

The Capuchins – Hermits and Preachers

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“I cappuccini tra eremitismo e predicazione”

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The title of our talk is not meant to suggest that there was a conflict of choice of alternatives between the contemplative life of a hermit and apostolic activity, which were the two essential elements of the new Franciscan-Capuchin family. Even though the hermit's way of life clearly held dominance at the beginning, the two elements exhibited mutual adaptation and proper balance during the first decade of the life of the reform, during which time the order not only reached significant numbers but also achieved maturity and acquired its definitive shape – something unique in the history of the various Franciscan reforms. However, before giving a brief outline of the history of the course of this decade, which is difficult as we shall see, it seems appropriate to clarify the problem of the sources.

1. The Writing of the History of the Beginning of the Capuchin Reform

The writing of the history of the roots of the Capuchin-Franciscan family was disadvantaged in that it came late and was uncritical.¹ In a most seraphic manner, the early Capuchins were not concerned with describing and documenting the initial trials of their reform. By the time that they felt the need to put their history in writing, some forty years later, there were no appropriate documents in their archives, except for some correspondence with the papal curia. That correspondence was not always in its original form.²

The first official chroniclers – Mario da Mercato Saraceno (who wrote three reports between 1565 and 1580) and his successor, Bernardine of Colpetrazzo (who revised the third edition of his *Simple and Devout History of the Origins of the Congregation of Capuchin Friars* between 1584 and 1594) had to rely almost exclusively on their personal memories and on the oral testimonies of others. Many friars still labored under the burden of the traumatic memory of the trials which they had suffered: the defection of the founders Matthew of Bascio and Louis of Fossombrone, and more still,

the apostasy of Bernardine of Ochino. Furthermore, with the passing of time and the increase in number of the friars, the early fervor had subsided, while the real danger of a forced reunion with the Observants was ever present.

However, with the intention of connecting Capuchin life with the primitive ideal of the Franciscan Order, both chronicles recounted the events in a simple, edifying, nostalgic manner, giving great scope to miracles, revelations and divine interventions, which, according to their judgment, proved the worth and legitimacy of the new Capuchin family. Even though there was no systematic changing of historical truth by the two witnesses to the life of the early Capuchins, we must take into account the natural distortion of past events which are passed on by oral tradition, even though the psychology of old people has a better memory for events in the past.

Colpetrazzo, who entered the order in 1534, and who is undoubtedly the more safe and informed writer, was between seventy and eighty years of age when he worked on the definition of his Chronicle. With respect to historical credibility, one has the same reserve with regard to subsequent chroniclers, Matthias Bellintania of Salò and Paul of Foligno. They composed their summaries in the sixteenth century and the first decades of the seventeenth, and were dependent on the foregoing chroniclers for the events of the beginning, even though they saw them and interpreted them in their own way.³

Zachary Boverius used the accounts of these four chroniclers, which had not been edited, and also used material which came to hand from various provinces long after the events. A few days after his appointment to write the annals of the order, Urban VIII, on 28 June 1627, when confirming Paul V's Brief of 15 October 1608, repeated that the Capuchins were real sons of St. Francis, a paternity which had been contested by the Observants at the time when the Capuchin order, now 17,000 strong, was accepted throughout almost the whole of Europe.⁴ Against this background, which was a mixture of resentment and euphoria, Boverius wrote the first volume of his Annals, which was published in 1632.⁵ It was a veritable apologia for his own house. It was contentious and triumphalistic. It brought together and at times amplified accounts of what was almost miraculous in the story as told by the preceding versions.

In any case, the Latin text and the Italian translation of the Annals were suppressed by the Congregation of the Index (1651-52), until they were changed by the same congregation.⁶ For almost three centuries, the Annals of Boverius, which were later translated into many languages (French, Spanish, German and Polish) remained the only source material regarding the origins of the Capuchin Order. Only in the second decade of our own century did Father Edouard d'Alençon give us the external history of the

first sixteen years of the Capuchin reform in two excellent critical monographs, in which he rejected or corrected the information supplied by the early chroniclers.⁷

The occasion of the fourth century of the reform (1928) saw the order produce a miscellany of the studies, which were undertaken by specialists, among which we note the publication of the Constitutions of 1536 and 1552, which had been almost unknown, and which were now compared with each other and with the Albacina Statutes of 1529, which had been printed and resurrected from oblivion.⁸ Again in 1928, Father Cuthbert of Brighton published a valuable study on the first century of the Capuchin reform, in the context of the Tridentine reform.⁹

The Historical Institute of the Capuchins was founded in Assisi in November 1930. Its tasks included the scientific research and publication of the early sources together with the collection of the relevant material for the compilation of a critical history of the order.¹⁰ The critical edition of the chronicles of the first four official composers of annals was concluded between 1937 and 1955, through the work of the late Father Melchior of Pobladura. In the general introduction to each chronicle, he gives a balanced evaluation of this credibility and historical value.¹¹ Above all, they are writings of a spiritual nature from the Italian and Franciscan sixteenth century.¹²

Because he was too critical in his interpretation of the chronicles of Mario da Mercato Saraceno, Theophilus Graf, a Swiss Capuchin, passed severe judgment on these chroniclers. He accused them of tendentiousness and subjective judgments, and he put forward his own opinion of the origins of the Capuchin reform which was totally different from theirs.¹³ Even though his book was stimulating on certain points, it was neither well received by his religious brothers nor given the attention by critics which it deserved.¹⁴

The first part of the much-awaited general history of the order, by Father Melchior da Pobladura, appeared in 1947. Its account of the origins, although not lacking in omissions and errors, essentially coincides with the preceding studies of Father Alençon.¹⁵

These sources, as we have mentioned, contained critical, historical and legislative material. Subsequently, monographs and articles of generally high quality began to appear. They studied various aspects of the beginnings and characteristics of the Capuchin reform in greater depth.¹⁶ This almost reached the saturation point on the occasion of the 450th anniversary of the order (1978) and the eighth centenary of the birth of St. Francis in 1982.¹⁷ With regard to the strictly historical aspects of the beginning of the order, there is not much to be expected in the way of novelty following the recent publication of *Storia dei cappuccini delle Marche*, by Callisto Urbanelli, the first volume of which deals directly with

the origins of the order and the first decade, in a ponderous and documented manner.¹⁸

2. The Initial Eremitic Phase

Although it was started by the Observants, the new Capuchin family made no claim to be a reform of the Observant Order. Its appearance, during the third decade of the sixteenth century, was nothing new in Franciscan history, in which a temptation toward eremitic life appeared to be natural, when interpreted as a *conditio sine qua non* of a return to the early ideal, following the example of St. Francis and his early companions, as transmitted in the Leonine Franciscan sources and in the literature of the Spirituals.

Even if the early chroniclers proclaimed it to be "the beautiful and holy reform . . . the true, only and perfect reform," it had been preceded at the end of the fourteenth century by other movements or groups of strict observance. There were five in Spain alone, which were distinct and independent bodies from the so-called Order of Observants, which since the days of St. Bernardine of Siena was set in a middle path, characterized by a moderate observance of the Rule and followed papal declarations and a life of active apostolate.¹⁹

The title of "reform," which the early chroniclers used to describe the new Capuchin family, was understood and explained by them as "conforming in everything to the mind and life of St. Francis," even to the shape of the habit. It was "living in the spirit of the founder."²⁰ It seems that the initial appearance of the new reform was not connected to the course of Italian renewal prior to Trent, which was characterized mainly by the founding of the Oratories of Divine Love. The Capuchin reform, like other reforms which had been undertaken and which flourished at times when the church was very much in need of reform, arose because of the dynamics of the principle: "The order must always be renewed," which across the centuries has not always coincided with the other principle: "The church must always be reformed."²¹

