

Hagiography of St. Anthony and St. Francis

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"Agiografia antoniana e francescana"

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At a symposium in Florence in 1990, sponsored by the Ezio Franceschini Foundation and dedicated to *Gli studi francescani dal dopoguerra ad oggi* (Franciscan studies since World War II), Antonio Rigon noted that "the scant attention...paid to St. Anthony of Padua is not surprising. It reflects his apparently marginal place in Franciscan studies, confined as he is to a sector for specialists from which he is only occasionally dragged out."¹ Recently the critical edition of the *Sermones dominicales et festivi*² has prompted a closer comparison between Anthony of Padua, Francis of Assisi and the history of the Order of Friars Minor.³

¹A. Rigon, "Storiografia francescana e storiografia antoniana," in *Gli studi francescani dal dopoguerra ad oggi*, ed. F. Santi, Spoleto 1993 (Quaderni di cultura mediolatina. Collana della «Fondazione Ezio Franceschini», 2, pp. 315-24, especially p. 315.

²St. Anthony of Padua, *Sermones dominicales et festivi* ad fidem codicum recogniti, eds. B. Costa - L. Frasson - I. Luisetto, asst. P. Marangon, Padua 1979, 3 vols.

³Some years earlier, thanks to the initiative of the magazine *Il Santo*, there was a symposium that represented the first chance "to rediscover, on the one hand, the relationship between Franciscan historiography and that about the Mendicant Orders...and on the other hand, to lead to an overall reconsideration of the figure of Anthony": Rigon, "Storiografia francescana e storiografia antoniana," p. 319; the symposium to which he refers was dedicated to *St. Anthony of Padua between History and Piety*, Padua 1977 (*Il Santo*, ser. II, XVI [1976], pp. 149-663). This was followed by a symposium dedicated to *The Early and Present Day Faces of the Saint of Padua*, Padua, 9-11 April 1979 (*Il Santo*, ser. II, XIX [1979]); but in both cases the interdisciplinary approach "seems not to have produced results particularly relevant for historiography" (Rigon, "Storiografia francescana," p. 319, referring only to the first

In his opening talk at the Padua symposium on the sources and theology of Anthony's sermons, Raoul Manselli stressed a problem of major importance with the *Sermones dominicales*. According to him, "the spirituality expressed there, like the theology, is not and cannot be called Franciscan. It remains that of Anthony's youthful formation, in other words, that of a canon. Nothing was added, as far as we can tell, during his time in the Order."⁴ Anthony's Franciscan consciousness was not, says Manselli, expressed in adherence to Francis's ideals of poverty and peace, but rather in a renewed pastoral zeal that led the friars "to share with others the fruits of their own reflection and their new awareness of being responsible for others, especially the faithful."⁵

On the same occasion Claudio Leonardi analyzed Anthony's use of Scripture in the *Sermones*;⁶ Giancarlo Folena analyzed their language.⁷ Both arrived at a similar conclusion: the figures of Francis and Anthony are remarkably different; what they seem to share is a commitment to proclaim to others an invitation to penance.⁸ Since then, studies of Francis and studies

symposium); the interdisciplinary approach ended up marginalizing, in the context of that work, the predominantly historical interest in the life and work of Anthony and his *legendae*.

⁴R. Manselli, "La coscienza minoritica di Antonio di Padova di fronte all'Europa del suo tempo," in *Le fonti e la teologia dei sermoni antoniani*. Atti del Congresso internazionale di studio sui «Sermones» di S. Antonio di Padova (Padua, 5-10 October 1981), ed. A. Poppi, (*Il Santo* ser. II. XXII [1982]), pp. 29-35, especially p. 35, n. 19. The solution he proposes is that the *Sermones*, at least the *dominicales*, were written by Anthony while he was still a canon in Coimbra, Portugal, see *ibid.*, p. 32.

A different line of interpretation is taken by those scholars, especially Portuguese, who have tried to emphasize Anthony's deep roots in the culture and spirituality of the canons and the insertion of these roots, with an innovative role, into the Order of Friars Minor. Anthony's *Sermones* are said to be the evident proof of this marriage. At the end of a lengthy study on the works of Anthony, A. Figueiredo Frias stated that "the *Sermones* reveal the lofty spirituality of Holy Cross in Coimbra...exploited in its virtuality and, at most, transposed into a new spirituality: no longer that of the monk or canon regular, but instead that of a minor. Rather than try to integrate St. Anthony into the Franciscan movement, we should see him as the founder of this new form of mendicant and academic 'culture,' one of whose most remarkable followers would be St. Bonaventure" ("Lettura ermeneutica di sant'Antonio di Padova," in *Il Santo*, ser. II XXXV [1995], pp. 279-458, especially 445).

⁵Manselli, "La coscienza minoritica," p. 34.

⁶C. Leonardi, "Il Vangelo di Francesco e la Bibbia di Antonio," in *Le fonti e la teologia dei sermoni antoniani*, pp. 299-318.

⁷G. Folena, "In margine ai «Sermones»: stile francescano e stile antoniano," *ibid.*, pp. 71-79.

⁸"Anthony chooses the *topos* of corrupt Christianity and fills it with his passion: he burns with a desire to bring to all people the key to the fullness of life. This is his Franciscan heritage and his strength.... Certainly Francis is different. In him the Gospel is *sine glossa*. In Anthony there is gloss everywhere.... But here, in this gloss, in the *signa*, lies his witness and

of Anthony have both begun to take greater care to root Anthony in the history of the Order and to determine and discuss what kind of continuity there may have been between Francis and Anthony, who is praised by Julian of Speyer in his Office as an "emulator of his father Francis."⁹

Here we should mention some scholars who are interested in an approach to the life and works of Anthony that takes into account the history and literature of the Order. In the Assisi symposium of 1988, Antonio Rigon read a paper on *St. Anthony and the University Culture in the Franciscan Order at Its Origins*.¹⁰ Two years later, the above-mentioned Florence symposium took up the question of Franciscan and Antonian historiography.¹¹ On several occasions Stanislaio da Campagnola has examined the relationship between Franciscan and Antonian literature,¹² the image of Anthony in the Franciscan Sources,¹³ and the influence of St. Bonaventure's *Major Legend* in the early Anthony legends *Benignitas* and *Rigaldina*.¹⁴

At first this symposium was planning to have a paper entitled *The Anthony Question*, to see if there might be a historiographic parallel between Francis and Anthony. This might inevitably have given the impression that Antonian studies are a carbon copy of Franciscan studies. But the Franciscan Question—with its century-old history, its debate about the primary sources as the basis for a biography of Francis, its anxious search for the Greccio florilegium, the intricate problem of the genealogy of the legends—is so

cultural originality, revealed by his use of the Bible. Within his scholastic and clerical adaptation, he actually manages to express new demands, to make room for novelty, to fill it with his zeal for God, his passion for neighbor": Leonardi, "Il Vangelo di Francesco e la Bibbia di Antonio," pp. 315, 318.

