

St. Anthony and University Culture in the Franciscan Order at its Origins

Antonio Rigon

“S. Antonio e la cultura universitaria
nell’Ordine Franciscano delle origini”

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Translated by Dennis Tamburello, O.F.M.

I begin by commemorating my friend Paolo Marangon, a scholar who died young in the very fullness of his life and scientific activity. I believe no one today could speak more authoritatively of St. Anthony and university culture in the early Franciscan Order — the main subject of his research.¹ Thanks to him and other scholars of various backgrounds and training, the several collections at the Center of Antonian Studies made considerable progress over the past seventy or eighty years. The progress is evident in the reports of scholarly meetings,² the monumental works,³ the critical editions of the *Sunday and Feast Day Sermons*,⁴ and the upcoming publication of the Antonian hagiographic sources as part of the corpus.⁵ The new research data has notably enriched our

¹ Among his many studies that should be particularly recalled in this context are: “S. Antonio, Rolando da Cremona e la nuova cultura,” in *Il Santo*, 2d ser. 16 (1976): 131–37; idem, “Il rapporto culturale tra Università e ordini mendicanti nella Padova del Duecento,” 18 (1978): 129–32; idem, “Le diverse immagini di s. Antonio e dei francescani nella società e nella cultura padovana dell’età comunale,” 19 (1979): 523–71; idem, “I ‘Sermones’ e il problema antoniano nella valutazione francescana della cultura,” 26 (1986): 437–77 (published posthumously). Moreover, we should look at the volume *Alle origini dell’aristotelismo padovano (sec. 12–13)* (Padua, 1977).

² See *S. Antonio di Padova fra storia e pietà: Colloquio interdisciplinare su ‘Il fenomeno antoniano’* (Padua, 1977). The reports have also been published in *Il Santo*, 2d ser. 16 (1976): 149–663; *I volti antichi e attuali del Santo di Padova: Colloqui interdisciplinare su ‘L’immagine di s. Antonio’* (Padua, 1980), in *Il Santo*, 2d ser. (1982): 5–862.

³ For those interested, see *Storia e cultura al Santo* (Vicenza: A. Poppi, 1976).

⁴ *Antonii Patavini: Sermones dominicales et festivi*, eds. B. Costa, L. Frasson, I. Luisetto, with the assistance of P. Marangon, 3 vols. (Padua: 1979).

⁵ *Vita prima di s. Antonio o ‘Assidua’* (ca. 1232), introduction, critical text, Italian translation and notes edited by Vergilio Gamboso (Padua, 1981); Julian of Speyer, *Officio ritmico e ‘Vita secunda’*, introduction, critical text, Italian translation and notes edited by

knowledge of Anthony. Now it should be considerably easier to study his intellectual figure, his relationship to thirteenth-century culture (especially university culture), his personal impact on cultural developments within the Order of Friars Minor, and the overall Franciscan relationship to culture. Yet much still escapes us. Anthony's chronology continues to be based on shaky data. The dating of the sermons is uncertain, and a clear picture of the saint's personal problems and religious experiences continues to elude scholars, much as it eluded Arsenio Fugoni in his day with regard to Arnold of Brescia,⁶ and more recently Giovanni Miccoli with reference to St. Francis.⁷ Regrettably, no alchemist's formula exists for reducing the conclusions of several scientific sources into a single body of hard evidence concerning a unique historical personality.⁸

Given these limitations, the scholarly task ahead seems to require a line-by-line analysis of Anthony's writings (the sermons), bearing in mind his intellectual formation and the care he took with his preaching and teaching. On the other hand, evidence and writings about Anthony (lives, panegyric preaching, records, documents), must be evaluated not only for evidence of biographical problems to be solved in developing a valid contemporary image of this holy doctor, but evaluated also as tools for the self-promotion and self-justification of the Franciscan circles active at the thirteenth-century's most advanced centers of European university culture.

Fra Paio da Coimbra, Dominican preacher and theologian, visited the Coimbra convent of St. Dominic before the year 1250. He later wrote a panegyric (included in his sermon collection) honoring Anthony's liturgical feast.⁹ Beginning with the saint's *Vita* (the *Assidua*)

Gamboso (Padua, 1985); *Vita del Dialogus' e 'Benignitas'*, introduction, critical text, Italian translation and notes edited by Gamboso (Padua, 1986).

⁶ Frugoni, *Arnaldo da Bresca nelle fonti del secolo 12* (Rome, 1954), pp. 7-10. A second edition of this classic work appears in a presentation of Giuseppe Sergi, edited by Einaudi (Turin, 1989).

⁷ Miccoli, "Francis of Assisi's Christian Proposal," *Greyfriars Review* 3, no. 2 (1989): 127-72.

⁸ Miccoli recalls with great equilibrium: "Analysis, criticism, comparison of testimonies, actual reconciling of various testimonies — these are all necessary components (I would say an irresistible tendency) — of the historian's work, whether reconstructing an individual experience or coordinating the events of a larger period." Naturally "such analyses and combinations cannot rest upon arbitrary criteria, nor depend solely upon the scholar's ability to get to the heart of the matter" ("Francis of Assisi's Christian Proposal," p. 128, cited in n. 7 above).

⁹ This panegyric has been published by F. Da Gama Caeiro, "Fonti portoghesi della formazione culturale di sant'Antonio," in *Le fonti e la teologia*, 164-67, and 153-54. For the person and work of Fra Paio, see idem, "Insegnamento e predicazione teologica del Portogallo del Medioevo: materiali per una revisione del problema antoniano," in *Il*

rather than with his own firsthand knowledge of Anthony, or with local Coimbra memory of the saint, Paio emphasized Anthony's Portuguese origins and other biographical data impressive to a general Portuguese public.

