

Francis of Assisi and the Social Problems of His Time

STANISLAUS DA CAMPAGNOLA

"Francesco d'Assisi e i problemi sociali del suo tempo"

Laurentianum 26 (1985):231-45

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

1. A Fundamental Question: The Accelerated Progress of Human Society in a Particular Age

In speaking of Francis of Assisi in relation to the social problems of his time, we must in the first place avoid an overly intellectual formulation of the problem – one that is too theoretical or ideological. In Francis's behavior and especially in his personal writings, we should not emphasize so much ideas and doctrines but rather his experience. It is an experience interwoven with emotions and existential states, expressed in the language of images, symbols and impressions, as well as in actions. Trying to systematize all this in conceptual terms would lead to a kind of reductionism. It would not do justice to the existential experience in the context of the concrete events of Francis's life.¹

In an era of underdevelopment and progress, of senseless violence and efforts toward peace, his religious activity contributed to the breakup (*disgregazione*) of old privileged social classes and the building up of the newly-emerging social classes.² These included especially the new middle class together with the totally marginalized who were helped to become integrated into the process of development and social growth.³ By inserting himself into the very heart of his own society, Francis helped to accelerate the progress of society. By that time it was already moving, autonomously and under various pressures, toward the integration in history of those social classes who previously had remained essentially poor, marginalized, without culture, religiously unorganized, and especially deprived of participation in the new forms of power.

In this sense it cannot be denied that Francis with his movement shook up, marked, and impregnated the entire society of his age. When we say that by inserting himself into the heart of his society he helped accelerate the progress of human society, we are of course speaking in modern scientific terms. Certainly, however, he contributed more to this process than the great animators of earlier monasticism had personally contributed to the acceleration of the progress of society in their time, certainly more than the contemporary heretical movements, even though Francis does

share some of their aspirations and concerns.⁴ A variety of factors allowed him to stimulate and arouse the masses from their passivity. Against monasticism's hierarchic distinctions, mirroring those of feudalism, he set forth a social scheme based on fraternity. Against earlier monasticism's stability of place and isolation, he proposed wandering from place to place through cities, towns and villages, almost always in a semi-urban setting.⁵ Such a setting represented a large part of the socio-geographic fabric of the medieval West, which had been in the process of formation during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁶

But to understand more correctly Francis's relation to social problems, we must keep the question within the context of a more limited global society, that of central Italy during the first quarter of the thirteenth century. This place and this time marked his language, his teachings, his aspirations, and the concrete religious and social conditions expressed in his writings, which are recognized as a primary source for seeking the answer to the social problem.⁷ Besides this preliminary condition, we need to add that that same geographical setting is found almost exclusively in even the earliest accounts of his deeds (*Vitae* and *Legenda*). But we cannot say the same about the chronological setting ("once", "recently", "much earlier"), marked by an overwhelming social, economic and religious dynamism which, in one way or another, could have had a strong influence upon the interpretation of Francis's conduct, discourses and expressed wishes.⁸

The central Italian setting – more specifically the geographical areas referred to in ancient times as *Tuscia - Valle Spoletana - Sabina* – are an undeniable factor in understanding of what Francis did or wished to do in the social sphere. In his time this land as a whole was part of the so-called Patrimony of St. Peter. Already in 1201, Otto IV had recognized it as belonging to Pope Innocent III.⁹ Might we then look for a Guelph influence reflected in Francis's behavior?¹⁰ This was also a land where feudalism in the classical sense had never asserted itself, a land on which had been imposed an urban model of society, characterized by clash and conflict between two groups or social parties, the *maiores* and the *minores*.¹¹ It was a two-party system, based on social inequality, the gap of which divided the social classes and, if you wish, two distinct social barriers.

This bi-partisan division, political as well as social, was not just an opposition of power or domination. It was also an opposition in terms of marginalization and a kind of poverty which not only stood in contrast to the riches of the other party, but also meant exclusion from participation in the older and newer forms of power, office, functions, attributes and social advantages. This very broad social group, consisting of subjects, the subjugated, *minores* and the marginalized, attracted to itself the truly poor, indigent and uneducated classes – those who had nothing to set against the

riches, power and knowledge of the *maiores* except their own poverty, indigence and ignorance. In medieval terminology, all of these made up not just the party of the *minores* but the party of the *pauperes* ("poor").¹² If we are to believe the chronicler Burchard of Ursperg, the very first official name chosen by Francis and his first companions was *Pauperes Minores*,¹³ a name which expressively combined both *paupertas* and *minoritas*. In a very significant passage of Celano's Second Life we find this pair of social opposites clearly enunciated: *militēs-populares* ("soldiers-populace), *nobiles-plebei* ("nobles-commoners) (*militēs* = knights = nobles).¹⁴ These are symmetrical opposites, mirror images, against which Francis struggled in his efforts to make peace, as well as in his efforts toward a leveling based on equality and fraternity. He tried to reconcile the two groups at least socially, to have them live peacefully together in the cities, although his dream or social model certainly favored a more humble and thus more fraternal encounter between the two groups. He tried to restrain their excessive ambition to move upward and ahead socially and economically.