The immediate occasion of its appearance was an event within the Franciscan Order. The Order of Observants, who were 30,000 strong and the most powerful and prestigious of all the religious orders, obtained the Bull *Ite vos* from Leo X on 29 May, 1517. In addition to withdrawing supremacy from the Conventuals, this Bull incorporated the various groups of strict observance which even then existed in the Observants: the Amadeiti, Clarini, Coletines and the Discalced.²² The Bull, which was called the "Bull of Union," was not acceptable either to the suppressed groups, or to many of the Observants, who were dissatisfied with the standardizing of life in their families. They wanted a more radical observance of

poverty and greater facility for withdrawal and contemplation. By 1518, quite a few Italian zealots began to gather in hermitages in different places on the peninsula. These were promptly obliged to return to their friaries in the cities. Ironically, the minister general, Francis Licheto, pointed out that this was necessary "to edify the others by their example."²³

In 1523, the new general, Francis Quiñones, who came from a background of reform, attempted to placate the Spanish zealots by setting up five or more houses of recollection, or retreat houses, in each province, in order to promote a purer observance of the Rule above all with regard to poverty and prayer.²⁴ Especially in the Marches, the center of a strong mystical and rigoristic tradition, the discontent of the zealots was growing day by day. Without waiting for something similar to happen in Italy that had happened in Spain, a brother from the Marches was the first to break ranks. He was Matthew of Bascio, a charismatic itinerant preacher.²⁵

In the first months of 1522, following a vision which he claimed to have had, and believing that he could follow St. Francis more closely even in his manner of dress, he left his hermitage at Montefalcone to go to Pope Clement VII. The pope conceded orally that he may wear the square hood, live the Rule *ad litteram*, and preach wherever he wished. Brother Matthew did not intend to set up a reform group, but he was unknowingly impelled by circumstances toward the future Capuchin reform. In fact, before November of that same year, two other Observant fugitives had joined him. These were the blood-brothers Louis and Raphael Tenaglia of Fossombrone, the former a priest, the latter, not a cleric, who wanted to live the Rule spiritually.

At the request of the provincial, John Pili of Fano, all three were excommunicated as apostates, by the Brief of 8 March 1526.²⁶ To avoid being captured, they took refuge with the Camaldolese of the community of Monte Corona, which had been founded recently by Paul Giustiniani. Upon his advice, the three quickly went about regularizing their canonical situation, by seeking and obtaining a rescript or indult of excommunication from the Sacred Penitentiary. On the following 18 May, they were absolved and authorized to live an eremitic life, fully observing the Rule under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Camerino.²⁷

The General Chapter of the Observants met in Assisi on 26 May. At this meeting, Quiñones promulgated the statutes for the Italian houses of prayer, which were substantially the same as those for Spain.²⁸ However, because of the opposition of the majority of the capitulars, who were concerned to avoid a new division in the monolithic unity of the Observants which had been achieved recently, the statutes were never put into effect, much to the bitterness and delusion of the zealots. Furthermore, in June 1527, the same provincial of the Marches, John of Fano, published *Dialogo de la salute*. This was a compendium of all the

declarations concerning the Rule made by popes or doctors "to remedy relaxation, to avoid sects, ruptures and divisions within the order."²⁹

Following the rescript of 18 May 1526, Brother Matthew returned to his itinerant preaching of penance, while the two Tenaglia brothers took up residence in a country church in the vicinity of Camerino, concentrating on prayer and manual work, and occasionally ministering to those living in the area. Because of their charity in assisting those who became ill during the plague that struck the area in May 1527, they gained the esteem and the favor of the Duchess of Camerino, Catherine Cibo, the niece of Clement VII. Faced with the concerted opposition of the superiors of the Observants to the opening of houses of prayer, many of the zealous friars asked the Tenaglia brothers to accept them into their company. It was then that Louis gave serious thought to starting a Franciscan eremitic congregation. However, he was still an Observant, even though exclaustated. To establish a new reform, in view of the Bull *Ite vos*, he required the express permission of the general or the provincial, who in this concrete case would have refused it. But in the same manner as the Discalced Spaniards had done in 1517 when separating from the Observants, Louis obtained permission from the new minister provincial of the Observants of the Marches, who was only too pleased to be rid of the embarrassment of these disconcerting friars. Louis then astutely avoided this prescription by placing himself, his brother and Brother Matthew under the protection of the Conventuals.

To obtain canonical approbation for the new congregation, Louis sought the help of the Duchess of Camerino, with whom he went to Viterbo, where Clement was staying, following the trauma of the sacking of Rome. In the *libellus simplex*, Louis asked to be allowed to wear the habit of a beggar and hermit, with a poor square hood and a long beard, to live in solitary places under the protection of the Conventuals, to establish a custody, and to accept clerics, religious coming from any order, and lay people.³⁰ The petition was turned down by the Secretariat for Briefs, because it did not carry the approval of the cardinal protector of the Franciscan Order, Andrew della Valle, to whom it was either not presented or who did not agree with it because it would have involved the admission of Observants, something which was unacceptable to the superiors of the Observants. In the new edition of the request, the astute Louis substituted the point regarding the admission of religious with the phrase seeking permission to be allowed to share the privileges of the Camaldolese, who had the faculty (which may have been unknown to the cardinal protector) of accepting religious from any order.

On 3 July 1528, the Brief *Exponi vobis* was issued. The same day it became the Bull *Religionis zelus*, which marks the date of the juridical birth of the Capuchin Order.³¹ On the basis of this Bull, the founders of the

reform would be the two Tenaglia brothers, to whom the Bull was addressed. The so-called forerunner, Brother Matthew of Bascio, is not mentioned in it. In fact it should be noted that in the Franciscan reforms there are no founders, but only initiators, because they are a return to the spirit of the one and only founder of the order, Francis of Assisi. On the back of the draft of the Bull we read: "By the intercession of the Duchess of Camerino." Indeed, the strongest intervention on the part of the noble lady was necessary in order that, by way of exception, a Bull be granted which authorized two exclaustated petitioners to create a new religious congregation. Normally, a Bull of this kind would be issued to confirm or to establish a congregation or reform which had already achieved a certain development and recognition.

As is evident in the Bull of foundation, the Capuchin reform was authentically and strictly Franciscan. There was nothing new with respect to preceding reforms, whose members had been authorized to live in hermitages and observe the Rule in its primitive purity. Louis referred precisely to this observance when, in his second petition, he asked to be allowed to observe the Rule of St. Francis "as far as human frailty allows." With regard to the square or pyramid-shaped hood, according to the tradition of the Spirituals it was part of the authentic shape of the habit of St. Francis. Authorization to wear it was already allowed in 1496 to the Spanish Discalced of Brother John of Guadalupe, who were thus known as "Brothers of the Lord," or in the vernacular, *capuchos*. The only new element was the beard. This formed part of the external traditional image of the hermits, whether they were Camaldolese or not. The difference between the Capuchin reform and the preceding Franciscan reforms of strict observance lay in the manner in which the early Capuchins faced and solved the problem of contemplative life lived alongside active life, as we shall see further on.

News of the birth of a new Franciscan reform of strict observance attracted a good number of Observants. Among these were members of the group from the Marches (headed by Brother Matthew of St. Leo) and the group from Calabria (led by Brother Louis and by Brother Bernardin from Reggio).³² By the beginning of 1529 there were already four hermitages, with about thirty friars. It was therefore possible to give an internal and external structure to the new family. This took place during the Chapter at Albacina, which met that same year in April, or perhaps even earlier. After the election of Louis of Fossombrone as vicar general, as a consequence of Matthew of Bascio having immediately resigned the office, a small commission, or perhaps only Louis, dictated the first ordinances or statutes, which were incorrectly called the "Constitutions" of Albacina. These were probably drafted in Latin and immediately translated into the vernacular. Both copies of the original have been lost.³³

In the form in which they have come down to us, and beginning with the title: "Constitutions of the Friars Minor of the Eremitic Life," these Constitutions present a rudimentary organization of eremitic life – a name which did not become official and which was subsequently abandoned. Even though these ordinances were described by the chronicler Bernardine of Colpetrazzo as Constitutions which were "more heavenly than human," they are full of improvisation and precariousness. Furthermore, they are disorganized and lack logical structure. In their sixty-seven articles the primacy given to contemplation and to the most strict poverty pervades throughout.³⁴ With regard to contemplation and thus the solitary eremitic life, among other things there is the prescription of four hours of prayer for the "tepid friars and the lazy, whereas devout and fervent friars spend all their time in prayer, meditation and contemplation." There is the recitation of the Divine Office in a low tone and with pauses, without adding other Offices. There is to be one Mass in a place, with no stipend. There is a prohibition of other sacred functions so as not to attract the faithful. There is almost continual silence. There are small cells in the forest for those friars who have received "the grace of the Lord to live in silence as anchorites."