Paio begins with the saint's Lisbon origin and his baptismal name: "This first sermon begins on the feast of the blessed Fernandus, called Anthony, of the Ulixbonensian nation."¹⁰ Among other salient episodes, Paio mentions Anthony's desire for martyrdom while still an Augustinian canon at Coimbra — the decisive factor in Anthony's passage to the Franciscans.¹¹ Of Anthony's miracles, Paio chooses three, two of which refer to the rescue of drowned persons in the distant sinkholes of Padua and in the deep lagoon waters of Comacchio.¹² Such incidents from the chronicle were certainly familiar to those who, like the Lisboans, looked out upon the estuary of the Tagus River and knew the perils of the Great Sea.

Paio says nothing about Anthony's formation and cultural activity. Citing *Vir peritus multos erudiet* ("The man who is the expert teaches many") of Ecclesiastes (Qoheleth) 37: 22, Paio observes that Anthony did as much (*fecit beatus Antonius*),¹³ but the reference is to the good works already mentioned in the homily, with no specific connection between Anthony and intellectual activity properly so-called.¹⁴

The reasons for this silence may be chance alone; but they may go deeper — to the persistent neglect of culture in talking about sanctity, for instance;¹⁵ or to Fra Paio's readiness (given the mid-century climate

Santo, 2d ser. 25 (1985): 307–28 (with a return to the preceding bibliography in note 10).

¹⁰ Da Gama Caeiro, "Fonti portoghesi," p. 164.

¹¹ He was also beloved by God because of his most eager desire for martyrdom. Therefore his *Vita* says: "He said in his heart: 'Oh, if the Most High would permit me to be a partaker of the crown of the holy martyrs. Oh, if the sword of the gladitor would find me on bended knee, with my neck extended for the name of Jesus!'" (Da Gama Caeiro, "Fonti portoghesi," p. 165, and *Vita prima*, p. 288).

¹² The third concerns the conversion of the heretic, Aleardino da Salvaterra. It is worthy of note that the three miracles are presented in the same order with those narrated, one after the other, in the *Vita prima* (Da Gama Caeiro, "Fonti portoghesi," pp. 166–67, and *Vita prima*, pp. 482, 484, 486).

¹³ Da Gama Caeiros, "Fonti portoghesi," 165.

¹⁴ *Miserorum compassio* ("compassion for the miserable"), *errantium correctio* ("correction of the erring"), *bonorum edificatio* ("edification of the good"), *temptatorum consolatio* ("consolation of those tempted"), *iniuriarum remissio* ("forgiveness of injuries"), *discordantium reconciliatio* ("reconciliation of discord"), *oratio* ("prayer"), in Da Gama Caeiro, "Fonti portoghesi," p. 165.

¹⁵ For the problem in general, see A. Vauchez, "Culture et sainteté d'après les procès de canonisation des 13 et 14 siècles," in *Le scuole degli ordini mendicanti (secoli 13–14)*, (Todi: Convegni del Centro di studi sulla spiritualità medievale, 17), pp. 151–72, esp. pp. 159–62. See idem, *La sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du Moyen Age d'après les*

of competition between Preachers and Minorites) deliberately to downplay the cultural attainments of a Franciscan saint. Nonetheless, the omission is surprising. Paio never once refers to Anthony's early Coimbra beginnings as an intense student at Santa Cruz; yet this fact is found in the *Assidua* and is perhaps based on the testimony of Sugerio, the bishop of Lisbon.¹⁶ The Coimbra years were decisive in Anthony's cultural formation; yet a learned panegyrist like Paio, living near Santa Cruz in the first half of the thirteenth century, failed to mention the lively cultural circle that Anthony experienced along with Fra Paio himself.

Portuguese historians, particularly Da Gama Caeiro, have abundantly documented that thirteenth-century Portugal possessed a culture of high learning well before the founding of the university in 1228 by King Denys. The culture was concentrated mainly in cathedral schools such as Lisbon's, but also schools like Lisbon's San Vincenzo de Lora, and Coimbra's Santa Cruz — significant places in Anthony's formation.¹⁷ Important inventories of books belonging to these two monasteries (and dated from the early thirteenth century) reveal an obvious interest in theology, patristics, monastic spirituality, and medicine.¹⁸ The inventories also reveal that the canons were in contact with the Victorines at Paris, whose works they possessed (for example *De institutione novitiorum* and *De sacramentis* of Hugh of St. Victor; *De preparatione animi ad contemplationem* of Richard of St. Victor), and whose theological teachings they certainly knew.¹⁹ Some *magistri* among the canons seem to have frequented the University of Paris, and earned the *licentia docendi*.²⁰ Certainly, in Anthony's years as a canon

procès de canonisation et le documents hagiographiques (Rome, 1981), pp. 460–72, esp. pp. 464–72.

¹⁶ *Vita prima* pp. 284, 286. See also p. 272 for the reference to Bishop Sugerio "and other Catholic men" who provided news for the author of the *Vita*.

¹⁷ Fundamentally it is regarding the work of F. Da Gama Caeiro, *Santo Antonio de Lisboa*, vol. 1, *Introdução ao estudo da obra antoniana* (Lisbon, 1967), which provides an abundant bibliography (pp. 429–78). See also the same author's article already mentioned, "Fonti portoghese," pp. 145–54, which is enriched by an important appendix (pp. 155–67). See also idem, "Insegnamento e predicazione," pp. 307–28.

¹⁸ The list of the books of Santa Cruz have been analyzed and published by A. Cruz, *Santa Cruz de Coimbra na Cultura Portuguesa da Idade Media*, vol. 1: *Observações sobre o 'Scriptorium' e os Estudos Claustrais* (Porto, 1964), and partially by Da Gama Caeiro, *Santo Antonio*, pp. 92–96, who also published an inventory of St. Vincent de Fora (*ibid.*, pp. 31–32). The same inventories have recently been reedited with some refinements by the same Da Gama Caeiro, "Fonti portoghese," pp. 155–64.

¹⁹ For all of this see Da Gama Caeiro, *Santo Antonio*, pp. 3137, 69–74, 91–96, as well as J. Chatillon, "Saint Antoine de Padoue et les Victorins," in *Le fonti e la teologia*, pp. 173–79.