In this twofold social division, Francis's choices were certainly for the *minores*, the *subditi*, the *pauperes*. He desired to lift up all classes of people who in whatever way and for whatever reason were suffering from social inferiority.¹⁵ His social ideal and aspiration was not a pauper society, but a leveling and a maximum of equality, marked by the same notion of fraternity which had inspired his religious movement, which eventually was called *Fratres Minores* instead of *Pauperes Minores*. His was a fraternal, social model based on the concept of family, in which social differences would not be dictated by riches, power or knowledge, but by age, sex and responsibility.¹⁶

Likewise, Francis appears as a peacemaker between the two Italian groups rather than an underminer of the social order, even though his vision of a social fraternity did in fact undermine the feudal and monastic social orders, both of which had been set up according to a system of inequalities and hierarchies. He proposed instead a brotherhood of social categories – basically a different division of social classes. Not that he proposed a new society consisting of castes, orders and classes, much less a pauper society, but instead he tried to integrate the *pauperes* and *minores* into the process of social development and growth. Le Goff has rightly observed that "the basic question to which Francis and his companions devoted themselves was that of integrating this pauper society into history,"¹⁷ even though they intended a solution that was essentially religious rather than social in the modern sense of the term. This historical growth-model explains or helps to explain the destiny of the Franciscan movement and its ability to bring a medieval pauper society to religious and social development. This is true even in spite of the gap which would

continue to exist between rich and poor, the powerful and the marginalized.

2. The Franciscan Pauper Economy and Society

In a society shaken by the explosion of new economic and demographic phenomena linked to the rebirth of the city, such complex notions as *divitia* (riches), *paupertas* (poverty), *proprietas* (ownership), *usus* (use), and so forth, cannot be assumed to mean what they do today. On the other hand, Francis's choices, although the result of real situations, events and happenings, in no way try to break with medieval tradition, which claimed that the Christian view alone gave an authentic interpretation of men and women, in all the social, economic and religious aspects of their lives. Instead of breaking with this tradition, Francis's choices tried to reshape it according to a more evangelical vision. According to this view, people must toil for bodily food to sustain themselves and to survive. But to labor only for temporal gain, to engage in *terrena negotia* (earthly commerce) out of ambition for temporal riches, is a vain and even harmful activity if one does not aim for something higher.¹⁸ In this view, *labor* ("toil")¹⁹ is the result of original sin, the same as *possessio* (possession), *proprietas* (ownership), *potestas dominandi* (ruling power). The perfect Christian lives by using the things of this world, yet appropriating nothing. He lives under an allegiance which, according to the spirit of the Gospel, does not allow the use of force and coercive power, but is an expression of love and fraternal service. As Francis teaches, "All the brothers should not hold any power or dominion, least of all among themselves . . .; on the contrary, through the charity of the Spirit, they should voluntarily serve and obey one another. And this is the true and holy obedience of our Lord Jesus Christ."²⁰

Voluntary poverty and obedience, the two basic characteristics of religious life, are thus opposed to people's dominion over each other and to private ownership, since poverty and obedience aim toward restoration of the original state of perfection. But this mystical interpretation does not prevent society from transforming itself. Francis recognizes the value and significance of earthly goods, of nature, of society; he has an appreciation for the natural order and for the proper use of temporal goods. He is aware that the good of society (*bonum societatis*) is constituted by mutual aid and by the agreement and even the unity of wills.²¹ His teachings certainly do not favor voluntary idleness alongside voluntary poverty. He urges work, even manual, as justification for receiving a recompense (*mercede*) or salary (*stipendium laboris*) necessary for life. For this reason he foresees for his brothers the use of the "tools and implements suitable for their trades" (*ferramenta et instrumenta suis artibus opportuna*).²² In Franciscan thought, this pauper economy aims at reinstating and re-establishing the simple use

of things, refusing all ownership or possession which are the socially unavoidable consequences of original sin. This new value given to the simple use of earthly goods, without appropriation, does not mean the establishment of an economic system based on mendicancy. According to Francis, the use of things without any claim to the right of dominion or ownership can stand perfectly well by itself.²³