There are many ordinances on poverty. There is very strict personal poverty in furnishings. There is also the construction of houses of straw and mud, or stone and earth, with a "small" church. However, a certain type of active life was provided for, namely, preaching. Thus the superiors were ordered not to leave preachers idle during the year. It was ordained that their preaching be carried out rather "by way of a good life and their good example" and that it not be "outstanding for either decorative speech or subtle speculation; rather they should preach the Gospel of the Lord purely and simply." However, there was a prohibition "to take up study, with the exception of reading certain passages from Scripture and a certain devout and spiritual book which draw toward the love of Christ and the embracing of His cross."

There is no mention of manual work, which was so dear to Louis and held in such esteem in former times. Nor is there any mention of observing the Rule *ad litteram*, which was made sufficiently clear in the Bull of foundation. On the other hand, all the statutory dispositions point to strict, pure and spiritual observance. What is more, the bulk of the negative ordinances, above all in the matter of poverty, imply the denunciation of the abuses and relaxation which are lamented in the Observants.

A recent minute analysis highlights the genuinely Franciscan character of these Albacina Statutes. In almost every number we can identify implicit references to the writings of St. Francis, the Mirror of Perfection, the Ancient Legend (of the Three Companions), and the Book of Conformities by Bartholomew of Pisa, in addition to the references to (or rather, in concordance with) earlier Franciscan legislation.³⁵

3. Struggle for Survival

While the tiny Capuchin family was occupied with living the way of life which was provided for in the Albacina Statutes – a way of life which Bernardine of Colpetrazzo described as “desperate” – the superiors of the Observants undertook a hard and unyielding offensive against the new reform in 1529. Their action was based on papal Briefs which had been obtained through the very effective intervention of the procurator general, Honorius Caini, who was the confessor of Clement VII. At all costs they wished to stop or at least slow down the flight of Observant zealots, who were tired of waiting for the establishment of houses of prayer and fled to the Capuchins.³⁶

The superiors were committed to saving the unity of the Observance. They signified open vexation and rejection toward the Capuchins' way of life, which implied observance of the Rule *ad unguem*, without pontifical declarations. This was contrary to the tradition and practice of the Observants. In short, the Observants condemned the new type of life, which was excessively austere, if not frankly inhuman, as it would be described in the introduction to one of the Bulls. In the opinion of the superiors of the Observants, this would end up creating anxious doubts of conscience regarding the very manner of observing the Rule and poverty in the minds of the zealous friars.

Between 14 December 1529 and 14 August 1532, five papal documents were issued forbidding the passage of Observants to the Capuchins, or better, prohibiting the Capuchin from receiving Observants.³⁷ However, the Briefs remained dead letters. In 1530, nine new houses were erected, one in 1531 and five in 1532.³⁸ The reason for this “disobedience” lies with the protagonists themselves, the Observants and the Capuchins, who, by both natural and divine right, claimed that they were not obliged to renounce a more perfect life.³⁹ Furthermore, precise recourse to obedience was not introduced by the Roman curia, when there were cardinals and bishops who were in favor of the Capuchins. Clement VII himself found that he was up against the wall, being besieged by his niece Catherine Cibo and by his Observant confessor.

In the end, he took a quite drastic measure by proclaiming the Bull *In suprema militantis Ecclesiae*, on 16 November 1532, in which he imposed on the Observant reform to establish four or five friaries in every province for the zealous friars, who were seeking pure and full observance of the Rule according to the papal declarations, as well as a life of more intense prayer and contemplation. This Bull constituted the founding act of the reform known as the *Riformati*. It was supposed to take away any excuse for opting for the Capuchin family. Consequently, it put the survival of the Capuchins, which up to that point had been kept going by fleeing from the

Observants, into grave danger. However, the Bull was suppressed until the next General Chapter, which was to be held in 1535. This caused a general flight toward the Capuchins. Toward the end of 1533 and the beginning of 1534, such prestigious figures as these went over to the Capuchin family: Bernardine of Asti, Francis of Jesi, two of the four Observants who had requested the Bull *In suprema*, and Bernardine of Ochino, and someone who had been the bitter persecutor of the Tenaglia brothers up to this point, John Pili of Fano.

The superiors of the Observants obtained another two dangerous Briefs. The first, *Cum sicut accepimus*, of 9 April 1534, was addressed to Louis of Fossombrone. In addition to the prohibition to admit Observants, it forbade the Capuchins to open new houses without the permission of the Holy See. The second, *Pastoralis officii cura*, of the fifteenth of the same month, was more serious. It obliged those Observants who had gone over to the Capuchins to return to their friaries within fifteen days under pain of excommunication. In practice, this was an act of suppression of the Capuchin reform. However, the pope hastened to address this Brief to the cardinal protector of the Franciscan Order, who, it appears, was aware of the serious illness of the pope and did not execute the Brief. In 1530, the cardinal himself had donated the general house of St. Euphemia in Rome to the Capuchins.⁴⁰

On 13 October 1534, Paul III ascended the papal throne. Catherine Cibo disappeared from the scene with the death of Clement VII, but her place was taken by another noble lady, Vittoria Colonna, the duchess of Pescara. She had been very involved in reform leading to Trent. She now assumed the defense and protection of the Capuchins.

Under pressure from the superiors of the Observants, a further three Briefs were issued between December 1534 and August 1535. As was the case in earlier Briefs, they prohibited the passage of Observants to the Capuchins and the reception of Observants by the Capuchins.⁴¹ Because these documents did not have the desired effects, the pope decided to put an end to the endless and disedifying contest. With the Brief *Dudum postquam*, of 29 August 1535, the pope set two months as the time limit in which the Observants must erect the houses of prayer.⁴² This was referred to the General Chapter celebrated at Nice in May, with the threat that the Capuchins would be allowed to erect other houses or foundations. Even this Brief was not executed within the set time, and, as a consequence, the Capuchins retained the right to continue to receive Observants "with a safe conscience." Following this, Vincent Lunel, the general of the Observants, and Cardinal Quiñones, attempted to suppress the "sect" of the Capuchins through Emperor Charles V, who was visiting Italy, by joining it to the Observants. However, even this project failed.⁴³ Not even a commission of cardinal named by the pope in December 1535 to put an end to the dispute

between the Observants and the Capuchins, could come up with something concrete.⁴⁴

4. Balance between Contemplative and Active Life

The flow of Observants to the Capuchin reform between 1530 and 1535 made the number of hermitages, spread throughout Italy, rise to sixty, and the number of friars to at least 500.⁴⁵ The congregation was still led by Louis of Fossombrone, who was unwilling to call the triennial Chapter in 1532. The new arrivals were discontented with Tenaglia's authoritarian manner and closed mind. They wanted to clarify the Capuchin identity and give the order a definitive, spiritual and juridic structure. Through the good offices of Vittoria Colonna, Paul III authorized the celebration of the Chapter, which met in Rome in November 1535.⁴⁶ Brother Louis had nominated the capitulars himself and chose them because of their zeal and learning, in the secret hope of being elected again. However, Brother Bernardine of Asti was elected in the first ballot, and together with the definitors and other expert friars, he immediately proceeded to dictate the first Constitutions of the order.

During the Chapter, Louis had already been arrogantly opposed to any change whatsoever to the way of life which had been lived up to that point. Immediately following the Chapter, by means of excuses and intrigues, he tried to nullify the elections that had taken place. He claimed that the Chapter, which had not been called freely by him, was invalid, and that he was the only legitimate superior in force of the Bull *Religionis zelus*. Even more, he was prepared to have the congregation placed under the jurisdiction of the minister general of the Observants.