²⁰ There are many doubts especially about this aspect. See Da Gama Caeiro, *Santo*

at Lisbon and Coimbra, and in the immediately subsequent years, these centers housed many distinguished scholars, for example Pedro Pires (Petrus Petri) of San Lorenzo, who, "great in grammar, medicine, logic and theology, was also outstanding in preaching"; another Petrus, prior of San Vincenzo, *magister* in theology; a "magister Iohannes, prior Sanctae Crucis," a "master Raymond, the most profound canon of that place, learned in various disciplines"; a "magister Parisius," likewise of Santa Cruz, who probably obtained the teaching license at Paris.²¹

Though Da Gama Caeiro is currently the chief Portuguese historian of St. Anthony, his collected reports are often controversial, so much so that a scholar must proceed cautiously in speculating about any connections between Anthony and the cultural milieu of Lisbon and Coimbra.²² De Gama Caeiro's research establishes that during formation Anthony had solid tools of learning at hand in an environment that encouraged the circulation of men and books. The canons probably maintained contact with the University of Paris, or at least with the Paris School of St. Victor, which was still basking in the afterglow of its period of greatest renown (the years of Hugh [d. 1141] and Richard [d. 1171]). The Victorines were still maintaining their intellectual traditions in the field of exegesis, theology, morals, and speculative mysticism, while preserving their own techniques of teaching and theological research founded on the *lectio, disputatio, contemplatio* ("reading, disputing, contemplation").²³ The Parisian masters of the same period elaborated a different schema based on *lectio, disputatio, praedicatio* ("reading, disputing, preaching") which fixed Scripture as the departure point for theological reflection, but added *disputatio* ("disputing"), thus placing the resources of dialectic at the service of active preaching.²⁴

To summarize, we know with certitude that Anthony, while in Portugal, could have been in at least indirect contact with the doctrines, procedures and basic scholastic texts being spread abroad from Paris and circulated throughout Europe.²⁵ The *Vita prima* states (and the sermons seem to indicate) that Anthony used his education well, since correlations are noted between the manuscripts of the Coimbran can-

Antonio, pp. 58-69.

²¹ On all these persons see the dates found and discussed by Da Gama Caeiro, *Santo Antonio*, pp. 37-45, 58-69, who indicates with great prudence how the saint's possible teachers may have been the prior of S. Vincent Pedro and the canon of the same monastery, Pedro Pires (*ibid.*, pp. 37, 41, 45).

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 3-96.

²³ See Chatillon, *Saint Antoine de Padoue*, pp. 175-76.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

²⁵ Da Gama Caeiro, *Santo Antonio*, pp. 47-96, and "Fonti portoghesi," pp. 147-51.

ons and the literary/doctrinal sources of the Antonian works.²⁶ Still, the nature of Anthony's formation, which produced a young canon who "always zealously cultivated the mind," remains uncertain.²⁷ Portugal has preserved no image of Anthony as a learned man. Fra Paio, his contemporary, makes no mention of Anthony's passionate biblical studies, his assiduous inquiry into the teachings of the saints, his *insperata cunctis Scripturae scientia* ("unexpected knowledge of all of Scripture") pursued in Portugal.²⁸ There is not even a hint of his eventual literary activity. A composition dated later than the sermons seems to suggest that Anthony's intellectual activity began when he entered the Order of Friars Minor.²⁹ The clues are weak, yet the fact remains that not one of the well-known codices of Anthony's sermons originated in Portugal or even the Iberian Peninsula.³⁰ So how can one affirm, as has been done, that the sermons were written "in Portugal by the theologian and canon of Coimbra [Anthony] as works addressed to the world in which he lived, and revised only at a later time"? Are we to understand that the sermons were written by a canon, directed to the clergy, prepared in Portugal, revised in Italy?³¹

This hypothesis was considered by the late Raoul Manselli, a teacher of Franciscan studies. It helps maintain Manselli's reputation for provocative entertainment, especially where he singles out Anthony's expressions in the sermons of personal disquiet and spiritual searching.³² But such undocumented hypotheses, even when propounded by a famous historian, should not become undocumented certainties.

Manselli's provocative questions have already been answered. The silence of the sermons regarding Francis is nothing unusual. The first generation of learned Friars at Paris in the third and fourth decades of the thirteenth century, like John de la Rochelle, acted like other religious, such as the Dominican Hugh of San Caro, in not mentioning the founders of their respective Orders in their Paris discourses on the Gospels.³³ Poverty is not particularly eulogized in the sermons as an

²⁶ Da Gama Caeiro, *Santo Antonio*, p. 96, and "Fonti portoghesi," pp. 150-51.

²⁷ *Vita prima*, p. 284.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 284, 286.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 328, 330, 332; *Vita secunda*, in *Officio ritmico e Vita secunda*, p. 424; See G. Abate, "La 'Vita sancti Antonii' di fra Pietro Raymondi da San Romano" (ca. 1293), in *Il Santo*, 2d ser. 10 (1970): 25; *idem*, *La Vita beati Antonii de ordine fratrum minorum' di fra Giovanni Rigaldi (inizi sec. 14)*, *ibid.*, p. 62.

³⁰ In this regard see the section dedicated to the codices in the recent edition of the *Sermones*, vol. 1, pp. 33-101.