⁹Julian of Speyer, *Officium rhythmicum s. Antonii*, Hymn for First Vespers, II, ed. V. Gamboso, Padua 1985, p. 182.

¹⁰A. Rigon, "S. Antonio e la cultura universitaria nell'Ordine francescano delle origini," in *Francescanesimo e cultura universitaria*. Atti del XVI Convegno internazionale della Società internazionale di studi francescani e del Centro di studi francescani (Assisi, 13-15 October 1988), Assisi 1990, pp. 67-92.

¹¹See n. 1 above.

¹²Stanislaio da Campagnola, "Lettura francescana e letteratura antoniana," in *Storia e cultura a Padova nell'età di sant'Antonio*. Convegno internazionale di studi (1-4 October 1981, Padua-Monselice), Padua 1985 (Fonti e ricerche di storia ecclesiastica padovana, XVI), pp. 191-213.

¹³Idem, "L'immagine antoniana nelle «Fonti Francescane»", in *I volti antichi e attuali del Santo di Padova*, pp. 225-30.

¹⁴Idem, "Incidenze della «Legenda maior» di s. Bonaventura nelle antiche leggende antoniane «Benignitas» e «Rigaldina»," in *Bonaventuriana*. Miscellanea in onore di Jacques Guy Bougerol ofm, ed. Francisco de Asís Chavero Blanco, Rome 1988, pp. 33-53.

unique that it cannot be raised in relation to the Anthony sources.¹⁵ On the other hand, the figure of Anthony of Padua has always been absent from that debate.

The search for the authentic Francis of history, who had to be liberated from the miraculous aura of the legends, was a difficult one. In their analysis scholars were led to prefer sources that recounted episodes from the saint's life and skip over the others. Research focused on the person of Francis; the Franciscan Order was reduced to Francis. Many times Francis was reinterpreted in the light of later problems and disputes that had nothing to do with him.. Only in recent years has there been a growing consensus that we need to pay more attention to the history of the Order of Friars Minor and, at the same time, to the specific genre of legend. We can try, not to arrive at, but at least to approach the Francis of history. And we can do this without sacrificing, in our research, the complexity of the Franciscan experience or that which is proper to hagiography.¹⁶ Following this methodology, already tried in the area of thirteenth-century Franciscan hagiography,¹⁷ I will now proceed to a comparative study of the hagiography of St. Anthony and St. Francis. The topic is essentially the same as that treated in 1981 by Stanislaw da Campagnola in his study of the literature about Francis and Anthony. Here, however, the scope of our investigation will be limited to the *legendae*.¹⁸ My task will certainly be easier thanks to those who have already carefully identified the individual episodes in the Anthony legends that depend on the lives of Francis and vice versa.

One observation is immediately called for when first reading the lives of Anthony. The model of holiness proposed by his thirteenth- and

¹⁵For the Franciscan Question and related bibliography, see the recent contributions by E. Pasztor, "La questione francescana oggi" and E. Menestò, "Per un edizione critica delle biografie e leggende francescane," in *Gli studi francescani dal dopoguerra ad oggi*, pp. 33-46 and 245-67 respectively; also of interest is the "Resoconto delle discussioni," *ibid.*, pp. 328-94, especially pp. 332-49, 380-88. For a summary of the problems, see L. di Fonzo, s.v. *Questione francescana* in *Dizionario degli istituti di perfezione*, 7, Rome 1983, coll. 1133-54.

¹⁶A re-reading of the latest historiography from a methodological point of view has been done by C. Dolcini, "Francesco d'Assisi e la storiografia degli ultimi vent'anni: problemi di metodo," in *Frate Francesco d'Assisi*. Atti del XXI Convegno internazionale (Assisi, 14-16 October 1993), Spoleto 1994 (Atti dei Convegni della Società internazionale di studi francescani e del Centro interuniversitario di studi francescani, n.s. 4), pp. 3-35.

Concerning the idea of the "specificity" of hagiography as a literary genre, see the many studies by C. Leonardi mentioned in n. 2 of the study by Menestò cited in the next note.

¹⁷E. Menestò, "Vite dei santi e processi di canonizzazione come proposta di un modello di santità," in *Dalla «sequela Christi» di Francesco d'Assisi all'apologia della povertà*. Atti del XVIII Convegno internazionale (Assisi, 18-20 October 1990), Spoleto 1992, pp. 173-201.

¹⁸Stanislaw da Campagnola, "Lettura francescana e letteratura antoniana."

fourteenth-century biographers, all Friars Minor, is weak as far as its Franciscan setting and character are concerned. Other evidence adds special interest to this hagiographic situation. The biographical material, the *Sermones* and the legends all stress one thing: the canon of Coimbra, whose cultural and pastoral formation were already complete, found the changing Franciscan Order an extremely fruitful spiritual setting in which to best exercise his priestly ministry.

The life of Anthony seems to be faithfully retold in the legends; the authors simply clothed the biographical data in literary form. The model of holiness proposed is that of a holy preacher, a confessor of the faith whose martyrdom was one of exhaustion, a great wonderworker. The image remains essentially unchanged—from the first life, the *Assidua*, to the *Book of Miracles* contained in the *Chronicle of the Twenty-Four Generals* by Arnold of Serrant. Later it was retold in adaptations and abridgments during the Age of Humanism and the Counter-Reformation. The string of lives of Anthony certainly proves that hagiographers continued their interest in him, but these works never represented an agonized rewriting of his life. The modifications, interpretations and additions did not substantially change the hagiographic plan of the *Assidua*, which was already in perfect accord with the Order's ideal of pastoral service.¹⁹ It was different in the case of Francis, whose hagiographic image underwent considerable development. Influenced by patrons and the public for whom their work was meant, the authors had to consider the problematic relationship between the founder, the original fraternity, and the current situation of the Order.²⁰ This resulted in two very different kinds of hagiography: that of Francis and that of Anthony. For that reason it is useful to compare them, since they are the two most emblematic examples of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Franciscan hagiography.

