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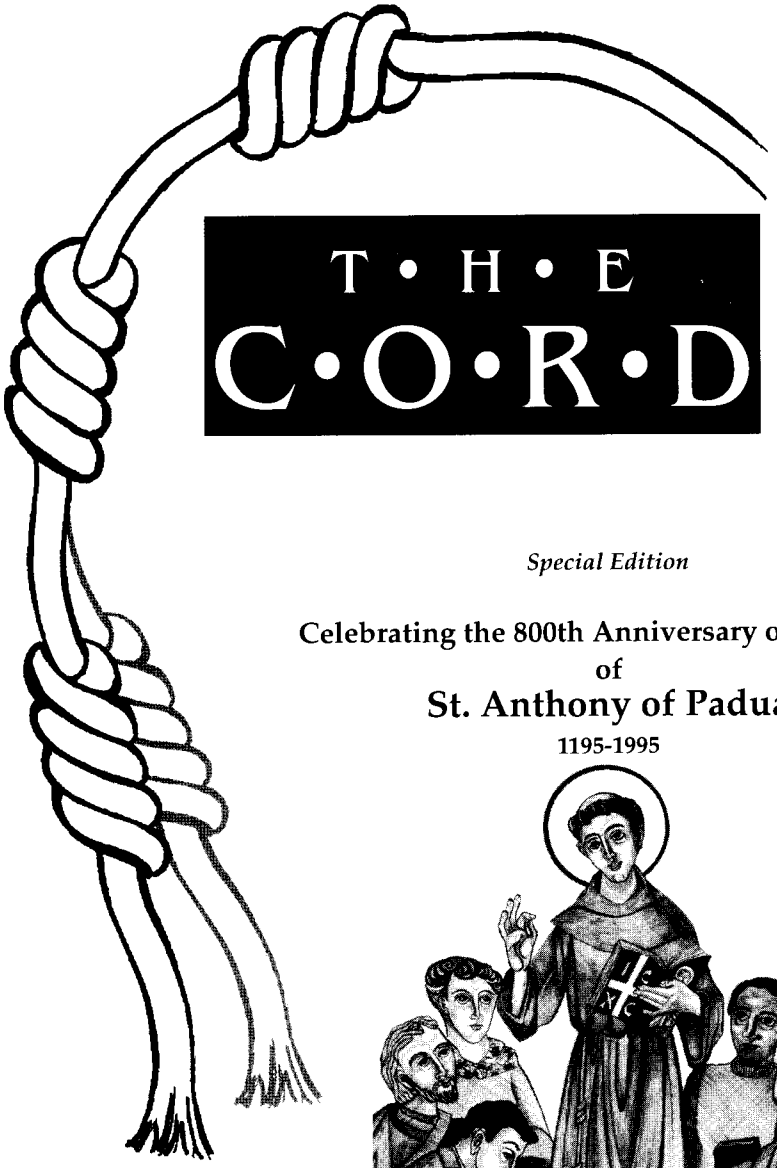

T • H • E C•O•R•D

Special Edition

Celebrating the 800th Anniversary of the Birth of

St. Anthony of Padua

1195-1995

DOCTOR EVANGELICUS

THE CORD
A Franciscan Spiritual Review

Editor: Elise Saggau, OSF

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1. MSS should be submitted on disk or typed on 8 1/2 x 11 paper, one side only, double spaced.
2. The University of Chicago *Manual of Style*, 13 ed., is to be consulted on general questions of style.
3. Titles of books and periodicals should be italicized or, in typed manuscripts, underlined.
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4. References to Scripture sources or to basic Franciscan sources should not be footnoted, but entered within parenthesis immediately after the cited text, with period following the closed parenthesis. For example:
   (1Cor. 13:6).
   (RegNB 23:2).
   (2Cel 5:8).
   (4LAg 2:13).
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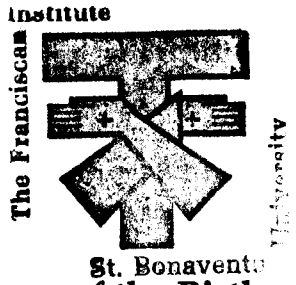
The Cord, 45.2 (1995)



Special Edition

Celebrating the 800th Anniversary of the Birth of St. Anthony of Padua

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Brother Francis [sends his] wishes of health to Brother Anthony, my bishop. It pleases me that you teach sacred theology to the brothers, as long as — in the words of the Rule — you "do not extinguish the Spirit of prayer and devotion" with study of this kind (Francis's Letter to Anthony).

Brother Anthony was ...present at this chapter.... While he was preaching very fervently and devoutly to the brothers ..., Brother Monaldo looked toward the door of the house in which there were many other brothers gathered and he saw there...Blessed Francis raised up into the air, his arms extended as though upon a cross, and blessing the brothers. And...they were all filled with the consolation of the Holy Spirit (1Cel 48).

Today the poor, the simple, the illiterate, the peasants and the elderly are thirsty for the word of life and for the water of saving knowledge.... Only the poor are evangelized.... Those who are genuinely poor are not scandalized because they alone are evangelized, i.e., they are nourished with the word of the Gospel, because they are the people of the Lord and the sheep of his flock (Anthony, Sermones, II, 484, as quoted in Anthony, Man of The Gospel, Letter of the Ministers General of the Franciscan Family, Rome, June 13, 1994, 26).

EDITORIAL

From the Mission Statement:

> to aid in effecting among us a deeper knowledge and more ardent love of the Franciscan way of life.

In the last issue of *The Cord*, Brother Ed Coughlin acknowledged that

> today there is an awakening interest in the Franciscan story, its roots and development, in the persons who first responded to this Spirit movement...in the persons who, over the centuries, allowed that same Spirit to operate in their own lives after the example of those first "Franciscans"(page 3).

Father Joe Doino, our respected predecessor, liked to say in his lectures: "The life of Francis and Clare and their followers becomes a story with openings in it for us."

It is by reflecting on our tradition and on those persons who epitomized its values in their lives that we contemporary Franciscans can find the "openings" that are ours in the story. *The Cord* has, for 45 years, sought to facilitate and enhance that very reflection and we hope it will continue to serve this purpose effectively.

In this issue we honor the 800th anniversary of the birth of St. Anthony of Padua (Lisbon). Perhaps no other saint in the Franciscan calendar has had the appeal of Anthony, who in his popularity rivals Francis himself. Many of us who grew up in a pre-Vatican II church knew Anthony best through popular devotions: e.g. observing the thirteen Tuesdays or petitioning Anthony to help us find lost objects. Perhaps we have not known him quite as well as a luminous Doctor of the Church. A follower of Francis known for his outstanding ability to translate the Gospel message into very popular spirit-filled sermons, he received the special title: *Doctor Evangelicus*.

While miracles and wonder-working have characterized our memories of him, behind this image is a real flesh and blood man who struggled, as we do, to live the Franciscan way of life and to meet the challenges of his times with the best of his God-given gifts. In these pages, therefore, we present to you the story of Anthony as it has been told in the recent past.

The next few issues of *The Cord* are already taking shape. The

May/June issue will include papers on Scotus's thought given at the recent Redwood City Conference, co-sponsored by Region 6 of the Franciscan Federation and the Franciscan School of Theology in Berkeley. Early next fall, we will feature papers dealing with aspects of ministry in our evangelical tradition. These were presented at breakout sessions of the Annual Federation Conference last August in Chicago.

We hope *The Cord* can offer, as well, a helpful networking service by presenting advertisements for programs and resources which support a deeper appreciation of our Franciscan way of life. A new monthly feature, called "On the Franciscan Circuit," will list upcoming events. We invite our readers to take advantage of these services by sending us ad copy and/or information to be listed.

An effective reflection on our charism requires that we continue to tell our story. We do this by careful historical research, by genuine examination of today's experience and by sharing our visions for the future. May *The Cord* serve as a kind of "story-book" for us in our English-speaking family and enhance the enlivening process by which we find our own particular "openings" in this story.

The Cord, 45.2 (1995)

The Life of Anthony of Padua

Charles McCarron, OFM Cap.*

The following account is a condensed version of the first chapter of *Anthony of Padua*, Sermones *for the Easter Season*, ed. George Marcil, OFM (St. Bonaventure, NY: The Franciscan Institute, 1994). To make the text more readable, we have omitted the many footnotes and appended a short bibliography of the major sources used. For complete documentation, see the original chapter.

Anthony of Padua was a man who lived at the "crossroads." Culturally he was the product of the frontier between Moslem and Christian culture. In his religious life Anthony was a canon regular who left the stability of an established observance for the radical new lifestyle of the Friars Minor. Intellectually he was a man trained in the Augustinian mode who responded to the new Aristotelianism of the schools. The purpose of this investigation is to examine those facets of Anthony's life and times which affected his development as a thinker and "formator" of the Franciscan School. Peeling away the layers of popular legend and devotion which have encased the figure of Anthony for so many years will reveal the true depth and worth of his work. As Albert Lepître has said in his biography of Saint Anthony, "...the Saint's

*Charles McCarron, OFM, Cap., originally prepared this biographical overview in 1989 as a thesis for the Master of Arts degree at The Franciscan Institute, St. Bonaventure University.

image is not unlike those medieval frescoes, distorted by successive restorings, which very careful scraping has at last brought back to their original simplicity and truth."

1. Anthony's Early Years and His Life as a Canon

Anthony of Padua was born in Lisbon in the Kingdom of Portugal. The chronology of his life is still a matter for much speculation. The traditional date given for his birth is 1195. However, some scholars have argued that 1191 is the correct date. The *Vita Prima* (hereafter referred to as *Vita*) tells us that he was born near the cathedral of Lisbon in a house appropriate for his family's position. His baptismal name was Ferdinand and his father's name was Martin, a knight of Alfonso.

The age in which Ferdinand was born and spent his youth was a turbulent one in Portugal's history. Unfortunately there is scant notice of this historical period in the early biographies. One must therefore examine the general history of the region at this time to form an adequate picture of the forces at work on Ferdinand.

The foundations of the period were laid in 1096 or 1097 when Count Henri of Burgundy, grandson of Duke Robert I, was given the land of Portugal as a fief by the King of Leon. Henri's son Alfonso Henriques, ruled the land of Portugal from 1141 until 1185. He rebelled against his liege lord, the King of Leon, and struggled to gain the title of king and the independence of Portugal.

Much of the turmoil which would occur in Ferdinand's lifetime was the result of a reaction to the favoritism that Alfonso I showed to the Church to further his political goals. In an attempt to gain independence from Leon, he gave the land of Portugal to Pope Lucius II and received it back as the pope's vassal. His expectation that the pope would grant him the title of king was frustrated when Lucius granted him only the title of duke. It was not until 1173 that Pope Alexander III named Alfonso Henriques king. Though it was not the capital of the new kingdom, Braga was the greatest city in the Christian realm of Portugal, having 5,000 inhabitants. As part of his move to gain independence from Leon, Alfonso I supported the claims to the primacy of Portugal of the Archbishop of Braga against those of the Archbishop of

Toledo. Because of Alfonso's policies, the Church became the largest landowner in the realm. The temporal power which the Church held virtually eclipsed the feudal struggle between secular nobles and king in Portugal, since the only significant struggle was between king and bishop. The secular nobles were little more than bystanders, taking sides as the winds of favor changed. An example of Alfonso's largess towards the Church is the role that he had in the founding, at Coimbra, of the Santa Cruz Abbey of the Augustinian canons, the congregation that Ferdinand was to join.

In the life of the young Ferdinand, Alfonso I also has importance as the conqueror of Lisbon, or Al-Usbuna as it was known to the Moors. Al-Usbuna was the greatest city of Moslem Portugal, situated as it was on the finest and deepest harbor on the coast. The town was a large one by Iberian standards, encompassing within its walls 15 hectares and having heavily populated suburbs to the east and west. It was a cosmopolitan city which bustled with merchants and seafarers. The size and wealth of Al-Usbuna made it the target of Alfonso I's military campaigns.

