, the second most important monastery of the Florentian Order.

GAVAZZOLI MARIA LAURA, *L'allegoria del carro nelle opere letterarie e figurative del XII secolo*, «Aevum», 46 (1972), p. 116-122.

The allegory of the cart, with its many meanings, spread in the first half of the 12th century in the literary field with a speed and frequency previously unknown. Despite its individual variations, the moral dimension of the symbol persists. The pl. XV of Joachim's *Liber Figurarum*, that of Ezekiel's divine chariot, also fits into this context. It appears as a theological and exegetical 'summa' enclosed in a symbol that unites and embraces everything in the figure.

PAPARATTI SANDRO, *Capitoli sull'Evangelo Eterno: attualità del pensiero gioacchimita*, Cosenza, Pellegrini, 1972.

REEVES MARJORIE, HIRSCH-REICH BEATRICE, *The "Figurae" of Joachim of Fiore*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1972.

Comprehensive study of all the Joachimite *figurae*, the original ones as well as the spurious ones. Alongside the images of the *Liber Figurarum* – which represents a synthesis of Joachim's ideas, probably done by a close collaborator of his – there are in fact many others, equally of Joachimite origin, but realised in a later period. The best known are those called *Praemissions*. The As. manage to extricate themselves in this forest of images and give them an order and a comprehensive interpretation.

SANTAMARIA GIUSEPPE, *Monumenti calabresi: Fiumefreddo Bruzio, la badia di "Fonte Laurato"*, «Calabria Letteraria», 20 (1972), p. 15

This brief communication concerns Fonte Laurato, a monastery founded by Joachim on a previous hermitic settlement. The monastery would have become the second most important abbey of the Florentian Order.

SOUTHERN R. W., *Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writings. History as Prophecy*, «Transactions of the Royal Historical Society», V s., 23 (1972), p. 159-180.

A framework of the medieval concept of history as prophecy, examined also in the context of other medieval readings of history. The A. puts Joachim in relation both with his time and with the past and the future of the prophetic reading of history.

1973

MGINN BERNARD, Joachim and the Sibyl. An Early Work of Joachim of Fiore from ms. 322 of the Biblioteca Antoniana in Padua, «Cîteaux. Commentari Cistercienses», 24 (1973), p. 97-138.

Edition of *De prophetia ignora*, contained in the manuscript Antoniano 322. Joachim commented on the Sibylline prophecy in front of Pope Lucius III, in 1183. In the introduction, the A. first examines the authenticity of the writing, and then the historical context of Joachim's exposition. In the end, he traces a brief history of 'Sibylline' prophecies in the Middle Ages.

RAUH HORST DIETER, *Das Bild des Antichrist im Mittelalter. Von Tyconius zum deutschen Symbolismus*, Münster, Aschendorff, 1973.

1974

ANITCHKOF EUGENE, *Joachim de Flore et le milieu courtois*, Ginevra 1974.

Reprint of the 1931 edition of the study (Rome, Collezione Meridionale Editrice)

BAGET BOZZO GIANNI, *Modello trinitario e modello cristologico nella teologia della storia: Gioacchino da Fiore e Tommaso d'Aquino*, «Renovatio», 9 (1974), p. 39-50.

Joachim and Thomas Aquinas have offered two distinct theological readings of history. The A. briefly examines the two different interpretations and the links between them.

BARAUT CYPRIEN, *Joachim de Flore*, in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, VII, Paris 1974, c. 1179-1201.

Summary about the life, the works, the thought of the Florentian abbot; the A. also addresses the problem of the monastic reform Joachim desired, and of the success of Joachimism over the centuries. It can be considered as a good starting point for the study of Joachim.

FALBEL NACHMAN, *Sao Bonaventura e a theologia de historia de Joaquin de Fiore. Un resumo critico*, in *S. Bonaventura, 1274-1974*, II, Grottaferrata 1974, p. 571-584.

The A. offers an overview on the studies regarding the reports and the criticisms of St. Bonaventure towards the theological thought of the Calabrian abbot.

FORNARI BENEDETTO, *Luca Campano, un grande ciociaro*, «Notizie cistercensi», 7 (1974), p. 51-58.

Brief and somewhat emphatic profile of the Luca Campano, archbishop of Cosenza, friend and biographer of Joachim between the 12th and 13th centuries.