³¹ Manselli, "La coscienza minoritica di Antonio di Padova di fronte all'Europa del suo tempo," in *Le fonti e la teologia*, p. 32.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 29-35, esp. pp. 32-35.

intimate and profound bond of love;³⁴ yet it is presented as a "precious good, an authentic richness to the extent it is ordered to the kingdom of heaven."³⁵ Peace is not central to the sermons,³⁶ at least as referring to concrete and historically recognizable situations;³⁷ yet the *Eighth Sunday after Easter* treats peace as *caritas* — reconciliation with one's neighbor, which is a means of extending oneself both to one's friend and to one's enemy.³⁸ As Giuseppina De Sandre Gasparini has observed in a passing comment, the means is not the place of indifference or of a cautious equidistance, but the place of love where the weak of whatever part, friends or enemies, find refuge.³⁹

In the final analysis, it seems very important to realize that our real problem in dealing with Anthony is not the dating of the sermons. More important is: Why, and how, and in what sense, have the sermons have been received and made part of the cultural and spiritual patrimony of the Franciscan Order? After all, our *Rule* reserves no place for studies, and indeed lays down that Friars without learning should not occupy themselves with attaining it.⁴⁰

A tentative answer to the questions may come from Anthony's concept of theology. For him, theology was the science above all worldly and lucrative sciences. The latter are "the old songs"; theology alone "is the new song echoing in God's own sweet ear."⁴¹ Anthony's theology is not a rigorous, speculative construction but rather an exegesis of Scripture, in which "is the fullness of all science";⁴² it is *Sacra doctrina*, a sapiential knowledge of the Bible, attaining its own heights in contemplation without abandoning itself to the subtleties of human reason. Anthony, like the Victorines, required human wisdom to disappear before "the contemplative penetration of the mystical way."⁴³ Benjamin

³³ Smalley, "The Use of Scripture in St. Anthony's 'Sermones'," in *Le fonti e la teologia*, p. 296.

³⁴ Manselli, "La coscienza minoritica," p. 31.

³⁵ Angelico Poppi, "La concezione biblica della povertà nei 'Sermones' di S. Antonio," in *Le fonti e la teologia*, p. 273.

³⁶ See Manselli, "La coscienza minoritica," pp. 31-32.

³⁷ G. De Sandre Gasparini, "La pace in Antonio e nella devotio dei mendicanti del 1233," in "S. Antonio di Padova tra storia e profezia: Simposio sui 'Sermones dominicales et festivi'," directed by P. Giuriati and P. Marangon, in *Studia Patavina: Rivista di scienze religiose* 28 (1981): 505.

³⁸ S. Antonii Patavini, *Sermones*, vol. 1, p. 236.

³⁹ De Sandre Gasparini, "La pace in Antonio," p. 236.

⁴⁰ See *RegB X 7*.

⁴¹ S. Antonii Patavini, *Sermones*, vol. 1, p. 255.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁴³ See Antonino Poppi, "'Ratio' e 'sapientia' nel pensiero di s. Antonio di Padova," in *Le fonti e la teologia*, pp. 737-48, esp. p. 747.

is born, that is, the grace of contemplation; Rachel is dead, that is to say, human reason.⁴⁴ Anthony's concept of theology was the traditional one, which rejected a new approach to revelation through the mediation of revived classical philosophy.⁴⁵

Is Anthony correct in his view that theology is not theoretical or speculative in nature but is rather the understanding of Scripture as authentic "wisdom" guiding us to the contemplation of God? Is he further correct in asserting that theology has a practical moral function, particularly in the preparation of preachers?⁴⁶ Then how could this be opposed in any way to Francis's own vision, expressed personally to Anthony in his well-known and authentic letter? The letter reads: "It pleases me that you teach sacred theology to the brothers, as long as — in the words of the *Rule* — you do not extinguish the Spirit of prayer and devotion with study of this kind."⁴⁷

Obviously there no opposition between the saints. The affirmation of a predominantly traditional theology (which avoids dialectical discussions and gives absolute primacy to Gospel proclamation) implies no rejection of new cultural developments. Da Gama Caeiro has clearly shown that while Anthony's sermons reflect the dominant western Augustinian mysticism of his day (which is opposed to dialectics), sermons also show Anthony's willingness to accept new rational process as a prudent and safe adaptation of dialectical and scholastic method.⁴⁸ Beryl Smalley has noted that in one sermon Anthony even had recourse to the *quaestio* concerning the repetition of forgiven sins.⁴⁹ Analyzing Anthony's use of Scripture, Smalley concludes, is partly derived from the doctrines and techniques of the Paris schools, particularly the schools which promoted the process of *lectio, disputatio, praedicatio*. But Smalley prudently suggests that Anthony was only indirectly aware of the Parisian scholastic tradition.⁵⁰

In truth, even after many inquiries and after publication of the critical edition of the sermons, no unanimous judgment has been made on the *Opus evangeliorum*, or on its author and his culture.⁵¹ Having

⁴⁴ S. Antonii Patavini, *Sermones*, vol. 1, p. 95.

⁴⁵ Poppi, "Ratio e sapientia," p. 747.

⁴⁶ See the paragraph "De fine seu destinatariis Sermonum," in the recent edition of the works of St. Anthony (S. Antonii Patavini, *Sermones*, vol. 1, pp. 49-51), as well as Da Gama Caeiro, "Insegnamento e predicazione," pp. 318-19.

⁴⁷ *EpAnt.*

⁴⁸ Da Gama Caeiro, *Santo Antonio*, p. 58.

⁴⁹ Smalley, "The Use of Scripture," p. 288.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 285-91, esp. p. 291.

⁵¹ The *Sermones* as so defined by their author (S. Antonii Patavini, *Sermones*, vol. 2, p. 605).

determined that the learned sermons were designed for an audience of friars and that they manifest a strong, consistent affirmation of the absolute primacy of sacred doctrine over every other science, we still face many unresolved problems, regarding the structure, contents and formal profile of the Antonian works. How does one reconcile Anthony's minimal interest in secular books, for example, with his "language and style characterized by a vigilant and persistent literary quality"?⁵² How square Anthony's aversion for juridic theological definitions⁵³ with the Church's organizational and disciplinary systematizing of the *cura animarum* (demonstrated by the promulgation of the Fourth Lateran Council's canon 27 on the preparation of priests, and canon 21 on the annual obligation of Confession and Communion)?⁵⁴ How do we combine his desire for contemplation with his apostolic concern arising from a lively awareness of the evils of his own day?⁵⁵ And finally, how do we translate the *novitas* of Francis into Anthony's cultural terms?