Most Moslem cities in Iberia had within their walls communities of Christians, called Mozarabs, who chose to remain under Moorish rule. With their own courts and judicial system, their own elders and bishops, they enjoyed the relative freedom of a ghetto existence. Over the years of their presence among the Moors, the Mozarabs, though Christian, had become Islamic in their culture. They adopted many of the practices and customs of their Moslem neighbors. Al-Usbuna was no exception and had its Mozarab community along with the other religious and ethnic groups that made up the composition of this port city.

The conquest of Al-Usbuna took place a mere forty-four years before the birth of Ferdinand. He was to spend the first twenty-two years of his life in the society that that campaign had created. In May 1147 a fleet of 144 vessels bearing 13,000 crusaders arrived in Alfonso's realm on their way to the Holy Land. The troops were divided into four nations, the English, the Flemish, the German and the French. With the promise of payment from Alfonso, they agreed to ally themselves with the Portuguese and to sail on Al-Usbuna. On June 24, a few hun-

dred landed and skirmished with the Moslems, but the main body of the force remained on the ships and seemed reluctant to act. Alfonso arrived and urged them on by appealing to their piety. However, religious ideals didn't seem to be their primary motivation and they remained intransigent. Finally, Alfonso offered them lands in his kingdom, the spoils of the city and the ransom of any captive that they took. This seemed to assuage any doubts they had, and the Crusaders agreed to attack the city. Alfonso sent one last delegation to Al-Usbuna asking the city to surrender. It was met by the Moslem governor and Mozarabic bishop who reproached the Crusaders for their greed and violence. On the next day the attack began. The siege lasted for 17 weeks and ended with the deaths of many of the civilian inhabitants. One of those slain was the Mozarabic bishop.

As promised, many of the Crusaders received lands and positions in return for their help. Alfonso I appointed the English priest Gilbert of Hastings as the new bishop of Lisbon, as the city came to be called. Alfonso then continued to battle for Moorish territory until his death in 1185.

When Alfonso's son, Sancho I, ascended the throne, his first concern was to extend his father's conquests. In 1189, a fleet of Crusaders once more came to the aid of a Portuguese king. They pushed through Moslem territory, capturing the city of Silves. The Moors launched a savage counteroffensive and all the gains that had been made by the Portuguese and their mercenaries after 1147 were lost. In June of 1191, two months before the birth of Ferdinand, the Christian armies were pushed back to Lisbon. Thus, Ferdinand was born in a town on the border between Moslem and Christian culture.

What was the situation of Ferdinand's family in this society? Were they people of rank, of privilege? According to the sixteenth-century chronicler Marc of Lisbon, Ferdinand's family name was Bulhoes, and the family was descended from Godfrey of Boullion. This report of illustrious ancestry has been rejected by most scholars as merely legendary but it may contain an element of truth. There was a large influx of Crusaders into Portugal during the time of the *Reconquista*. Ferdinand's father was a knight of Alfonso. This would seem to indicate that he won distinction during Alfonso I's reign. It is even possible that he entered the country at that time in one of the waves of crusaders passing through Portugal.

Ferdinand's education began in the cathedral school of Lisbon. The family house stood near the cathedral. As local tradition has it, the site of the cathedral was that of the Great Mosque. It took as its primary model the great church of Santiago in Compostella which was built during the years 1078 to 1130 in a massive and austere Romanesque style. Lisbon's cathedral was dedicated to the Virgin Mary. The cathedral school was probably founded in compliance with the decree of Lateran III in 1179, which required that every cathedral sponsor a school in order to train young aspirants to the priesthood. At this school Ferdinand would have followed the standard curriculum, getting a foundation in the seven liberal arts. Here Ferdinand would also have been introduced to Latin and the chants and psalms of the Divine Office.

Young Ferdinand's education was not confined to the cloisters of the cathedral school but was enhanced by the life of the city itself. In addition to the community of northern Crusaders and their descendants, there was still a large Moslem and Mozarab population in Lisbon. Alfonso I had given Lisbon's Moslems a charter in 1185 allowing them to travel freely throughout the realm in order to conduct trade. Tension, nevertheless, would have existed between these merchants and the Christian overlords who were still at war with their compatriots. There would also have been tension between the relatively rough and uncultured northern Christians and the refined and well-educated Mozarabs. These factors contributed to a cosmopolitan city in which the young Ferdinand was brought into contact with various cultures and world views. It was in this setting that he came to the decision to enter the religious life.

According to the *Vita*, Ferdinand entered the Canons Regular of St.Augustine at Sao Vicente, just outside Lisbon's walls, at the age of fifteen. Fifteen, however, is somewhat problematic. If he entered in 1210, then, granted an 1191 birthdate, Ferdinand would have been closer to twenty at his entrance. The foundation of Sao Vicente had been made by Alfonso I in 1147 in gratitude for his success in the conquest of Lisbon. It was a daughter house of the Abbey of Santa Cruz in Coimbra.

The members of Santa Cruz were canons regular who lived a community life centered around prayer and ministry under the Rule of St. Augustine. This monastery and its daughter houses were among some 800 communities of canons which had adopted the customs of the congregation of St. Ruf of Avignon. Thus, the congregation of Santa Cruz was not an isolated religious community at the furthest reaches of civilization.

At Sao Vicente Ferdinand began a formal program of study in preparation for his ordination to the priesthood. There exists an inventory of the library of Sao Vicente at the time during which he lived there. This inventory allows one to view the interests that the canons had and perhaps speculate about the curriculum which would have been followed in their studies. Together with the standard works of theology, there are numerous texts on the natural sciences, particularly medicine, the probable source for the many references and allusions to the natural sciences which appear in St. Anthony's sermons. Outstanding among the teachers at Sao Vicente were the prior, Don Peter, and Don Peter Pires, both of whom were active in the political affairs of the kingdom. The prior was noted for his honesty in his policies and Pires was known as a scholar in grammar, rhetoric and logic, and perhaps most significantly for Anthony's later fame, as a preacher.

In 1212 Ferdinand requested to be transferred from Lisbon to Santa Cruz, perhaps to avoid the distractions caused him at Lisbon by the many visits and conversations with old friends. Given the political and military unrest of the period, the young and intelligent Ferdinand no doubt debated the current topics with the friends of his youth. His request for a transfer was granted and he moved to the Abbey of Santa Cruz at Coimbra.

Here Ferdinand applied himself to his studies in preparation for the priesthood. Santa Cruz, a royal foundation in the king's city, was very well endowed and could boast an excellent library containing the works of both Moslem and Christian masters. Ferdinand grew in his knowledge of the Scriptures and the Church Fathers, particularly St. Augustine. The pursuit of study and scholarship was one of the priorities at Coimbra, and it had become the intellectual center of the kingdom. It is probable that the teachers at Coimbra had received

their training in the schools of Paris, particularly that of the Canons of St. Victor. The scholastic ties between the two congregations of canons were quite strong.

The influence of the Victorine School on the future St. Anthony is clear. The older masters had studied under Hugh of St. Victor and Richard of St. Victor. There are also two allusions to the hymns of Adam of St. Victor in Anthony's *Sermones*. Ferdinand probably studied Adam's works as part of his liturgical preparation at Coimbra, for it is unlikely that such material would have been in use among the primitive Franciscans whom he was to join. In addition, the training of novices at Santa Cruz and Sao Vicente was conducted according to Hugh's *De Institutione Novitiorum*. Ferdinand's teachers were thus trained in the best schools of their age and exposed their pupils to the new methods and ideas arising in the Parisian schools. They could rank themselves favorably with any other school in Europe. Indeed we know that Ferdinand's teacher, known simply as Master John, attended the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 as a theologian.

Ferdinand's early biographers are unanimous in speaking of the promise he showed in his studies and the remarkable memory that he displayed. He is said to have studied the Scriptures night and day while at Coimbra. In the description of Ferdinand's method of study given in the *Vita* one finds another connection with the School of St. Victor. He is said to have read a text seeking first its historical truth, then an allegorical interpretation and finally a moral sense. Only then would he proceed to "theologize" with the help of the Fathers. It is the method that Hugh of St. Victor initiates and teaches as the proper form of Scripture study in Book Six of the *Didascalicon*. The notion that Ferdinand's intellectual formation was carried out under Victorine guidelines thus gains further credence.

In spite of Coimbra's reputation not all was peace and the pursuit of wisdom at Santa Cruz. In a religious house as large and important as Ferdinand's it was hard to keep the "world" and its politics outside the cloister wall. Many biographers of the saint have depicted his years at Santa Cruz as a quiet and sheltered time of study. The facts of history do not allow such an assumption. The historical events that are known to have taken place in and around Santa Cruz had to have

an effect on the young man. They probably were factors contributing to his eventual entrance into the Friars Minor. Alfonso II, along with the entire kingdom of Portugal, had been placed under interdict by the bishops of Zamora and Compostella in the same year that Ferdinand had transferred to Coimbra. Alfonso had tried to ignore his sisters' claims on their father's estates, and Alfonso IX of Leon took up their cause. He invaded Portugal that very year. Pope Innocent III, however, had need of the two kingdoms' support in a crusade against the Moors and lifted the interdict, restoring a truce.

The Abbey of Santa Cruz itself was in a period of crisis, and this situation gave Ferdinand an intimate experience of human frailty and political intrigue that was to serve him well in his later life. In 1222 Pope Honorius III ordered three of Lisbon's priors to perform an inquest into the charges brought against John, the prior of Coimbra, by Ferdinand's teacher, Master John. Prior John had already been accused under the previous pope, Innocent III, of having placed Santa Cruz in near-bankruptcy, reducing the canons to a life of misery. He had received several excommunications, but ignoring them he continued to celebrate the Divine Office and Liturgy. Honorius' bull also restated the charges that Prior John caused public scandal by his acts of perjury, adultery, pederasty and incest. This caused great turmoil and division between the group that supported Prior John in his lifestyle and those that backed Master John in his attempts at reform. It seems likely that it was at this turbulent time, ca. 1219-1220, that Ferdinand was ordained a priest.

The question of the date and place of Ferdinand's ordination has perhaps involved more debate than any other topic regarding the chronology of his life. The question is whether Ferdinand was ordained as a canon regular at Coimbra, or later as a Friar Minor. There is no record of either in any of the early lives of the saint. The argument for the Friar Minor period centers around the story of the ordination at Forli. In other words, Ferdinand would not have attended the ordination merely as a guest but as one of those to be ordained. Those who support the Forli ordination point to the current church law of the day which set the minimum age for priestly ordination at thirty. If Ferdinand was ordained in 1220 he would have been only 29 years old. However,

it has been shown that this statute had been disregarded in Portugal. The first prior of Santa Cruz, Saint Teotonio, had been ordained at the age of 25. The key to the question seems to be given in the *Vita's* account of the first chapter that Ferdinand attended as a Friar Minor. He was assigned at that chapter to the hermitage of Monte Paola so that the brothers there might have the divine mysteries celebrated for them. The version of the incident which appears in a fourteenth-century (ca. 1330) manuscript of the *Vita* is even more explicit. When asked if he is a priest, Ferdinand answered, "I am." In the light of the above evidence it seems probable that Ferdinand was ordained in Coimbra in 1220. It was during this same year that Ferdinand had his first documented encounter with the Friars Minor.

2. Anthony's Life as a Friar Minor

The Friars Minor first entered Portugal in 1217 with the intent of establishing their community there. A party had been sent from the General Chapter that year under the direction of Bernard of Quintavalle to Iberia in order to found communities of the Order. The chronicler, Marc of Lisbon, says that Queen Urraca asked her husband to concede to Friar Zachary of Rome and his companions a poor little hermitage near Coimbra, at Olivais. The little chapel, dedicated to St. Anthony of Egypt, had been built ca. 1064, possibly by the Hospitallers of St. Anthony. The friars from Olivais often came to the door of Santa Cruz seeking alms. It is here that Ferdinand first met the friars and became acquainted with their lifestyle.