GELINAS YVON D., *La critique de Thomas d'Aquin sur l'exégèse de Joachim de Flore*, in *Tommaso D'Aquino nel suo settimo centenario*, Atti del Congresso Internazionale, I, Roma-Napoli 1974, p. 368-375.

Thomas Aquinas's critique of Joachim's hermeneutics is fundamental in his opposition to the Calabrian abbot, more so than early scholars of this problem, including Bernard McGinn, were willing to admit. In this regard, the article contains a discussion of McGinn's theses set out in *The Abbot and the Doctors* (1971).

REEVES MARJORIE, *History and Prophecy in Medieval Thought*, «Medievalia et Humanistica», n.s., 5 (1974), p. 51-75.

The A. examines, starting from some authors of the 12th century, the way in which history began to be interpreted as prophecy. The pattern of past events could serve as a clue to what was yet to happen.

STANISLAO DA CAMPAGNOLA, *Dai "viri spirituales" di Gioacchino da Fiore ai "fratres spirituales" di Francesco d'Assisi. Una tipologia religiosa*, «Picenum Seraphicum», 11 (1974), p. 24-52.

The A. rejects an interpretation of the 'Spiritual' phenomenon in the Franciscan Order understood exclusively through a pauperistic perspective, and highlights the importance of the eschatological dimension. In particular, the evolution from the 'Zelanti' to their disciples, who formed the more rigorous 'Spirituals', is seen as a passage of the opposition from the practical level – which was more discreet and controlled – to the theoretical-practical one – which was more fervent and fierce. St. Bonaventure played a fundamental role in this evolution.

THOMAS M., *Lo "Speculum humanae salvationis" e l'idea occidentale della redenzione*, «Nuova rivista storica», 58 (1974), p. 379-397.

The author of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* probably had a Franciscan background and he may have known the *Liber Figurarum*. Elements within the work, seem to link the *Speculum* to the Italian Franciscan circles. The comparison with the *Liber Figurarum* is made in relation to the symbolism.

WENDELBORN GERT, *Die Hermeneutik des Kalabresischen Abtes Joachim von Fiore*, «Communio Viatorum», 17 (1974), p. 63-91.

Study on the exegetical method used by Joachim and on its application. Joachim's biblical hermeneutics is interpreted as the means of verifying the theology of history that he had elaborated.

WENDELBORN GERT, *Gott und Geschichte. Joachim von Fiore und die Hoffnung der Christenheit*, Wien-Köln, Verlag H. Böhlau, 1974, 300 p.

The essay outlines the thought of Joachim and offers a comparison between the abbot and various thinkers, from Augustine up to the 20th century. The framework on the Joachimite ideas includes the division of history, the concordances, the *initiatio-fructificatio* schema, the unity of the Trinity and its implications for Joachim's theology of history, the call-fall-return of the Jews and the Greeks, the structure of the Church in the third *status*.

1975

GABELLI ANNA MARIA, *Kairòs e defectio nella concezione della storia di Gioacchino da Fiore*, Napoli, Athena Mediterranea, 1975.

GAVAZZOLI MARIA LAURA, *Le pitture della cupola del Battistero di Parma e gli scritti di Gioacchino da Fiore*, in *Il Romanico*. Atti del Seminario di studi diretto da Piero Sampaolesi, Milano 1975, p. 111-144.

MANSELLI RAOUL, *A proposito del cristianesimo di Dante: Gioacchino da Fiore, Gioachimismo, Spiritualismo francescano*, in *Letteratura e critica*. Studi in onore di N. Sapegno, II, Roma 1975, p. 163-192.

The article outlines the various contacts between Joachim and his followers on the one hand, and Dante on the other. The A. also highlights the connections between Dante's thought and the ecclesiology of the Spirituals.

MCGINN BERNARD, *Apocalypticism in the Middle Ages. An Historiographical Sketch*, «Medieval Studies», 37 (1975), p. 252-286.

The article offers, rather than a sketch of medieval apocalypticism itself, a brief history of the historiography on this topic. The problem is so vast that the A. can only consider the major scholars and the most significant lines of development.

