

Fundamental Elements of Franciscan Liturgy. Inquiry on the Development of the Franciscan Calendar of Saints

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The Liturgy at the Beginning of the Franciscan Order

In order to provide an accurate picture of the development of the Franciscan liturgy it is first of all necessary to recall the formation of this liturgy and its strict connection with the Roman liturgy.

St. Francis in his spiritual *Testament* records his experience by expressing it this way: “And after the Lord gave me some brothers, no one showed me what I had to do, but the Most High revealed to me that I should live according to the pattern of the Holy Gospel. And I had this written down simply and in a few words and the Lord Pope confirmed it for me.”¹

Without a doubt, at the beginning of his conversion St. Francis simply wished to follow the Gospel in its totality as the Lord had indicated

¹Francis of Assisi, *The Testament* 14-15, (hereafter Test). Cf. *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents. The Saint* edited by Regis J. Armstrong, J. A. Wayne Hellmann and William J. Short, (New York, London, Manila: New City Press, 1999), 125. Hereafter FA:ED.

to him. It was not his intention to found a religious order.² According to his own interpretation it was the Lord himself who gave him brothers.³ The brothers in turn saw in Francis a norm of life which was empowered by the ideal revealed to him. Those who eventually came to Francis lived the Gospel simply as they were able to understand it in his ideals and in his life.

Alongside the account of the revelation of the Lord, which justified his mission, there is a simple but important note: "the Lord Pope confirmed it for me."⁴ From the beginning Francis asked the Church, which for him was represented by the Pope, for confirmation of his ideas.

This reference to the Church is remarkable. It is enough to think of the many religious movements, contemporaneous with Francis, which promoted a style of apostolic life according to the Gospel. Many of these progressively ended in opposition to the rich and worldly Church from which they strayed in political diatribe and in heretical-schismatic attitudes.⁵

In the first rule that Francis gave to his friars, he once again confirms his fidelity to the Church. "This is the life of the Gospel of Jesus Christ that Brother Francis petitioned the Lord Pope to grant and confirm for him; and he did grant and confirm it for him and his brothers present and to come. Brother Francis—and whoever is head of this religion—promises obedience to the Lord Pope Innocent and his successors."⁶ Consequently, the Saint and all of his fraternity put themselves at the service of the Apostolic See. The "Catholic and wholly apostolic man"⁷ did not wish to live a life based on "the pattern of the Holy Gospel" according to his own will but in obedience and in submission to the Church of Jesus Christ.

²Kajetan Esser, *Das Testament des Heiligen Franziskus von Assisi. Eine Untersuchung über seine Echtheit und seine Bedeutung* (Münster/Westfalen, Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1949). See *The Testament of Saint Francis*, trans. Madge Karecki (Pulaski: Franciscan Publishers, 1982), 52-3.

³Test 14. FA:ED I 125.

⁴Test 16. FA:ED I 125.

⁵The changing fortunes of these groups culminated in 1184 with the Synod of Verona when the Cathars, Arnaldists, Humiliati, Poor Men of Lyons and the Waldensians were excommunicated. Cf. A. Foreville and J. Rousset De Pina, *Storia della Chiesa dalle origini ai nostri giorni* Vol. IX/2 (Torino, 1974), 870-871.

⁶Francis of Assisi, *The Earlier Rule* Prologue 2-3. Cf. FA:ED I 63.

⁷The statement "Francis, the Catholic and wholly apostolic man, was invited by God to preach the gospel of peace" can be found in the first antiphon of first vespers for the solemnity of St. Francis of Assisi, cf. *Famiglie Francescane Italiane, Liturgia delle ore secondo il rito romano e il calendario serafico* (Padova: n.p. 1975), 1418.

In this context Francis also desired to have an active part in the manifestations of ecclesial life which he considered to be constitutive of the interior life of his fraternity. He considered liturgical prayer in particular to be the privileged vehicle of his unity with the Church.⁸

In the first place, in the definitive *Rule of 1223*, the founder imposed on his friars the daily recitation of the Divine Office according to the use of the Church of Rome. To this end he gave this instruction: "Let the clerical [brothers] recite the Divine Office according to the rite of the holy Roman Church excepting the psalter, for which reason they may have breviaries." If one considers that every episcopal see and religious order had its own observance regarding the Divine Office¹⁰ and that, normally, the clerics assumed the rite of the Church in which they served and for which they were specifically consecrated, this fact represented an absolute novelty.

The Friars Minor (as they were called by St. Francis) were therefore bound to the Church of Rome. Nevertheless, Francis did not use the psalter in use at the pontifical court, the "Roman psalter" according to the Septuagint, but prescribed for his friars the psalter in common use known by the people across the West, the so-called "Gallican psalter."¹¹

⁸Lazaro Iriarte, *Vocazione francescana: Sintesi degli ideali di San Francesco e di Santa Chiara*, (Casale Monferrato, 1991), 104-108; *Ibid.*, *The Franciscan Calling*, trans. Carole Marie Kelly (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1974), 65-7.