The Franciscan legends—especially the official ones—conceived and written about Francis of Assisi, leave little room for the community aspect of the Franciscan fraternity. Even the first followers, such as Bernard of Quintavalle and Giles of Assisi, or the companions who lived with him a long time, such as Leo, were barely mentioned in these works, even though

¹⁹For a summary of Anthony's fate in hagiography, see V. Gamboso, *Introduzione a Vita prima o «Assidua»*, ed. cit., pp. 9-20; for more details see Gamboso's introductions to the individual legends cited in n. 44 below. See also A. Vecchi, "«Miraculorum prodigia»," in *Il fenomeno antoniano*, pp. 111-58, and idem, "L'immagine di s. Antonio nelle biografie antiche," in *I volti antichi e attuali del santo di Padova*, pp. 213-24.

²⁰For an introduction to the problematic relationship between the history and hagiography of Francis, see the collection of essays by G. Miccoli, *Francesco d'Assisi. Realtà e memoria di un'esperienza cristiana*, Turin 1991; especially chapter VI: "Dall'agiografia alla storia: considerazioni sulle prime biografie francescane come fonti storiche," pp. 190-263.

they were qualified witnesses and played a key role in those events.²¹ Anthony fared no better, even though his early death (1231) and immediate canonization might have earned him a bigger place in the Franciscan legends that followed Thomas of Celano's *First Life*.

Anthony was not part of the first group of Francis's followers; nor was he one of the companions who were close to Francis, especially during the last years of his life. Only in Salimbene of Adam's *Chronicle* is Anthony called a companion of Francis.²² In the *Chronicle of the Fourteen or Fifteen General Ministers*, attributed to Bernard of Besse and written between 1297 and 1305, Anthony is mentioned as being "among the first brothers and fathers." The list is thus extended to the years 1219-1220, the time when Anthony entered the Order.²³ In *The Deeds of St. Francis and His Companions* Anthony is mentioned as "one of the chosen followers of St. Francis, whom St. Francis used to call his bishop."²⁴ Thus a bond of immediate and reciprocal discipleship was established between the two great figures of the Order.

The single Anthony episode described at length in the thirteenth-century Franciscan legends concerns the provincial chapter of Arles in 1224. Speaking of Francis's extraordinary ability to appear miraculously to his brothers, Thomas of Celano tells how Francis appeared to Brother Monaldo while the brothers, assembled in chapter, were listening to Anthony, "whose mind the Lord had opened to understand the Scriptures and who poured forth among all the people words about Jesus, sweeter than milk and honey."²⁵

Bonaventure repeats the story, leaving it basically unchanged.²⁶ He does, however, emphasize the institutional setting in which it took place: Francis was actively present at the general chapters held at the Portiuncula;

²¹ See *I compagni di Francesco e la prima generazione minoritica*. Atti del XIX Convegno internazionale (Assisi, 17-19 October 1991), Spoleto 1992 (Atti dei convegni della Società internazionale di studi francescani e del Centro interuniversitario di studi francescani, n.s. 2).

²² Salimbene de Adam, *Cronica*, ed. G. Scalia, Bari 1966 (Scrittori d'Italia, 232-33), p. 97.

²³ *Chronica XIV vel XV Generalium*, in *AF* III, Ad Claras Aquas 1897, pp. 668-69.

²⁴ *Actus beati Francisci et sociorum eius*. New posthumous edition by J. Cambell with the text of the *Fioretti* on the opposite page, ed. M. Gibaroni - G. Boccali, S. Maria degli Angeli 1988, ch. XLIV, 1, p. 420, now also in *Fontes Franciscani*, ed. E. Menestò, S. Brufani and G. Cremascoli, E. Paoli, L. Pellegrini, Stanislao da Campagnola. Apparatus by G.M. Boccali, S. Maria degli Angeli-Assisi 1995 (Medioevo francescano. Testi, 2), p. 2172.

²⁵ *I Cel* 48 in *AF* X, Ad Claras Aquas 1926-1941, p. 38; also in *FF*, p. 323.

²⁶ Bonaventure of Bagnoregio, *Legenda maior* IV, 10, in *AF*, pp. 575-76; also in *FF*, p. 811.

he was also concerned about provincial chapters, where he sometimes appeared miraculously, as at the chapter of Arles.²⁷ Even here Anthony's role is not autonomous, nor does he have an identity of his own.²⁸ He is always present in relation to Francis and the needs of the Order. Only later, in *The Deeds of St. Francis and His Companions*, does Anthony play a leading role in two chapters of that work devoted especially to the miraculous: *How St. Anthony Preached and Was Heard by People of Different Languages*, and *How St. Anthony Converted the Heretics by Preaching to the Fishes*. By this time, the space devoted to Anthony in the Franciscan legends reflected a development in devotion and hagiography that could hardly be ignored.

Even the chronicles of Thomas of Eccleston²⁹ and Salimbene of Adam³⁰ refer only to a few sporadic biographical incidents and the memory of a cult already widespread. That should not be surprising; even Francis is seldom mentioned in these works. But among the bits of information about Anthony, one seems particularly important. It is the memory of his participation in the turbulent general chapter of Assisi in May 1230, where the supporters and adversaries of Brother Elias faced off against each other.³¹ Even though Stansilao da Campagnola says that this bit of information is not enough to modify "the 'image' of Anthony of Padua, [which] is rather monochromatic...in these testimonies,"³² I do think it is enough to show that Anthony was fully involved and played a leading role at a crucial moment in the history of the Franciscan Order.

In his chronicle, *The Coming of the Friars Minor to England*, Thomas of Eccleston recounts these events in some detail. He tells how the supporters of Elias, who had come to the chapter en masse at Elias's own invitation, "wanted to put him in the place of the minister general." Only

²⁷See Stansilao da Campagnola, "L'immagine antoniana nelle «Fonti Francescane»,", pp. 227-28.

²⁸"In this episode, accepted into the earliest official biographies of Francis (no unofficial biography refers to it), the image of Anthony, rather than (historically or symbolically) autonomous, is related to Franciscan structures: the institutional authority of chapter assemblies, 'ordinary' preaching, the mission among the infidels": *ibid.*, p. 228.

²⁹*Actus beati Francisci*, ed.cit., XLIV-XLV, pp. 420-27; also in *FF*, pp. 2172-75.