RIVERA DE VENTOSA ENRIQUE, *Tres visiones de la historia: Joaquin de Fiore, san Buenaventura y Hegel. Estudio comparativo, in San Bonaventura Maestro di Vita Francescana e di sapienza cristiana*, «Miscellanea francescana», 75 (1975), p. 779-808.

The A. makes an attempt to formulate a critique of Hegel's historical thought in the light of two medieval understandings of history: that of Joachim and that of Bonaventure. The interpretation of the seraphic doctor is the point of reference and orientation. The essay is divided into three parts: Trinitarian interpretation of history; historical eschatologism; the great eschatological institution.

RUSSO FRANCESCO, *Alla fonte del gioachimismo*, «Calabria Nobilissima», 27 (1975), p. 2-21.

SCHACHTEN WINFRIED, *Trinitas et Tempora. Trinitätslehre und Geschichtsdenken Joachims von Fiore*, Freiburg 1975.

WEST DELNO C. (ed.), *Joachim of Fiore in Christian Thought. Essays on the Influence of the Calabrian Prophet*, 2 vol., New York, Burt Franklin, 1975, XXIV-228, 229-632 p.

A collection of twenty essays on Joachim and his influence, written between 1885 and 1971. The ed. also includes a bibliography on Joachimist studies published between 1954 and 1973.

1976

BISCHOFF GUNTRAM, *Early Premonstratensian Eschatology: the Apocalyptic Myth*, in *The Spirituality of Western Christendom*, ed. E.R. Elder, Kalamazoo, Michigan, Cistercian Publications, 1976, p. 41-71.

Overview on the theme of the final apocalypse in monastic thought. The A. mentions, in particular, Rupert of Deutz, Eberwin, Anselm of Havelberg, Joachim of Fiore and Otto of Freising.

CROCCO ANTONIO, *Gioacchino da Fiore e il Gioachimismo*, Napoli, Liguori, 1976, 222 p.

New edition, revised and updated, of a study by the A., previously released in 1960: *Gioacchino da Fiore. La più affascinante e singolare figura del Medioevo Cristiano*. The book offers an outline of the figure, the thought and the influence of the Calabrian abbot.

LERNER ROBERT E., *Refreshment of the Saints. The Time after Antichrist as a Station for Earthly Progress in Medieval Thought*, «Traditio», 32 (1976), p. 97-144.

The A. shows the continuity of patristic tradition in the Middle Ages. The theme of the short period of repentance (forty or forty-five days in most testimonies) after the defeat of the Antichrist, which St. Jerome argued as a means of reconciling exegetical inconsistencies in Daniel. In tracing the history of this theme, the A. discusses various theories regarding the coming of the Antichrist, including that by Joachim of Fiore.

LUBAC (DE) HENRI, *Joachim de Flore jugé par S. Bonaventure et S. Thomas*, in *Pluralisme et Oecumenisme en recherches theologiques*, Gembloux 1976, p. 37-49.

This essay discusses in particular the basic similarities between the thought of Bonaventure and Thomas Aquinas in rejecting the historical-theological thought of Joachim.

MANSELLI RAOUL, *Joachim de Flore dans la théologie du XIII siècle*, in *Septième centenaire de la mort de Saint Louis*, Actes des Colloques de Royaumont et de Paris, Paris, Les belles Lettres, 1976, p. 291-301.

The article offers a panoramic look at recent scholarship, and a discussion on the personality of Joachim and on his dynamic conception of the Trinity. The issues relating to the third age influenced the condemnation of the Franciscan Spirituals and of the Beghards, but did not prevent the spread of Joachimism.

MEINHOLD P., *Thomas von Aquin und Joachim von Fiore und ihre Deutung der Geschichte*, «Saeculum», 27 (1976), p. 66-76.

A paper on the notion of the history of Salvation in Joachim and in Thomas Aquinas, and on the opposition of the latter against the ideas of the Calabrian abbot.

OHLY FRIEDRICH, *Albbibliche und ausserbiblische Typologie*, in *Simboli e simbologia nell'Alto Medioevo*, XXIII settimana di studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, Spoleto 1976, p. 429-472; it. trans. *Geometria e memoria. Lettera e allegoria nel Medioevo*, ed. L. Ritter-Santini, Bologna, Il Mulino, 1985, p. 303-337.