⁹Francis of Assisi, *The Later Rule* III: 1, cf. FA:ED I 100. In the *Earlier Rule* one already finds the prescription to recite the Divine Office: "For this reason let all the brothers, whether clerical or lay, recite the Divine Office, the praises and prayers, as is required of them" (*ER* III:3). Nevertheless, because the form of the Office varied from one church to another the application of this rule was not easy. For Franciscan religious who were dedicated to an apostolic activity which was primarily itinerant—such as preaching—the variety of local breviaries must have caused a series of inconveniences. Then when all the friars stationed throughout Europe gathered in Assisi for the "Chapter of Mats" in 1221, each with a different book of prayer, the difficulty must of been even more apparent. Francis, most likely becoming aware of these difficulties, prudently established the resolution to adopt the Breviary of the Roman Curia in the *Later Rule*. This certainly contributed to the uniformity of the prayer and to the comfort of the friars. Cf. M. Righetti, *Manuale di Storia liturgica*. Vol II. (Milano, Ancora, 1946), 462-463; E. Clop, "Il 'santorale' nel breviario, francescano," *Studi Francescani* 1 (1914): 374-375; Stephen J. P. Van Dijk, *Sources of the Modern Roman Liturgy. The Ordinals of Haymo of Faversham & Related Documents (1243-1307)*. Vol. 1. (Leiden, n.p., 1963), 42-43.

¹⁰Righetti, *Manuale*, 462-463; Clop, *Il "santorale"*, 374-375.

¹¹Lazaro Iriarte, *Franciscan History: The Three Orders of St. Francis of Assisi*, trans. Patricia Ross (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1982), 117-8; Stephen J. P. Van Dijk, *Sources*, I, 41; *Id.*, *The Ordinal of the Papal Court from Innocent III to Boniface VIII and Related Cointents*. Completed by Joan Hazelden Walker. *Spicilegium Friburgense* 22. (Fribourg: Editions Universitaires, 1975), XXIV. Battifol states that

In the second place, Francis was aware that the Church perpetuated on the earth not only the prayer, but also the sacrifice of Christ. For this reason the daily celebration of the Eucharistic sacrifice was the center of his life and those of his friars.¹²

Persevering in his style of fidelity to the Church of Rome Francis also established that the Mass should be celebrated "according to the rite of the Holy Church."¹³

First of all, it is interesting to note at this juncture the presence of a figure of importance for the Franciscan Order, that of Cardinal Hugolino dei Conti di Segni, the future Pope Gregory IX, a friend of St. Francis, protector of the Order and member of the Roman Curia;¹⁴ secondly, the great friendship that united the bishop of Assisi, Guido II, with Pope Innocent III;¹⁵ and, finally, that it was Honorius III, formerly Cardinal Cencio Savelli—a famous liturgist who had actively contributed to the liturgical reform of Innocent III¹⁶—who definitively approved the Franciscan rule, the *Regula bollata*, in 1223. This leads one to suppose that the adoption of the liturgy of the Papal Curia may have been suggested to St. Francis by the same Curia.¹⁷

Thus, the *Breviary of the Roman Curia* adopted by the Franciscans in conformity with the *Rule of 1223*, distributed to them in 1230,¹⁸ and the *Ordo*

"Le texte du psautier est pour les Mineurs le texte de la version dite gallicane: a Rome, au moins pour les basiliques, le texte de version dite romaine se maintient dans l'usage liturgique jusqu'à la fin du XV^e siècle": P. Battifol, *Histoire du Bréviaire Romain* (Paris, 1911), 49. With the rapid development of the Order this psalter became widely dispersed throughout the Church and nearly became the only one in use up to the year in which a new psalter was introduced by Pius XII.

¹²Francis of Assisi, *Letter to the Entire Order*, (hereafter: LtOrd) FA:ED I 116-121.

¹³LtOrd 30. Cf. Righetti, *Manuale* III, 152.

¹⁴Stephen J. P. Van Dijk, "Ursprung und Inhalt der franziskanische Liturgie des 13. Jahrhunderts," *Franziskanische Studien* 51 (1969): 108; I. J. Lipinski, *Regola e legislazione dei Frati Minori nel secolo XIII* (Roma, 1975), 137.

¹⁵Van Dijk *Ursprung*, 107; Lipinski, *Regola*, 137.

¹⁶J. Pinell, *Liturgia delle Ore*. Anamnesis 5. (Genova, 1990), 199.

¹⁷Righetti, *Manuale*, II, 463; Giuseppe Abate, "Il primitivo breviario francescano," *Miscellanea Francescana* 60 (1960): 61-62; Van Dijk, *Sources*, I, 41.

¹⁸Vincenzo Raffa, "L'ufficio divino al tempo dei carolingi e il Breviario di Innocenzo III confrontati con la Liturgia delle ore di Paolo VI," *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 85 (1971) 233; Van Dijk, *The Ordinal*, XVII; Van Dijk, *Sources* I, 43.

Missae of the Pontifical Chapel, compiled exclusively for the use of the Papal Court, became the official means of prayer in the Franciscan Order.¹⁹

Among the testimonies of the manuscripts we recall three which are particularly important:

a. The so-called “Breviary of St. Francis,” conserved in the Protomonastery of St. Clare in Assisi. This refers to the breviary modified and corrected by Innocent III. If this is not the breviary of Innocent III it is without doubt a very faithful copy. This manuscript must have been composed between 1216 and 1226 because the death of St. Francis occurred in that year. We do not know the title of the breviary due to the fact that the first pages of the manuscript have been lost.²⁰

b. The “Breviary of St. Clare.” The name “breviary” is deceptive. In reality one is able to define this book as a *Breviary-Missal*.²¹ It was written for an unknown Franciscan bishop of Assisi after 1234, probably around 1238.²² The first page carries this heading: “*In Nomine Domini. Incipit Ordo et officium breviarii romanae ecclesiae curie quem consuevimus observari tempore Innocenti III pp. et aliorum pontificum.*”²³

In regard to the calendar of saints there is not much to say. It simply refers to the calendar of the time of Honorius III.²⁴ Accepting the

¹⁹Van Dijk *Ursprung*, 112; Lipinski, *Regola*, 137.