³⁰Thomas of Eccleston, *Tractatus de adventu fratrum minorum in Angliam*, ed. A.G. Little - J. Moorman, Manchester 1951, p. 63.

³¹Salimbene of Adam, *Cronica*, ed.cit., pp. 97, 484, 570-71, 649, 716, 735, 824. "In reality, all these references have no other autonomy or meaning except to reveal a cult already affirmed and celebrated. In the end, few biographical details can lead to the reconstruction of a historical image of Anthony, above and beyond the attribution of a structural function or a more-or-less privileged celebration of his holiness": Stansilao da Campagnola, "L'immagine antoniana nelle «Fonti Francescane»,", p. 229.

³²*Ibid.*, p. 230.

the firm hand of the minister general John Parenti prevented this *coup de main*. Elias's supporters "were confounded and gave up after a very great disturbance. For they did not listen to St. Anthony or to any minister provincial."³³ The account goes on to mention that the chapter sent a distinguished delegation to the Holy See to obtain authoritative clarifications about the legislation of the Order and to inform the Curia about the recent happenings in Assisi.³⁴

As a result of this mission, led by the minister general John Parenti, Pope Gregory IX issued the bull *Quo elongati*, the first papal declaration/interpretation of the Rule of the Friars Minor. The importance of this document for the history of the Franciscan Order cannot be overemphasized.³⁵ Gregory IX intervened in virtue of his apostolic authority and because he "knew [Francis's] mind more fully." He had long been a friend of the saint and had played a part in the writing of the Rule.³⁶ The Pope clarified certain specific questions that were of vital importance at a time when the Order was rapidly becoming clericalized. These questions had to do with the observance of poverty, the makeup of the general chapter, the authority of the ministers to receive novices and confer the offices of preacher and confessor.³⁷ But the first two questions, especially, are of general and fundamental importance—coupled with the fact that the friars were appealing to an authority outside the Order recognized as having the power to decide.³⁸ The capitulars were asking about the binding

³³Thomas of Eccleston, *Tractatus de adventu* ed.cit., p. 65.

³⁴From this chapter a solemn delegation was sent with the minister general to Pope Gregory to obtain an exposition of the Rule, namely, St. Anthony, Brother Gerard Rusinol, penitentiary of the lord pope, Brother Haymo, who later became minister general, Brother Leo, who later was made archbishop of Milan, Brother Gerard of Modena, and Brother Peter of Brescia. They told the pope what great scandal Brother Elias had caused because the minister general had revoked his decree so that not all the brothers could come to the chapter who wished; and also how he became indignant about this and had the body of St. Francis transferred before the chapter convened": *ibid.*, p. 66.

³⁵See A. Tabarroni, "La regola francescana: tra autenticità ed autenticazione," in *Dalla «sequela Christi» di Francesco d'Assisi*, pp. 79-122; for the essential bibliography see *ibid.*, p. 93, n. 24.

³⁶H. Grundmann, "Die Bulle «Quo elongati» Papst Gregors IX," *AFH* 54 (1961), pp. 5-25, especially p. 21.

³⁷"As can be seen, behind each question presented to the Pope in 1230 lie an equal number of aspects in the life of the Order, which is in the process of rapid change. The general direction of this change has been sufficiently chronicled by historians of Franciscanism. It has deservedly been described by the special term 'clericalization': Tabarroni, "La regola francescana," p. 97.

³⁸"It is not so much a detailed analysis of each question that should occupy our attention now. Rather we should consider the constitutional meaning, so to speak, of the

force of Francis's *Rule* and *Testament*. As we know, Gregory IX declared that the brothers were not legally bound to observe the *Testament*. As for the *Rule*, they were bound to observe only those evangelical counsels specifically mentioned in the official text. Thus the immediate identification between Gospel and Franciscan *Rule* was settled negatively, at least from a legal point of view.³⁹

Quo elongati represented a definite turning point in the process of clericalization, which had been going on at least since 1220 with the introduction of the novitiate as provided in Honorius III's bull *Cum secundum consilium*. Gregory IX's intervention also marked the end of a major misunderstanding. Since Francis, the founder, was now dead and canonized, he could not possibly represent the multiform reality of the Order. Franciscanism—as a lifestyle, position in the Church, cultural formation—could no longer be immediately identified with the “new fool” Francis and his first followers, who were “simple and subject to all” and lived “according to the pattern of the holy Gospel” (*Testament* 19, 14). The *Testament* was Francis's last attempt—resolutely willed and planned, not accidental—to express his full charism, the entire memory of his spiritual journey and that of the first fraternity. It reflected Francis's Christian proposal and the first fraternity's ideal of life.⁴⁰ But it did little to respond to what were now the Order's very different needs. With ecclesiastical elements prevailing within and with the support of the Holy See, it was

decision made by the friars, assembled at the chapter of Assisi in 1230, to ask the Pope to interpret some obscure points of the *Rule*. The reason for their decision seems clear enough. They did not think they had the authority to tamper in any way, either directly or through interpretation, with the text of the *Rule*. What prevented them was Francis's explicit prohibition in the *Testament*, his reminder that the formulas with which he, as founder, had expressed his intention regarding the life of the Order were “untouchable”: *ibid.*, p. 98.

Scholars have noted the momentous importance of Gregory IX's intervention, stressing that it represents a turning point in Franciscan history, in the direction of clericalization that would now make it impossible for the Order as a whole to return to the gospel-pauperist life of Francis of Assisi and his companions (see *ibid.*, p. 98). By the will of the general chapter, *Quo elongati* had left it to the Pope to protect the gospel-pauperist identity expressed in the *Rule* and strongly reiterated by Francis with extraordinary personal testimony in his *Testament*. Permission to gloss the *Rule* and to reject the binding force of the *Testament* became the most fought-over element in the internal debate that ensued between Community and Spirituals. In the decades that followed, the raging confrontation over Francis's true intentions, over how to determine and interpret them, presupposed the events of 1230.

³⁹*Ibid.*, p. 102.

⁴⁰For an evaluation of the *Testament* in the context of the history of Francis and the Order, see G. Miccoli, “La proposta cristiana di Francesco d'Assisi,” in *Studi medievali*, 3rd ser., XXIV (1983), pp. 17-73, now also in *idem*, *Francesco d'Assisi*, pp. 33-97 [English tr. in *Greyfriars Review* 3 (1989) 127-72].

quickly becoming a religious order with predominantly pastoral functions in the service of Church reform. In an authoritative and definitive manner, Gregory IX distinguished between Francis, the early fraternity, and the Order and the structures it had developed during that time. And he agreed, at the invitation of the chapter of the Friars Minor, that the Holy See would become the supreme interpreter of the *Rule* and the final arbiter in case of controversies.