Orthodox typology has always seen Christ – and the Church as the body of Christ – as the antitype of the entire Old Testament. Joachim is considered among the first exegetes who broaden the typology and make it semi-biblical: an example in fact is taken from the Holy Scriptures, its correspondent from history.

REEVES MARJORIE, *Joachim of Fiore and the Prophetic Future*, London, SPCK, 1976.

This book can be considered as a shorter version of *The Influence of Prophecy*. The first chapter is dedicated to Joachim; the rest of the work focuses on the later influence of the abbot. With respect to the aforementioned work, there is some new material, especially regarding the role of Joachim in the Reformation and in modern thought, but the A.'s interpretative point of view remains the same.

SCHWARTZ HILLEL, *The End of the Beginning: Millenarian Studies, 1969-1975*, «Religious Studies Review», 2 (1976), n. 3, p. 1-15.

Bibliographic review on millenarianism in general. There is also some information regarding Joachim.

1977

CARAFFA FILIPPO, *Florensi e Gioacchino da Fiore*, in *Dizionario degli Istituti di perfezione*, IV, Roma 1977, c. 79-82; 1188-1189.

Short presentation of the Florentian Order. The entry touches on the foundation, the constitutions (today lost, although they are believed to be similar to the Cistercian ones), of the development, which was quick also thanks to the protection of some popes, up to the end of the congregation, which was reabsorbed by the Cistercians. The entry on Joachim contains a short summary of his life.

CLUCAS L., *Eschatological Theory in Byzantine Hesychasm: a Parallel to Jog-chim of Fiore?*, «Byzantinische Zeitschrift», 70 (1977), p. 324-346.

The study is dedicated to the Palamite doctrine and its diffusion. The A. examines in particular the doctrine of the three ages. In discussing the sources, similarities and contacts allow the A. to suggest the possible influence of Joachim of Fiore. The A. however highlights that there is no clear evidence of a direct relationship between the abbot's ideas and the hesychast movement.

FERRARA V., *Gioacchino da Fiore come esponente della vocazione del popolo di Dio dell'Italia meridionale alla speculazione teologica e il Concilio Ecumenico Vaticano Secondo*, «Monitor Ecclesiasticus», 102 (1977), p. 116-143.

The A. maintains the complete orthodoxy of Joachim's Trinitarian thought.

GRUNDMANN HERBERT, *Ausgewählte Aufsätze. Teil 2: Joachim von Fiore*, Stuttgart, A. Hiersemann, 1977, 456 p. (Schriften der M.G.H. 25, 2).

A collection of essays by the German scholar on the figure and the work of Joachim of Fiore. These studies are still considered to be fundamental for the studies relating to the Calabrian abbot.

IAQUINTA ANGELA MARIA VITTORIO, «*Archicenobio Florense*» di S. Giovanni in Fiore. *Ricerca storico-critica*, «Brutium», n.s., 54 (1975), n. 2-3, p. 9-10; n. 4, p. 8-10; 55 (1976), n. 4, p. 17-18; 56 (1977), n. 2, p.5-8.

Bibliographically documented information regarding the origins (12th-13th century) of the monastery founded by Joachim and the artistic testimonies preserved in it.

KAMER S.A., *Orthodox and Revolutionary Theology of History in the Middle Ages. Augustine, Joachim of Fiore, Bonaventure*, «Masters Abstracts», 15 (1977), 33 p.

LAMBERT MALCOLM, *Medieval Heresy. Popular Movements from Bogomil to Hus*, New York-London, Arnold, 1977, XVI-430 p.

The essay offers an overview on the development of medieval heresy from its beginnings, in the 12th century, and in the period of opposition against Joachimism (see “Spiritual Franciscans and Heretical Joachimites”, p. 182-206), and in the late Middle Ages.

MANSELLI RAOUL, *Testimonianze minori sulle eresie. Gioacchino da Fiore di fronte a Catari e Valdesi*, «Studi medievali», III s., 18 (1977), p. 1-17.

In his writings, Joachim harshly condemned the doctrines of the Cathars and Waldensians. The A. examines the relationship that the abbot had in the face of the doctrinal deviations of his time, both as a monk and as a believer. It is interesting to note that Joachim has a lively sense of the concrete reality of heresies, as a fact operating among the faithful, and as a danger, especially to simple souls.