²⁰Stephen J. P. Van Dijk, “*The Breviary of Saint Francis*,” *Franciscan Studies* 9 (1949): 13-40; in this article the author provides an accurate description of the Breviary of St. Francis. On pages 29-40 he deals in depth with the calendar. Cf. also Van Dijk, *Ordinal*, XXII-XXIV, XLIV-XLV. An article with an anonymous author is also to be noted: “*De Breviario S.P.S. Francisci*,” *Analecta Ordinis Minorum Capuccinorum* 14 (1898): 175-180; Clop, *Il “santorale”*, 3 82; Adrien Nocent, “*Storia dei libri liturgici romani*,” *La liturgia, panorama storico generale*. Anamnesis, 2, ed. S. Marsili, J. Pinell, A. M. Triacca, T. Federici, Adrien Nocent and B. Neunheuser, (Casale Monferrato, 1978, 174-175,

²¹Stephen J. P. Van Dijk dedicated a long and valuable study of the Breviary of St. Clare in “*The Breviary of Saint Clare*,” *Franciscan Studies* 8 (1948): 25-46; 351-387; 9 (1949) 10-12. The author states that “this precious manuscript conserved in the Franciscan convent of San Damiano under the title ‘Breviary of St. Clare’ is without doubt one of the most important documents of the liturgy of the Roman Curia of the middle of the 13th century. For this reason, and because it is one of the oldest examples of Franciscan liturgy, it has been the object of much study.” Cf. *Franciscan Studies* 8 (1948), 25, 27; Van Dijk, *Ordinal*, XXIII-XXIV, XLII-XLIV.

²²Van Dijk, *Ordinal*, XXIII; Stephen J. P. Van Dijk and J. Hazelden Walker, *The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy. The Liturgy of the Papal Court and the Franciscan Order in the Thirteenth Century* (London: Westminster, 1960), 135-144.

²³Van Dijk, *Breviary*, 354; Clop, *Il “santorale”*, 382; Nocent, *Storia*, 174-175.

²⁴The calendar of the Breviary-Missal of St. Clare was included in its

breviary of the Papal Chapel the Franciscans took everything which constituted it, including the Proper of the time and its calendar of saints.²⁵

c. The *Breviary of the Rule*, as it has been defined by Van Dijk.²⁶ This is the breviary that was distributed to the friars at the General Chapter of 1230 and composed according to the directions of the *Regula bullata* of 1223. The calendar in the breviary is a typical calendar of the time of Honorius III.²⁷ A most valuable example of this breviary is the *Codice Assisiano 694* of the Library of the Sacro Convento and Basilica of St. Francis in Assisi.²⁸

From the Roman Missal to the First Documents of a "Proper" Missal

To Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) goes the credit of having initiated a new mode of thinking about and ordering the cult of the Church which gave new importance to the liturgy of the Papal Chapel.²⁹ Nevertheless it was the Franciscans who, bound to the liturgy of Rome and in their dynamism and in their rapid diffusion, brought about the universality and unity to the liturgy. It is a result of their influence and due to the redaction of the breviary and missal accomplished by their fourth

publication. Cf. Van Dijk, *Breviary*, 367-374; Raffa, *L'ufficio*, 246.

²⁵Clop, *Il "santorale"*, 431.

²⁶Van Dijk, *Ordinal*, XVII-XVIII; XXV-XXVI.

²⁷*Ibid.*, 31-57; Giuseppe Abate, "Il Primitivo Breviario Franciscano (1224-1227)," *Miscellanea Franciscana* 60 (1960): 197-216. It should be noted, however, that, from what Van Dijk says, the dates reported by Abate need to be corrected and completed. Cf. Stephen J.A. Van Dijk, "An Authentic Copy of the Franciscan 'Regula Breviary,'" *Scriptorium* 16 (1962): 71; Raffa, *L'ufficio*, 246.

²⁸Abate has provided a detailed and valuable study of this codex in the article cited in the previous footnote. Van Dijk, however, notes that the study requires several corrections. Cf. Van Dijk *An Authentic Copy*, 68-76. It is necessary to underline, together with Van Dijk, that the Assisi Manuscript number 694 does not contain a Franciscan breviary of 1224-1227, but one of the oldest and most authentic copies of the Franciscan breviary that was distributed in 1230: Cf. Stephen J. P. Van Dijk, "Some Manuscripts of the Earliest Franciscan Rules," *Franciscan Studies* 14 (1954): 257-258; Van Dijk, *Origin*, 218-219.