Several reasons can be offered to explain Ferdinand's decision to enter the Friars Minor. Given the condition of the religious life at Santa Cruz, the idealism of the Friars might have impressed itself upon the young canon. The fervor with which he was to embrace the ideals and lifestyle of the Franciscans point to a prior disposition in Ferdinand's life. There is a description of the lifestyle of this province, apparently modeled on Francis' Rule for Hermitages in Celano's Second Life. One reason that has been proposed as a possible source for Ferdinand's vocation to the Friars is the introduction of the new methodology of the schools by Coimbra's Parisian-trained masters. In the

monastic schools one passed from reading (*lectio*) to meditation (*meditatio*), to prayer (*oratio*), and finally, perhaps, to contemplation (*contemplatio*). The new Parisian method envisaged reading (*lectio*), leading one to disputation (*disputatio*), and then being shared in preaching (*predicatio*). This outward thrust toward preaching, and what would today be called evangelization, which characterized the Friars Minor from the beginning, no doubt attracted the young man who was to become the "Evangelical Doctor."

The missionary vocation had been part of the Franciscan movement since the movement's inception. According to the primitive biographers, the desire to spread the Gospel and risk martyrdom in the attempt was a key component of Ferdinand's vocation to the Friars. Five friars, proto-martyrs of the Franciscan Order, were killed in Morocco on January 20, 1220. Their bodies were acquired by the Portuguese king and after a triumphal procession were installed as the bones of saints in the Abbey of Santa Cruz. Ferdinand was inspired by the example of the martyrs and felt the call to follow them in preaching and ultimately in martyrdom. Ferdinand gained the necessary permission and entered the Friars Minor at Olivais. He took the name of the hermitage's patron as his own and after a very short time left with a companion for Morocco in order to seek a martyr's death.

Upon reaching the shores of North Africa the new Friar Anthony became gravely ill and was persuaded to return home to Portugal. However, his boat was driven off course and he landed at Sicily instead. He located the community of friars at Messina. Anthony stayed with them until they departed for the General Chapter to be held in Assisi at Pentecost of 1221; and he accompanied them there.

This was an important chapter in the Order's history and in the life of St. Anthony. Francis had returned from his own attempt to evangelize the Saracens and win martyrdom only to find the Order in crisis. Francis, with the help of Caesar of Speyer, revised the Rule to accommodate the new situations in which the friars were finding themselves while safeguarding the original ideals of the community. This revised version of the Rule was to be the central topic at the Chapter of 1221. Friar Elias of Cortona was made Francis's vicar in the place of Peter Catanii. Jordan tells how Francis sat humbly at Elias's feet, tugging on the sleeves of his habit if he wished to say anything. It was to be the last chapter that was attended by all the friars. Jordan of Giano, while perhaps conflating the details of the chapters of 1219 and 1221 gives us a lively account of the bustling scene where more than 3000 friars had gathered around the little church of the Portiuncula on the plain below Assisi.

Certainly this was an important milestone in the life of Anthony, confronted for the first time with a throng of friars attempting to live in the temporary fraternity of the Chapter the lifestyle he had only recently professed. Another important event at this Chapter was his first personal experience of Francis of Assisi. There is no record of a meeting between the two men. Perhaps in the midst of that great crowd none could have occurred. The Fioretti gives an account of a sermon Francis is said to have delivered at this chapter. He exhorted the friars to live in harmony and peace with one another and to remain loyal to the practice of poverty.

As the chapter wore on, the question of where he was to go came up in Anthony's mind. He delayed the resolution of the problem till the last moments of the chapter. According to the *Vita*, Anthony did not make himself known or push himself to the forefront of the chapter. He waited until its conclusion, when most of the friars had already left, to ask Brother Gratian, the Minister of Romagna, if he might join his province. Brother Gratian accepted him and he was assigned to the hermitage at Monte Paola, near Forli. As we have seen, he was sent there so that the lay brothers of the place would have a priest for mass. His assignment to Monte Paola can be dated June 1221.

He remained there for an unspecified time leading the life of the hermitage which he had first experienced at Olivais. This length of time (ca. 15 months) would have been the period of Anthony's Franciscan formation; it would seem that he left Monte Paola around the month of September 1222. Then he attended the ordination of the Friars Minor and Friars Preacher that was held at Forli.

The ordination of Forli marked the end of Anthony's obscurity in the Friars Minor and the beginning of his life of service to the fraternity in positions of responsibility. Rather than have a reading at the meal following the ordination, the Franciscan superior asked that

one of those assembled address the crowd. Neither a Franciscan nor a Dominican would accept, saying that they had not been given enough time to prepare a proper presentation for such a gathering. The superior finally asked Anthony to address the group. The early sources are unanimous in telling of the surprise and admiration with which Anthony's eloquence and knowledge of Scripture were greeted. After his success with his impromptu address at Forli, Anthony was given the office of preacher and for the next two years he pursued that mission within the province of Romagna, where he preached against the heretical Cathars in Rimini. This preaching mission lasted until the end of 1223 or the beginning of 1224.

Anthony's reputation as a scholar and preacher reached the ears of Francis. Again there is no record of any meeting between the two men. Nevertheless, Francis gave Anthony a mission that was to have an effect not only on Anthony's own life but on the direction of the entire Order. The year 1222/23 is given as the date for a letter written by St. Francis which is now accepted by most authorities as authentic. It is addressed to Anthony and authorizes him to teach the friars theology, as long as the spirit of prayer and devotion which the Friars have promised in the Rule is not extinguished. The letter was apparently written after some problems with an unauthorized studium in Bologna. Francis, realizing that studies were to become a reality in the Order, decided to entrust the task to a learned friar whom he felt he could trust to safeguard the spirit of the fraternity. It was to Anthony that he turned.

Bologna during this period was a bustling city of students and scholars. One of these scholars, a master of the new university, John of Sciacca, entered the friars while holding the chair of law. He set up a studium in which he taught the friars according to the method of the school, perhaps even teaching them law. This, it would seem, is the house of Bologna from which, as he records in his second biography of Francis, the ill Thomas of Celano recalls having been thrown out at Francis's command. It is to this house that, through the good offices of Cardinal Hugolino, the friars returned and in which Anthony lectured.

Anthony left Bologna sometime in 1224 to begin a mission in France. He first stayed in Montpellier, where he taught theology to the

friars. In September 1224, Anthony attended the chapter of the friars that had been convoked at Arles. Here it was that the stigmatized Francis of Assisi appeared to Anthony while he preached to the chapter on the sign of the cross. In 1225, it seems that Anthony went to preach and teach at Toulouse. In this region of France, Anthony was to take up again his preaching against the Cathars. Many of the themes of Anthony's *Sermones* have their source in his attempt to answer the heretical doctrines which he encountered. It would be helpful to examine briefly the Cathar heresy and the conditions in southern France at this time.

The Cathar heresy was of eastern dualist origins. Its doctrines, however, frequently differed from region to region, confusing the inquisitors who sought to stamp them out. It was known as the one heresy which denied Christ; yet in its ceremonies it speaks of the Trinity and of the God who was placed upon the cross. The distinguishing feature of the heresy was its dualism. The earth and all created matter was evil and the Devil's domain. There also existed a sort of caste system. Those who had received the great Cathar sacrament of the *consolomentum* lived a life of great austerity, disdaining all wealth and physical pleasure. They were known as the "Perfect." The majority of the Cathars were the "Believers." The latter delayed the reception of the *consolomentum* until their deathbeds so that they would not incur the heavy obligations of the Perfect.

The severe lifestyle of the Perfect compared favorably in the eyes of the people with the decadent life lived by a large part of the orthodox clergy. It was this fact that contributed to the Cathars' popularity and also put the preachers of the orthodox position on the defensive. It finally forced the latter to change their mode of operation and to adopt a lifestyle of strict poverty coupled with itinerant preaching in the manner of some of the earlier twelfth-century reform movements. It was this strategy that was behind Dominic Guzman's program in founding what was to become the Order of Preachers.

The heresy had great success and became very powerful. Perhaps the best description of the effect the heresies of the day had on the people comes from the pen of Italian author Umberto Eco. Though the period he writes on is the fourteenth century, his words are equally

applicable to Anthony's day:

> ...What makes them [the heresies] live is also what makes them die. The movements grow, gathering simple people who have been aroused by other movements and who believe all have the same impulse of revolt and hope... The simple cannot choose their personal heresy.... They cling to the man preaching in their land, who passes through their village or stops in their square (232).

In or around the year 1226 Anthony was named the Custos of Limoges and founded the friary at Brive. There is also the possibility that he attended a synod called by Archbishop Simon de Sully of Bourges in 1226.

In October of that year, St. Francis died and Elias called a General Chapter to be held during Pentecost of the following year. As a Custos, Anthony attended the chapter, and while there he was chosen to be the minister provincial of Romagna. In his earlier preaching mission in Italy, Anthony had become familiar with the problems of that region. The experience he had gained in France while preaching to the Cathars was to prove invaluable to him in his new ministry. The region of Romagna had become a refuge for the French Cathar *Perfecti* who had been driven from Languedoc by the work of the Inquisition and preachers like Anthony and Dominic. As it had in the south of France, the political unrest of the region greatly contributed to the success of the heretics. The strife between communes that is familiar to any student of Franciscan history in the story of Perugia and Assisi is to be found in Romagna as well. The support of heresy was often the tool which the podestas and nobility used to gain their ends. Because of the size of the province which Anthony governed, his lifestyle as minister provincial was primarily itinerant. It was probably at this point, ca.1228, that Anthony first met the great Victorine abbot, Thomas Gallus.

Thomas, the abbot of the Victorine monastery of St. Andrew at Vercelli, had taught at the School of St. Victor in Paris. This meeting was to have a profound effect on Anthony's life and thought. The friendship between Anthony and Thomas is attested to by a writing of Thomas that praises Anthony for his knowledge of mysticism and the holiness of his life. Thomas was not only a friend of Anthony of Padua, but also of Robert Grosseteste, Adam Marsh and Giles of Assisi. Arising from the friendship between Thomas and Anthony is the legend that Anthony studied theology under Thomas at Vercelli and that his "classmate" in this endeavor was Adam Marsh. The legend gains credence from a fourteenth century fresco over the tomb of Thomas Gallus in St. Andrew in which Thomas is depicted as a teacher giving a lecture in a study hall to a group of canons. Seated at one of the student desks, among the canons, is a Friar Minor, which the tradition at St. Andrew has long taken to be Anthony. Anthony would have been about thirty-three by the time he met Thomas at Vercelli, a little past the normal age for a student in the Middle Ages. Regarding Adam Marsh's involvement, he did not enter the friars until after Anthony had died. The story is, however, a legendary way of stating the debt that Anthony's thought holds to Thomas and to the Victorine School.

We know that Anthony visited Padua several times at this period of his life. Padua was recognized as the center of orthodoxy in the region of Romagna. Initially, it seems that he stayed at a place of the friars outside Padua, coming into the city to preach. It was at this time that he wrote his great work, *The Sunday Sermons* (*Sermones*). At this same period he also appears to have founded the small studium of the friars at Padua. Becoming more involved in the life of Padua, he gradually took a more active voice in its civil disputes. As the burden of his many tasks weighed more heavily upon him, Anthony asked to be relieved of the office of minister provincial. The General Chapter of May 30, 1230, granted this request. It was probably while he was in Rome for this chapter that he preached before the curia and Gregory IX. After the sermon Gregory called Anthony the "Ark of the Testament." Upon returning to the region of Padua he entered into the disputes of the area. Through his involvement a law was passed by the city of Padua, March 17, 1231, in favor of debtors who could not pay their creditors. In the same year he went on a mission to Ezzelino to win the freedom of some Guelph prisoners. Though the mission was a failure, it points to Anthony's willingness to enter into the affairs of his day while remaining active in pulpit and classroom.