Then Brother Bernardine of Asti sought a pontifical declaration, concerning the legitimacy of the Chapter and the validity of the elections carried out during the Chapter, together with the transfer to himself and his successors, as a consequence, of the concessions which Clement VII had made to the Tenaglia brothers in the Bull of foundation. The pope granted the first petition in the Bull *Cum sicut nobis* of 29 April 1536, in which he confirmed the election of Bernardine of Asti. Those who refused to offer their obedience to Bernardine and his successors were declared expelled from the order and forbidden to wear the Capuchin habit.⁴⁷

It was because of this brief that Matthew of Bascio, who had always remained apart and had never felt like becoming part of community life, took off his beloved pointed hood and returned to the Observants, where he continued his life as an itinerant preacher of penance. As we have said already, Matthew was not the actual initiator of the Capuchin reform, nor did he play any part in its organization or development. All things considered, he gave it an effective start through his example and his simple ideals.

Brother Louis and his supporters arranged for another General Chapter to be convoked, in the hope that they might succeed in placing the Capuchins under the Observants. However, in the meantime, Vittoria Colonna had obtained the Bull *Exponi nobis*, of 25 October 1536, in which the pope confirmed the Bull of the foundation of the order by transferring to the person of Bernardine of Asti and his successors what Clement VII had conceded to Louis of Fossombrone in *Religionis zelus*.⁴⁸

The Chapter took place the following September and confirmed the election of Bernardine as vicar general.⁴⁹ On his part, the pope confirmed the decision of the Chapter in a Brief of 10 October, and expelled the rebel Louis from the order.⁵⁰ Following this, there were further prohibitions or restrictions regarding the transfer of Observants to the Capuchins and vice versa. However, with the influx of vocations from various quarters, the order had no need of transfusions from the Observants.⁵¹

During the Chapter of 1536, the Constitutions, which had been ready for months, were promulgated. They did not constitute a departure from the way of life begun by Louis of Fossombrone and which he had established and perfected. Since the editors, Bernardine of Asti, Ochino, John of Fano and others had come from the Observants, they brought with them a whole tradition which was Franciscan and spiritual, a substantial experience of the active life, as well as the sad experience of laxity, usages which were suspect, and superfluous ceremonies which were prevalent among the Observants.⁵² Furthermore, they had lived Capuchin life for a sufficient period of time. Thus they were able to prepare legislation which drew the ideals of the Capuchin reform into line with those of the supporters of the Observant houses of prayer which were very similar, and which at the same time opened a broad prospect of involvement in the direct service of the church aimed at the reform and renewal of popular piety, especially in very humble circles, for whom religious life was almost the only way of participating in social life.

The primacy of the eremitic and contemplative life remained intact in the new Constitutions, in which the Albacina Statutes had been substantially incorporated. However, their realistic appraisal of the times allowed ample scope for certain forms of active life which had been almost absent from the legislation of 1529.⁵³

The Constitutions of 1536, which were set out in twelve chapters corresponding to those in the Rule, are more than a code of juridical and disciplinary laws. They are a systematic exposition of the most genuine ideal of St. Francis, which had been rediscovered by the new Capuchin reform, which concentrated totally upon the imitation of Christ and of St. Francis. Therefore, they are a veritable handbook of on-going formation and Franciscan spirituality.⁵⁴

Most of all, they stand for the pure, holy and spiritual observance of the

Rule, and they accept "as the only, living commentary" on the Rule papal declarations "and the most holy life, teaching and example" of St. Francis. Furthermore, they enjoin the observance of the Testament as the "spiritual gloss and explanation of our Rule."⁵⁵

With regard to the life of retirement and contemplation, they reduce the hours of prayer to two "for the tepid," and add that "the truly spiritual Friar Minor always prays." Manual labor is provided for "when the friars are not occupied in spiritual exercises." The houses are to be "about a mile and a half" away from cities and villages.

Leaving aside the new specifications concerning poverty, humility and austerity, we draw attention to new initiatives in the active life, in the first place with regard to preaching, whose source and motivating force must be contemplative life.

Chapter nine of the Constitutions, which appears to evidence the hand of Ochino, provides a perfect guide that is purely Gospel and orthodox, for Capuchin preaching, which is essentially evangelical. Much more than was the case with the Albacina Statutes, we see here that stress is laid on the quality of preachers, who are to be "few but good," and on the manner of preaching: "Preachers are likewise obliged not to preach trifles, novelties, poetry, stories or other vain, superfluous, curious, useless or dangerous sciences." They are to return to solitude when "they feel the spirit slackening," and "they are to ascend the mountain of prayer and contemplation and there endeavor to inflame themselves with divine love like the Seraphim, so that when they are well heated, they may warm others." During their sermons, "they are to use Sacred Scripture and especially the New Testament, but most of all the holy Gospel, so that when they are Gospel preachers, they will make Gospel people also."⁵⁶

Further, because of preaching, "it is ordained that there be certain devout and holy studies, replete with charity and humility, both in grammar as well as in sacred literature."⁵⁷ The opportunity of going and preaching the Catholic Faith among the infidels is offered to friars who are perfect and inspired by God. With regard to other forms of the apostolate, provision is made for the quest to help the poor in times of need, and voluntary assistance for the pest-ridden is encouraged.

The genuine Franciscan flavor of these Constitutions is obvious. Almost all of the prescriptions in these Constitutions are expressly based on the life of Christ and St. Francis. An almost computer-type analysis, which was carried out phrase by phrase by experts, allows us to identify frequent, and at times literal, references to the writings of St. Francis, to Francis's sources which have filtered through mainly by means of the Book of Conformities by the Pisan, as well as other secondary and legislative Franciscan sources.⁵⁸

We shall conclude here. Such a course of action is in perfect agreement

with the spirit of these Constitutions, which have remained almost unchanged in successive editions. In our opinion, this is the reason why the Capuchin reform, which was so precarious initially, has been successful.⁵⁹ The first reason for this success was the balance which was achieved between contemplative life and active life, that is, between solitude and preaching. These poles appear to be in opposition. However, they are the framework that supports every genuine Capuchin-Franciscan vocation. Because of this balance, which was undertaken with wisdom, the Capuchin Order, alongside the Jesuits, although using different methods, became the champion of the Tridentine reform and of the Catholic restoration in countries which were beset by Protestantism. In our opinion, it was this involvement in church life for the service of the Christian people which constitutes the special feature and the novelty which distinguishes the Capuchin reform from the other Franciscan reforms of strict observance.