The answer, at least to the last question, may be found in the Bible. In fact, as has been noted, Anthony was never able to "translate into his extended and accomplished culture the newness of the witness and language of Francis."⁵⁶ Attempting to "harmonize the unglossed gospel of Francis with the completely glossed gospel of the scholastics," Anthony came to prefer the Bible glossed with the Bible itself; thus he could reach the outer limits of all science and experience as he understood them.⁵⁷ The complexity of the sermons poses many problems, but there is never a doubt about the centrality of the Bible as the profoundly unifying element of Anthony's religious and intellectual experience. Yet we still wonder if this essence of Anthony's culture is truly

⁵² See M. Pastore Stocchi, "Aspetti letterari nei 'Sermones' antoniani, in *Le fonti e la teologia*," pp. 55-70. The quotation is from p. 64. See also G. Folena, "In margine ai 'Sermones': stile francescano e stile antoniano," *idem*, pp. 71-79.

⁵³ This passage from the ninth Sunday after Pentecost, for example, contains a commentary on Proverbs 30: 23 ["The earth trembles under] an unloved woman when she gets a husband, and a maid when she succeeds her mistress." See S. Antonii Patavini, *Sermones*, vol. 2, pp. 18-19.

⁵⁴ See M. Maccarrone, "Cura animarum' e 'parochialis sacerdos' nelle costituzioni del IV Concilio lateranense (1215): Applicazioni in Italia nel sec. 13," in "Pievi e parrocchie in Italia nel basso medioevo (sec. 13-15)," *Atti del 6 convegno di storia della Chiesa in Italia*, Florence, Sept. 21-25, 1981, vol. 1 (Roma: Italia sacra: Studi e documenti di storia ecclesiastica, 35) pp. 136, 162.

⁵⁵ G. Cracco, "Chiesa e antichiesa nei 'Sermones' Antoniani," in *Le fonti e la teologia*, pp. 413-28, esp. pp. 421-25.

⁵⁶ C. Leonardi, "Il Vangelo di Francesco e la Bibbia di Antonio," in *Le fonti e la teologia*, p. 308; and *ibid.*, p. 315: "Anthony did not have the actual cultural instruments to transfer Francis's newness into theology."

⁵⁷ Leonardi, *Il Vangelo di Francesco*, p. 310.

reflected in the witnesses, biographies, and panegyrics dedicated to him.

Tommaso Gallo, abbot of S. Andrea di Vercelli, taught at Paris and met Anthony (though we are uncertain of the date).⁵⁸ In his *Explanatio in Hierarchiam Ecclesiasticam Dionysii* (1244), Tommaso sketched a cultural profile of Anthony. He based it on his personal and familiar knowledge of the saint. The profile is commonly taken to be a contrast between Anthony's ready and solid understanding of the divine science in terms of love (which awakened the devout admiration of people like the abbot, bound to the Victorine mystical heritage) with the saint's modest knowledge of learning, (which perhaps perplexed Tommaso). As Tommaso wrote: "[Anthony] promptly drank in mystical theology and he strongly retained it, giving less attention to learning."⁵⁹

The Dominican Bartolomeo da Trento (d. 1251) focused on Anthony the preacher, and the struggle over usury. He remarked on the saint's literary activity. He wrote: "Anthony, whom I myself saw and knew, was Spanish by birth. He preached to the Paduans and led many usurers to restitution; he composed many sermons there."⁶⁰

But the Paduan Magister Rolandino sketched the most ample and most psychologically penetrating portrait of Anthony. In his *Cronica in factis et circa facta Marchie Trivisone*, Rolandino wrote: "Sent by God to Padua 'de finibus Hesperiae et de partibus Occidentis, vir religiosus et sanctus,' grounded in much literature, in the ark of the Old Testament and the form of the New, Anthony lived *corporaliter* with the friars but *spiritualiter* in heaven. Preaching in the streets of Padua and throughout the cities and villages of the Marches, Anthony kept his eyes and more so his mind lifted up to heaven. Finding shelter by the walnut tree at Camposampiero, he pondered night and day the Old Testament and the New, preparing himself to write about matters useful to the whole Christian peoples." Rolandino gives generous attention to An-

⁵⁸ For a biography of Thomas Gallo, see G. They, O.P., "Thomas Gallus: Aperçu biographique," in *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age*, 14 (1939): 141-208. For information concerning his meeting with St. Anthony, see idem, "Saint Antoine de Padoue et Thomas Gallus," in *La vie spirituelle*, 37, suppl. (1933), pp. 94-115, which should be seen in light of the observations of Chatillon, *Saint Antoine de Padoue*, pp. 180-86. Concerning the date, see Vergilio Gamboso, "Saggio di cronotassi antoniana," in *Il Santo*, 2d ser. 21 (1981): 568-69. He proposes 1228 as the possible year of Anthony's stay in Vercelli, where he would have met Thomas Gallo.

⁵⁹ Quoted by Da Gama Caeiro, *Santo Antonio*, p.147, and pp. 141-52 for the judgement of Thomas Gallus on the literary education of Anthony. Concerning his evaluation, see also Chatillon, *Saint Antoine*, pp. 183-86, and Pastore Stocchi, *Aspetti letterari*, pp. 55-70, esp. pp. 55-58, and p. 55, n. 2 for the different versions of Gallo's testimony).