We can see that in a pauper economy even begging might take on the aspect of a *labor* ("toil"), a *labor erubescibilis et intolerabilis ultra vires* ("an embarrassing and unbearable kind of labor").²⁴ For Francis, having recourse to alms in case of necessity was the vindication of a *haereditas* (legacy), a *iustitia* (just right), something due to all who were *pauperes Christi* (Christ's poor). Begging was not meant to be a simple substitute for work or a kind of social remedy. It was meant to be the exercise of a spiritual activity, the performance of a moral act, humiliating yet fruitful for both giver and receiver. This undoubtedly is the meaning of the words which Francis had inserted in the Rule of 1221: "The brothers who labor to acquire them [alms] will receive a great reward and enable those who give to gain and acquire [that reward] in return, for everything that people leave behind in the world will perish, but for the charity and almsgiving which they have done they will receive a reward from the Lord."²⁵

Yet it is clear that in Francis's economy of poverty, alms were always to remain a supplementary means to be used when the proceeds of one's work were insufficient. Begging alms was also seen as a penitential practice, conforming the beggar more to the image of the poor and mendicant Christ.²⁶ Asking for more alms than necessary would have been to commit a theft against other poor.²⁷ Francis warned his brothers against begging for money in any form, through themselves or through others, encouraging them to be useful to their neighbor by means of other social services "which are not contrary to our form of life."²⁸ He was so strongly convinced of the socio-religious value of begging that he defended the *mendicare* as corresponding to the *mercede* or *stipendio* of one's labor. A passage related by the so-called *Legenda antiqua perusina* reflects his true thinking: "Francis regarded the seeking of alms for the love of God as an act of nobility, dignity, and courtliness in the eyes of God and the world, for he used to say that what the heavenly Father created for our benefit, after the fall he lavished freely as alms on both the worthy and the unworthy for love of his beloved Son."²⁹

3. The Franciscan Social Model for a Society of Salvation

We may ask ourselves whether Francis, in good faith, could have dreamt of applying on a social scale the model he so strongly desired for his lesser brothers. He had thought of the fraternity as a classless society, based on a

kind of uniformity which would tend to wipe out all differences and inequalities, by overcoming them on a lower, humbler level. These would include not only differences between *maiores* and *minores*, lettered and unlettered, clergy and laity, but also every real exercise of power by one person over another. Such a society would be ruled by a hierarchy not of status, but one purely functional or related to service (ministers, guardians, custodians).³⁰ Its members were to "live in peace with everyone; and toward all without exception they should conduct themselves as lesser ones" and subjects, while awaiting from God "their reward, not according to the authority [exercised] but according to the work performed" – in other words, according to merit rather than hierarchical status.³¹ This was an original model, neither totally clerical, nor totally lay, nor utopian. Later, however, Francis would have to resign himself to seeing his religious movement change from this kind of fraternity into a clerical, ecclesiastical religious order.³²

Francis's dream for his movement was to reunite and place on the same level the elite of the lower classes, the *minores* par excellence, that is, the *idiotae* (unlettered), the *subditi* (subjects), the *pauperes* (poor), along with anyone else who might wish spontaneously to identify with the *minores*. In this way he would reject the three principal evils which he saw in society and which were the source of social inequalities, power, riches and knowledge.³³ Furthermore, Francis is more pessimistic about power and about riches, since in his experience the powerful seem even more against the poor than are the rich, and so once again we have *maiores* against *minores*. It is an awareness of the even closer connection which he saw between the *subditi* and the *minores*. Knowledge and its preoccupations seemed to be a form of possession or an exercise of power over the simple. The educated appeared to him as a particularly frightening kind of power-wielder, whom, in his simplicity, he saw as having no social usefulness unless related to the salvation of souls.³⁴

Now let us set aside this particular social model which Francis wished to put into practice in his religious order. We move on to the social model of his era to which he refers when he speaks of *pauperes*, *minores*, *idiotae*, *subditi*, *populares*, *plebei*. In his writings, Francis offers no description of his society; he is more intent on reconciling – reforming – it than in describing it. His earliest biographers give evidence that the social differences and antagonisms disappeared when faced by the authority of his words and example.³⁵ However, if we tried to determine by their writings alone the importance of these cleavages and tensions in the society, we would be misled.

For Francis, inequalities among people continue to appear based on religious rather than social criteria. His own activity flows from a model which is more appropriate for transforming an earthly society into a

society of spiritual salvation,³⁶ rather than provoking a social revolution, or even simply favoring certain abstract principles. It was not social equality which he had at heart, but equality on the plane of spiritual salvation. This means a conversion from earthly disorders, not of course denying the order of things or the social order itself. His basis for everything was not a social ideology but the Gospel, but not the Gospel as it was preached by the Cathari or the Spirituals: asocial, unrealistic, hostile to the world,³⁷ but instead the Gospel of Christ.