During this period Anthony withdrew to some land that had been offered to him outside Padua in order to work on the texts of his *Sermones* for saints' feastdays which had been commissioned by the Bishop of Ostia, the future Alexander IV. He worked on them until his death, never completing the series. Anthony, in 1231, preached his final Lenten cycle in Padua. In the second half of May 1231, Anthony became seriously ill and withdrew once more to Camposampiero. Knowing that he was near death he asked to be taken back to the friary in Padua in order not to burden the friars of the hermitage. While on the way they met a friar from Padua, who, upon seeing Anthony's condition, urged that he be taken to the place of the friars at the Poor Clare monastery of Arcella. They had barely arrived when Anthony, having received the last rites, died chanting the hymn, "O Gloriosa Domina, Excelsa super sidera." The date was June 13, 1231.

There ensued a battle over the remains. The friars, the Poor Clares, and the citizens of the neighboring town of Capodiponte all claimed his body. Commissions were held and the friars finally won the right to bury their brother at the friary in Padua. They attempted to remove the remains secretly but were discovered, and a battle was literally fought, including the destruction of a bridge to prevent his body from being taken across to Padua. Eventually, the friars were successful, and Anthony was laid to rest in Padua. On Pentecost Sunday, May 30, 1232, less than a year after Anthony's death, Gregory IX canonized him in the cathedral of Spoleto. In 1263, his body was moved one more time to the new basilica which had been erected in Padua in his honor. Thus ended the earthly journeys of Brother Anthony of Padua and Lisbon.

Anthony of Padua's life was spent in a turbulent age. The reality of his life does not coincide well with the image that he has in popular devotion. In his youth Anthony had to deal with all the tensions that came from living in what we would call today one of the world's "trouble spots." Lisbon was a city on the border between two hostile cultures. The young saint had to make for himself a synthesis that would combine the two cultural streams of his early life. As a young religious, Anthony lived in a community that, while a center of learning, was also embroiled in all sorts of intrigue and scandal. He was forced to

develop an individual spirituality that would sustain his vocation in such surroundings. Finally, in his decision to become a Friar Minor, Anthony had to adapt to the itinerant lifestyle and the mendicancy of the new community after the stable existence of the canons regular. The versatility and adaptability that the facts of his biography show forth help one understand the nature and source of his *Sermones*. In them also we can see a man who adapts himself to the world around him, particularly as it expresses itself in the spiritual needs of the people and the institutional Church which seeks to serve them.

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The Cord, 45.2 (1995)

On January 16, 1946, in the apostolic letter, *Exulta Lusitania Felix*, Pius XII declared St. Anthony of Padua a Doctor of the Church. The following November, at the Shrine of the Immaculate Conception in Washington, DC, the Franciscans of the United States sponsored commemorative ceremonies in honor of the new Franciscan Doctor. A number of talks presented at that gathering almost fifty years ago still have a message for us today. We are happy to offer, in edited and condensed form, some of these talks which celebrate St. Anthony as theologian, as preacher and as man of the people. The entire texts of these papers can be found in "St. Anthony of Padua, Doctor of the Church Universal," Souvenir of the Commemorative Ceremonies, Washington, DC: Catholic University of America, Nov. 11, 1946, collected in *Franciscan Pamphlets*, Vol. 57, Friedsam Memorial Library, St. Bonaventure University, St. Bonaventure, NY. [Ed.]

— ST. ANTHONY — The Theologian

Thomas Plassmann OFM*

I consider it my duty to say a word of thanks to the promoters and coordinators of this program for their genial insistence which compelled me to withdraw for a while from administrative work and to bury myself, for the preparation of this paper, among ancient tomes and time-worn manuscripts in our library, hidden away under the lofty pines of the romantic Cattaraugus Hills. Needless to say, the reward was bountiful and manifold. But there were three crushing disappointments. First, I learned to my dismay that the celebrated *Concordantiae Morales Sacrorum Bibliorum* which antiquity attributed to St. Anthony and which, as I have often assured my younger brethren, established the Saint of Padua as the first of Biblical Concordists, must now be relegated among his *opera dubia*. Right here, I must confess, one of my youthful dreams was shattered, and those heartless critics are to blame. Second, the beautiful Sermon of St. Bonaventure on his confrere St. Anthony which begins "*Invocavi, et venit in me spiritus Sapientiae*" [Therefore I prayed, ...and the spirit of wisdom came to me] (Wis. 7: 7), and in which the Seraphic Doctor in glowing terms lauds the celestial wisdom of our new *Doctor Evangelicus*, is no longer found among the authentic works of St. Bonaventure in the critical Quaracchi Edition of his *Opera Omnia*. Another dream dissipated by those same cruel critics. Third, and this was the greatest calamity of all. In his *Sermo II* on the Seraphic Patriarch, St. Bonaventure makes the following statement: "Litteras non scivit nec instructorem habuit; tamen praedicavit, nec verbum unum reprehensibile dixit," and then he adds, "similiter Antonius." [He was not lettered, nor had he had instruction. Nevertheless he preached, and without a single reproachable word; likewise Anthony.]

My heart sank when I read these last two words. Can it be true that the man who today is honored as a *Doctor Ecclesiae* was ignorant of letters? To tell the truth, I roguishly reflected: What a blessing that the Sacred Congregation did not light upon this passage. But then, my better judgment soon dispelled all fears when I considered that Bonaventure was speaking as a university professor, and, as we all know, it is the privilege of university professors to refer disdainfully, and sometimes perhaps with a slight admixture of enviousness, to the career and accomplishments of a seminary professor "back in the sticks," not to mention a poor college president. But seriously, Doctor Bonaventure, who had been groomed from his early youth under Master Alexander at the metropolis of Paris, was most likely unfamiliar with the early hidden life of Anthony. In fact, while he undoubtedly absorbed much of the sublime teachings of the Saint of Padua, he could not help but prize beyond all wisdom and learning the Saint's love of poverty and humility. That is precisely the tenor of his one authentic Sermon on St. Anthony, in which incidentally he quotes from one of the current *Legendae:* "He spent more time in the beginning of his conversion washing pots than in studying Scripture."

*At the time of this presentation, Father Thomas Plassmann was the President of St. Bonaventure College and of Christ the King Seminary, St. Bonaventure, NY. The numerous footnotes have been omitted for readability. A list of major sources is appended at the end of the article.

Premising this, we shall follow St. Anthony through three main phases of his career: (a) his cultural formation, (b) his workshop and method, (c) his doctrine.

I. Cultural Formation

From a few brief statements in the early biographies we hope to piece together, with a fair amount of accuracy, the main facts and factors in the scholastic and cultural formation of the *Doctor Evangelicus*. Still a child he was entered at the Cathedral School of Lisbon which happened to be located but a few steps from his parental home. The boy was taught the rudiments of Latin from the Psalms and other liturgical texts and possibly from the grammars of Donatus and Priscian, according to the common practice in cathedral and monastery schools of that day.

At the age of fifteen, young Ferdinand was admitted to the Monastery Santo Vincente de Fora of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine in the same city. After about two years, he transferred to the famous Abbey of Santa Cruz in Coimbra where he remained nine years. At that time Santa Cruz ranked foremost among Portuguese centers of higher learning. Here the young canon "nourished his intellect with study, and exercised his soul by meditation, and neither day nor night did he cease holy reading." His biographers take pains to point out that his favorite texts were the Sacred Scriptures and the Fathers of the Church. We are also told that the youthful Augustinian had set himself three objectives. Day and night he poured over the Sacred Scriptures in order, first, to seek his own sanctification; secondly, to acquire the art of rooting up vice and planting virtue in the souls of others; thirdly, to build up in his own mind a standard of faith for the purpose of effectively championing the cause of holy Church.

Then, with the blessing of his spiritual fathers, Anthony bade farewell to Santa Cruz and knocked at the gate of the little Friary at d'Olivares to beg for the humble garb of the Poverello. Though unbeknown to those in charge, this was a precious gift to the Order of Friars Minor, then in its early infancy and devoid of the means to educate its members for the mission that lay ahead. Such is the way of Divine Providence which made the great Benedictine Order surrender young Thomas Aquinas to the Friars Preachers even as the learned university professor Alexander of Hales was inveigled by the pleadings of a simple

lay brother to join the Order of Friars Minor.

Having been denied the palm of martyrdom, Anthony now set foot on the Sicilian coast. For a year and nine months he enjoyed the solitude of Monte Paolo, devoting himself to prayer, piety and study, and to assembling and coordinating the seminal thoughts which later ripened into a bountiful harvest. In this peaceful retreat, we may assume, the seraphic synthesis of Antonian Theology was formulated.

An intimate friendship and a healthy intellectual partnership developed, probably at this period, between our Saint and the celebrated mystic, Abbott Thomas Galla of Vercelli. This erudite scholar, the bridgehead between the School of St. Victor and St. Bonaventure and a recognized exponent of the *Coelestis Hierachia* of Pseudo-Dionysius, undoubtedly gave a strong impulse to the trend of symbolism and mysticism that proved so impressive in St. Anthony's sermons and the Franciscan School generally.

What sort of a student was St. Anthony? What were his qualifications, reactions, trends? A modern aptitude test would reveal, first of all, what is best described by the Latin term *ingenium*. It comprises acumen, depth and a large measure of originality. One of his biographers aptly credits him with a happy curiosity. Again, he possessed a phenomenal, an exceedingly tenacious memory, so much so that, as another biographer avers, "he used his memory instead of books." With ease and grace he draws at will from this rich storehouse the choicest biblical and patristic sayings and similes, to fascinate his hearers or readers with entrancing picturesquesness of style and substance. Lastly, his ardent and devout soul visualizes everything in the spiritual, supernatural light. In his mind, on his lips and in his pen, the truths of faith are living things that must be ardently loved to be fully understood. His motto must have been "I love so that I might understand." It is what St. Bonaventure would have called, the *unctio seraphica*.

II. Workshop and Method

It happened at Forli, during a memorable ordination ceremony, that the remarkable talents which this man of God had so sedulously and so successfully hidden were suddenly brought to light. As a result, the Friars begged their holy Father that he command Brother Anthony to teach them. In substance the brief note which St. Francis in his characteristic way inscribed to "Brother Anthony, my bishop," appoint-

ing him lector of Sacred Theology on condition that he extinguish not the spirit of prayer and devotion, is historically vouched for. Thus Anthony, unadorned with academic attainments and honors, but a man after the Poverello's inmost heart, became the first officially appointed lector of Sacred Theology in the Order.

Bologna was the first scene of his activity. At Bologna, the cradle of jurisprudence since Gratian and later a leading center of the arts and theology, the Friars Minor established a *Studium Generale* whose influence was as varied as it was widespread. The ever growing roster of this *studium* listed an astounding number of students, both native and foreign, of various religious orders, and especially of the secular priesthood from every land. Its curriculum embraced both university studies and what in our day would be the equivalent of seminary courses. The education of priests in their pastoral work was its main objective. Salimbene, that colorful, whimsical and imperturbably inquisitive friar, gives a graphic account. St. Anthony also taught in Toulouse, in Montpellier, and probably elsewhere, but the Franciscan *studium* at Bologna will ever owe a debt of gratitude to the first Lector in the Franciscan Order.

How is it, you may ask, that the Franciscan School, instead of following one great leader, seems to scatter its energies among so many masters? The offhand answer is that the good Lord has so blessed us with a multitude of outstanding luminaries as to make the choice difficult. However, the real reasons lie deeper. While the Order of St. Francis boasts of possessing and promoting among its members both a happy individualism and a felicitous originality, it also recognizes that right here is the source of both its strength and its weakness. And yet, for the sake of the former we are willing to bear with the latter, even though much grief may result. For in the long run the former nullifies the latter in the great cause of truth.

Enjoying, as we do, the liberty of the children of God, we glory in an electivism which is genuine because it stimulates the search for the truth wherever it may be found, whether it be in the sober, matter-of-fact "capitula" of our *Doctor Irrefragabilis*, Alexander of Hales, or on "the mountain of incense and myrrh," where St. Bonaventure, the *Doctor Seraphicus* bids us abide, or in the labyrinthine profundities of John Duns Scotus, the *Doctor Subtilis*, or lastly in the musty and dusty workshop where Roger Bacon, the *Doctor Admirabilis*, is struggling with old tomes and tricky tools. All this, we believe, is consonant with the mind

of Mother Church; and St. Francis was first and foremost, a *Vir Catholicus et totus Apostolicus*.