²⁹Enrico Cattaneo, "Il Culto Cristiano in Occidente." *Bibliotheca "Ephemerides Liturgicae."* Subsidia, 13. (Roma, n.p., 1984), 230; *The Church at Prayer: Principles of the Liturgy*. Vol. I. Ed. Aimé G. Martimort, (London, Geoffrey Chapman, 1987), 58.

general, Haymo of Faversham,³⁰ that the Franciscan Breviary and Missal became the missal and breviary of the whole Church, including Rome.³¹

The Liturgical Work of the Franciscan Fr. Haymo of Faversham

Historians consider the liturgical work of Haymo of Faversham to be of definitive import for the development of the liturgy "according to the custom of the Roman Curia."³² Let us say right off that the work of Haymo above all dealt with a correction of the ordo of the Curia.³³ That is to say the elaborations of the Minister General of the Friars Minor were not his invention but rather a reasoned revision and a harmonious layout, complete and arranged according to the rubrics, which were directly dependent on the preceding Franciscan liturgy (that of 1230 according to the *Rule* of 1223) and which were connected to the Papal Curia of the time of Honorius III (1216-1227), and, through this model to that compiled under Innocent III.³⁴

³⁰Haymo, a strong and resolute Englishman, was considered the second founder of the Order. He was Minister General from 1240 to 1244. Cf. Cattaneo, *Il Culto*, 239; Van Dijk, *Sources* I, 149.

³¹Cattaneo, *Il Culto*, 239-240.

³²Van Dijk, *Sources* I, 150; Stephen J. P. Van Dijk, "Il Carattere della Correzione Liturgica di Fra Aimone da Faversham," *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 59 (1945): 177.

³³The studies of Van Dijk, who published two volumes in 1963 containing the ordinal and other related texts edited by Haymo of Faversham, are of fundamental importance. These texts constitute the structural picture of the liturgy, especially of the Eucharist and the Divine Office, which survived fairly intact up to Vatican II. Cf. Van Dijk, *Sources* II: *Textes*.

³⁴Van Dijk, *Sources* I, 41, 40-49. The ordinal of Innocent III was a synthesis of ecclesiastical and monastical, secular and canonical elements of Roman, Gallican and Germanic customs. Honorius III revised the ordinal of Innocent III: cf. Rafffa, *L'Ufficio*, 250. This ordinal, composed around 1220, was presented as a "complete court Ordo for the liturgical year: that is to say, it presents an entire order of the work of God (*Opus Dei*) which in reality consists of the crown of choral prayer, the Divine Office in a strict sense, around the center of the solemn conventual Mass. This unity of the Mass and Office was in the liturgy at that time a reality expressed not only in the variety of the choral rites corresponding to a similar ordering of the ceremonies of the conventual Mass but also included in the same compositions of the ordos. Thus the description of the Mass is inserted in that of the Office." Cf. Van Dijk, *Il carattere* 182-183. In addition the curial Ordo "is a book which developed with the tradition and, especially after the reform of Innocent, a combination of the 'new and old.' The redactor gathered the most necessary material, but did not always order them according to new exigencies." Cf. Van Dijk, *Il carattere*, 183. Missing, incomprehensible or hidden rubrics repeated in a long-winded manner, and the redactor's "homey" way of explanation completed the picture of the ordo. Cf. Van Dijk, *Il Carattere*, 183; Van Dijk, *Sources* I, 150.

This ordo, however, introduced numerous lacunae. The regulations of the following sections left the most to be desired: the psalter, hymnody, lectionary, antiphons together with various collects presented as a long compilation. This made the recitation of the Office very complicated.³⁵ In addition the ordo was originally edited for specific persons and particular purposes which certainly were not those of the Franciscans. There is no need, therefore, to be surprised if the friars, using it on a daily basis, noticed quite quickly the necessity of effecting some improvements.

—The achievement of Haymo was that of having an insight into these lacunae and giving, as a consequence, a new arrangement which was precise, detailed and up to date.³⁶

Concretely the Minister General of the Franciscans, with his famous ordo, brought about “the style, organization, coherence of the various sections of the Office with those of the calendar and missal. But his work was always integrally connected to the Office of the Roman Curia, that of Honorius III which had been passed on to the Franciscans.”³⁷

In regard to the calendar of saints in particular, it is necessary to state that the breviary and the missal unfolded in accord with the development of the calendar after 1230; that is, as the Franciscans added new feasts which were proper to the Order.³⁸ During the “Chapter of Definitories” held in Bologna in 1243,³⁹ the Minister General Haymo of

³⁵See the preceding footnote.

³⁶Haymo’s work, commissioned by Pope Innocent IV (1243-1254), was not, however, a reform, but a correction which was not limited to simple additions or revisions. In addition this liturgical operation touched on the Missal and Breviary only in an indirect way. Cf. Van Dijk, *Il Carattere*, 185. Concretely “Haymo gave to his Order a proper ordo like the one that the Curia had for its liturgy. The form of the new ordo was indeed totally different from those of the older ordos, that of the Curia included, and denoted an accomplished perfection.” *Ibid.*, 185.

³⁷Raffa, *L’Ufficio*, 233. Concretely “one is able to summarize the work of Haymo in a few words. He had wanted to do the following: 1. definitively separate the rubrics of the Breviary from those of the Missal; 2. radically correct the layout and style of the rubrics; 3. codify the liturgy, after an evolution of approximately twenty years, in favor of a Franciscan schema.” Van Dijk, *Il carattere della correzione liturgica*, 185. Van Dijk backs up these conclusions in his most important work on Haymo of Faversham: cf. *Sources*, I, 70-71. In this same work Van Dijk also published a list of the manuscripts which refer to the Ordinary of the Mass and the Breviary of Haymo of Faversham: cf. *Sources* I, 93-94; in addition he provides an ample and accurate description of the manuscripts: cf. *Ibid.*, 177-208.

³⁸*Ibid.*, 150.

³⁹*Ibid.*, 148; cf. also Stephen J. A. Van Dijk, “Notae quaedam de liturgia franciscana mediante saeculo XIII,” *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 54 (1940): 140.