MOTTU HENRY, *La manifestation de l'Esprit selon Joachim de Fiore. Herméneutique et théologie de l'histoire d'après le “Traité sur les quatre évangiles”*, Neuchâtel-Paris, Delachaux et Niestlé, 1977, 365 p.; it. trans. *La manifestazione dello Spirito secondo Gioacchino da Fiore. Ermeneutica e teologia della storia secondo il “Trattato sui quattro Vangeli”*, Casale Monferrato, Marietti, 1983, XVII-312 p.

The A. analyses the structure of the *Tractatus* on the twofold level of exegetical principles and the theology of history. He highlights in Joachim the resurgence of an archaic apocalyptic nature, which was censured by classical theologians, from Augustine to Thomas Aquinas. The A. tries to rehabilitate the Florentine abbot as a theologian of the manifestation of the Spirit. In the *Tractatus* one finds a remarkably organised system by virtue of the notion of *concordia*, which allows Joachim to draw from the evangelical texts a three-term logic – Old Testament, New Testament, Gospel of the Spirit – which constitutes the profound texture of his hope.

REEVES MARJORIE, *The Abbot Joachim's Sense of History*, in *1274 Année charnière. Mutation et continuités*, Colloque C. N. R. S. 558, Paris 1977, p. 781-796.

Through the analyses of the meaning of some *figurae* that Joachim used to present the processions and missions of the three Trinitarian persons, the A. sheds new light on Joachim's

understanding of the relationship between the Trinity and history. The second part of the article addresses the relationship between the numerical symbolism of 'five' and 'seven' according to the Calabrian abbot, and his hermeneutics of the five types of *intelligentiae* of the Holy Scriptures, and the seven species of *sensus typicus*.

ZIMDARS-SWARTZ SANDRA, *Joachim of Fiore*, in *Dictionnaire des auteurs cisterciens*, 16/II, Abbaye Notre-Dame de St. Remy, La documentation cistercienne, 1977, p. 419-423.

1978

D'ADAMO CRISTINA, *L'abbazia di San Giovanni in Fiore e l'architettura fiorense in Italia*, in *I Cistercensi e il Lazio*, Atti delle giornate di studio dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Arte dell'Università di Roma, Roma 1978, p. 91-98.

The church of S. Giovanni in Fiore has some architectural peculiarities: the closed transept with the upper chapels that almost form independent choirs, the single nave, the passage at the height of the rose windows that connects the chapels, the crypt. These characteristics give to the church a particular position in the framework of Italian architecture of the early 13th century.

LODOLO GABRIELLA, *Il tema simbolico del Paradiso nella tradizione monastica dell'Occidente latino (secoli VI-XII): lo svelamento del simbolo*, «Aevum», 52 (1978), p. 177-194.

The A. follows the development of the idea of Paradise and other related themes in various writers between the 6th and 12th centuries. In Joachim (p. 187-191), the theme evokes the Sabbath of the third age, of the reign of the Spirit that will manifest itself on earth.

MANSELLI RAOUL, *Il problema del doppio Anticristo in Gioacchino da Fiore*, in *Geschichtsschreibung und geistiges Leben im Mittelalter*, Festschrift für Heinz Löwe zum 65. Geburtstag, ed. K. Hauck und H. Mordek, Köln-Wien 1978, p. 427-449.

From the *Concordia Novi ac Veteris Testamenti*, from the *Expositio in Apocalypsim* and even more from the *Liber Figurarum* it is evident that Joachim expected the coming of two Antichrists. According to the abbot, one will come at the end of the second age and will bring with it a great tribulation. Finally, there will be the seventh and final persecution, that of the last Antichrist, also

called Gog. The two Antichrists are identifiable with the Evil that acts in history and with the eschatological Antichrist.

MCGINN BERNARD, *Angel Pope and Papal Antichrist*, «Church History», 47 (1978), p. 155-173.

The subject is that of the perception of the papacy in the apocalyptic tradition at the end of the Middle Ages. Two main images emerge: that of the messianic pope, the *pastor angelicus*, and that of the pope seen as the Antichrist. The A. examines, in this respect, the thought of Joachim of Fiore, the action of the “poor hermit” Pietro dal Morrone (Pope Celestine V), the apocalyptic thinking of Peter John Olivi.