Notes

1. On the writing of this history, see Edouard Alençon, *De primordiis* (see n. 7 below), pp. 2-9; Melchior a Pobladura, *Historia generalis Ordinis* (see n. 15 below), vol. 1, pp. 235-44; Callisto Urbanelli, *Storia dei cappuccini*, I (see n. 18 below), pp. 47-67; Stanislao da Campagnola, *Le origini francescane come problema storiografico* (Perugia, 1978), pp. 99-107.
2. See Isidro de Villapadierna, "Documentación del Archivo general de la Orden sobre la reforma capuchina (1525-1536)," in *CF* 48 (1978):413-36.
3. Concerning the characteristics and the point of view of each of the four chroniclers, see Mariano D'Alatri, "La riforma cappuccina vista de due cronisti del Cinquecento," in *CF* 48 (1978):399-411, and in "Le origini della riforma," cited in n. 17 below. See also Costanzo Cargnoni, O.F.M.Cap., "Sviluppo della riforma cappuccina nelle storiografia dei primi cronisti," in *ItFran* 54 (1979):389-408. See also Fredegandus Callaey of Antwerp, "La vita dei primi frati minori cappuccini secondo la cronaca di Bernardino da Colpetrazzo," in *Liber memorialis*, cited in n. 8 below, pp. 131-73; Costanzo Cargnoni, O.F.M.Cap., "Vita della b. Angela da Desenzano, nella 'Historia capuccina' di Mattia da Salò," *Agiografia e lettura spirituale della riforma tridentina*, in *ItFran* 52 (1977):187-218.
4. See *Bullarium Ordinis Fr. Min. Capuccinorum*, vol. 1 (Rome, 1740), pp. 57, 77-78, hereafter cited as *BC*.
5. *Annalium seu sacrarum historiarum Ordinis Minorum S. Francisci qui capucini nuncupantur tomus primus, in quo universa quae ad ejusdem Ordinis ortum et progressum usque ad annum 1580 fidelissime traduntur*. Auctore R.P. Zacharia Boverio Salutiensi, ejusdem Ordinis Theologo. Nunc primum in lucem prodit tribus Indicibus copiosissimis illustratus (Lugduni [Lione], 1632), d'ora in poi lo citeremo *Annales*. In 1641 the Italian translation of the work appeared in two parts. We mention only the first of these: *Annali dei Frati Minori Cappuccini compsti dal M.R.P. Zacaria Boverio da Saluzzo, e tradotti all'Italiano da F. Benedetto Sanbenedetti da Milano, predicatore cappuccino*, vol. 1, part 1 (Turin, 1641).
6. Regarding the *Annales* of Boverius, see Melchior a Pobladura, *Historia generalis Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Capuccinorum*, part 2 (1619-1761), vol. 1 (Rome, 1948), pp. 443-40; idem, "De cooperatoribus in compositione Annalium Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Capuccinorum," in *CF* 26 (1956):9-49; Mariano D'Alatri, "San Francesco negli Annali del Boverio," in *Francesco nella storia*, vol. 2 (see n. 17 below), pp. 135-47.

7. In the order of their publication, the monographs are: Eduard d'Alençon, *Tribulationes Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Capuccinorum primis annis pontificatus Pauli III (1534-1541)* (Rome, 1914). An edited and enlarged extract was published in *AnalOFMCap* 29 (1913) and 30 (1914). Idem, *De primordiis Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Capuccinorum 1525-1534*, *Commentarium historicum* (Rome, 1921). This is also an extract in *AnalOFMCap* 34 (1918), and 36 (1920). For the pages in the individual numbers of the *Analecta*, see our study *Documentación*, p. 417, n. 15.
8. See *Liber memorialis Ordinis Fratrum Minorum S. Francisci Capuccinorum quarto jam pleno saeculo ab Ordine condito (1528-1928)*. Editus jussu Ministri Generalis R.mi P. Melchioris a Benisa, in *Supplementum* ad vol. XLIV *Analectorum Ordinis* (Rome, 1928). The study of Edouard d'Alençon is: *Primigeniae legislationis Ord. Fr. Min. Capuccinorum textus originales seu Constitutiones anno 1536 ordinatae et anno 1552 recognitae*, pp. 333-430.
9. Father Cuthbert, *The Capuchins: A contribution to the History of the Counter-Reformation* (London, 1928), two vols., edited in 1929 and 1930. Italian version: *I Cappuccini: Un contributo alla storia della Controriforma*, translated from the original English by P. Arsenio da S. Agata Feltria (Faenza, 1930). German version: (Munich, 1931).
10. See Isidoro de Villapadierna, "I cinquant'anni dell'Istituto Storica Cappuccino: Gli uomini e l'opera," in *CF* 50 (1980):9-34.
11. The edition appears in the series *Monumenta Historica Ordinis Minorum Capuccinorum* (hereafter cited as *MHOC*) in the following order: Marius of Mercato Saraceno, *Relationes de origine Ordinis Minorum Capuccinorum*, *MHOC*, vol. 1 (Assisi, 1937); Bernardine of Colpetrazzo, *Historia Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Capuccinorum (1525-1593)*, bk. 1: *Praecipui nascentis Ordinis eventus*, *MHOC*, vol. 3 (Assisi, 1939); idem, *Historia*, bk. 3: *Ratio vivendi fratrum. Ministri et vicarii generales. Cardinales protectores*, *MHOC*, vol. 4 (Rome, 1941); Matthias of Salò, *Historia capuccina*, part 1, *MHOC*, vol. 5 (Rome, 1946); idem, *Historia capuccina*, pars altera, *MHOC*, vol. 6 (Rome, 1950); Paul of Foligno, *Origo et progressus Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Capuccinorum*, *MHOC*, vol. 7 (Rome, 1955).
12. Father Melchior has put together an excellent spiritual anthology of selected texts under the title of *La bella e santa riforma dei Frati Minori Cappuccini*, *Testi scelti e ordinati da p. Melchiorre da Pobladura*, con introduzione di don G. De Luca (Rome, 1943). There followed a second edition, with further texts taken from the chroniclers Matthias of Salò and Paul of Foligno (Rome, 1963).
13. Theophilus Graf, O.F.M.Cap., *Zur Entstehung des Kapuzinerordens. Quellenkritische Studien* (Olten - Freiburg im Breisgau, 1940). Among other things, Graf drew a distinction between the congregation which lived an eremitic life, which was begun and directed by Louis of Fossombrone, and the actual Capuchin reform, the promoter of which was Bernardine of Asti. He also denied the celebration of the Chapter at Albacina, the putative ordinances of which were nothing else than a draft of legislation drawn up at the General Chapter of 1535.
14. See the concise review and refutation of Graf's study published by Melchior of Pobladura in *CF* 10 (1940):418-27. Graf maintained his version of the facts in the book *Die Kapuziner* (Freiburg, Switzerland, 1957). See *CF* 28 (1958):235-36.
15. Melchior of Pobladura, *Historia generalis Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Capuccinorum*, part 1, 1525-1619 (Rome, 1947). The second and third parts followed in 1948 and 1951. Concerning the exceptional contribution of Father Melchior to the critical history of the order, see Isidro de Villapadierna, "Padre Melchiorre da Pobladura (1904-1983), storico e agiografo," in *CF* 54 (1984):101-58.
16. A critical review of the studies between 1956 and 1963 is to be found in Stanislaw da Campagnola, "L'esperienza dei primi decenni di vita cappuccina in alcuni studi recenti," in *Lau* 4 (1963):497-516.