⁶⁰ The quotation is taken from S. Antonii Patavani, *Sermones*, vol. 1, p. 26, and from L. De Kerval, *Sancti Antonii de Padua Vitae duae, quarum altera hucusque inedita* (Paris: Collection d'études et de documents, 5, 1904), p. 250.

thony's literary and apostolic activities but subordinates the literary to the contemplative, depicting an Anthony strikingly similar to the one who wrote the sermons.⁶¹

Passing from these sources outside the Order to the "domestic" Franciscan sources, what do we find? The *Vita prima* (the *Assidua*), written right after Anthony's death, preserves the image of a great itinerant preacher formed in the milieu of a canon. After joining the Friars Minor he revealed the deepest knowledge of Scripture, which he committed to memory and perfected through study. He was devoted to popular preaching but also to literary activity (the composition of the sermons). Without a thought for himself and his own infirmity, he appeared tireless in the *zelus animarum* — preaching, teaching, hearing Confessions.⁶²

The *Assidua* also mentions Padua's numerous "company of learned scholars," who participated in Anthony's obsequies. It records the enthusiasm with which masters and scholars of the *Studium*, "by bringing to bear the authority of the university corporation," joined in repeated requests presented to Rome for Anthony's canonization.⁶³ These two episodes, noted also by Arnaldi, "confirm the impression of an interlocking intimacy at Padua between the mendicant milieu and the university milieu."⁶⁴ And the episodes certainly do attest to the interest of the young Padua University in Anthony's sanctity, and they certify the role of the university in promoting his cult, but they hardly verify

⁶¹ Rolandini Patavini, *Cronica in factis et circa facta Marchiae Trivixane* (aa. 1200 cc.-1262), edited by A. Bonardi, in *RIS*, VIII/1 (Città di Castello, 1905-8), pp. 43-44. Anthony's place in the Chronicle of Rolandino has recently been studied by Gamboso, "L'immagine di s. Antonio nei 'Cronaca di Rolandino,'" in *Storia e cultura a Padova nell'età di sant'Antonio*, Convegno internazionale di studi, 1-4 ottobre 1981 Padova Monselice (Padua, 1985). See *Fonti e ricerche di storia ecclesiastica padova*, 16, pp. 229-51.

⁶² *Vita prima*, pp. 332, 334. See pp. 284, 286, 330.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 408, 410. "When the examination of the miracles was therefore diligently completed, the faithful people of Padua continued to insist with vigorous devotion, and, after the second and third groups of representatives, chose delegates worthy of trust to be sent to the Apostolic See. In fact, to inform the pope, who was solicitous, and the cardinals, who were watchful about the truthfulness of the case and the worthiness of the devotion, the venerable bishop of Padua sent to the curia friars and canons of the principal church, accompanied by the prior of the Church of Saint Mary of Montecroce. The city magistrate, on the other hand, sent nobles and those who were powerful, counts and knights, with a large group of illustrious persons and a crowd of people. In the same manner, the whole university — professors and students — wrote a letter worthy of consideration; and the guild of writers sent a letter which could not be lightly dismissed, offering a testimony of what was seen and heard" (translation taken from the *Life of St. Anthony Assidua*, introduction by Vergilio Gamboso, translated by Bernard Przewozny [Padua: Messaggero, 1984], pp. 44-45).

⁶⁴ Arnaldi, *Discorso inaugurale*, p. 25.

any supposed Franciscan culture and learning. The Paduan scholars of the *Assidua* were merely exalting Franciscan simplicity, which indeed can substitute for culture. The *Assidua*, we must remember, praises the Coimbran Friars Minor (with whom Anthony took refuge on entering the order) as being "ignorant of learning but teaching virtue by work and example."⁶⁵

Another Assiduan episode also directly questions the Franciscan evaluation of profane culture. Describing Anthony's preaching at Rimini and the conversion of that city's heretics, the author records that the saint — "who had not mastered the lively arguments of philosophers" — brilliantly refuted the cunning *haereticorum dogmata*. This is a weighty point, because by stressing the implicit opposition between the useless but "lively arguments of philosophers" on the one hand, and Anthony's victorious *doctrina salutaris* on the other, the author displays the persistent Franciscan diffidence toward worldly and lucrative sciences.⁶⁶

Now let us turn to Paris in the fourth decade of the thirteenth century. At that time, events critical to the history of the Friars Minor were bearing fruit, beginning decisively with the clericalization of the order and the adoption of studies as an institutional, integral part of the friars' formation. In this cosmopolitan atmosphere (sometime around 1233 and 1235) Julian of Speyer, a German Minorite, composed an *Officio ritmico* in honor of St. Anthony. Later (about 1238) Julian rewrote Anthony's *Vita*, still for the purpose of praising God and edifying the faithful, of course, but also to fulfill the expectations and requirements of Parisian Franciscan circles.⁶⁷

Julian's works give a new emphasis to Anthony's Franciscanism. Mariano D'Alatri has pointed this out with regard to the *Officio*, but it also applies in some ways to the *Vita*.⁶⁸ Francis is nowhere to be found

⁶⁵ *Vita prima*, pp. 288, 290.

⁶⁶ "As he moved from one place to another, utterly denying himself any rest because of his zeal for souls, it happened that by heavenly inspiration he reached the city of Rimini. Since he saw there many people deceived by perverse heresy, he soon called together all the inhabitants of the city and began to preach fervently. Although he was not versed in the subtleties of philosophers, he confounded the cunning doctrines of the heretics more lucidly than the sun. His powerful words and salutary doctrine so rooted themselves in the hearts of his listeners that, when the defilement of error was eliminated, a large crowd of believers adhered faithfully to the Lord" (translation taken from the *Life of St. Anthony Assidua*, pp. 12-13, cited in n. 63 above).

⁶⁷ Concerning these words of Julian of Speyer see the two introductions of Gamboso to the edition of the texts (Giuliano da Spira, *Officio ritmico*, pp. 11-160, 257, 378). For a description of the Franciscan environment in Paris see pp. 34-56.

⁶⁸ Mariano D'Alatri, "L'Officio ritmico di Giuliano da Spira in onore di S. Antonio di Padova," in *Il Santo*, 2d ser. 26 (1986): 49-51. See the observations of Gamboso, *Officio ritmico*, pp. 55-56, 106-9, 276-77.

in the *Assidua*, for example; yet in Julian's *Officio* he turns up often. Anthony is presented as his disciple and imitator: "Augustini primitus / Regulae subjectus / sub Francisco penitus / mundo fit abjectus" (As a beginner, he was subject to the *Rule of Augustine*; as a penitent under Francis, he was made worthless to the world.)⁶⁹ In another place Julian writes, "Francisci patris emulus / sic illis se contemperat" (He was an emulator of his father Francis, he so condemned himself more than these.)⁷⁰ Working from the *Assidua*, a source short on anecdotes, Julian twice praises the symbolic appearance of Francis at the Chapter of Arles.⁷¹ He adds this same incident to the *Vita*.⁷² In short, Anthony is slowly being "franciscanized";⁷³ Assisi and Padua are being reunited at Paris.