But now, to make the choice still more difficult and the variety still more bewildering, along comes Anthony, our new *Doctor Evangelicus*.. True, he was not our greatest Doctor. His works cannot compare with the monumental tomes of the aforesaid Masters. But definitely he stands out as the embodiment of the pure and pristine cradle days of Franciscanism. He fully merits the title *Evangelicus*, not only because this title crystalizes his work with convincing clarity, but especially because it springs from the very core of our charter and Rule, which is: "to observe the holy Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ."

St. Anthony catches the very soul of the Seraphic Father. But, did St. Francis ever define theology? Great spiritual minds do not define; they utter the profoundest truths in simple, unadorned language. When St. Francis writes in his Testament that "we should honor and venerate all theologians and those who announce to us the most Holy Divine Words as those who minister to us spirit and life," he touches upon the very marrow of theology. And this is precisely the sort of theology that Anthony made his plan and pattern.

The mediaeval schoolmen were builders. When the lofty cathedrals of Europe rose to the sky, the Scholastics composed their monumental Summas. Whether by predetermined plan or casual association, both groups followed architectonic patterns. In this sense, the Summa of Aquinas has been aptly compared to the majestic cathedral of Cologne — a perfect expression of order, proportion and symmetry.

The earliest plans for the Temple of Theology had been projected by the giant architects St. Augustine and St. John of Damascus. Peter Lombard assembled all previous projects in the classic of the age, the *Four Books of the Sentences*. Then came the master builders, Alexander of Hales, the first Summist, and Albert the Great, who adhered in the main to the four divisions of the Lombard. Aquinas devised his immortal synthesis after the pattern of a cathedral with three spacious naves: "Deus Creator, Homo Peccator, Christus Salvator." Meanwhile Bonaventure composed his inimitable *Breviloquium* after the fashion of a heptagon, the Incarnate Word in the center, "so that he might come to have first place in everything" (Col. 1: 18). Duns Scotus raised this edifice to unprecedented heights by dint of the ingenious device of the Pointed Arch — the "ultimate symbol of the Incarnation" — to give emphasis to the "primacy of Christ" and the predestined privileges of

the immaculate "Queen at his right hand."

St. Anthony moved in different environments. The doctors at Paris were still itching under the papal bans that hung over the works of Aristotle and pagan authors generally. In fact, it was only a few days before St. Anthony's death that Gregory IX relaxed the earlier censures.

In spirit let us pay a visit to St. Anthony's little cell and glance at the books on his desk. Our young lector was not a builder, not a framer of scholastic argumentation. A more fitting name would be husbandman or gardener. He loved life; he worked to save life — the life of the soul. For this he dedicated his own life to Him Who had yielded His spirit that immortal souls might live. "Spirit and life" was his theology, and theology meant Sacred Scripture. "Theology," he says, "is knowledge of divine Scripture." The simile dearest to him was the picture of a fertile field which nourishes the roots of virtue and produces, first the stem, then the ear and finally the ripe fruit of holy joy and peace.

To Anthony, the lover of nature, creation held the key to many a mystery on the Sacred Page. The Saviour Himself, so Anthony tells us, drew His parables from the fields, the birds, the flowers and trees. When his own observation failed him, he looked for nature's properties and phenomena in the *bestiaria* and *lapidaria*, and the popular *Physiologus*, all of which were surely to be found in the monastery library, and to which he refers in the usual phrase "dicitur in naturalibus."

But all these were subsidiary to one book which constantly lay on our lector's "cathedra" beside the Holy Bible. It was none other than St. Augustine's "Doctrina Christiana." Anthony adopted with an open heart the teaching of Augustine, which thenceforward became the focus of Franciscan philosophical and theological thinking, and which through geniuses like Bonaventure and Scotus assembled "the unfathomable riches of Christ," "the mystery which has been hidden from eternity in God" (Eph. 3: 8-9) into a harmonious synthesis.

III. Doctrine.

Except for some fragments, none of Anthony's class lectures has come down to us. It is generally agreed, however, that the *Sermones Dominicales; in laudem et honorera B.M. Virginis; Sermones in Solemnitatibus*, in Locatelli's edition, are authentic.

The *Sermones* are sketches rather than set sermons. Hence, they

may well serve as an index to St. Anthony's theological teaching. To say that his doctrine, approach, general outlook, and even his language and style are biblical throughout, is a true estimate. His exegesis follows in the wake of patristic interpretations, with a strong leaning towards the Alexandrian School. Yet he duly appreciates the significance of the literal sense, and follows it in all positive teaching.

Meanwhile, the allegorical, tropological and anagogical senses fascinate him with intriguing persistence. Like a skillful artist he adorns, enhances, and embellishes the temple of God, the sanctuary and the mysteries of Holy Faith with spiritual and symbolical adaptations garnered from the Sacred Text. At this, one is reminded of a boy who has discovered a merry stamping ground or of children plucking flowers at will in a vast and beautiful garden. To my knowledge Anthony is among the foremost promoters of the Liturgical Movement. At the hand of Mother Church he paces through the winding rotunda of the Ecclesiastical Year, and Sunday after Sunday he aptly works into a beautiful mosaic the Introit, the Epistle, the Gospel and the Lessons of the day.

Needless to say, his symbolism frequently goes beyond bounds. At times his deductions are farfetched, if not horrendously forced, while his etymologies, though genuinely delightful, defy all philological standards. But such was the temper of the day. His own excuse is, that because his hearers seek entertainment and stimulation, it is well that they find it around the pulpit rather than in the haunts of evil.

As might be expected, of the three spiritual senses Anthony favors the moral application. For him, the human soul is all that matters. With Paul of Tarsus he exclaims: "You are God's field, God's building" (1Cor. 3: 9). In fact he embraces the entire Pauline program: the individual soul as well as the union of all souls in Christ's Mystical Body. On St. Anthony's lips all our dogmas are devotions: each has a specific bearing on human life. With this in mind Anthony consistently seizes upon that aspect of the dogma which emphasizes the effect upon growth toward God.

In a few incisive sentences he succinctly sets forth St. Augustine's doctrine on the fundamental mystery of our faith — the Blessed Trinity. The Father is the first Principle of all; the Son is the Truth of the Father, Beauty supreme and the Exemplar of all things; the Holy Spirit, the *Bonum* of Father and Son, is Joy and Goodness infinite. And forthwith Anthony strikes a practical note: To the Father we must return; the Son we must follow, while the Holy Spirit imparts to us grace.

But this relationship is more intimate, Anthony avers: "Our soul is marked by the image of the Holy Trinity." Our memory reflects the Father, our intellect the Son, our will and love the Holy Spirit. Wherefore, as St. Augustine bids, the soul must dedicate its life to the adorable Trinity: "I will remember You, I will understand You, I will desire You." As Caesar's image was printed on the coin of tribute, even so is God's image imprinted on our souls. That image is attained by seeking divine truth; that likeness, by the love of a virtuous life.

The eloquence, fervor and inventive genius of Anthony seem to reach their zenith when he contemplates the *Verbum Incarnatum*. Christ, he says in the words of St. James, is the "perfect gift from above, coming down from the Father of lights" (James 1: 17). The Father of lights comes forth as the munificent Almoner who gives us the best he possesses. And as the bright beam proceeds from the sun, without separating from it, even so the Eternal Son proceeded from the Father and yet remained in "the bosom of the Father."

Anthony caught the full meaning of the *Reductio ad Deum*, which became a popular theme in scholastic discussions. The Incarnate Word, he explains, moves in a wide circle with three stations: "Came out from the Father, passed to those below, and returned to the seat of the Father." "The Son of God," he adds with a note of tenderness, "came forth from God so that you can depart the world; He came to you so that you can go to Him."

With serene sureness he traces the golden circle of the mission of the Word Incarnate. He proceeds to move calmly between the Old and New Testaments. Culling freely, now from the rich blossoms of the Sapiential Books, now from the ripe fruits of the Pauline Epistles, he weaves both into a crown of glory, grace and splendor for Christ the King and Center of all. By every token the Precursor of the Franciscan school, he bequeathed to us a theological heritage which the mystic meditations of St. Bonaventure, the searching speculations of John Duns Scotus, and later the stirring Sermons of St. Bernardino have developed and formulated into those priceless gems that now adorn the festive calendar of Mother Church — the Primacy of Christ, the Holy Name of Jesus and the Cult of the Savior's Sacred Heart.

The Word Incarnate he calls "omnium creaturarum Principium" and in this sense he explains the much disputed text Prov. 8: 22: "The Lord created me at the beginning of his work." "To the King of kings, Lord of all creation, Jesus Christ, who is eminent over humans and

angels" — to him royal honor is due. Usually, however, Anthony strikes a minor key as he envisages his King with the Crown of Thorns.

The mystery of the Holy Name was but a variation of Anthony's love for the Infant Savior warranted by unbroken Tradition: "And his name was called Jesus." In the vein of St. Bernard, Anthony exults over this "sweet name, delectable name, comfort of sinners, name of blessed hope." Thomas of Celano relates, that "over the honey and honeycomb of Jesus, the sweet voice spoke out to all people."

In his colorful direct way St. Anthony anticipated the profound discussions on the Mystical Body of Christ. Like the tribes of Israel, he urges, the faithful should say to their King: "Behold, we are thy bone and thy flesh" (2 Kings 5: 1). "You are our flesh and brother, and therefore you will be compassionate and sympathize with the misery of your brothers." As the bees swarm about their queen and die with her, even so must Christians swarm about Christ the Head, witness his death and die with him. The Holy Eucharist is the center in this Mystic Union. Here "we have an advocate with the Father" (1John 2: 1).

The Passion of Christ occupied a foremost place in early Franciscan Theology and piety. Springing from the hills of Umbria at the feet of Blessed Francis the streamlets of this devotion were gathered by Anthony and later burst forth into a mighty stream — namely Bonaventure's two classics, the *Lignum Vitae* and *Vitis Mystica*. To Anthony the Five Wounds are the "five cities in the land of Egypt, speaking the language of Chanaan," as Isaias had foretold (19: 18). The sacred Wound in the Savior's side is the City of the Sun (Is. 19: 18); it is "the cleft in the rock" whither the soul flees like the bird from the claws of the eagle. It is the gate of heaven and of love divine. Here we strike the root of the "cult of the Sacred Heart." For if the blood from the side of a dove, as St. Anthony had read in natural history, has the power to heal blindness, should not the Blood from our Savior's side heal the blindness of the human race?

I often wonder if, with all our modern biblical apparatus and physical equipment, we are really better off than was Anthony at Bologna with only one book before him — the *venerabilis Vulgata*? The comparison is not fair. St. Anthony had more — a memory which was a veritable storehouse of "the new and the old"; a mind that dared to reach forth into the things "hidden from eternity in God"; a heart that in a grand synthesis grasped "the breadth and length and height and depth" of the love of Him Who said: "You have one teacher, Christ."

Bonaventure put it all in a nutshell: "As is the Incarnate Word, so the inspired word."

To the Holy Spirit our Doctor accords the role of creative, energizing and vitalizing power in the work of salvation and sanctification. With clear vision and firm grasp he points out the salient features of the entire tract "De Gratia," while stepping lightly over the crevices that before and after him entangled theological schools in endless controversies. The Spirit, he says on Pentecost, appears in tongues of fire, "burns, cleanses, warms and illuminates." St. Bonaventure graphically develops this thought in the fifth book of his immortal "Breviloquium." The Holy Spirit, St. Anthony claims, alone fills the soul which the whole world is unable to fill. And mark this amazingly apt illustration of the operation of the Spirit in the contrite heart. "In the contrite heart, the grace of the Holy Spirit is joined to the soul, remorseful for its sins, like a bridegroom to a bride; from such a union is born an heir to eternal life."