Faversham, promulgated the “*Ordo agendorum et dicendorum a sacerdote in Missa privata et feriali iuxta consuetudinem Ecclesiae Romanae*”⁴⁰ and, in addition, the “*Ordinationes divini Officii*.”⁴¹ These two texts were instituted among the friars in turn.

The “Missalis Fratrum Minorum secundum consuetudinum Romanae Curiae”

The choice of the Friars Minor to celebrate the liturgy according to the *Consuetudo Romanae Curiae* or *Ecclesiae* had an immense importance. The Franciscan Order was rapidly dispersed throughout Europe and, coming into contact with many Churches and clerics, through many Franciscan bishops, spread everywhere the knowledge and use of the canonical Office and of the *Ordo Missae*, that is as it was celebrated in the Papal Chapel, in the edition promulgated by Haymo of Faversham.⁴² We see, accordingly, that the Franciscan missal manuscripts at that time carried the title: *Incipit ordo Missalis Fratrum Minorum, secundum consuetudinum Romanae Curiae*.⁴³ In concrete terms, affirms Righetti, the Roman-Franciscan *Ordo Missae* of Haymo of Faversham was “the ultimate stage of the historical evolution of the Ordo of the Roman Missal.”⁴⁴ Also a little later, during the 14th and 15th centuries, notwithstanding the presence of other orders, it underwent appreciable alterations.⁴⁵

Since this ordo “in 1249 was imposed by the Minister General, John of Parma, on all the Minors and by Pope Nicholas III (1277-1286) on all of the churches of Rome, thereby facilitating its popularization everywhere, particularly during the Avignon period, one is able to understand why the scholar in this area, S. J. P. Van Dijk, affirms that

⁴⁰Van Dijk published a critical edition of this *Ordo* in 1963; cf. *Sources* II, 3-14.

⁴¹This also was published in the same year by Van Dijk; *Ibid.*, 17-331; cf. also *Notae quaedam...*, 142.

⁴²Theodor Klauser, *La liturgia della Chiesa occidentale*, (Torino: Leumann, 1971), 130-1; English translation: *A Short History of the Western Liturgy: An Account and Some Reflections*, trans. J. Halliburton (London: Oxford University Press, 1969); Cattaneo, *Il culto*, 239-240.

⁴³*Ibid.*, 235-236; Righetti, *Manuale*, I, 261; III, 153; Nocent, *Storici*, 169. The manuscripts of missals which were produced are numerous; of these Willibrordo Lampen gives a list with a brief description: cf. Willibrord Lampen, “Messali Manoscritti Francescani in Italia,” *Studi Francescani* 25 (1928): 289-300.

⁴⁴M. Righetti, *Manuale III*, 153.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*

Haymo 'changed the course of the public cult in the West,' even if such a judgment should not be understood in an absolute way."⁴⁶

Towards the end of the 13th century the *Missalis secundum consuetudinum Romanae Curiae* was definitively affirmed "and its importance continued to grow without however becoming obligatory. When it eventually did become proper it had the honor of the '*editio princeps*' and was issued in printed form in 1474."⁴⁷

The First Documents of the "Proper"

The calendar was the most sensible section of the liturgical history. The number, grade and importance of the feasts, and also of the saints varied continuously. The Franciscan Order was born in a period in which the liturgical cycle was fixed with a richness and a variety, sometimes excessively, which were not yet regularized. In particular, during the centuries, the celebration of the feasts of saints became exceptionally expanded. Around the 16th century, as a natural consequence of this, there was in fact a nearly total abandonment of the celebration of the Proper of the time.⁴⁸

As a consequence of the promulgation of the *Rule* of the Friars Minor in 1223 a calendar was published which, like the same liturgical books, depended on the editions compiled by the papal liturgists during the time of Honorius III.⁴⁹ The calendar, with the addition of the feast of St. Francis (canonized in 1228) in the General Chapter of the Friars Minor in 1230, was adopted by various Mendicant orders by the end of the 15th century.⁵⁰ It is the calendar of the Roman Curia which represented, around the years 1227-1230, the original Franciscan translation derived from the liturgy of Honorius III and Innocent III. Nevertheless, the Franciscans who had also adopted the Roman calendar progressively introduced the proper feasts of the Order into it.⁵¹

⁴⁶ Cattaneo, *Il culto*, 239-240; cf. also Van Dijk, *Sources* I, 149; L. Iriarte, *Franciscan History* 149.

⁴⁷ Nocent, *Storia*, 169.

⁴⁸ M. Augé, "Il calendario liturgico," *L'Anno Liturgico: Storia, Teologia e Celebrazione*. Anamnesis 6, ed. M. Augé, Adrien Nocent, M. Rooney, I. Scicolone, A. J. Chupungo, A. M. Triacca, (Genova: n.p., 1989), 62.