In saying this, we do not mean to imply that Francis contributed nothing to desocializing or to rearranging the superstructures. His new religious proposal for the marginalized or the newly emerging classes, his use of the vernacular in preaching and poetry (Canticle of Brother Sun), his fondness for gestures, songs, popular drama (Greccio),³⁸ even if all done in a rather unofficial way, nevertheless helped bring about a greater social realism in his age. As we have mentioned, his religious vision accelerated the progress of human society in his time by inserting the new popular spirit into history. But perhaps he also instilled in it a pessimistic notion of power and the powerful, together with a political pessimism, all of which would bear fruit later. At any rate, it is well known how social evolution is judged in terms of the acquisition or loss of power, either new or old. In the twofold class division existing in the thirteenth century Italian society, in the cleavages and social tensions of his time, Francis consciously played the role of peacemaker rather than revolutionary.

4. Social Virtues and Events in a Social Interpretation

The Franciscan movement, then, constituted an active minority in an unsettled society, in which Francis's presence began a comprehensive recovery of sentimental, natural and poetic values,³⁹ which are indispensable for the dynamics of any cultured and organized society. Furthermore, he singled out other needs for social change, universally valid civic virtues, and so appealing to the *maiores* as well as the *minores*. These included such virtues as faithfulness to work, civic responsibility, the struggle against laziness, discretion, tolerance, pardon, peace.⁴⁰

For this reason, the adoption of texts such as those inserted in the Rule of 1221: "Whoever does not wish to work shall not eat;" and "Everyone should remain in that skill and office in which he has been called;"⁴¹ and others like these, cannot be understood as a blind recourse to the authority of the Bible. Otherwise we could not fully understand the meaning of so many concrete incentives for work, including manual work, and faithfulness to work, which for Francis constituted the basis for social equilibrium.⁴² As already mentioned, in the same Rule Francis allowed his brothers the use of "tools and implements suitable for their trades."⁴³ We

notice the new sense of tolerance, discretion and social responsibility when we read prescriptions such as these: "Not to contend with anyone" about the ownership of hermitages and places which the brothers have received for their use;⁴⁴ to receive "with kindness whoever comes to them, friend or foe, thief or robber;"⁴⁵ to show themselves "cheerful and truly gracious" toward all;⁴⁶ "not to look down or pass judgment on those people whom they see wearing soft and colorful clothing and enjoying the choicest food and drink;"⁴⁷ and so forth.

These things suggest the presence of an active minority, propaganda tools, and coordination of agreement among the various social classes, as we would express it today. However, this is not for the sake of making proselytes or gathering a clientele, but rather for stimulating a more disinterested evangelical and social ferment. Once we free Francis's deeds and teachings from a purely religious or legendary interpretation, we are led into the area of the difficulties of living together in society. Consider, for example, the social and religious redemption of the robbers of Monte Casale which is recounted in the so-called *Legenda antiqua perusina* or *Compilatio assisiensis*. Their redemption begins when they are provided with "good bread and good wine," without being required to "give up all at once" all their harmful plans and actions and go to work - which they eventually did - and so earn their living honestly.⁴⁸ From this account, we can see how in Francis's mind disorderly conduct and criminal social behavior are often directly related to destitution and ignorance. Furthermore, what emerges from the well-known and fanciful account of the wolf of Gubbio is also socially significant. Francis persuades the people and the wolf to make a peace treaty. The wolf gives up his ferocious behavior, while the citizens oblige themselves to provide food and physical safety for the wolf.⁴⁹ Thus, it is not a matter of "unconditional surrender," without any guarantees or provisions, but rather a pact with advantages for both parties. It shows the moderation and prudence of Francis's remarkable arbitration, in an age when armed clashes and political struggles nearly always ended with banishment and confiscation of goods for the defeated minority, and hardly ever with the search for a more difficult and conciliatory balance among the diverse social groups of the city.