Filial affection blended with chivalrous gallantry inspires his pen when he writes of the glorious Virgin Mary. The most fragrant flowers, the choicest images and figures, the strongest superlatives are laid reverently at her altar. He picks his texts for her five main festivities from the exquisitely beautiful passage in Ecclesiasticus: the twelve precious stones in the diadem of the high priest are the twelve stars in the crown of the glorious Virgin. At her Nativity she is hailed as "the morning star in the midst of a cloud, and as the moon at the full" (Eccl. 50: 6). At the Annunciation the Archangel greets her as the sun that shines "in the temple of God" (50: 7). At the Nativity of our Lord Mary appears "as the flower of roses in the days of the spring, as the lilies that are on the brink of the waters" (50: 8). At her Purification she enters the temple "as the sweet smelling frankincense in the time of summer" (50: 8). And lastly, at her Assumption she enters into her glory "as a massy vessel of gold, adorned with every precious stone" (50: 10).

If I may presume to synthesize the theology of Anthony after his own form and fashion, I would say that he placed Scriptures in view of all; he explained page after page, story after story as a mother would explain a picture book to her children. His aim was to engender and foster "spirit and life" in God's children. To this end he set up in the temples of human hearts the amiable figure of the Savior in all the charm of his lovable "benignitas et humanitas" (Tit. 3: 4). And next to

Him he placed the figure of Mary, the Mother of God and our Mother, in a raiment of grace and beauty celestial.

In the realm of mystical theology Anthony easily attains the authority of a master. His doctrine is sound, solid, and cannot but fascinate the soul aspiring to perfection. His intuitions are astounding; his diction precise. As it behooves a son of St. Francis, he favors the affective method in meditation and insists on the primacy of the will in the higher forms of prayer. There is evidence that Anthony's teachings influenced the mystical writings of Bonaventure. It is remarkable too that, centuries before St. John of the Cross wrote his "Dark Night of the Soul," St. Anthony — as the first among all known writers — dealt with this theme in a clear-cut, authoritative manner. There could be no other source available than his own spiritual experiences. True to his pattern, he accentuates human liberty in such divine manifestations, on the one hand, while, on the other, he stresses their real purpose as a means to a greater and more ardent love of God. As we conclude this study, the words of Abbot Thomas Galla come to mind: "He was a burning and shining lamp" (John 5: 35).

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St. Anthony the Preacher

Ignatius Smith, OP*

The thirteenth century was a century of arresting paradoxes. Stupendous learning stood side by side with pitiable illiteracy. Heroic sanctity flourished by the side of moral degradation. A high state of democracy prevailed in the midst of feudalistic serfdom and tyrannical monarchy. Marvelous pulpit eloquence could be found in the midst of deplorable preaching mediocrity. As a matter of fact in no area of life was contrast so evident as in that devoted to the presentation of the word of God. Papal documents and popular protest indicate that the art of preaching had fallen, generally, into disrepute.

At the same time appeared some of the most outstanding preachers in Christian history. And rivalling the most brilliant of thirteenth century pulpit orators is St. Anthony of Padua. This statement will surprise many who are familiar with many other heroic and miraculous accomplishments of St. Anthony but who have been unaware of his qualifications as a preacher. As a matter of historical record the miracle worker of Padua was so illustrious in his preaching that his contemporaries thought this ministry surpassed all his other activities.

St. Anthony was well equipped by nature, by training, by industry and by God's special grace for the all important work of preaching. He had a loud, clear voice that served him well when speaking outdoors to audiences of thirty thousand persons. He had a winning countenance and an ingratiating manner that drew even unsympathetic people into his audiences. He was gifted with a phenomenal memory, a remarkable power of synthesis and a very vivid creative imagination. All of these help to explain the popularity of St. Anthony, his ready familiarity with the Scriptures and the Fathers and his sound originality in sermon construction.

The academic background of St. Anthony reveals a providential preparation for extraordinary pulpit work. Born in Lisbon, Portugal, in 1195, his education for the ministry was directed by the Canons Regular of St. Augustine for about eight years, first at Lisbon and then at Coimbra. Under the direction of teachers who most probably were trained at Paris, Anthony acquired unusual mastery of the Scriptures, the Fathers and many other of the contemporary arts and physical sciences. He was regarded by his professors as possessing great intelligence, remarkable wisdom, expertness in science and an extraordinary thirst for learning.

St. Anthony received the Franciscan habit in 1220 at the age of twenty-five. His subsequent missionary search for martyrdom in Morocco merely deepened his apostolic zeal, and his humble attempt to conceal his unusual learning was not long successful. His residence at Forli with the lay brothers gave him plentiful opportunity to freshen his wisdom, and his appointment as first teacher of the Friars Minor by St. Francis gave him occasion to widen the horizon of his ecclesiastical learning. Intellectually he was magnificently prepared for a career of superb preaching.

St. Anthony was ceaseless in his cultivation of those external and internal qualities without which preaching is unproductive. I refer to his successful efforts to acquire oratorical perfection, his long hours of careful preparation of sermon outlines, his zeal for the sovereignty of Catholic truth and morality and his courage in condemning popular error and vices. All of these qualities were acquired through and fortified by long hours of solitude, prayer and study.

To the natural ability, the academic training and the sterling industry of Anthony, God added special help for and approval of his preaching. At Bourges, where, from a cliff Anthony was preaching to 30,000 persons gathered below him, the audience was kept dry while a deluge of rain fell all around. At Rimini a hostile group of heretics, to whom the eloquent Anthony was preaching, deliberately and insult-

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ingly left him. He turned toward the sea, continuing to preach. There gathered, bobbing on the waves, a multitude of fishes as an audience, and so miraculous was the phenomenon that the heretics returned to listen. At Rome, on Easter Sunday, Anthony preached to a polyglot audience and the miracle of the first Pentecost was repeated when Greeks, Latins, Slavs, French, English and Germans all heard him in their own tongues. At Verona, preaching at the funeral of a renegade usurious Catholic and introducing the thought that where a person's treasure is there is his heart, he directed the friends and relatives to search the money chest of the deceased. They did so and found the miser's heart.

The audiences whom Anthony addressed would test the power of any preacher. In numbers they made the largest churches too small. Then the largest public squares became too crowded, and Anthony preached in meadows and on hillsides. On the Iberian Peninsula, in Italy and in France, the announcement that he was to preach evoked the same response. Shops were closed, courts of law suspended their sessions, soldiers were relieved of service, the nobility left their games and sports, secular clergy, members of religious orders, the cathedral chapter, Bishops and Archbishops all flocked to hear Anthony. Often the laity gathered the evening before and waited all during the night to hear him in the morning.

Heretics formed no small part of the audiences that Anthony addressed. They heckled him and he disputed publicly with them. He attacked their errors indirectly as well as explicitly and directly. They continued to come and to be converted. Sinners heard their immorality excoriated with biting invective but they continued to seek out Anthony and to be won to God. A gorgeous golden swath he cut in the fields of the Albigenses, the Cathari and the Paterini. Though most of his preaching was done at Padua, he also addressed great audiences throughout Italy and France. Everywhere, mixed audiences gathered in great crowds. Saints and sinners, both sides of warring factions, clergy and laity, believers and heretics, nobles and peasants, rich and poor, subjects and rulers came to hear the truth from this gentle but implacable, eloquent man of God.

The sermons of Anthony must have averaged each about two hours in length. We are fortunate that many of his authentic sermons have been preserved for us. Certainly genuine are the *Sermones Dominicales, Sermones in Solemnitatibus seu Sanctorales* and *Sermones in honorem et laudem Beatissimae Mariae Virginis*. Most of the sermons as they have come down to us are really complete outlines upon which the preacher elaborated at length. It seems that the *Dominicales* were delivered at Padua and that most of the authentic sermons were compiled at the insistence of the Lord Bishop of Ostia.

The general qualities of these *Sermones* reflect the character of St. Anthony and the nature of the audiences of that day. (1) They are dominated by a breadth of treatment that would make them interesting to every class of his varied audiences. (2) They reflect a devotion to true originality and sound novelty. (3) They are consonant with traditional preaching in that there is no segregation of dogmatic, moral, pastoral, mystical, apologetic or polemic theology. (4) They end on a sustained note of hope.

The breadth of treatment in each sermon is explained by St. Anthony's use of Sacred Scripture of which he is a master. He quotes with a facility that reveals a unique power of correlation and he explains with a keenness that betrays a dazzling knowledge.

Akin to this comprehension is St. Anthony's evaluation of true originality and sound novelty. Only a man of profound learning would dare to be as original as he deliberately proposed to be. In the Prologue of his Sunday Sermons (*Dominicales)* he states that the audiences of his day will neither read nor listen to a writer or speaker unless he uses polished language and has a novel approach. Therefore he plans to insert a prologue to each Gospel containing etymology and a digest of contemporary physics and biology with their respective meaning for moral life and Catholic belief. He proposes to use the arts and sciences as a means of capturing the attention of his hearers and leading them to God. He will make every sermon on each Sunday gospel like a four wheeled chariot; he will place in holy coalition the Sunday gospel, the Sunday epistle, the Introit of the Sunday Mass and the scriptural lessons of the Sunday Office. This was an ingenious innovation and the Saint carries out this concordance with remarkable success.

With such complex audiences of such different beliefs and of such different social, spiritual, mental and moral levels, his variety of presentation and his power of integration made his sermons of interest to all. In the successful accomplishment of this task his familiarity with the literal, the allegorical, the tropological, the anagogic and the accommodated senses of Scripture gives him solid unity and charming variety. His sermons become not only a biblical concordance and a

manual of exegesis but a handbook of mystical theology as well.

In his attack both on sin and the heretical justification of sin, St. Anthony usually proceeds by stating and showing the beauties of Catholic moral living and then flaying mercilessly the violation of the moral code given by Jesus to His Church. While hating sin he shows tender love for sinners. From all he demands repentance and to all he emphasizes the mercy of God and the reasonableness of hope.

Anthony was on God's side in terrific competition with Albigenses, Cathari and Paterini for human souls, unity of the Church, the suppression of war and the betterment of society. The heretics, in a day when Catholic preaching was not generally excellent, adopted preaching as their weapon and used it well. St. Anthony took back the traditional sword of the Church and turned it with supernatural power against its enemies. He was determined that no truth revealed by God should be neglected or denied; humankind needed all of them. He was determined that divine commands with all their obligations should be known and observed by all; humankind needed all of them. He was determined that the beauty of virtue and the deformity of vice should be realized by all. He was determined that heresy with its immorality and social disorganization should not triumph over the Kingdom of God..

Aside from Scripture, the arts and the natural sciences already mentioned, St. Anthony uses the teaching of the Fathers extensively. These seem to appeal to him in the following order of importance,—Augustine, Bernard, Gregory, Jerome, Isadore, Ambrose, Origen, Bede, John Damascene, Rabannus Maurus and Cassiodorus. He is an expert in philosophy of the Augustinist tradition and uses it abundantly, especially in preaching on human origins, human nature and the human soul.

The truths most frequently preached by St. Anthony reveal the virulence of the heresies he attacked. He emphasizes the Unity of God against that Manichean dualism revived by the Cathari and the Paterini. Against the Waldenses, Cathari, Paterini and Albigenses he spoke most frequently about the Divinity of Christ, Redemption by Jesus, the real Presence of Jesus in the Blessed Sacrament, the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, free will, the rights and duty of authority, civil and religious, the sovereignty of justice and the social purpose of wealth. His sermons reveal also his favorite devotions in which he sought to interest the people. They were devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus,

devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus and devotion to the Sacred Blood of Christ. The popular vices against which he most frequently preached were hatred, enmity, luxury, greed and tyranny.