⁴⁹ Van Dijk, *Ordinal*, XVII.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid. In the work just cited Van Dijk published an edition of the successive recensions of the Roman calendar (pp. 1-85). For those who would like to have an account of the calendar of saints of the Roman Curia of the 13th century these calendars constitute the true conduit which allows one to follow successively the

The number of feasts introduced by the Franciscans in the 13th century was not excessive. According to what E. Clop writes, during this century one is able to count 167 feasts in the Franciscan calendar, only five more than the Roman Calendar.⁵² It seems significant to me to mention this for two reasons: first of all, because it deals with the first Franciscan saints, the first-fruits of the Order, and, in the second place, because the memory of these saints also became progressively appropriated by the Roman Calendar.⁵³ The five feasts included the following:

a. *St. Francis*: the founder of the Order of Friars Minor. Died in 1226, two years later canonized by Pope Gregory IX. In the bull of canonization of St. Francis, dated July 19, 1228, the Supreme Pontiff stated that "the feast of the Seraphic Patriarch of the Poor should be devoutly and solemnly celebrated in the whole Church every year."⁵⁴ The Pope even collaborated in the composition of the Office of the saint.

b. *St. Anthony of Padua*: died June 13, 1231. He was canonized by Pope Gregory IX on May 30, 1232.⁵⁵

c. *St. Clare*: followed the ideal of life of St. Francis of Assisi thereby founding the Second Franciscan Order called of "The Poor Ladies of San Damiano," and later, the "Clares." Died in 1253 and was canonized by Pope Alexander IV on a unknown day between August and October, 1255.⁵⁶

d. *St. Elizabeth of Hungary*: Patroness of the Franciscan Third Order. Died in 1231. Gregory IX proclaimed her a saint on June 1, 1235.⁵⁷

developing stages of the next centuries. The first (pp. 1-29), which deals with the years from approximately 1175 to 1202, is a calendar of the Papal Curia which reflects the tradition of the sacramentaries (pp. XVI-XVII). The second (1227-1230) is conformed to the liturgical edition of the Friars Minor (desired by the General Chapter of 1230) and is derived from the books of Honorius III, but is in harmony with the *Ordo* of Innocent III (pp. 31-57). The third (around 1225), is not exactly restricted to the Papal Curia, but expresses a use in a wider ambient, that of the entire local church of Rome (pp. 59-85).

⁵²Cf. Clop, "Il 'Santorale,' 432.

⁵³Cf. Iriarte, *Franciscan History*, 119-20. A confirmation of this can also be demonstrated with a perusal of the *Missale Romanum*, (1450-1460), Ms 78, Scaff. IV (*olim* CDXXVII), ff. lr.-6v., a codex manuscript conserved in the Biblioteca Pontificia del Santo in Padova: in this Roman calendar we find the feasts of the first five Franciscan saints included.

⁵⁴Clop, *Il "Santorale"*, 432.

⁵⁵Gaetano Stano, "Antonio di Padova," *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, (hereafter BS) (Rome, Istituto "Giovanni XXIII" della Pontificia Università Lateranense, 1961-1970): II, 156-188.

⁵⁶Emma Zocca, "Chiara da Assisi," BS III, 1201-1217; cf. also FF 2456.

⁵⁷Edith Pásztor, "Elisabetta d'Ungheria," BS IV, 1110-1123.

e. *St. Louis IX, King of France*: Franciscan tertiary. Died near Tunis on August 25, 1270. Boniface VIII declared him a saint in 1297.⁵⁸

The Development of the "Proper"

In the succeeding centuries the Franciscan calendar underwent further modifications. The testimony of the evangelical life initiated by St. Francis gave to the Church innumerable fruits of holiness.⁵⁹ In succession the Franciscans inscribed in their calendar: St. Dominic around 1234,⁶⁰ due to the friendship which bound the Franciscan and Dominican Orders; St. Louis d'Angiò, in 1317;⁶¹ and, the first Franciscan martyrs Berard, Pietro, Accursio, Adiuto and Ottone, canonized by the Franciscan Pope Sixtus IV on August 7, 1481.⁶² These were followed by Daniele of Calabria, Angelo, Samuele, Donnolo, Leone, Nicola, and Ugolino who were martyred in 1227 and canonized in 1516.⁶³ It then goes on to mention the figures of St. Bernardine of Siena, canonized in 1450,⁶⁴ and of St. Bonaventure of Bagnoregio, the Cardinal Bishop of Albano, who was canonized in 1482.⁶⁵ These, along with approximately twenty other saints, were inserted in the Franciscan calendar prior to the advent of the calendar of Trent.⁶⁶

The Franciscans were among those who promoted popular piety and liturgy with various devotions. As a consequence Lázaro Iriarte affirms that "from an extra-liturgical communication of revealed mysteries through personal meditation, no less than from the pastoral contact with the Christian people, who talked very little about the liturgical cycle, a remarkable change in the ecclesial calendar was born, as forms of devotions which were affirmed due to the Franciscan influence passed to the level of solemnity. Every capitular decision of the Friars Minor on this point left an immediate imprint on the liturgical year."⁶⁷ Iriarte continues that it is

⁵⁸H. Platelle, "Luigi IX (Ludovicus) re di Francia," *BS VIII*, 320-342.

⁵⁹Iriarte, *Franciscan History*, 116-7.

⁶⁰V. J. Koudelka, "Domenico," *BS IV*, 692-734.

⁶¹Edith Pásztor, "Ludovico d'Angiò," *BS VIII*, 300-307.

⁶²Giovanni Odoardi, "Berardo," *BS II*, 1271-1272.

⁶³G. D. Gordini, "Daniele," *BS IV*, 469-470.

⁶⁴Bruno Korosak, "Bernardino da Siena," *BS II*, 1294-1321.

⁶⁵Lorenzo Di Fonzo, "Bonaventura da Bagnoregio," *BS III*, 239-183.