That is why the fact that Anthony of Padua was a member of the chapter delegation to the papal Curia in 1230 is particularly important. Anthony was not part of the first Franciscan fraternity that had grown up around Francis at the Portiuncula; he did not experience the original epic events, he was not converted through the direct witness of Francis, Bernard, Giles and Clare. While he was still a canon in Coimbra, at about the age of twenty-five, he was deeply impressed by the martyrdom of five Friars Minor in Morocco, the first Franciscan martyrs (1220), whose relics were brought to Portugal by the infante Pedro. In his desire for martyrdom, Ferdinand (that was his name at the time) decided to join the Friars Minor. He already knew them, for they lived in a place on the outskirts of Coimbra. Anthony's choice was based on the testimony of a religious order in vigorous and rapid expansion—especially after the promotion of foreign missions by the chapters of 1217 and 1219. Soon it would be divided into provinces. After his failed voyage to Morocco and his unexpected arrival in Italy, Anthony attended the chapter of 1221 at the Portiuncula. He was brought there by Brother Graziano, the minister of Romagna. After living for a time as a hermit at Monte Paolo near Forlì, he began an active apostolate in Italy and France as preacher, master of theology, custodian and minister provincial. Eventually his reputation and authority were such that he was chosen as a member of the above-mentioned chapter delegation to Gregory IX. He died in 1231, still a young man, immediately after a very famous series of Lenten sermons given in Padua and while he was still writing the *Feastday Sermons*. He was solemnly canonized the following year, 1232, just four years after Francis of Assisi.

These essential facts, found in all the legends, are enough to characterize and distinguish Anthony's life from that of the brothers of the first fraternity and their lifestyle. By age, Anthony could be considered a first-generation Franciscan; but because he entered the Order at a crucial time when it was becoming more clerical, 1219-1223,⁴¹ and because of his

⁴¹See Th. Desbonnets, *Dall'intuizione all'istituzione* (Paris 1983), Milan 1986, especially chh. I and V, and the review by G. Miccoli, *Dall'intuizione all'istituzione: un passaggio non tutto scontato*, «Cristianesimo nella storia», VI (1985), pp. 622-29, [From Intuition to

formation he belonged—as Luigi Salvatorelli says—“to the second generation of Franciscans, to the new learned and clerical element.”⁴²

As mentioned, recent historiography has questioned how close Anthony's ideas were to those of Francis; it is not that clear in the *Sermones* or the Antonian legends. Speaking of Anthony, historians have postulated the existence of a “regionalized” Franciscanism and the possibility of multiple “paternities” within the Order, not all of them traceable to the founder.⁴³ But if we are to answer this question, we must answer an even more difficult one: can we speak of Franciscanism in the sense of a spirituality, the heritage left by Francis to his brothers and accepted by them as such? I believe, unless I am mistaken, that the term “Franciscanism” can refer only to Francis as we find him in his writings and historical experience, and manage to glimpse him in the legends. Everything else—the fraternity that evolves into an Order, the progressive clericalization, the growth of the legends—is better seen as belonging to the history of the Order of which Francis is a part, albeit an important one. It is possible, in this context, to speak of polygenesis in the evolution of the Order. Otherwise the very criterion, more or less explicit, used by historians—whether the Order, in its history, betrayed or remained faithful to Francis—would no longer make sense, historically speaking. Historians should be studying Franciscanism in its historical development, as a series of adaptations to times and circumstances that cannot be reduced to Francis or to the first Assisi-Umbrian fraternity.

If everything we have said so far has some basis, analysis of the evolution of Antonian hagiography should attempt to determine whether there existed in the Order another model of holiness besides Francis and, if so, how this model was developed during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The essential tool for such an analysis is obviously the series, *Fonti agiografiche antoniane*, edited by Vergilio Gamboso beginning in 1981 and still being published.⁴⁴

Institution: the Franciscans, Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1988.] and now in idem, *Francesco d'Assisi*, pp. 98-113; O. Capitani, “Dalla fraternitas all'ordine: impressioni di lettura di un «non francescanista»,” in *Gli studi francescani dal dopoguerra ad oggi*, pp. 113-42.

⁴²“...for the majority, however, he remains a first-generation Franciscan, very close to Francis”: L. Salvatorelli, “S. Antonio e la prima generazione francescana, in «Pègaso»,” 3 (1931), pp. 714-20, especially p. 720.

⁴³See G. G. Merlo, “La storiografia francescana dal dopoguerra ad oggi,” in *Gli studi francescani*, pp. 3-32, especially pp. 19-20.

⁴⁴Vita prima di s. Antonio o «Assidua» (c. 1232). See Life of St. Anthony “Assidua,” by a Contemporary Franciscan, trans., Bernard Przewozny, introduction, by Vergi Gamboso, (Padua: Edizioni Messaggero, 1984); Officio ritmico e vita secunda. Introduction, critical text,

The *Assidua*, named from the first word of its prologue, is the first Antonian legend.⁴⁵ It was most likely written by a Friar Minor, perhaps a Paduan,⁴⁶ immediately after Anthony's canonization.⁴⁷ A search for elements in common with the legends of Francis, especially Celano's *First Life*, has yielded few points for comparison, and these are of limited value. In his search for parallels, Stanislao da Compagnola looked at the following elements: Franciscan vocation, physical description and psychological insight into the character, preaching and gesturality, relationship with the city and with nature. His conclusion: "Few...things in the *Assidua* can be compared with the contemporary legends of Francis, which redound with images, gestures, spiritual games."⁴⁸ If we judge the legend of Anthony on

Italian version and notes edited by V. Gamboso, Padua 1985; Vita del «Dialogus» e «Benignitas». Introduction, critical text, Italian version and notes edited by V. Gamboso, Padua 1986; Vite «Raymundina» e «Rigaldina». Introduction, critical text, Italian version and notes edited by V. Gamboso, Padua 1992.

⁴⁵The very lengthy introduction to the edition of the *Assidua* examines the identity of the author, date of composition, recipients, sources, literary and ideological structure, the emerging image of Anthony, the manuscript tradition and historical criticism relative to the work: V. Gamboso, "Introduzione" to *Vita prima*, pp. 9-265. Among the many earlier studies, we should at least mention those of G. Abate, "Le prime biografie di s. Antonio nella loro tradizione manoscritta. Testi antoniani," *Il Santo*, ser. II, VII (1967), pp. 272-338 and idem, "La «Vita prima» di s. Antonio. Introduzione," critical text, additions, *Il Santo*, ser. II, VIII (1968), pp. 127-226.