One is not surprised to find scattered throughout Anthony's sermons many practical and inspiring instructions to preachers, all of them of value today. He warns that preaching must be right in the sense that both the words and the example of the preacher should be a sun of light and life to those to whom he preaches. The life of the preacher should not belie his words because the authority of his message is nullified when his voice is not aided by his deeds. Preaching must be solid and not given over to mere words that are sarcastic, abusive or "ornate." Words must move to sorrow for sin, to contrition of heart and to purposes of amendment. The preacher must be courageous in attacking every impediment and obstacle to virtuous living. The preacher must be patient. He should find and manifest joy in his work. He should be honest in preaching the entire word and will of God, keep in mind the needs of the audience and neglect no truth or law that should be preached. The preacher should be poor, as Christ was poor. He must live in the presence of God and realize that his greatest reward is the eternal happiness he secures for himself and for his hearers. He must be helpful and inspire hope and in all things, while sincere, be sweet and affable. Above all he must be a workman of God, of virtuous life, of constant and industrious preparation and trained in sacred eloquence.

There is neither time nor need to stress the God-given results of St. Anthony's preaching. The titles with which he has been addressed are a recognition of his success. He is the "Hammer of Heretics." He is the "Ark of the Covenant." By the designation of Pope Pius XII he is a Doctor of the Church with the special title *Doctor Evangelicus* because of his brilliant preaching services to the Gospel of Jesus Christ. He influenced a long line of successful Franciscan preachers. He impressed St. Francis. He fascinated Pope Gregory. He made heresy ridiculous to hundreds of thousands of converts. Everywhere he preached, confessionals were crowded, wars were declared off, peace and concord were restored, usury was eradicated, justice was respected, restitution was made, brotherly love and respect were deepened, God was acknowledged as Sovereign Lord.

St. Anthony was canonized by Gregory IX in 1232, the year after his death. Thirty-two years later his remains were transferred from

Vercelli to Padua. All his flesh had turned to dust except his tongue, which was still fresh and red. St. Bonaventure, then Minister General, present at this ceremony and a witness to the miracle cried out: "0 Blessed Tongue, which always didst bless the Lord and caused others also to bless Him, now it is evident how highly thou wert esteemed by God."

As Pius XI said of St. Anthony, he sought not popular favor or consideration of rich and prominent persons or the empty applause of humans. He sought and received the high esteem of God and of God's Church. He has earned also the gratitude of all who prize highly the mission of the pulpit today for Christ, our Divine Model.

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St. Anthony and the People

Gerald G. Walsh, SJ*

Two facts strike a historian in connection with St. Anthony of Padua. The first is that he won an immediate and permanent place in the hearts of the *people* of Christendom. The second is that he won a no less immediate and permanent place in the special esteem of the *Roman Pontiffs*.

Anthony was hardly dead before both the people and Pope insisted on declaring him a saint. He died on June 13, 1231. On May 30, 1232, he was canonized. And now in our own day, he has been declared a Doctor of the Church.

Is there, perhaps, some direct connection between the popular appeal and Papal approval? Is it possible that it is precisely because St. Anthony was so beloved by the people that he has been declared a Doctor of the Church?

If the answer to that question is Yes, it suggests a further and very important conclusion. It means that the Popes both of the thirteenth century and of our own day have been trying to tell the Church and the world that in times of crisis the Christian apostolate must take a rather special form.

It is the character of St. Anthony's apostolate that makes him significant today. St. Anthony lived his meteoric career from 1195 to 1231

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in an age that was very like our own, an age of tremendous unrest — social, economic, political, moral, intellectual, spiritual. Everywhere on the surface of a hitherto settled world great chasms of material desires, intellectual curiosity and spiritual aspiration suddenly opened; and those chasms clamored to be filled. Then, as now, the choice lay between material pleasures, mental aberrations and morbid illusions on the one hand and, on the other, social and economic satisfactions, the unfolding of new truths and the stirring of spiritual ideals. Medieval leaders of the established order were puzzled. While they hesitated, revolutionists rushed in — revolutionists who wanted to fill the chasms with the ruins of the existing world, revolutionists who wanted to pull down and bury the achievements of the past for the sake of an imaginary world of tomorrow, revolutionists who wanted the immediate annihilation of the whole of that feudal system which — for all its shortcomings — had held the world together after the cataclysm of the Fall of Rome.

It is the law of human history — tragic in appearance but salutary in substance — that human needs are always ahead of the means of satisfaction, human doubts always ahead of the discovery of new truths, human ideals always ahead of the power to realize them. In the age of St. Anthony human demand for more goods, more freedom from feudalism, more political rights, more educational opportunities, more scientific discoveries, more sacramental life, more religious experience and spiritual idealism were far ahead of the means of supply. Social, economic and political life had settled down into rigid forms. Leadership in society had fallen more and more to soldiers and lawyers whose business was to defend the *status quo* with arms or to justify it with frozen formulae.

When men of brilliant intellect, restless energy or radical idealism arose, men like Abelard of Paris or Arnold of Brescia or Joachim of Flora, they were opposed as heretics. And indeed they were, in part, heretical. Nevertheless, in the brain of Abelard were the seeds of a Scholastic movement that would reach its autumn richness in Thomas Aquinas and John Duns Scotus; in the heart of Arnold of Brescia were the democratic aspirations that would take ultimate form in the Four Freedoms; in the apocalyptic visions of Joachim of Flora was the dream of a world in which love would take its rightful place along with power and wisdom, in which saints would have a say in the councils of soldiers and statesmen, in which religion would play a part with secular

civilization and culture, in which human souls would be no more forgotten than their minds and bodies.

To understand the immense appeal which St. Anthony made on the simple people of Christendom in the early years of the thirteenth century we must remember the ferment in the hearts and hopes of those simple folk. The early legends of St. Anthony's life have dramatized that appeal by spelling it out in terms of miracles, many of which —at this date — are difficult for a critical historian to verify. But one marvel of St. Anthony's life is more certainly verifiable — the marvel of a voice that spoke in that age with the passion of a revolutionist, the precision of a dogmatic theologian and the sober responsibility of a practical reformer. Of course, the deepest secret of Anthony's appeal was that his passion was the passion of love, not the passion of hate. He was not moved with hatred for institutions he wanted to destroy; he was led by love for the people whose lot he wanted to improve.

The historical fact of most significance in the first third of the thirteenth century is that the lot of the people needed to be improved. If one is to find a single word for the people's need it would be Christian democracy; that is, such a vindication of human dignity as would forget neither humans' moral duty nor their immortal destiny. Unfortunately, the vindication of human dignity — then as now — was too often in the hands of those who cared nothing for either moral duty or immortal destiny. Still the clamor for freedom was in the air; and to understand St. Anthony's apostolate we must realize the nature of the people's need.

The demand for Christian democracy had begun at the end of the Dark Ages as little more than a muffled sob and sigh. At the beginning of the eleventh century Europe was alarmingly feudalized. The sons of soldiers who had played a part in establishing order after the Fall of Rome settled down to enjoy the fruits of their fathers' efforts. They wanted the people to be their serfs, and they wanted the Church to collaborate in keeping the people down. They had so far succeeded that there were high prelates in the Church who had accepted a purely feudal conception of life. They lived in princely palaces, went out to hunt with vast retinues of retainers, sold spiritual favors for material gain and, in many cases, paid no attention to the canon of ecclesiastical celibacy.

Against this double menace to social and spiritual emancipation the people rose in revolt. The first organized rebellion was in Milan in

northern Italy. The people found a pious, learned, energetic priest to lead them. His name was Arialdo of Como. He was helped by a young subdeacon, Landolfo, an aristocrat by birth and a highly gifted speaker, but a radical incensed by the simony and other sins of baronial ecclesiastics. A band of people marched into the Cathedral and drove from their stalls the rich and married canons who were singing office. Arialdo and Landolfo were promptly excommunicated by local authority; but they appealed to the Pope in the name of the people. As a result, Pope Nicholas II sent a saint, Peter Damian, and an administrative genius, Anselm of Lucca, as papal legates to examine the situation. It was found to be shocking. The popular revolt led to ecclesiastical reform. The feudal archbishop repented and went on pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella. Later, the reformer Arialdo paid for his zeal by his life; but at least a breach had been made in the feudal oppression of the people and the feudal control of the Church.

The century between 1095, the year of the first Crusade, and 1195, the birth of St. Anthony, was a period of crisis. On the one hand, the need of baronial armies threatened to give a new life to feudalism; on the other hand, the absence of the barons in the Holy Land led to a new and non-feudal life in the walled cities of Europe. The reminder that battles were being fought for the sepulcher of our Divine Redeemer stirred a new religious fervor among the people. The hero of this new age was St. Bernard of Clairvaux. In many ways he may be called a pre-Franciscan. Not only is a great deal of Anthony's theology inspired by Bernard, but his preaching and apostolate are largely modeled on that of Bernard, who was never tired of insisting on the Christlike virtues of poverty and purity. Bernard also kept insisting that the rulers, both in the State and in the Church, have not merely the right to rule but, likewise, the responsibility to serve.

In the meantime, however, the cause of Christian democracy was menaced by heretical revolutionism. The abuse of wealth and power made it easy for the people to be seduced by the ideas that wealth and power are evils in themselves. Lay preachers who called themselves the "pure ones," the Cathari, began to spread Manichaean doctrines among the restless people of upper Italy and southern France. To exalt spiritual ideals they kept insisting that all material reality is evil. To foster interior life, they revolted against all that was exterior. In the name of liberty, they denied the role of law. In the name of equality, they preached social nihilism. In the name of fraternity, they demanded

the abolition of all order and authority.

Twenty years before Anthony was born, a merchant of Lyons named Peter Waldo made an immense appeal to the people. Peter literally sold what he had and gave to the poor. Then he began to preach that no one can serve both God and Mammon. In vain local decrees were issued declaring that no layman should dare to preach against the abuses in the Church. Peter wanted to be both a Catholic and a radical reformer. He appealed to the Pope. Alexander III made an excellent compromise. Peter might preach and still better practice the ideal of poverty, but as a layman he must not meddle in dogmatic matters beyond his competence.

The distinction was not always easy to make. The Waldenses, Peter's followers, often enough overstepped the frontier between social reform and religious heresy. Ten years before Anthony was born, the Waldenses as a body were excommunicated. They broke from the authority of the Church, and the Poor Men of Lyons went their irresponsible way.

This then was the problem of the Popes in the age of St. Anthony. Leadership must be found for the people who were clamoring for a richer social and religious life. They could find none to satisfy them but this or that heretical revolutionist. Fortunately, in the north of Lombardy, Pope Innocent III found a body of canons ready to renounce their riches and even to work for a living while preaching the Gospel. They called themselves the Lowly Ones, the *Umiliati.* Associated with them, like a second Order, was a body of laymen and laywomen, all of them ordinary workers, who were willing to live in religious community for the sake of the Christian apostolate. Still another branch of the *Umiliati* — somewhat like the later Franciscan Tertiaries — was made up of workers, men and women, who were married and lived in their own homes, but who followed a high ideal of Christian living. The three Orders were officially confirmed by Pope Innocent III in 1201 when Anthony was a boy of six.

It was not long after this that Francesco Bernardone of Assisi fell in love with Lady Poverty. He heard the strange, strong voice: "Francis, do you not see My House in ruins; go and rebuild it." Still more clearly he heard addressed to himself the Gospel counsel: "Go sell what thou hast and give to the poor and come follow me."

This was the kind of man that Pope Innocent needed to win the souls of simple people from the seductions of heretical revolution. Here

was a man poorer than the Poor Men of Lyons, purer than any of the *Cathari*, more in love with the people than any of the popular leaders; and, above all he was in love with Jesus Christ and His Church on earth.

In two marvelous cantos of the *Paradiso* Dante sings of St. Francis and St. Dominic — the one of them a flame of Seraphic love, the other a splendor of Cherubic truth. In a very real sense St. Anthony of Padua was a combination of St. Francis and St. Dominic. The period of his life which is most open to the scrutiny of critical history is the period from 1227 to his death in 1231. They were four critical years in the struggle between Christian democracy and secular feudalism. It was in these years that the Franciscan Tertiaries got their real start and made their indelible mark on the history of Western civilization.