⁶⁶Arsène Le Carou, "La liturgia francescana," *Enciclopedia liturgica*, ed. R. Aigrain, (Alba: Cuneo, 1959), 828. Cf. also Iriarte, *Franciscan History*, 147-148.

⁶⁷Iriarte, *Franciscan History*, 119.

determined that many new feasts were conveyed from the Franciscan codices to the Roman Missal.⁶⁸

In 1260 the Feast of the Most Holy Trinity was inserted in the Franciscan Calendar; in 1334 Pope John XXII welcomed it into the Roman Calendar extending it to the whole Church and fixed it on the Sunday after Pentecost, the place in which it remains today.⁶⁹

In 1263 the feasts of the Immaculate Conception and the Visitation of Mary were adopted by the Franciscans.⁷⁰ The feast of the Immaculate Conception was made obligatory in 1708 for the whole of the Roman rite, but "it will officially become the Feast of the Immaculate Conception only after the dogmatic statement of 1854."⁷¹ The feast of the Visitation, however, was extended to the whole Church in the 15th century.⁷²

The Feast of the Stigmata of St. Francis was introduced in 1337⁷³ and the feast of St. Joseph was included in the calendar in the Chapter of 1339.⁷⁴

⁶⁸Ibid., 119.

⁶⁹This feast had a long and rambling prehistory from its inception around the year 800. When the Franciscans included it in their calendar it was already being celebrated in some areas. Cf. *The Church at Prayer: The Liturgy and Time*, Vol. IV. Ed. Aimé G. Martimort, (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1983), 139-40; M. Augé, "Le feste del Signore, della Madre di Dio e dei santi," *L'Anno Liturgico: Storia, Teologia e Celebrazione*. Anamnesis, 6, ed. M. Augé, Adrien Nocent, M. Rooney, I. Scicolone, A. J. Chupungo, A. M. Triacca, (Genova, n.p., 1988), 224; Iriarte, *Franciscan History*, 119; Gratien De Paris, *Histoire de la fondation et de l'évolution de l'ordre de Frères Mineurs au XIII^e siècle*. Bibliotheca Seraphico Capuccina, 29. (Rome, Bibliotheca Seraphico Capuccina, 1982), 308.

⁷⁰Iriarte, *Franciscan History*, 119-20; J. Castellano, "(Beata) Vergine Maria," *Nuovo Dizionario di Liturgia*, ed. D. Sartore and A. M. Triacca, (Cinisello Balsamo, 1988), 1572.

⁷¹Martimort, *Church IV*, 140.

⁷²The Feast of the Visitation of Mary "was propagated after Pope Urban had instituted it for the whole Church in 1389 with the goal of bringing an end to the Great Schism through the intercession of Mary. The Council of Basil, in its final sessions, felt duty bound to promote it by giving it a special Mass (1441)." Martimort, *Church IV*, 138-9.

⁷³Le Carou, *La liturgia francescana*, 828.

⁷⁴The Feast of St. Joseph, the spouse of Mary, held a post of great importance in popular devotion thanks to the sons of St. Francis. These were the first to unite the foster father saint to the Virgin in a feast of the espoused; the Chapter of 1399 introduced the feast of the saint in the calendar and was made an obligatory feast in the 17th century." Iriarte, *Franciscan History*, 120, cf. also Martimort, *Church IV*, 143-4; Cattaneo, *Il culto cristiano*, 270.

The parents of Mary, Joachim and Ann, also received their liturgical honor for the first time in the Franciscan Order in 1269.⁷⁵ All these feasts tied to the Incarnation of Christ and to his humanity were those which were particularly connected to the veneration the Franciscans.

Finally, the Holy Name of Jesus was made a feast in the 15th century thanks to St. Bernardine of Siena.⁷⁶

At this point we are able to point out that the great proliferation of feasts in the Roman liturgy up to 1500 was certainly not caused solely by the Franciscans. All religious orders, with the approval of the Roman See, were involved in this situation. The movement in this sense was general. It ceased as soon as the authority of the Council of Trent and the reform of St. Pius V cut short this cumbersome accretion of the number of feasts.⁷⁷ It is necessary to note that "regarding the nearly two hundred feasts contained in the calendar of the liturgical books of the Roman Curia in 1524, that is three centuries after the foundation of the Friars Minor, the major part of the appended feasts are universal; only around twenty are Franciscan, including the octaves of some saints of the Order."⁷⁸

In the 16th century the Franciscan order arrived at its definitive partition, the fruit of a long and bitter disagreement between the various currents of observance. From this division the Conventuals, Observants, Capuchins and Third Order Regular were born.⁷⁹ Between the end of the 16th century and Vatican Council II the Roman Calendar experienced a true inflation.⁸⁰ At this point the vicissitudes of the Franciscan calendar followed those of the respective orders. Each one of these, although part of the fabric of the universal calendar, tended, in fact, to celebrate the feast of saints of

⁷⁵Iriarte, *Franciscan History*, 120; Gratien de Paris, *Histoire*, 308. In 1505 we find the oldest Roman Missal which contains the Feast of Sts. Joachim and Ann: cf. Martimort, *Church* IV, 144.

⁷⁶Iriarte, *Franciscan History*, 119.

⁷⁷It is important to note that "the Calendar of the Breviary and the Missal of St. Pius V records in whole the acquisitions of the 12th century. In these works the preceding four centuries are intentionally connected... above all with the great saints of the 13th century: Francis and Dominic, Anthony of Padua, Louis IX, Clare and Elizabeth of Hungary. In the 15th century the names of Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventure appear. The old local calendar of Rome continues to furnish the texture of the calendar of saints, but as it became more universal it became an echo of the life of the Church. Meanwhile it continued to be open to new fruits of devotion such as the cult of St. Joseph and the Conception of Mary." Martimort, *Church* IV, 138-9.