NAPOLITANO ROMANO, *S. Giovanni in Fiore monastica e civica. Storia documentata del capoluogo silano. I. L'abate Gioacchino: le fonti*, Napoli 1978.

PASZTOR EDITH, *Architettura monastica, sistemazione urbanistica e lavoro nel “Novus Ordo” auspicato da Gioacchino da Fiore*, in *I Cistercensi e il Lazio*, Atti delle giornate di studio dell'Istituto di storia dell'Arte dell'Università di Roma, Roma, Multigrafica, 1978, p. 149-156.

In his *Liber Figurarum*, Joachim talks about a new Order, which is seen as the realization of his monastic ideal. These are three communities that are connected to each other, although each one lives in its own environment: the monks, the clerics and lay people. The abbot describes precise tasks and well-defined structures for each community, within the ambit of the urban planning of the new *ordo*.

REEVES MARJORIE, FLEMING JOHN V., *Two Poems Attributed to Joachim of Fiore*, Princeton, Pilgrim Press, 1978.

New edition and study of two poems attributed to Joachim, which are found in the appendix to the Venetian edition of the *Psalterium decem cordarum*.

CONGAR YVES, *Je crois en l'Esprit Saint. I. L'expérience de l'Esprit. II. Il est Seigneur et il donne la vie*, Paris, Edition du Cerf, 1979, 238 p., 296 p.

In this study on the concept of the Holy Spirit, the part dedicated to the history of medieval theology focuses above all on the teaching of Joachim and of Thomas Aquinas.

DE LEO PIETRO, *Per la storia dell'arcicenobio fiorense*, «Benedictina», 26 (1979), p. 349-353.

Edition of two documents relating to the abbeys of San Giovanni in Fiore and Fonte Laurato, the two most important houses of the Order founded by Joachim of Fiore. The documents date back to 1220 and 1348.

DI NAPOLI GIOVANNI, *Gioacchino da Fiore e Pietro Lombardo*, «Rivista di filosofia neoscolastica», 71 (1979), p. 621-685.

The A. discusses Foberti's thesis on the 'invention' – by the Cistercians who tried to discredit Joachim – of a treatise called *De unitate seu essentia Trinitatis* understood as a false summary of the first book of the *Psalterium*. The A. highlights a flaw in the thesis: the reason of the condemnation of Joachim's Trinitarian theology in 1215 was never found in any of his writings (the condemned work is lost, and cannot serve as a reference).

DI NAPOLI GIOVANNI, *Gioacchino da Fiore: profeta o teologo?* «Calabria Letteraria», 27 (1979), fasc. 1-3, p. 4-7.

According to the A., Joachim was essentially a theologian, that is an "expert of the sacred page", more than a prophet.

DI NAPOLI GIOVANNI, *La teologia trinitaria di Gioacchino da Fiore*, «Divinitas», 23 (1979), p. 281-312.

The A. outlines the Trinitarian thought of Joachim; he discusses his biblical sources, his terminology, his figures, the role of the Trinity in history and in monastic life according to the abbot. The arguments in defence of Joachim's orthodoxy are based on a selection of texts that can be judged partial.

DI NAPOLI GIOVANNI, *L'ecclesiologia di Gioacchino da Fiore*, «Doctor Communis», 12 (1979), p. 302-326.

Analysis of the ecclesiology of Joachim of Fiore, which the A. understands as completely faithful to orthodoxy. However, the A. has omitted the texts in which Joachim speaks about the transformations that will occur in the Church of the third *status*; because of these texts, in the past, the thought of Joachim had been judged as heretical.

GELINAS YVON D., *Joachim of Fiore, "Expositio in Apocalypsim": Approach to the Study of the Textual Transmission*, «Manuscripta», 23 (1979), p. 9.

As a preparatory stage for the critical edition, the A. examines four cases of the transmission of the work: the *editio princeps* made in Venice, two older manuscripts (Troyes 241 and Chigi A VIII 231), and a more recent one (Nurberg Cent. II 51).

LUBAC (DE) HENRI, *La postérité spirituelle de Joachim de Flore. I. De Joachim à Schelling*, Paris, Lethielleux, 1979; it. trans., *La posterità spirituale di Gioacchino da Fiore. I. Dagli spirituali a Schelling*, Milano, Jaca Book, 1981.