In virtue of the Constitutions of the Order of Penance, men and women living in the world could volunteer to follow Franciscan ideals of justice, charity and peace in social life and penance, purity and poverty in private life. They set themselves against nearly all the corrupting currents of the age. They rejected the tyranny of extravagant fashions by modesty in dress and moderation in banqueting and balls. They rejected the tyranny of feudal barons and municipal factions by refusing to bear arms and to take oaths — arms and oaths were the very life blood of feudalism and city factions. The Tertiaries made a further attack on greed and discord by making their wills in good time. Thus dissensions among the heirs and unscrupulous confiscations by feudal lords were equally attacked.

Such Christian radicalism startled the barons and the commercial magnates in the cities. A typical crisis occurred in Faenza in 1227. The local faction leaders wanted the Tertiaries to join their brawls. The Tertiaries replied: "We are religious and we will no longer bind ourselves to your fortune by our oaths." Appeal was made to the Pope, and Honorius III gave this epoch-making reply: "The lords and magnates must be enemies of all virtues if they constrain to military service men who have renounced all glory in this world and aspire to nothing but a Christian life and the practice of penance."

This collaboration between the Pope and the people was continued by Gregory IX — the Pope who, as Cardinal Ugolino, had helped Francis draw up the Constitution of the Order of Penance. One of his first pontifical acts was to write to the Bishops of Italy denouncing the tyranny of feudal lords who, as the Pope said, like the Pharaohs of

ancient Egypt were oppressing the people of Israel. He renewed the right of the Tertiaries to be free from military obligations. In a letter to the Tertiaries he encouraged them in their pursuit of freedom. He insisted on their right to collect a common fund for the redemption from feudal obligations.

It was while this crisis was at its height that St. Anthony came to Padua in 1229. The chronicler of the time, Rolandino, makes this coming a matter of Paduan history. St. Anthony made an immediate appeal to the "little people," the "underprivileged," as we might say today. In St. Anthony Christianity suddenly took concrete, social shape as a radicalism born of love and fed on peace and charity.

This Christian radicalism had no quarrel with law and order, but only with tyranny and faction; it was not against social differences, but only against social injustice; it did not envy the rich, but rather pitied them. What is most important is that the Tertiaries lived under a law of their own making and that their lives were better than any secular law could ask for from its citizens.

One point of St. Anthony's apostolate which is singled out by the chronicler for special mention may seem relatively unimportant. The Saint pleaded that no one in Padua should be imprisoned for debt so long as he was willing to surrender what property he had to pay his creditors. This suggestion became Paduan law. It speaks loudly for the Christian humanitarianism of St. Anthony; but it also reveals a deep wound in thirteenth-century social life. The new prosperity in the cities was followed by a wave of luxurious extravagance and reckless spending. This in turn brought about an invasion of money lenders, who exploited the passions of the poor by offering loans and then charging 20 to 30% interest.

It is a little difficult to catch the echo of Anthony's passion from the sedate and highly artificial latin sermons that have come down to us. And yet even here the love of the Christian radical breaks through the surface of medieval schematism. On the first page of Locatelli's ponderous volume you may read the key words: "Love is wider than the ocean." Again and again the sins of greed and usury are attacked with a vigor that reminds one of the canto of Dante's *Inferno* where the lordly usurers with their family insignia are crouched up on the burning sand and trying to defend themselves vainly from the inexorable flakes of flame that fall like snow when no wind stirs. In the sermon for the third Sunday of Lent the voice of the Christian radical rises:

"Men who are burdened with wealth and position become a haunt of demons rather than a temple of God." On the third Sunday after Easter it is the overwealthy monasteries that feel the lash: "Greed like smoke has blackened the fair face of religious life." In the great Easter sermon the Saint enumerates the virtues of the genuine shepherd of souls. He insists not only on purity of life, eloquence of tongue, instancy in prayer, obedience to superiors, but also on compassion for the *poor*, solicitude for the *people* committed to their care.

One of the best known stories of St. Anthony is the sudden remark he made while preaching before Simon Sully, the Archbishop of Bourges. In the midst of an attack on sin, the saint turned towards the archbishop and said: "And that goes for you, you with the mitre there." And yet Archbishop Sully was something of a model among prelates. He was a good friend of Anthony and always remained his friend. The story is a proof both of the love with which St. Anthony spoke and also of the genuine freedom of speech which belongs to Christian radicalism born of love.

St. Anthony, then, was the apostle of freedom — freedom in its fullest sense; freedom from private passion, from greed, gluttony and lust by the practice of poverty, penance and purity; freedom from political passions by refusal to take part in bloodshed and party brawls; freedom from feudal oppression by claiming democratic rights in the name of justice, charity and peace. Such radicalism goes to the roots of all our human troubles, because the root freedom is freedom *from* ourselves for the sake of order, law and God. It is altogether different from freedom *for* ourselves so that we may be free from order, law and God.

A historian would be untrue to his task of analysis if he failed to add a warning to this lesson from St. Anthony's life. It is sometimes felt that if we in our day could recapture the spirit of Christian radicalism we could rid the world of the menace of hate.

I am not sure that the history of St. Anthony justifies this optimism. When one makes a cold calculation of the concrete effects of Anthony's marvelous apostolate in the name of Christian radicalism, one reaches the conclusion that not even saints can do more than scratch the surface of social problems. You will look in vain in all that Anthony ever wrote for the idea that a better world was just around the corner. Christian radicals know that there is no such thing in recorded human history as a completely successful social revolution. One has only to read the great sermon of that other Christian radical, Dante Alighieri,

to realize that not only Hell but even Purgatory and Heaven are paved with unrealized good intentions. Dante's *Inferno* written almost a century after St. Anthony's apostolate is a tragic confession of how little can be done in a short time. The world in the fourteenth century still seemed to Dante to be a dark wood, lightless and trackless, filled with the beasts of human passions. Pride, envy and avarice were still the flames that set all hearts on fire. In Dante's river of blood there are innumerable tyrants and in his flaming tombs prelates guilty of the feudal sin of simony.

Thus the final lesson of St. Anthony's life is that the war of radical Love and revolutionary Hate is as old as Hell and will go on from generation to generation. An angel with a flaming sword still stands before the gate of *Utopia*. As St. Anthony was fond of saying: "We have not here a lasting mansion."

BOOK REVIEW

Anthony of Padua: "Sermones" for the Easter Cycle. Translation with Introduction. Edited by George Marcil, OFM. The Franciscan Institute, St. Bonaventure, NY, 1994, xii-230 pp.

Anthony of Padua, the evangelical doctor, played an important role in the development of the Franciscan School in his time by his ministry as a preacher, professor and formator. Edward Coughlin, OFM, director of the Franciscan Institute, indicates in the preface that this work contains the first English translation of the *Sunday Sermons* of St. Anthony for the Easter season. This translation is preceded by an important introduction by Charles McCarron, OFM Cap., who gives the chronology of St. Anthony's life, situating his preaching within that of the Church and of the Order in the Middle Ages. He explains the origin, the function and the structure of the *Sermones* written to inspire preachers according to the pastoral vision elaborated by the fourth Lateran Council. The *Sermones* contain material which helped friars prepare sermons in keeping with a pastoral plan. They present a vision of the ministry of preaching and of evangelization such as existed in the first years of the Franciscan movement. The work of translation begun by Hugh Eller, OFM, has been completed by George Marcil, OFM, editor of the volume. A specialist in medieval Latin, Canisius Connors, OFM, served as advisor and reviewed the whole project. This book offers to the English-speaking world an excellent introduction to the life and work of Anthony of Padua.

Georges-A. Robert, OFM, Montreal.

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FS 509 **From Bonaventure to Scotus:** An Introduction to the Traditions of Franciscan Theology and Philosophy
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Special Course Offerings

FS: 503 **Francis: His Life and Charism** June 26 — July 7, 1995
William Short, OFM, Ph.D.

FS 505 **The Franciscan Movement** July 10 — July 28, 1995
Dominic Monti, OFM, Ph.D.

ON THE FRANCISCAN CIRCUIT
COMING EVENTS, 1995

Saturday, April 1
Margaret Carney, OSF, "Reclaiming Our Evangelical Life,"
Pilgrim Hall, Graymoor, Garrison, NY.

Sponsored by Franciscan Federation, Region I.

Contact: Sr. Mary Francis Murphy, OSF, 49 Jackson Ave., Hastings-on-Hudson, NY 10706, ph. (914)478-3930.

Friday, June 23-Sunday, June 25
"Partners in Ministry."

Gathering of Refounding Committees of Holy Name Province at Siena College, Albany, NY.

Sunday, July 2 - Saturday, July 15
Fourth ENRICHMENT PROGRAM

Sponsored by the Franciscan Federation at The Franciscan Institute, St. Bonaventure, NY.

Open to all Franciscans at every stage of life and formation, this program focuses especially on sisters and brothers preparing for Perpetual Commitment.

Contact: Federation office (202)529-2334, FAX (202)529-7016.

Sunday, July 16 - Thursday, July 19
Formators' Conference, "Connecting at the CROSSroads."

Contact: Br. Edward Coughlin, OFM, Director, The Franciscan Institute, St. Bonaventure, NY 14778, ph. (716)375-2105; FAX (716)375-2156.

Monday, August 21-Wednesday, August 23
Annual Federation Conference and Joint Conference of First and Third Orders
Anaheim, CA (see ad for detail).

Saturday, October 21- Sunday, October 22
A Celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the United Nations, "People United for a Better World."

Presenters include Robert Muller, former Assistant Secretary General of the U.N. At Neumann College Life Center, Aston, PA. Contact: Sr. Joan Koliss, OSF, 609 S. Convent Road, Aston, PA 19014; (610)558-7704; (610)494-7322.

Writings of Saint Francis

Adm	Admonitions
BenLeo	Blessing for Brother Leo
CantSol	Canticle of Brother Sun
EpAnt	Letter to St. Anthony
EpCler	Letter to the Clergy
EpCust	Letter to the Custodians
1EpFid	First Letter to the Faithful
2EpFid	Second Letter to the Faithful
EpLeo	Letter to Brother Leo
EpMin	Letter to a Minister
EpOrd	Letter to the Entire Order
EpRect	Letter to the Rulers of the Peoples
ExhLD	Exhortation to the Praise of God
ExhPD	Exhortation to Poor Ladies
ExpPat	Prayer Inspired by the Our Father
FormViv	Form of Life for St. Clare
1Fragm	Fragment of other Rule I
2Fragm	Fragment of other Rule II
LaudDei	Praises of God
LaudHor	Praises to be said at all the Hours.
OffPass	Office of the Passion
OrCruc	Prayer before the Crucifix
RegB	Later Rule
RegNB	Earlier Rule
RegEr	Rule for Hermitages
SalBMV	Salutation of the Blessed Virgin Mary
SalVirt	Salutation of the Virtues
Test	Testament
TestS	Testament written in Siena
UltVol	Last Will written for St. Clare
VPLaet	Dictate on True and Perfect Joy

Writings of Saint Clare

1LAg	First Letter to Agnes of Prague
2LAg	Second Letter to Agnes of Prague
3LAg	Third Letter to Agnes of Prague
4LAg	Fourth Letter to Agnes of Prague
LEr	Letter to Ermentrude of Bruges
RCl	Rule of Clare
TestCl	Testament of Clare
BCl	Blessing of Clare

Early Franciscan Sources

1Cel	First Life of St. Francis by Thomas of Celano
2Cel	Second Life of St. Francis by Thomas of Celano
3Cel	Treatise on the Miracles by Thomas of Celano
AP	Anonymous of Perugia
CL	Legend of Clare
CSD	Consideration of the Stigmata
Fior	Fioretti
JdV	Witness of Jacque de Vitry
LM	Major Life of St. Francis by Bonaventure
LMin	Minor Life of St. Francis by Bonaventure
LP	Legend of Perugia
L3S	Legend of the Three Companions
Proc	Acts of the Process of Canonization of St. Clare
SC	Sacrum Commercium
SP	Mirror of Perfection