17. Most of these studies appeared in various commemorative anthologies which commemorated the event: "Reformationis capuccinae recurrente anno 450° fasciculus memorialis," in *AnalOFMCap* 94 (1978):299-432; "Commentarii historici CCCCL recurrente anno a reformatione capuccina condita," in *CF* 48 (1978):241-449; "La vita dei frati cappuccini, ripensata nel 450° anniversario della loro riforma," Conferenze tenute al convegno nazionale, Rome, 25-30 settembre 1978 (Rome, 1978), estratto, con impaginazione propria, da *ItFran* 53 (1978):513-679; "Le origini della riforma cappuccina. 450° dell'Ordine cappuccino," *Atti del convegno di studi storici*, Camerino, 18-21 settembre 1978 (Ancona, 1978); "De Francisco Assisiensi commentarii 1182-1982," IV, Rome, 1981, estratto da *CF* 52 (1982):5-452; "Francesco d'Assisi nella storia," ed. S. Gieben, II, Secoli XVI - XIX, *Atti del secondo convegno di studi per l'VIII centenario della nascita di S. Francesco (1182-1982)*, Assisi, 14-16 settembre 1982 (Rome, 1983).
18. Urbanelli, *Storia dei cappuccini*, part 1, I: *Origini della riforma cappuccina 1525-1536* (Ancona, 1978); III: *Documenti 1517-1609*, vol. 1, ivi, 1984.
19. Concerning the phenomenon of the Franciscan reforms, while awaiting the work of D. Nimmo, *Reform and Division in the Medieval Franciscan Order from St. Francis to the Foundation of the Capuchins* (which is being prepared for printing by the Capuchin Historical Institute), we refer the reader to Isidoro de Villapadierna, "Il ritorno all'ideale primitivo nelle riforme francescane di Spagna nei secoli XIV - XV," in *Picenum Seraph.* 12 (1975):273-89; M. D'Alatri, "Significato delle riforme francescane," in *Francescanesimo italiano contemporaneo. Incontro di tutte le componenti del francescanesimo italiano*, Assisi, 21-29 settembre 1976 (Bologna, 1976), pp. 173-79; C. Schmitt, in *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione*, s.v. "Osservanti - OFMOss"; M. Fois, "Il fenomeno dell'Osservanza negli Ordini religiosi tra il 1300 e il 1400. Alcune particolarità dell'Osservanza francescana," in *Lettura delle fonti francescane attraverso i secoli: il 1400*, ed. G. Cardaropoli and M. Conti (Rome, 1981), pp. 53-105; C. Bove, "Le fonti francescane nei documenti pontifici del secolo XV. Il significato ecclesiale delle riforme francescane," *ibid.*, pp. 119-38; D. Nimmo, "Saint Francis within the Observance," in "Francesco d'Assisi nella storia, I: Secoli XIII - XV," *Atti del primo convegno di studi per l'VIII centenario della nascita di S. Francesco, 1182-1982*, Rome, 29 settembre - 2 ottobre 1981 (Rome, 1983), pp. 161-72.
20. Concerning the historical context and the characteristics of the Capuchin reform, see Optatus de Veghel (van Asseldonk), "Le fonds franciscain de la réforme capucine," in *Miscellanea Melchor de Pobladora*, vol. 2 (Rome, 1964), pp. 11-59; *idem*, "La réforme des Frères Mineurs Capucins dans l'Ordre franciscain et dans l'Eglise," in *CF* 35 (1965):5-108; *idem*, "Significatio franciscana reformationis capuccinae genuinis fontibus spiritus et vitae S. Francisci consideratis," in *AnalOFMCap* 94 (1978):336-59; Rainald Fischer, "Notio reformationis spiritualis contextu historico saeculi XVI Spectato," in *AnalOFMCap* 94 (1978):307-10; Costanzo Cargnoni, O.F.M.Cap., "L'immagine di san Francesco nella formazione dell'Ordine cappuccino," in "L'immagine di Francesco nella storiografia dall'Umanesimo all'Ottocento," *Atti del IX convegno internazionale*, Assisi, 15-17 ottobre 1981 (Assisi, 1983), pp. 111-68, and in *AnalOFMCap* 99 (1983):242-69.
21. See O. van Asseldonk, "Ordo semper renovandus! La riforma cappuccina come richiamo a una continua riforma nella Chiesa," in "Le origini della riforma," cited in n. 17 above, pp. 395-412; M. Fois, "L'Osservanza' come espressione della 'Ecclesia semper renovanda,'" in *Problemi di storia della Chiesa nei secoli XV- XVII* (Naples, 1979), pp. 12-107.
22. Concerning the preparation, the editing and the critical text of this Bull, see J. Meseguer Fernández, "La bula 'Ite vos' (29 de mayo de 1517) y la reforma cisneriana," in *Archivo Ibero-Americano*, II época, 18 (1958):257-361.
23. Concerning the ferment and the aspirations of the Observants, see d'Alençon, *De*

- primordiis*, pp. 9–12; Urbanelli, *Storia*, I/1, pp. 129–62. Regarding the state of the Observants in the Marches (the birthplace of the Capuchin reform), see Urbanelli, *Storia*, I/1, pp. 163–74; G. Pagnani, “L’Osservanza nelle Marche nel primo trentennio del secolo XVI,” in *Le origini della riforma*, pp. 97–105.
24. See J. Meseguer Fernández, “Programa de gobierno del P. Francisco Quiñones, ministro general O.F.M. (1523–1528),” in *Archivo Iber.-Amer.* 21 (1961):5–51. For the Spanish text of the statutes for the houses of prayer, see *ibid.*, 9 (1918):264–74. For the Latin translation, see L. Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, an. 1523, nos. 26–29, XVI (Quaracchi ad Claras Aquas, 1933), pp. 193–97. From now on we shall quote this edition from the *Annales*.
 25. Concerning this outstanding person, see a study (which has nothing favorable to say) by Giuseppe Abate, O.F.M.Conv., “Fra’ Matteo da Bascio e gli inizi dell’Ordine cappuccino,” in *CF* 30 (1960):31–77. More benevolent and objective is Melchior of Pobladura’s “La ‘Severa riprensione’ di fra Matteo da Bascio (1495? – 1552),” in *Archivo italiano per la storia della pietà*, 3 (1961):281–309; M. D’Alatri, in *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione*, s.v. “Matteo (Serafini), da Bascio; Urbanelli, *Storia*, I/1, pp. 174–85; *idem*, “Matteo da Bascio e l’Ordine dei Frati Minori Cappuccini,” in “I cappuccini nel Montefeltro,” *Atti del convegno di Pietrarubbia*, 3 agosto 1980 (S. Leo, 1982), pp. 3–65. Concerning the origin of the reform, see d’Alençon, *De primordiis*, pp. 12–62; Melchior a Pobladura, *Historia generalis*, vol. 1, pp. 21–32; Urbanelli, *Storia*, I/1, pp. 187–256; *idem*, “Ortus reformationis capuccinae eiusque firmitudo,” in *AnalOFMCap* 94 (1978):311–24; *idem*, “Gli eremi camaldolesi di Monte Corona e le origini dei cappuccini,” in “Aspetti e problemi del monachesimo nelle Marche,” *Atti del convegno di studi tenuto a Fabriano*, Monastero S. Silvestro Abate, 4–7 giugno 1981, vol. 1 (Fabriano, 1982), pp. 257–94.
 26. Published in d’Alençon, *De primordiis*, p. 21, and in Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, vol. 16, *Addenda*, pp. 790–91.
 27. Boverio, *Annales*, vol. 1, pp. 65–65; *BC*, vol. 1, pp. 1–2. A more correct text is in d’Alençon, *De primordiis*, pp. 27–28. The critical edition is in Urbanelli, *Storia*, I/3, pp. 28–29. Usually this type of rescript was given, without too many formalities, to religious who could not live under their superiors for reasons of conscience.
 28. The Latin and Italian text for this statute is in J. Meseguer Fernández, “Constituciones recoletas para Portugal, 1524 e Italia, 1526,” in *Archivo Iber.-Amer.* 21 (1961):459–89.
 29. Re-edited in serial form in *ItFran* 7 (1932):20 (1935), and in a separate edition by John Pili of Fano, *Dialogo de la salute tra il frate stimolato et el frate rationabile circa la regola de li Frati Minori et sue dechiaratione per stimolati*. The second edition was edited by Bernardino da Lapedona (Isola del Liri, 1933). In 1535/36, John of Fano, who was a Capuchin by then, made a second edition – this time in favor of the Capuchin reform. See n. 52 below. See also Urbanelli, “L’Osservanza e la riforma cappuccina nei due ‘Dialoghi’ di Giovanni Pili da Fano,” in *Picenum Seraph.* 12 (1975):160–77.
 30. The request is in d’Alençon, *De primordiis*, pp. 44–46.
 31. The text of the Brief is in *De primordiis*, pp. 46–47. See our critical edition of the Bull *Religionis zelus*, compared with the authentic extract executed in Ancona in 1579, and with the texts transmitted by Boverius, Wadding, and the Roman Bulls: “Bulla ‘Religionis zelus’. (Textus emendatus),” in *CF* 48 (1978):243–48, and in *AnalOFMCap* 94 (1978):303–6. Another similar edition is in Urbanelli, *Storia*, I/3, pp. 30–32. For a scrutiny of the Bull, see S. Santachiara, “La bolla ‘Religionis zelus,’” in *Le origini della riforma*, pp. 261–80; Bonaventura da Gangi, “I motivi giuridici della riforma dei cappuccini,” in *ItFran* 53 (1978):149–72.
 32. See d’Alençon, *De primordiis*, pp. 56–62, 67–81; Urbanelli, *Storia*, I/1, pp. 239–42, 274–78; I/3, pp. 33–35. The definitive incorporation of the Calabrian group had to wait until 1532.