Starting from Joachim, the A. examines the theory of a "third age" of history as an era of the Spirit, and the expectations of its advent through the centuries. Joachim is seen as the initiator and the 'prophet' of this doctrine. At the beginning of the book, the A. introduces Joachim's early ideas concerning the three stages of history and the future age of the Spirit (see p. 13-67).

MGINN BERNARD, *Apocalyptic Spirituality*, New York-Toronto, Paulist Press-Ramsey, 1979, Preface by M. Reeves, XVIII-334 p.

The book presents a selection of excerpts from six authors: Lactantius, Adso of Montier-en-Dier, Joachim of Fiore, Angelo Clareno, Peter John Olivi and Girolamo Savonarola. The choice was guided by the will to show how, for each author, eschatological expectations influenced the warnings expressed for the present life. As for Joachim, the A. quotes parts of the *Epistula Universis Fidelibus*, of the *Epistula Domino Valdonsensi*, a passage from the *Liber Concordiae* and two tables from the *Liber Figurarum*.

MCGINN BERNARD, *Visions of the End. Apocalyptic Traditions of the Middle Ages*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1979, XVII-377 p.

Collection of medieval apocalyptic texts: this book includes short introductions dedicated to each of the more than thirty authors. The selection also includes excerpts from various works by Joachim, and covers a range of topics: the concordance between the Old and New Testaments, the three ages of history, the Antichrist and the papacy. The writings of the abbot of Fiore, in the context of this work, help to clarify the place he occupied in the tradition of Christian apocalypticism.

NYBERG T. *Skt. Peters efterfolgere i brydningstider: Omkring pavedommets historia Rom og Nord-Europa, 750-1200*, Odense, Odense Universitetsforlag, 1979, 188 p.

The study (*The successors of St. Peter in an age of crisis: on the papacy, Rome and northern Europe, 750-1200*) concerns the change in relations between the religious and the secular powers from the time of Charlemagne to that of Innocent III. The last chapter is dedicated to Joachim's reading of history, understood as a mirror of the triumph of papal universalism over secular particularism. In this regard, the A. maintains that the *Expositio super Isaiam* was written by Joachim and not, as is believed, by one of his followers, because only one work of the time attributes seven episcopates to Norway and five to Sweden: that is, the *Liber censuum* (1190) written by Cencio Savelli, whom Joachim met in Rome in 1196

REHO C., *Il messaggio escatologico da Gioacchino da Fiore a Bonaventura da Bagnoregio*, «Antoniano», 54 (1979), p. 681-700.

After examining Joachim's eschatology, the A. highlights the main differences between the Joachimist *nova aetas* and the Franciscan *novitas*; he then examines the eschatology of Bonaventure, who, while 'technically' inspired by the abbot's scheme, rejects its more extremist tones, limits its historical impact, and makes of St. Francis the peculiar character of the "third age".

SARANYANA JOSÉ IGNACIO, *Joaquin de Fiore y Tomas de Aquino. Historia doctrinal de una polemica*, Pamplona, Ediciones Universidad de Navarra, 1979, 174 p.

After an overview of the figure of Joachim, the A. examines the controversy that erupted following the publication of the *Liber Introductorius* by Gerardo of Borgo San Donnino, in particular the reaction expressed in the *De periculis novissimorum temporum* by William Of Saint-amour. The position of Thomas Aquinas in relation to Joachim's eschatology is also examined. The principal doctrines of the abbot are summarised in the conclusion, and compared to those of William, Gerardo and Thomas.

STANISLAO DA CAMPAGNOLA, *Influsso del gioachimismo nella letteratura umbro-francescana del Due-Trecento*, in *Il b. Tommasuccio da Foligno, terziario francescano, e i movimenti popolari umbri del Trecento*, ed. R. Pazzelli, Roma, Commissione Storica Internazionale T.O.R., 1979, p. 97-130; also in «*Analecta Terti Ordinis Regularis S. Francisci de Penitentia*», 131 (1979), p. 443-475.

Although there are not many Umbrian codes containing works by Joachim, the influence of Joachimist ideas in Franciscan literature is out of question.

ZIMDARS-SWARTZ SANDRA, *The Trinity and History. An Introduction to Twelfth-Century Theology of History*, «*Religion Journal of Kansas*», 17 (1979), p. 1-6.