⁴⁶At the conclusion of his investigation concerning the identity of the author, Gamboso states that "one certain fact remains, and it was expressed by the seventeenth-century tradition of Anthony's friary, then repeated by others: that the *Assidua* was composed by a Franciscan, which could be deduced from internal arguments, as we have seen. We would add that it was written in Padua; this is suggested not only by a tenuous clue inferred from the heading of ch. 11: "How He Came to Padua," but especially from the work's relentless, even exclusive focus on Padua" (Gamboso, "Introduzione" p. 33).

But Stanislao da Campagnola maintains—with regard to Gamboso's conclusions—that "similar 'clues' are not enough to prove the 'Franciscanism' of the *Assidua* and its author" (Stanislao da Campagnola, "Letteratura francescana e letteratura antoniana," p. 196, n. 18. But already in the first words of the prologue we can perhaps detect an explicit reference to the author's Franciscan identity: "Guided by the insistent demand of friars and inspired by the merit of sanctifying obedience, for the praise and glory of almighty God, and to satisfy the love and devotion of the faithful, I am led to write about the life and deeds of the most blessed father and our confrere Anthony" (*Assidua*, ed.cit., prol. 1). [English tr. Bernard Przewozny, OFM Conv].

⁴⁷"But seeing the series [of clues] and taking into account their mutual connections, they concur in granting validity to De Mandach's hunch that suggest 1232 and the enthusiastic atmosphere surrounding the canonization as the act of conception, gestation and birth of the *Assidua*": Gamboso, "Introduzione," p. 45.

⁴⁸See Stanislao da Campagnola, "Letteratura francescana e letteratura antoniana," p. 203, especially pp. 197-203

the basis of its similarity to the legends of Francis, we could not be more disappointed. This conclusion is also true, as we shall see, for the later legends, even though the Franciscan elements are definitely stressed.

But in the field of hagiography, the *Assidua* is a basic text for determining whether, in the first half of the thirteenth century, there existed in the Franciscan Order a number of models of holiness that were not simply reducible to Francis. If there were, there would have been a polygenetic development of ideals of holiness, albeit dominated by the figure of Francis of Assisi.

Francis of Assisi never appears in the *Assidua*.⁴⁹ When the learned canon of Coimbra approached the Portuguese Friars Minor, "who were not learned men, yet taught the substance of the Scriptures with their actions" (5,3), he had been impressed by the martyrdom of the friars in Morocco. But the principal figure in the encounter is Anthony, or rather his zeal for the spread of the faith and his thirst for martyrdom (*zelus fidei...martyrii sitis*: 6,1) His desire to go among the Saracens was so great that the poor friars were forced to accept it as a condition of his becoming a Franciscan ("...if you were to promise to send me, as soon as I join, to the land of the Saracens": 5, 5). This they did (see ch. 6).

Anthony took sick, was unable to continue his mission in Morocco, and soon left. The moral the author draws is a common one in hagiography: "But the Most High, who knows what is in humans, opposed his projects and, striking him with a grave illness, punished him very painfully through the winter." (6,3). But in the legend this becomes a central moment in Anthony's life. In fact, after his unexpected stay in Sicily, Anthony took part in the general chapter of 1221 at the Portiuncula. There is no mention of Francis's presence and the outcome of their meeting. At the end of the chapter Anthony himself, unknown to all, asked the minister of Romagna to accept him into his province.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Francis is mentioned only incidentally in the context of the transfer of his coffin from the church of St. George to the new tomb in the church named for him, on the occasion of the general chapter of the Friars Minor in 1230 in Assisi ("At the time of the general chapter when the most holy relics of blessed father Francis were carried to the church where they repose and are duly venerated, the servant of God was released from the government of the friars and received from the minister general full freedom to preach": *Assidua* ed. cit., 11,2).

⁵⁰ "About that time, it was decided to celebrate a general chapter in Assisi. When the servant of God was informed of this by the friars of the city of Messina, showing himself stronger than he really was, he reached the place of the chapter as best he could. Once the chapter was concluded as usual, and when the ministers provincial had sent the friars entrusted to them to their destinations, only Anthony remained abandoned in the hands of the minister general, not being requested by anyone of the other ministers, like a man who is considered inexperienced and of little use, and because he was not even known. At last, when he called

And so Anthony became part of an Order that was already well organized, hierarchically and territorially. Only at that point did he entrust himself to a superior, "to be taught the rudiments of their spiritual life [*disciplina*]" (7,2). After the introduction of the novitiate year in 1220 and the writing of the *Earlier Rule* in 1221, discipline became more and more the necessary way to live Franciscanism. The strong monastic and spiritual attraction of the term "discipline" is seen in the *Assidua* itself: when Ferdinand-Anthony moves from the canons' monastery of St. Vincent in Lisbon to that of the Holy Cross in Coimbra, he is inspired by "love for a more severe form of discipline and more fruitful tranquility" (4,1).

The events of 1221 are essential for describing the Antonian model of holiness. In the hagiographic account, this is the moment when Anthony entrusted himself completely to the Order of Friars Minor. During his Portuguese period, he had been master of his own destiny. His deep biblical and spiritual formation, his reputation, his desire to go to the missions—these things overwhelmed the simple friars of the community of St. Anthony de Olivais, who were "filled with great joy by the words of such a man" 5,6. On the other hand, at the general chapter at the Portiuncula "only Anthony remained abandoned in the hands of the minister general." To the assembled friars he seemed "inexperienced and of little use" (7,1). In fact, "he neither mentioned his studies nor boasted of the churchly ministry he had exercised" (7,3).

In recounting these events, the hagiographer has underlined the difference between Anthony's priorities and those of the Order. Theological preparation and a desire for martyrdom were not in themselves enough to assure the success of a vocation; only humility, obedience and religious discipline could do that. In fact, Anthony's stay in the hermitage at Monte Paolo near Forli was a time of novitiate for him. Even though he lived mainly as a hermit, he took part in community life as provided for in the *Rule* (7, 4-11).