And there is more. The *Officio* dwells on Anthony's wisdom and on the style and fruits of his preaching, which "redoubled his heaven-sent talents."⁷⁴ In the *Vita*, Julian again takes up the theme of Anthony's wisdom, but significantly he does not delete the *Assidua's* faint praise of the Coimbran Friars Minor as "ignorant of learning, but teaching virtue by word and example."⁷⁵ And with regard to Anthony's anti-heretical preaching at Rimini, Julian's *Vita* completely reverses the assessment of the *Assidua's* authors, who had highlighted Anthony's refutation of the heretics despite his unfamiliarity with "the lively

⁶⁹ "Antiphona IV in primis vesperis," Giuliano da Spira, *Officio ritmico*, p. 178).

⁷⁰ See the second strophe of the hymn *En gratulemur hodie* (*Officio ritmico*, p. 182).

⁷¹ *Officio ritmico*, pp. 182, 208. See *ibid.*, pp. 106-9 for some observations of Gamboso on the references to Francis in the *Officio ritmico*. See also D'Alatri, "L'Officio ritmico," p. 449.

⁷² *Officio ritmico*, pp. 420, 422.

⁷³ This is a process recently pointed out by Stanislao da Campagnola in "Letteratura francescana e letteratura antoniana," in *Storia e cultura a Padova*, pp. 203-4. After examining the hagiography and the theme of the conformity between Francis and Anthony, he sees that this motive is disclosed much later in the legend called *Raimondina* (ca. 1293/95), and above all in the *Rigaldina* (at the beginning of the 1400s). With respect to the earlier lives of St. Anthony, these legends present connotations more definitely Franciscan.

⁷⁴ "Monte Syon predicat / Domini preceptum / et talentum duplicat / celitus acceptum" (*Officio ritmico*, p. 192). See the passages indicated by Gamboso (*idem*, pp. 104-6) for the theme of wisdom. See also D'Alatri, "L'Officio ritmico," p. 450.

⁷⁵ "At that time, not far from the city of Coimbra, some Friars Minor lived in a place that was called Saint Anthony. Although they were not learned men, they taught the substance of the Scriptures with their actions. They, according to the norms of their order, would often come to beg for alms at the monastery where the man of God lived. Whenever the brothers of the aforesaid order, living near the city of Coimbra, would come to that monastery seeking alms according to their custom, the servant of God could not contain himself at the sight of them but gently opened the entire intention of his soul to them" (translation taken from the *Life of St. Anthony Assidua*, pp. 6-7, cited in n. 63 above). Immediately Julian recalls more generally the "pure simplicity" of the brothers (*ibid.*).

arguments of the philosophers."⁷⁶ Regarding this, Julian writes: "Not only did Anthony debate pleasantly and knowingly about their customs, but devised compelling arguments to refute their perverse heresies."⁷⁷ Abandoning all reservations about philosophers and their subtleties, Julian underscores Anthony's strictly rational arguments against the heretics, not at all limiting the saint to simple sermons and moral arguments.

Julian's *Officio ritmico* and his *Vita* were generously used as sources by John de la Rochelle, the illustrious regent-master in theology at the Parisian *magnus domus* of the Friars Minor, from at least 1238 to his death in 1245.⁷⁸ During these years, John preached three sermons to the students in celebration of Anthony's feast. By applying a text of Scripture to Anthony, he wanted to show how Anthony, through personal holiness and profound knowledge of sacred doctrine, had become the great defender of the Catholic Faith and a role model for preachers.

As a modern editor of these sermons, Balduinus of Amsterdam notes, we can discover in these sermons another consideration of the doctrinal value of Anthony and his proposition for the world of the University of Paris, concerning which model of preaching would unite purity of life with the knowledge of sacred science.⁷⁹ With John and Julian as spokesmen, the Paris *domus* fashioned the image of an Anthony who, by combining in himself holiness and culture, gave an implicit rebuke to those friars preoccupied with defining the role of studies within the Franciscan Order.⁸⁰

In praising Anthony's intellectual stature, John became the explicit interpreter of Anthony's personal vision of Franciscan circles opened to new theological culture. In his first and second sermons, John exults in Anthony the preacher. He rehearses some moments in Anthony's life, praises his ability to be at home with both the learned and the unlearned, and remarks on his willingness to preach to sinners — different from those "who preach only intellectual sermons to clerics."⁸¹ John

⁷⁶ See n. 66 above.

⁷⁷ *Officio ritmico*, p. 418.

⁷⁸ Concerning John de la Rochelle see P. Glorieux, *Répertoire des maîtres en théologie de Paris au 13 siècle*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1933), pp. 25–30; V. Doucet O.F.M., "Maîtres franciscains de Paris: Supplément au 'Répertoire des maîtres en théologie de Paris au 13 siècle' de m. le chan. p. Glorieux," in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 27 (1934): 540. For utilization of the works of Julian of Speyer as sources of his sermons on St. Anthony, see *Officio ritmico*, pp. 56–63. See also the following note.

⁷⁹ Balduinus ab Amsterdam, *Tres sermones*, p. 37.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ *Sermon 1*: "He again guides those who walk in the darkness of vice. He does this contrary to those who always preach and wish to preach about good and religious things. They are gracious by day but not to sinners who are lost in darkness out of their own

uses and adapts the themes and motives of the hagiographic sources available to him (the *Officio ritmico*, the *Vita*, and perhaps the *Assidua*).⁸² But in the third sermon, John departs from the sources. He makes a comparison (dear to the friars at Paris) between Anthony and Francis, built on the saying, "Blessed Francis was the teacher of Blessed Anthony."⁸³ Thus John, like Julian, recovers Anthony's Franciscanism, but locates it in a context that inflated Anthony's intellectual figure, thereby celebrating the theological culture.