For his undeniable openness to the problems of his own society and his solutions - if not realized, at least dreamt of - Francis cannot be considered a "social reformer," much less a "Christian socialist," as Giosuè Carducci defined him at the end of the last century.⁵⁰ Unfortunately, there is a tendency in contemporary historiography to give a sociological interpretation to the religious movements, orthodox and heterodox, of the Middle Ages. In their response to essentially religious problems, the early Franciscans succeeded in transforming the social needs of their time into Gospel demands. Above all, by taking up the reins of the new social classes,

they helped overcome the old differences and inequalities of feudalism. But though they based themselves on the proclamation of fraternal equality, they never separated its proclamation from obedience to the traditional civil and religious authorities nor from respect for the new social differences.⁵¹ We would not understand the many documentary testimonials in the Franciscan sources if we failed to consider the advantages that came to the order from the reputation and social prestige of those who sought to enter.⁵²

As the Franciscan Order became rapidly urbanized and almost completely clericalized, the suspicions of certain classes and social groups toward it might have upset its links with the holders of economic power, to whom it had come to be particularly indebted. Though it acted in good faith and perhaps even contrary to its own wishes, though it did not betray the poor and emarginated social classes so dear to Francis, nevertheless by aligning itself with a definite urban class and with the ranks of the clergy, the order in fact helped deepen that gap between the poor, the clergy and the nobility, which would come to characterize the history of the following centuries, or at least the era of the ancien régime.

Notes

This paper was presented and discussed in the Old Town Hall at The Hague, 3 December 1982, during the "Celebration Week in the Netherlands for the VIII Centenary of the Birth of Francis of Assisi, Promoted by the Italian Government, the Umbria Region, the Italian Embassy to The Hague." Because of circumstances beyond control, the Acts have not yet been published.

1. In this regard, useful information can be found in S. Clasen, "Franziskus von Assisi und die soziale Frage," in *Wissenschaft und Weisheit*, 15 (1952):109-21. Spanish translation: "Francisco de Asís y la cuestión social," in *Selecciones de Franciscanismo*, 3 (1974):263-75. See W. van Dijk, "Signification sociale du franciscanisme naissant," in *Etudes franciscaines*, n. s. 15 (1965), n. 35, 84-94; H. Roggen, *Die Lebensform des heiligen Franziskus von Assisi in ihrem Verhältnis zur feudalen und bürgerlichen Gesellschaft Italiens* (Mechlin, 1965), on which see also Stanislaw da Campagnola, *Le origini francescane come problema storiografico*, 2d ed. (Perugia, 1979), pp. 279-85; and finally J. Le Goff, "Le vocabulaire des catégories sociales chez saint François d'Assise et ses biographes du XIII^e siècle," in *Ordres et classes, Colloque d'histoire sociale* (Paris, 1973), pp. 93-123, a study which has been used frequently in this article because of the richness and diversity of its suggestions.
2. Le Goff, "Le vocabulaire," pp. 99-100, 117-22.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 123.
4. For these precedents, see especially E. Werner, *Pauperes Christi: Studien zu sozial-religiösen Bewegungen im Zeitalter des Reformpapsttums* (Leipzig, 1952); *ibid.*, "Armut und Reichtum in den Vorstellungen ost- und westkirchlicher Haeretiker des 10-12 Jahrhunderts," in *Povertà e ricchezza nella spiritualità dei secoli XI e XII*, Convegno del Centro di studi sulla spiritualità medievale, VIII (Todi, 1969), pp. 81-125.
5. Taking his model from the Gospels (Matt. 9:35), his biographers write that he would preach "civitates et castella circuiens" (1Cel 62; 2Cel 17), "ita ut una die quatuor aut