33. Concerning the Chapter at Albacina and its statutes, see d'Alençon, *De primordiis*, pp. 62-67; Melchior a Pobladura, *Historia generalis*, vol. 1, pp. 30, 109-11; Urbanelli, *Storia*, I/1, pp. 257-70. The Italian text of the statutes, which is certainly not original, as transmitted by Matthias of Salò, was reproduced in *Constitutiones Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Capuccinorum saeculorum decursu promulgatae*. I: *Constitutiones antiquae, 1529-1643* (Rome, 1980), pp. 18-31. Editions in print: *Le prime costituzioni dei Frati Minori Cappuccini di san Francesco* (Rome, 1913), the text which Edouard d'Alençon used for the comparison mentioned above in note 8. See Matthias a Salò, *Historia capuccina*, MHOC, vol. 5, pp. 158-72; Paul of Foligno, *Origo et progressus*, MHOC, vol. 7, pp. 58-73 (dipende da Mattia); "Costituzioni delli Frati Minori detti della vita heremitica," in *ItFran* 53 (1978):9-21; *Costituzioni delli Frati Minori detti della vita heremitica* (Lendrinara, 1978); *Le costituzioni di Albacina* (Milan, 1978). The numbering of the articles or paragraphs in the margin should be noted. It is absent in the manuscript, but it is introduced into the edition of 1913 (59). It differs from all the other editions (67). For an analysis of style and structure, see Gherardo del Colle, "Rilievi linguistico-stilistici sulle costituzioni di Albacina," in *ItFran* 53 (1978):22-28; F. Elizondo, "Las constituciones capuchinas de 1529. En el 450° aniversario de su redacción en Albacina," in *Lau* 20 (1978):389-440; G. Santarelli, "Proposte per un'edizione critica delle costituzioni cappuccine del 1529 e del 1536," in *CF* 51 (1981):325-31. Boverius's Latin text which Matthias of Salò translated into Italian, with evident amplifications and interpolations, is in *Annales*, vol. 1, pp. 115-25 (60 articles), reproduced in *AnalOFMCap* 5 (1889):13-21 (59 articles).
34. Concerning the spiritual content of the Albacina statutes (and of the Constitutions of 1536), see Luigi Maria da Genova, *Dottrina spirituale della primitiva legislazione capuccina* (Genoa, 1963); L. Iriarte, "Fisionomia espiritual de los capuchinos. Rasgos fundamentales de su espiritualidad," in *Estudios francisc.* 79 (1978):267-92; G. Santarelli, *Spunti di riflessione sulla vita capuccina alla luce delle origini* (Rome, 1980); O. Schmucki, "La figura di san Francesco nelle 'Costituzioni delli Frati Minori detti della vita heremitica' del 1529," in *ItFran* 53 (1978):595-624, also in *La vita dei frati cappuccini ripensata*, pp. 87-116, and in *Le origini della riforma*, pp. 121-57; Cargnoni, "L'immagine di san Francesco nella riforma capuccina," in *Francesco d'Assisi nella storia*, vol. 2, pp. 25-53; F. Elizondo, "Los primeros capuchinos y la observancia de la regla franciscana," in *Estudios francisc.* 80 (1979):1-42 [in Italian: "Regola francescana presso i primi cappuccini," in *ItFran* 53 (1978):625-65]; O. Schmucki, "L'indirizzo contemplativo dell'Ordine capuccino primitivo," in *Picenum Seraph.* 12 (1975):296-303; idem, "Munus contemplativum Ordinis capuccini lumine primarum eiusdem constitutionum," in *AnalOFMCap* 94 (1978):360-73; idem, "Preghiera e vita contemplativa nella legislazione e vita dei primi frati minori cappuccini," in *Le origini della riforma*, pp. 351-74; Cargnoni, "I primi lineamenti di una 'scuola capuccina di devotione,'" in *ItFran* 59 (1984):111-40; L. Iriarte, "Altissima paupertas secundum textus legislativos primigenios aliosque fontes antiquos," in *AnalOFMCap* 94 (1978):390-400 [in Italian: "L'amore alla povertà e ai poveri nella legislazione e nella vita dei primi cappuccini," in *Le origini della riforma*, pp. 375-93]; Urbanelli, *Storia*, I/1, pp. 301-27.
35. See Elizondo, "Las constituciones capuchinas de 1529," cited in n. 33 above; C. Cargnoni, "La tradizione dei compagni di san Francesco, modello dei primi cappuccini. Nuovi studi sulle fonti, specie su un cod. Assisiano," in *CF* 52 (1982):5-106, especially pp. 44-46, 99-90.
36. Concerning this difficult period see d'Alençon, *De primordiis*, pp. 82-124; idem, *Tribulationes*, pp. 1-9; Melchior a Pobladura, *Historia generalis*, vol. 1, pp. 33-41; Urbanelli, *Storia*, I/1, pp. 277-99.
37. These documents, which are missing from the Capuchin Bullarium, and all of which are

- not contained in Wadding, were critically published by Edouard d'Alençon, in *De primordiis*, pp. 82-85, 93-94, 99-100, 105-108, taking into account the original minutes of the secretary of the Briefs. See our study *Documentación*, in n. 2 above, pp. 425-426.
38. See D'Alatri, "Reformationis capuccinae implantatio per italiam saeculo XVI," in *AnalOFMCap* 94 (1978):325-35.
 39. These and other motives are mentioned by Bernardine of Asti in his memorial of 1535. See d'Alençon, *Tribulationes*, pp. 42-46.
 40. The text of the Brief *Sicut accepimus* was published in Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, an. 1534, no. 75, XVI, 439, in *BC*, vol. 1, pp. 11-12, and in *De primordiis*, pp. 119-20, where Edouard d'Alençon believes that it is later to the other of 15 April. In the original minutes it effectively carried the date of 9 April. See Archivio Segreto Vaticano, *Minute dei Brevi di Clemente VII*, arm. XL, no. 241. The Brief *Pastoralis officii*, in *De primordiis*, pp. 116-17, and in Wadding, *Annales, Addenda*, pp. 794-96. In the minutes, the date of 9 April had been cancelled, and that of the 15th had been added. See the citation *Minute dei Brevi*, no. 243.
 41. See Isidoro de Villapadierna, *Documentación*, pp. 428-29.
 42. Boverio, *Annales*, vol. 1, pp. 995-96; *BC*, vol. 1, pp. 15-16. Both Wadding (*Annales Minorum*, an. 1535, no. 36, XVI, 461-62) and Father Edouard d'Alençon (*Tribulationes*, p. 6) mistakenly date this brief as 19 August.
 43. Melchor de Pobladora, "El emperador Carlos V contra los capuchinos. Texto y comentario de una carta inédita: Nápoles, 17 enero 1536," in *CF34* (1964):373-90; V. Sánchez, "Vicente Lunel, ministro general O.F.M. III: Lunel y la reforma de los capuchinos," in *Archivo Iber.-Amer.* 32 (1972):315-26.
 44. See d'Alençon, *Tribulationes*, pp. 39-48.
 45. See D'Alatri, "Reformationis capuccinae implantatio," cited in n. 38 above.
 46. See d'Alençon, *Tribulationes*, pp. 9-18; Melchior a Pobladora, *Historia generalis*, vol. 1, pp. 41-46; Urbanelli, *Storia*, I/1, pp. 329-57.
 47. The Brief (*BC*, vol 1, pp. 16-17) had two editions, and in the definitive edition reference to the approbation and confirmation of the Bull *Religionis zelus* in favor of the new superiors was cancelled. See d'Alençon, *Tribulationes*, pp. 12-14.
 48. Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, an. 1536, no. 11, XVI, 471-75; *BC*, vol. 1, pp. 18-20; *Bullarium romanum* (ed. Taurinensis), vol. 6, pp. 229-35. At the top of the original minutes of the Brief, which was then sent in the form of a Bull, mention is made of the intervention of the Marquess of Pescara, "upon whose insistence His Holiness granted this favor."
 49. Certainly the Chapter was held in the month of September, and not before the Bull of 25 August, as Edouard d'Alençon thought (*Tribulationes*, pp. 19-20). The elections took place on 22 September. See *AnalOFMCap* 43 (1927):282-88.
 50. Boverio, *Annales*, vol. 1, pp. 214-15; *BC*, vol. 1, p. 21. Concerning Louis Fossombrone, see M. D'Alatri, in *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione*, s.v. "Ludovico (Tenaglia) da Fossombrone"; Urbanelli, *Storia*, I/1, pp. 359-79.
 51. Cargnoni, "Le vocazioni dell'Ordine cappuccino dagli inizi al 1619," in *Le vocazioni all'Ordine francescano dalle origini ad oggi* (Naples, 1983), pp. 89-122.
 52. On this person who is of prime importance, see Cargnoni, "Figura eminens Bernardini de Asti praecipui reformationis capuccinae promotoris," in *AnalOFMCap* 94 (1978):374-84; D'Alatri, "Bernardino d'Asti padre della riforma cappuccina," in *Santi e santità nell'Ordine capuccino*, vol. 1: *Il Cinque e il Seicento*, ed. M. D'Alatri (Rome, 1980), pp. 21-31; Cargnoni, in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, s.v. "Ochino (Bernardin) Tommasini da Siena"; Bernardino da Lapedona, "P. Giovanni Pili da Fano, cappuccino (1469-1539). Studio biografico (incompiuto)," in *ItFran.* 37 (1962):26-33, 108-14, 252-64, 317-23; 38 (1963):42-49, 161-67, 262-67; 39 (1964):28-33; Optat de Veghel, in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, s.v. "Jean de Fano". Between 1535 and 1536, John of Fano