These three sermons certainly praise Anthony, but they also appear to have been intended as a solemn celebration of human and divine sciences. Let us consider the second sermon, where John, for the purpose of describing the *gratia praedicationis* ("the grace of preaching") recalls the passage of Ezekiel (1: 4-28), in which the prophet describes a vision of the Lord's chariot, and of the vision's images of a lion, a man, an ox, and an eagle, all surmounted by the firmament.⁸⁴ John identifies the living creatures as *comprehensiones philosophiae* ("understandings of philosophy"), which "contribute much to the study of Sacred Scripture." The lion indicates mathematics; the man, moral philosophy; the eagle, rational philosophy. John names and describes the proper object of each of these sciences, cautioning that the *trivium* (grammar, rhetoric, logic), which is characterized by an unrefined "*ingenium imperfectum* cannot be united with natural philosophy, which studies the generative principle and the nature of the things of nature." Above all such sciences stands the firmament, that is *theologiae studium*, which, John cautions, must respect the other sciences.

Anthony readily affirmed the unique and all-encompassing value of theological science, whose sole and total source — Scripture — embodies the fullness of every science.⁸⁵ In a fiery defense of theology and theologians, Anthony wrote that "all worldly and lucrative science is the old song, the song of Babylon; theology alone is the new song."⁸⁶ The saint recalls verses from 1 Samuel (13: 19-20), which narrate that in all of Israel there was not a single blacksmith to be found because the Philistines, fearing the Hebrews would make swords and spears, for-

fault. But you, blessed Anthony, sought to give knowledge of salvation through the remission of sin to the Lord's people, not as those who do not preach except to the clergy with an enlightened mind, but as one who enlightens those who sit in darkness" (Balduinus ab Amsterdam, *Tres sermones*, p. 47). See also pp. 44-52.

⁸² On the sources of these sermons, see Baluinus ad Amsterdam, *Tres sermones*, pp. 39-43, and *Officio ritmico*, pp. 58-63.

⁸³ *Sermon 3*, Balduinus ab Amsterdam, *Tres sermones*, pp. 52-58.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, *Sermon 2*, pp. 50-51, as well as for the citations that follow. See Ezek. 1: 4-28.

⁸⁵ S. Antonii Patavini, *Sermones*, vol. 1, p. 3.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 255.

bade blacksmithing; for this reason the Israelites had to ask the Philistines themselves to sharpen the ploughshare, the hoe, the ax and the sickle.⁸⁷ The saint thanks God that in our Israel (the church) there was not one blacksmith alone, but many — in other words, many theologians to prepare the tools to cultivate the fields of the church-militant.⁸⁸ The saint proceeds to urge that no opportunity be missed for exchanging polemics with prelates who, lowering themselves, gave themselves over to the lucrative sciences. He wrote: "Why do the sons of Israel, the prelates, go down to the Philistines, who are interpreted as falling by poison (that is, into the lucrative sciences)? Why do they go down, if not to get drunk on the poison of passing honors, greed, indulgence, the desire for vanity and money — and thus drunk, fall into the depth of hell?"⁸⁹

With equal passion, John de la Rochelle, who almost certainly knew the Antonian sermons,⁹⁰ uses the same passage of 1 Samuel to warn listeners who might miss the point about the scarcity of blacksmiths — that the blacksmiths⁹¹ (note this!) are no longer the theologians singled out by Anthony, but the *doctores philosophiae*, who "hammer out inflexible and unanswerable questions, sharpening their minds like swords and, like spears, doing battle from a distance through the splendid force of reason."⁹² This is Paris Master John's impassioned praise of philosophers. To it he appends a warning: It is the astute intention of

⁸⁷ "Now there was no smith to be found throughout all the land of Israel; for the Philistines said, 'Lest the Hebrews make themselves swords or spears'. But every one of the Israelites went down to the Philistines to sharpen his plowshare, his mattock, his axe, or his sickle."

⁸⁸ S. Antonii Patovini, *Sermones*, vol. 1, pp. 255–56.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 256.

⁹⁰ The editor of John de la Rochelle's sermons, with some prudence, declares that "from these sermons it does not mean that John knew the works of St. Anthony" (Balduinus ab Amsterdam, *Tres sermones*, p. 43). Gamboso, recalling the section of 1 Kings 13: 192020 quoted in the Parisian Master's *Sermon*, does not indicate use of the same biblical passage in the sermons of Anthony. But it more likely that the use of the same place of Scripture on the part of St. Anthony and John de la Rochelle expresses, as we shall soon say, the same divergent meaning of sacred and profane culture, which seems to me to constitute an indication that the Master of Paris knew the sermons of the saint of Padua.

⁹¹ After a conclusion based on an allegorical exegesis of Ezek. 1: 4–28, that the foundation, that is, the study of theology, is superior to other sciences, John continues by affirming that such sciences must not be blamed for this: "Wherefore, dearly beloved brothers, we must not censure the study of other sciences, while made with a good intention. Moreover, we must greatly fear that what was prefigured in 1 Kings 12 does not occur. At that time there was no smith to be found throughout all the land of Israel. For the Philistines took care that the Hebrews did not make swords or spears for themselves."

⁹² *Sermon 2* (Baluinus ab Amsterdam, *Tres sermones*, p. 51).

the demons to destroy the study of philosophy because they don't want Christians to have sharp minds.⁹³

The thirteenth-century University of Paris richly praised Anthony as one of its own, openly presenting him as the model of Franciscan holiness. For the university to present him in any other way would only separate him from his own culture.

⁹³“The concern of the demons, therefore, is to dissipate the study of philosophy, because they do not want Christians to have a penetrating intelligence” (*Sermon 2*, Balduinus ab Amsterdam, *Tres sermones*, p. 51).