- quinque castella vel etiam civitates saepius circuiret, evangelizans unicuique regnum Dei" (1*Cel* 97), powerfully symbolizing a context nearly always semi-urban.
6. Le Goff, "Le vocabulaire," p. 108.
 7. See Stanislao da Campagnola, "La povertà nelle 'Regulae' di Francesco d'Assisi," in *La povertà del secolo XII e Francesco d'Assisi*, Convegni della Società Internazionale di Studi francescani, II (Assisi, 1975), pp. 217-53.
 8. See da Campagnola, *Francesco d'Assisi nei suoi scritti e nelle sue biografie dei secoli XIII - XIV*, rist. (Assisi, 1981).
 9. The entire question is dealt with by D. Waley, *The Papal State in the 13th Century* (London, 1961). For further particulars see R. Manselli, "Assisi tra impero e papato," in *Assisi al tempo di san Francesco*, Convegni della Società internazionale di Studi francescani, V (Assisi, 1978), pp. 337-57.
 10. Le Goff, "Le vocabulaire," p. 102. But see W.C. van Dijk, "Les idées politiques de saint François," in *Les Amis de saint François*, 13 (1973):38-44.
 11. Le Goff rightly notes that "François, dans son vocabulaire social, ne fait qu'étendre l'opposition entre deux partis dont l'histoire qu'il a vécue à Assise dans sa jeunesse et retrouvée ensuite dans toutes ses pérégrinations lui est apparue comme la trame de la structure et de l'activité sociales" ("Le vocabulaire," p. 118). At the end of his study he concludes: "Il importait de remarquer que l'humus italien du franciscanisme lui offrait un terrain où la féodalité au sens classique n'avait pas vraiment existé et où, plus tôt et plus fort qu'ailleurs, s'était affirmé un modèle social urbain dont la caractéristique était l'affrontement de deux partis" ("Le vocabulaire," p. 121). Much information can be found in the volume *Assisi al tempo di san Francesco*, Convegni della Società internazionale di Studi francescani, V (Assisi, 1978). Regarding the earlier medieval context, see Le Goff, "Società tripartita, ideologia monarchica e rinnovamento economico nella cristianità dal secolo IX al XII," in his *Tempo della Chiesa e tempo del marcante e altri saggi* (Italian transl., Turin, 1977, pp. 41-51, and previously in *L'Europe aux IX^e - XI^e*, Warsaw, 1968, pp. 63-72).
 12. For this, see *Etudes sur l'histoire de la pauvreté (Moyen Age - XVI^e siècle)*, collection by M. Mollat, 2 vols. (Paris, 1974).
 13. "Chronicon," in *Mon. Ger. Hist.*, Scriptorum, vol. 25, p. 540.
 14. "Saeviunt in milites populares, et verso gladio nobiles in plebeios" (2*Cel* 37). See Le Goff, "Le vocabulaire," p. 118.
 15. Le Goff, "Le vocabulaire," pp. 118, 122; but see H. Roggen, "Francesco d'Assisi fece una scelta di classe?" in *Studi Francescani*, 70 (1973):369-78.
 16. Le Goff, "Le vocabulaire," pp. 104-5, 118.
 17. *Ibid.*, p. 122.
 18. St. Bonaventure will later systematize this view. See Stanislao da Campagnola, "L'etica economico-sociale di san Bonaventura," *Bollettino del Centro di Studi bonaventuriani - Doctor seraphicus*, 25 (1978):23-42.
 19. On the meaning of *labor* see the information given by Le Goff, "Società tripartita," pp. 48-49; but the expression *laborare de laboritio*, used by Francis in the Testament (K. Esser, *Die Opuscula des hl. Franziskus von Assisi*, neue textkritische Edition [Rome, 1976], p. 440) has only recently been clarified at the Congress *Francesco d'Assisi e francescanesimo dal 1216 al 1226*, Convegni della Società internazionale di Studi francescani, IV (Assisi, 1977), pp. 18, 34, 370, 372.
 20. *RegNB V; Opuscula*, ed. K. Esser, p. 382.
 21. Le Goff, "Le vocabulaire," pp. 118-19.
 22. *RegNB VII; Opuscula*, ed. K. Esser, p. 383.
 23. In the Franciscan field, this question will be explored later by St. Bonaventure (*In I Sententiarum*, in *Opera omnia*, vol. 1, p. 249b; *ibid.*, *Apologia pauperum*, vol. 7, p. 312,