- wrote the new edition of his *Dialogo della salute*, in defense of the Capuchins. The work was published in *ItFran* 10 (1935):13 (1938), and in a separate edition: Giovanni Pili da Fano, *Dialogo de la salute tra il frate Stimolato e il frate Rationabile circa la Regola delli Frati Minori, et sue dichiarazioni con molte necessarie additioni, di nuovo ricomposto et ristampato*. See "Codice Cingolano," with preface and notes of P. Bernardino da Lapedona (Isola del Liri, 1935). In a separate edition, see Cargnoni, "La tradizione dei compagni," in *CF* 52 (1982):49-58, 99-106. See also n. 29 above. Regarding another work of Pili, see Elizondo, "El 'Breve discurso' de Juan de Fano sobre la pobreza franciscana," in *CF* 48 (1978):31-65. Concerning these and other early spiritual writers, see Cargnoni, "Fonti, tendenze e sviluppi della letteratura spirituale cappuccina primitiva," in *CF* 48 (1978):311-398.
53. The Constitutions of 1536 were printed in 1537 at Naples. See the edition in *Constitutiones Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Capuccinorum*, cited in n. 33 above, pp. 35-74. After they were discovered in 1927, edited and compared with those of 1552 (see n. 8 above), they recently had two valuable editions, which were presented in a single volume: *Le prime costituzioni dei Frati Minori Cappuccini*, Roma - S. Eufemia 1536, in lingua moderna con note storiche ed edizione critica, edd. F.A. Catalano, C. Cargnoni, and G. Santarelli (Rome, 1982). The modern edition with critical notes appears in *ItFran* 56 (1981):455-633, and a critical philological study by G. Santarelli, *ItFran* 57 (1982):7-42. Another edition in Spanish is joined to an excellent study in Elizondo, "Las constituciones capuchinas de 1536. Texto, fuentes y lugares paralelos," in *Estudios franc.* 83 (1982):143-252. One must note the different numbering of articles or paragraphs: 152 in d'Alençon, the Spanish, Cargnoni and Elizondo; and 105 in Santarelli. Regarding the structure of these Constitutions, see Elizondo, "Estructura y lenguaje de las constituciones capuchinas del 1536," in *Lau* 24 (1983):283-326. On the criteria for the edition, see the article of G. Santarelli, cited in n. 33 above.
54. Concerning the spiritual and legislative aspects, we refer the reader to the studies mentioned in n. 34 above, where more space and attention is afforded to them. See also O. van Asseldonk, "La persona di Cristo nelle prime (e ultime) costituzioni," in *ItFran* 53 (1978):667-74; O. Schmucki, "De loco S. Francisci Assisiensis in constitutionibus Ordinis Fratrum Minorum anni 1536," in *CF* 48 (1978):249-310; idem, "La figura storica e spirituale di san Francesco nelle costituzioni cappuccine del 1536," in *Bollettino ufficiale della provincia di Foggia dei Frati Minori Cappuccini*, numero speciale dell'anno 1979 (Foggia, 1980), pp. 57-102.
55. On this peculiarity of the Capuchin reform, see Kajetan Esser, "Das Testament des hl. Franziskus in der Gesetzgebung des Kapuzinerordens," in *CF* 44 (1974):45-69.
56. Concerning the characteristics of early Capuchin preaching, see: Arsenio d'Ascoli, *La predicazione dei cappuccini del Cinquecento in Italia* (Loreto [Ancona], 1956); M. da Pobladura, *La 'Severa riprensione'*, cited in n. 25 above; Cargnoni, "L'apostolato dei cappuccini come 'redundantia di amore,'" in *ItFran* 53 (1978):559-93; idem, *La predicazione dei frati cappuccini nell'epoca di riforma promossa dal Concilio di Trento* (Rome, 1984). Concerning the early Capuchin missionary spirit, see Cargnoni, *Nel nome del dolce Gesù congregati servivano e testimoniavano*. Elevazione storico-ascetica sulla missionarietà dei primi cappuccini nel 450° anniversario della riforma (Milan, 1978).
57. On the early attitude of the reform to studies, see H. Felder, "Die Studien im ersten Jahrhundert des Kapuzinerordens," in *Liber memorialis*, pp. 79-132; Melchior of Pobladura, "Significado y amplitud de los estudios en la Orden capuchina durante el primer siglo de su existencia," in *Estudios franc.* 52 (1951):346-95. However, we should note the case of Francis Titelmans of Hasslett (d. 1537), renowned theology professor and writer, who transferred from the Observants to the Capuchins in 1536, who

- preferred to devote himself to manual labor. See D'Alatri, "Francesco Titelmans o del lavoro manuale," in *Santi e santità*, cited in n. 52 above, pp. 7-19.
58. See the exhaustive analysis of Cargnoni, *La tradizione dei compagni*, pp. 44-48, 91-98. For the note to the individual articles, see *Le prime costituzioni*, cited in n. 53 above. for the study and critical notes of Elizondo, see *Las constituciones capuchinas de 1536*, cited in n. 53 above.
59. For a general judgment on the success of the Capuchin reform, see Melchior a Pobladura, "Magna fecunditas servitii et testimonii Fratrum Minorum Capuccinorum in decurs 450 annorum eorum existentiae," in *AnalOFMCap* 94 (1978):401-13; Hilarinus de Milano, "Charisma reformationis Fratrum Minorum Capuccinorum et auctoritas hierarchica, civilis et popularis," *AnalOFMCap* 94 (1978): 414-32 [in Italian: "Il carisma della riforma dei minori cappuccini e l'autorità hierarchica, civile e popolare," in *ItFran* 53 (1978):533-57, and in *La vita dei frati cappuccini ripensata*, pp. 25-50]; M. D'Alatri, "I Frati Minori Cappuccini ossia 450 anni di servizio nella Chiesa," in *ItFran* 53 (1978): 517-32, and in *La vita dei frati cappuccini*, pp. 9-24, and in *I cappuccini nella Chiesa* (Rome, 1978), pp. 11-26; Cargnoni, "Alcuni aspetti del successo della riforma cappuccina nei primi cinquant'anni (1525-1574)," in *Le origini della riforma*, pp. 211-59; Urbanelli, "L'apporto dei cappuccini alla riforma cattolica del secolo XVI," in "Eremiti e pastori della riforma cattolica nell'Italia del '500," *Atti del VII convegno del Centro di Studi Avellaniti*, Fonte Avellana, 31 agosto - 2 settembre, 1983 (Fonte Avellana, 1984), pp. 37-64.