His time in Forli came to an end on the occasion of an ordination. Since the Dominican friars present at the ceremony were indisposed, the minister of the place ordered Anthony to preach. His oratorical abilities came as a real revelation to the friars. For the hagiographer it was a good chance to show that both humility and knowledge could find an ideal place for expression in the Order of Friars Minor. When he learned what had happened, the minister provincial entrusted Anthony with the public office

apart Friar Gratian, who was then governing the friars in Romagna, the servant of God began to entreat him that, once released by the minister general, he be taken to Romagna and there be taught the rudiments of their spiritual life": *Assidua* ed. cit., 6,6 - 7,2.

of preacher. This marked the end of his time in the hermitage. Under obedience⁵¹ he began his tireless and amazing pastoral mission, which took him to the cities and villages of Italy and France until the time of his death. His zeal for the Saracens became zeal for souls, and his thirst for martyrdom was transformed into an effort to preach in a way that was now definitely "ordinary" and no longer an exhortation to penance as in the early days of the Franciscan fraternity. Thus "he merited for his strenuous efforts the title of 'Evangelist'" (9,3).

Anthony's apostolic activity is not recounted in detail.⁵² The only thing mentioned is his first sermon against the heretics in Rimini (ca. 1222-23) and then, with no break in continuity, the admiration Anthony's words aroused in the Roman Curia.⁵³ For this reason he was given the title "Ark of the Testament" by Gregory IX (10,2). His stay in Rome almost certainly coincided with that which Thomas of Eccleston places in the year 1230. The Pope's words of praise represented his approval of Anthony's *ars sermocinandi*, and shortly afterward the saint began his amazing series of Lenten sermons in Padua. The *Assidua* views Anthony's extraordinary activity in Padua within the limited scope of Rome and the papacy: it is in the Curia that Anthony's preaching ability is authoritatively recognized, and it is the Curia that is quick to canonize him, at the request of the notables of the city, immediately after his death.⁵⁴

The hagiographer, who is certainly a Paduan, has highlighted the few months Anthony spent in that city, especially his Lenten preaching.

⁵¹"Inasmuch as, according to the Lord's saying, *a city built on a mountain cannot be hidden*, shortly thereafter the minister was informed of what happened. Anthony, therefore, broke his peaceful silence and was constrained to turn to the public. When the duty of preaching was imposed on him, the faithful dweller of the hermitage was sent out into the world and his lips, closed for so long, were opened to proclaim the glory of God": *Assidua* ed. cit., 9,1-2.

⁵²The absence of information about the years 1224-1229 in the *Assidua* has been interpreted in various ways by scholars; some, such as De Kerval in 1904, have seen this omission as the result of deliberate censure of the author of the *Assidua* by Franciscan adversaries. For a re-examination of the question, see Gamboso, "Introduzione," pp. 77-83.

⁵³"At the conclusion of this, when the minister of the Order sent the servant of God to the papal curia because of an urgent matter concerning the religious family...": *Assidua* ed. cit., 10,1.

⁵⁴On the civic/Paduan provenance of this legend, see the paper by A. Tilatti "L'«Assidua»: ispirazione francescana e funzionalità patavina," and on the canonization, the paper by R. Paciocco, "Nondum post mortem beati Antonii annus effluxerat". La santità romano-apostolica di Antonio e l'esemplarità di Padova nel contesto dei coevi processi di canonizzazione," published in these Proceedings. Tilatti in his study tends to re-evaluate the Paduan provenance of the legend in favor of a reading more focused on the internal influences in the Order's historical development.

Moreover, he has recounted the events surrounding the saint's death, burial and canonization in even greater detail and with greater realism. This has caused Anthony to be marked, definitively and indelibly, as a Paduan, even in the later legends. The designation was favored by the outpouring of miracles at his tomb, which certified him forever as a powerful wonderworker; his tomb became a famous and often-visited place of pilgrimage. Such strong absorption into the life of the city, amply echoed in the legend, did not happen even for Francis, who was actually a native of Assisi and never ventured far from it, at least in his thinking. For this reason Anthony's life is a symbol of the progressive and rapid urbanization of the Friars Minor and their insertion into the religious, social and political life of the city.

The entire first part of the legend, which describes the events in Anthony's life before his death, is meant to justify and explain his pastoral vocation. The transition from his first conventual preaching in Forlì to his public preaching in Rimini is marked by a significant quote from the Gospel: "A city built on a mountain cannot be hidden" (9, 1). Anthony, the "faithful dweller of the hermitage" (9, 2), is not destined for the "peace" of the hermitage (7, 5), for the hidden life. His long years of study in Portugal and his life of solitude at Monte Paolo are seen as preparation for his pastoral ministry.

The hagiographer projects Anthony toward his audience, his public; the huge crowds that rush to hear him in Padua become the real protagonist of the legend. Once he obtains from the minister general "full freedom to preach" (11, 2), Anthony is identified with his office and especially with his diverse public. Everything else seems to shrink and retreat into the background: the Franciscan Order, which had made this experience possible, the friars in Padua, the bishop and clergy of the city, who were primarily responsible for the ordinary preaching (see 13, 6). After Anthony's death, in the dispute over his place of burial and in the subsequent canonization process, all the institutional elements in Padua re-emerge to authoritatively confirm the explicit civic function the events of his life were assuming.

Anthony's "public moment" is the distinguishing theme of the *Assidua*. To search in these pages for interior sufferings—by analogy with what scholars have done with the legends of Francis—would be useless. The author is obviously not interested in the more interior aspects of Anthony's spiritual journey. But the expressive ability of the anonymous Franciscan hagiographer is beyond question and is particularly effective in the account of the arguments that arose over Anthony's burial. It is worth recalling, for example, the conversation between the Poor Ladies of Arcella as they orchestrate the burial of the famous preacher, just deceased, in their

monastery (ch. 19). It is so realistic that it surpasses, in intensity of expression and literary merit, Celano's account of the lament of the Damianites on the occasion of Francis's death.