- and especially *ibid.*, *De perfectione evangelica*, vol. 5, pp. 127–33). See da Campagnola, "L'etica economicosociale."
24. Salimbene de Adam, *Cronica*, ed. G. Scalia (Bari, 1966), pp. 62, 606. [*The Chronicle of Salimbene de Adam*, trans. Joseph L. Baird et al. (Binghamton, NY, 1986), p. 19]
 25. *RegNB IX; Opuscula*, ed. K. Esser, pp. 385–86, but see also da Campagnola, "La povertà," pp. 241–43.
 26. *Ibid.*, pp. 231–33.
 27. "Non fui unquam latro et de elemosynis, quae pauperum sunt haereditas, semper minus accepi quam me contingeret, ne defraudarentur alii pauperes sorte sua, quia contrarium facere furtum esset," "Verba s. Francisci," in L. Lemmens, *Documenta antiqua franciscana*, vol. 1 (Quaracchi ad Claras Aquas, 1901), p. 100.
 28. *RegNB VIII; Opuscula*, ed. K. Esser, p. 385.
 29. *Complatio assisiensis* (or *Legenda antiqua perusina*), ed. M. Bigaroni (Assisi, 1975), chap. 96, p. 280, but see also St. Bonaventure, *LM VIII 10*.
 30. "Uniri volebat maiores minoribus, germano affectu coniungi sapientes simplicibus . . ." (*2Cel* 191). See Le Goff, "Le vocabulaire," p. 119, which however quotes from a corrupt text.
 31. *2Cel* 146.
 32. Despite many recent studies, a fundamental work concerning this evolution remains that of Gratien de Paris, *Histoire de la fondation et de l'évolution de l'ordre des frères mineurs au XIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1938). See also information given in da Campagnola, *Le origini francescane*, pp. 165ff, *passim*.
 33. Le Goff, "Le vocabulaire," pp. 104, 118–20.
 34. *Ibid.*, pp. 112–13, 116, 118.
 35. Francis's preaching of peace and his work as peacemaker has its own abundant bibliography which is not necessary to repeat here.
 36. Le Goff, "Le vocabulaire," pp. 98, 106–7, 122.
 37. Besides the famous work of H. Grundmann on these religious movements, which in fact does not pay special attention to the Franciscans, see the studies of K. Esser: "Die religiösen Bewegungen des Hochmittelalters und Franziskus von Assisi," in *Festgabe Joseph Lortz*, vol. 2 (Baden-Baden, 1958), pp. 287–315; "Franziskus von Assisi und die Katharer seiner Zeit," in *AFH*, 51 (1958):225–64; "Der hl. Franziskus von Assisi und die religiösen Bewegungen seiner Zeit," in *San Francesco nella ricerca storica degli ultimi ottanta anni*, Convegni del Centro di studi sulla spiritualità medievale, IX (Todi, 1971), pp. 95–123.
 38. See especially C. Delcorno, "Origini della predicazione francescana," in *Francesco d'Assisi e francescanesimo*, pp. 125–60; Stanislaw da Campagnola, "Francesco d'Assisi e francescanesimo nella Valle Reatine," in *Francesco d'Assisi nella Valle Santa* (Rieti, 1977), pp. 13–29.
 39. See Stanislaw da Campagnola, "L'amore della nature in Francesco d'Assisi," in *Rivista di biologia*, 75 (1982):373–84, with essential bibliography, to which should be added for its special significance the work of E.A. Armstrong, *Saint Francis Nature Mystic: The Derivation and Significance of the Franciscan Legend* (Berkeley – Los Angeles – London, 1976).
 40. We have treated these elements briefly in the volume *Le origini*, pp. 280–81. 41. *RegNB VIII; Opuscula*, ed. K. Esser, pp. 383–84.
 42. Le Goff, "Le vocabulaire," pp. 98–100.
 43. *RegNB VI; Opuscula*, ed. K. Esser, p. 383.
 44. *Ibid.*, chap. VII.
 45. *Ibid.*
 46. *Ibid.*, chap. VII, p. 384. See also *2Cel* 128.

- 47. *RegNB II; Opuscula*, ed. K. Esser, p. 367.
- 48. *Compilatio assisiensis*, ed. M. Bigaroni (Assisi, 1975), chap. 115, pp. 356-61.
- 49. *Fior* 21.
- 50. G. Carducci, "Dello svolgimento della letteratura nazionale," in *Opere* (Bologna, 1935), p. 55.
- 51. da Campagnola, *Le origini francescane*, pp. 279-85.
- 52. See our paper "I fedeli e i frati minori," in the Acts of the Congress *I frati minori ed il terzo ordine: problemi e discussioni storiografiche*, Convegni del Centro di studi sulla spiritualità medievale (Todi, 1985), pp. 11-50. Many examples of this can be drawn from the *Cronica* of Salimbene de Adam.

Abbreviations

1Cel	Celano's <i>First Life</i>
1SP	<i>Mirror of Perfection</i> (ed. Lemmens)
2Cel	Celano's <i>Second Life</i>
2SP	<i>Mirror of Perfection</i> (ed. Sabatier)
3Cel	<i>Treatise on the Miracles of the Blessed Francis</i>
IEpCus	<i>First Letter to the Custodians</i>
IEpFid	<i>First Letter to All the Faithful</i>
IILCl	<i>First Letter to Blessed Agnes</i>
IIEpCus	<i>Second Letter to the Custodians</i>
IIEpFid	<i>Second Letter to All the Faithful</i>
IIILCl	<i>Second Letter to Blessed Agnes</i>
IIILCl	<i>Third Letter to Blessed Agnes</i>
IVLCl	<i>Fourth Letter to Blessed Agnes</i>
Abs	<i>Absorbeat</i>
Adm	<i>Admonitions</i>
AF	<i>Analecta Franciscana</i>
AFH	<i>Archivum Franciscanum Historicum</i>
Alb	<i>Albacina Statutes</i>
AnalOFMCap	<i>Analecta O.F.M.Cap.</i>
Ant	<i>Antonianum</i>
AntBVM	<i>Antiphon of the Blessed Virgin Mary</i>
APer	<i>Anonymous of Perugia</i>
ArbV	<i>Arbor vitae</i>
AsC	<i>Assisi Collection</i>
BenLeo	<i>Blessing for Brother Leo</i>
BibFranc	<i>Bibliographia Franciscana</i>
BlBer	<i>Blessing for Brother Bernard</i>
BICl	<i>Blessing of St. Clare</i>
BlSCl	<i>Blessing Sent to St. Clare and Her Sisters</i>
CantExb	<i>Canticle of Exhortation for the Poor Ladies</i>
CantSol	<i>Canticle of Brother Sun</i>
CF	<i>Collectanea Franciscana</i>
Conf	<i>Book of Conformities</i>
ConstOFM	<i>Franciscan Constitutions</i>
ConstOFMCap	<i>Capuchin Constitutions</i>
ConstOFMConv	<i>Conventual Constitutions</i>
ConstTOR	<i>Third Order Regular Constitutions</i>
CP	<i>Process of St. Clare</i>
DeAdv	<i>Treatise on the Coming of the Friars to England</i>
EF	<i>Etudes franciscaines O.F.M.Cap.</i>
EpAgnel	<i>Letter to Agnellus of Pisa</i>

<i>EpAnt</i>	<i>Letter to St. Anthony</i>
<i>EpCler</i>	<i>Letter to the Clergy</i>
<i>EpEli</i>	<i>Letter to Elias</i>
<i>EpLeo</i>	<i>Letter to Brother Leo</i>
<i>EpMin</i>	<i>Letter to a Minister</i>
<i>EpOrd</i>	<i>Letter to the Entire Order</i>
<i>EpRect</i>	<i>Letter to the Rulers of the People</i>
<i>ExhLD</i>	<i>Exhortation to the Praise of God</i>
<i>ExPat</i>	<i>Prayer Inspired by the Our Father</i>
<i>ExpoC</i>	<i>Clareno's Exposition</i>
<i>ExpoO</i>	<i>Olivi's Exposition</i>
<i>Fior</i>	<i>Little Flowers of St. Francis</i>
<i>FormVir</i>	<i>Form of Life for St. Clare</i>
<i>Fragm</i>	<i>Another Fragment, Earlier Rule of 1221</i>
<i>FrFr</i>	<i>Frate Francesco</i>
<i>FS</i>	<i>Franciscan Studies</i>
<i>FSien</i>	<i>Franziskanische Studien</i>
<i>HistC</i>	<i>History of Seven Tribulations</i>
<i>InReg</i>	<i>Intentio regulae</i>
<i>ItFran</i>	<i>Italia Franciscana</i>
<i>Jor</i>	<i>Jordan's Chronicle</i>
<i>L3S</i>	<i>Legend of the Three Companions</i>
<i>Lau</i>	<i>Laurentianum</i>
<i>LaudDei</i>	<i>Praises of God</i>
<i>LaudHor</i>	<i>Praises To Be Said at All the Hours</i>
<i>LBol</i>	<i>Letter Written for the Citizens of Bologna</i>
<i>LC</i>	<i>Legend of St. Clare</i>
<i>LChor</i>	<i>Choir Legend</i>
<i>LdeLau</i>	<i>Book of the Praises</i>
<i>LegVer</i>	<i>Legenda versificata</i>
<i>LeOr</i>	<i>Le origini della riforma Capuccina</i>
<i>LEr</i>	<i>Letter to Ermentrude of Bruges</i>
<i>LFran</i>	<i>Letter Sent to the Brothers in France</i>
<i>LJac</i>	<i>Letter Written to Lady Jacoba</i>
<i>LM</i>	<i>Major Life of St. Francis</i>
<i>LMin</i>	<i>Minor Life</i>
<i>MisFran</i>	<i>Miscellanea Franciscana</i>
<i>NF</i>	<i>Neerlandia Franciscana</i>
<i>OffPas</i>	<i>Office of the Passion</i>
<i>OrCruc</i>	<i>Prayer before the Crucifix</i>
<i>QuatMag</i>	<i>Exposition of the Twenty-four Masters</i>
<i>RegB</i>	<i>Approved Rule of 1223</i>
<i>RegCl</i>	<i>Rule of St. Clare</i>
<i>RegEr</i>	<i>Rule for Hermitages</i>
<i>RegNB</i>	<i>Earlier Rule of 1221</i>
<i>SC</i>	<i>Sacrum commercium</i>
<i>SalBVM</i>	<i>Salutation to the Blessed Virgin Mary</i>

Abbreviations

147

SalVirt
SpecMin
Test
TestCl
TestS
UltVol
VerSF
VPLaet

Salutation to the Virtues
Speculum Minorum
Testament of St. Francis
Testament of St. Clare
Testament Written in Siena
Last Will Written for St. Clare
Words of St. Francis
Dictate on True and Perfect Joy