Very little attention and interest are paid to the more personal details of Anthony's life. Thus it is no surprise that the famous short note addressed by Francis to Anthony, authorizing him to teach theology to the brothers, is not mentioned at all in the legend. Yet the memory of this incidental correspondence would have given the anonymous biographer a chance to explore the relationship between Francis and Anthony, seeing that the Portiuncula chapter of 1221 seemed to be a lost opportunity for the author of the legend. He could have shown Anthony's role as teacher in connection with the worrisome question about the relation between Franciscan evangelism and religious learning, which no doubt prompted the expression, "providing that...you do not extinguish the Spirit of prayer and devotion during study of this kind."⁵⁵

The legends of Francis speak of his intense dialogue with God, with real conversations, dreams and apparitions—from the ruined church of San Damiano to La Verna. Corresponding to this, by reason of its centrality and importance in the Antonian legend, is the dialogue of ideas between the preacher and the faithful who gather to hear him. The model of holiness in the *vitae* of Francis points, first of all, to an intimate evangelical dialogue. The *Assidua* develops its model around two pairs of terms: apostolic zeal / devotion of the faithful, and preaching / sacramental confession. The church dimension is a determining factor for the preacher and his public. The biographer's image of Anthony corresponds to "the image Anthony leaves of himself: the cross joined with the sacrament; Francis's novelty brought within Gregory's Church."⁵⁶

The Antonian model of holiness described in the *Assidua* does not change to any great extent in the later legends. The biggest development is in the miraculous aspect, although careful reconsideration would lead us to re-evaluate this.⁵⁷ For the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century legends that follow the *Assidua*—from that of Julian of Speyer to the *Book of Miracles* contained in the *Chronicle of the Twenty-Four Generals*—we do not need to dwell on questions of authorship, date and dependence. These things have

⁵⁵ *Epistula ad sanctum Antonium* 2, in *FA:ED*, I, p. 107.

⁵⁶ C. Leonardi, "Il Vangelo di Francesco e la Bibbia di Antonio," p. 317.

⁵⁷ See, in these Proceedings, the contribution by J. Dalarun, "Miracolo e miracoli nelle biografie antoniane."

already been amply dealt with by Vergilio Gamboso in his introductions to the editions of the individual legends.⁵⁸

However, one fundamental point remains to be considered in these observations. It has been called "the evolution of the 'Franciscan' element in the legends of Anthony" after Bonaventure.⁵⁹ Based on a comparative analysis of Bonaventure's *Major Legend*, the fragmentary legend *Benignitas* and the *Rigaldina*, Stanislao da Campagnola has identified Bonaventure's *Major Legend* as a turning point. It is the watershed between the first lives of Anthony, which lack a Franciscan character, and the later ones,⁶⁰ which are "open to important interpretations on the subject of [Anthony's] 'conformity' to Christ and Francis, a subject dear to Franciscan literature."⁶¹

In fact, there are few places where Bonaventure's legend can be identified as a source for the *Rigaldina*, the most "Franciscan" of the legends. Often it is a matter of chapter headings, phrases introducing descriptions of virtues, expressions of praise, biblical citations, formulas derived from the liturgy and earlier hagiography. Bonaventure's influence is more noticeable and important in the overall organization of the legends; abandoning the chronological order used for the beginning and end of the narrative, the central part is organized around the themes of humility, poverty and prayer. In the end one gets the impression that the "Franciscan element," although present, is limited even in the *Rigaldina* to general features, to setting, and to spiritual and devotional parallels. None of this changes the image of Anthony borrowed from the *Assidua*. In any case, in the field of hagiography Bonaventure's *Major Legend* succeeded in becoming a general model for Franciscan legends. Responding to the needs of the Order in the mid-thirteenth century, Bonaventure reshaped Francis's Christian experience, transforming it from an evangelical lifestyle valid for the entire Order to a moral and spiritual model for the individual friar.⁶² But by so doing, he also

⁵⁸See n. 44 above.

⁵⁹Stanislao da Campagnola, "Incidenza della «Legenda maior» di s. Bonaventura," p. 36.

⁶⁰"Whether he worked in Italy or elsewhere, whether in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, what seems beyond question with regard to the author of the *Benignitas* is his adherence to the Bonaventurian model, even though his fragments do not allow us to judge how consistent he really is, as we can for the *Rigaldina*. In the latter case it is not a matter of simply noting the presence of 'citations'—which could represent stylistic weaknesses—but to observe how what is taken from Bonaventure, obedient to the rules of an insistent counterpoint, functions with respect to the general plan of a specific hagiographic model": *ibid.*, p. 41.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁶²See G. Miccoli, "Di alcuni passi di Bonaventura sullo sviluppo dell'ordine francescano," *Studi medievali*, 3rd ser., XI (1970), pp. 381-95 and *idem*, "Bonaventura e

managed to place the holy founder once again at the center of Franciscan identity. Otherwise Francis might have been relegated to a merely liturgical realm or to the (historically limited) memory of those circles close to the tradition of his companions. With the development of the Order, Bonaventure, as minister general and theologian, was able to bring hagiographic and theological unity to the story of Francis and the first friars—although not without some contradictions and tensions.

This last consideration allows us to stress an important point of comparison between the hagiography of Francis and that of Anthony. The model of pastoral holiness proposed by the author of the *Assidua* proved its validity with time and was the perfect answer to the progressive clericalization of the Order. It did not require the radical changes suffered by the image of Francis of Assisi during that same period in the various legends. In the realm of hagiography, the biographies of Anthony prove that Francis was not the only model of holiness for the friars, just as the history of the Friars Minor, especially after the 1220s, could not be identified exclusively with the Assisi-Umbrian fraternity whose gospel way of life is vigorously evoked by Francis in his *Testament*. The many forces that contributed to the evolution of the Order, the various regions in which the provinces were established, the various church offices the Friars Minor were called to fill, soon made it hard to compare the appearance of the Order with that of the first fraternity. The legends of Anthony not only reflected that evolution; they also contributed to the process, interacting significantly with the legends of Francis, especially Bonaventure's *Major Legend*. The *vitae* of Anthony brought the model of Franciscan holiness back to the realm of an already developed pastoral model. But they profoundly renewed it with Franciscan elements typical of its innovative nature.

And so with regard to the beginnings of the Order, perhaps we cannot speak of the paternity of Anthony alongside the paternity of Francis. But certainly in the Order's institutional development in the 1220s and 1230s, Anthony represents an important example for understanding Franciscan history and the legends of Francis better, precisely because of his limited "Franciscan consciousness."⁶³

Francesco," in *San Bonaventura francescano*. Convegni del Centro di studi sulla spiritualità medievale, XIV (Todi, 14-17 October 1973), Todi 1974, pp. 49-73, now reprinted in idem, *Francesco d'Assisi*, pp. 264-302. See also L. Pellegrini, *Introduzione a San Bonaventura, Opuscoli francescani*/1, Rome 1993 (Opere di S. Bonaventura, XIV/1), pp. 7-77.

⁶³Manselli, "La coscienza minoritica."