⁷⁸Clop, *Il "Santorale"*, 433.

⁷⁹Iriarte, *Franciscan History*, 851-77; 169-261.

⁸⁰Martimort, *Church* IV, 139-40.

their own order. Nevertheless, it is not difficult to move through the numerous meanderings of the variations of the particular calendars of the Franciscan orders.

During the centuries, therefore, the Franciscan calendar of saints became remarkably amplified. Fortunately Iriarte, in the appendix of his *Franciscan History*, published a detailed list of the saints and blessed of the whole Franciscan Family from its origin up to 1994: the list contains 124 saints and 270 blessed with approved cults.⁸¹ In the list, in a manner even more specific, Iriarte precisely divides the saints and blessed belonging to each Franciscan order, placing beside each saint and blessed the date of death. In this way we are able to have an exact idea of how each particular calendar of the various Franciscan orders gradually became separated one from the other while at the same time becoming expanded with its own saints. Finally, it is opportune to note how some of these saints were also assumed and celebrated in the general Roman Calendar which was reformed in its application by the liturgical constitutions of Vatican Council II promulgated in 1969 by Paul VI.⁸²

Towards a Common Calendar for All the Franciscan Orders

The publication of the renovated Roman Calendar also stimulated in the Church the revision of individual diocesan, regional, and religious calendars. In this sense the individual Franciscan Families were also motivated to do the same. The necessity to have updated liturgical books greatly stimulated the work of the liturgical commissions of the individual Franciscan Families.⁸³

In the meantime Basil Heiser, the Minister General of the Friars Minor Conventual, with a letter dated February 10, 1970, requested the Minister General of the Friars Minor, to hold a joint meeting between the liturgical commissions of the Friars Minor. and the Conventuals in order to deal together with the problem of the revision and updating of the

⁸¹Iriarte, *Franciscan History*, 543-554.

⁸²Paul VI, Motu proprio "*Mysterii Paschalis*," February 12, 1969, *Enchiridion Vaticanum. Documenti ufficiali della Santa Sede. Testo ufficiale e versione italiana*, III, (Bologna 1961-1990), (hereafter EV), 796-800. The text of the Roman Calendar is reproduced in at the end of the Roman Missal: *Messale Romano reformato a norma dei decreti del Concilio Vaticano II e promulgato da Papa Paolo VI*, (Rome, Conferenza Episcopale Italiana, 1973), [hereafter MRI], XLVII-LXIII; cf. also. Cf. Martimort, *Church IV*, 126-7.

⁸³Vito Bonmarco, "Calendarii Franciscalis tribus familiis communis praesentatio historica," *Commentarium Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Conventualium* 71 (1974): 35.

Franciscan liturgical books.⁸⁴ Shortly afterwards the Capuchins and the members of the Third Order Regular were added to this initiative.⁸⁵

Thus, an "Inter-obediential Commission" was constituted which was composed of representatives of each Franciscan Family. The first session of meetings to undertake the work was held in Rome at the O.F.M. General Curia during the days of March 12-16, 1970. Thus was prepared the first schemas of the common calendars for the three families of the First Order, for the sisters of the Second Order and for the members of the Third Order.⁸⁶ After the schemas were prepared they were relayed to the respective superior generals so that they, together with their councils, might examine and correct them and return observations to the Commission.⁸⁷

A new session of the Inter-obediential Commission was held only a year later, on March 9, 1971. In this meeting the calendars were revisited and, based on the observations made by the respective general curias, new schemas were composed in a definitive way.⁸⁸

In the meantime the Capuchins presented to the Sacred Congregation for Divine Cult their own calendar⁸⁹ which was approved by the same Congregation on May 16, 1971.⁹⁰

Some time later the other three Franciscan Families, displeased and offended that the Capuchins had proceeded without consulting them, advanced a common calendar.⁹¹ The Cardinal Prefect of the Sacred Congregation, Arturo Tabera, before approving this calendar turned to the

⁸⁴*Laboris historia et evolutio*, in *Calendarium Seraphicum ad mentem Concilii Vaticani II recognitum et a Sancta Sede approbatum pro sodalibus Ordinis Fratrum Minorum necnon pro Monialibus II Ordinis et Tertiariis regularibus ac saecularibus eiusdem Ordinis curae concreditus*, Curia General O.F.M. (editors), Rome, 1972, 21.

⁸⁵*Laboris historia*, 21.

⁸⁶*Ibid.*, 21-22.

⁸⁷*Ibid.*

⁸⁸*Ibid.*

⁸⁹"Calendarium Particulare O.F.M. Cap." *Analecta O.F.M. Cap.* 88 (1972): 101-103.

⁹⁰"Sacred Congregation for Divine Cult, Decree N° 1035/71, May 26, 1971," *Analecta O.F.M. Cap.* 87 (1971): 148-151.

⁹¹Vatican City, Archives of the Sacred Congregation for Divine Cult, Fasc. *Calendario Liturgico Romano-Seraphico, Lettera dei pp. Costantino Koser, Basilio M. Heiser e Luigi Secondo a Sua Em. Rev.ma il Sig. Card. Arturo Tabera Araoz, Prefetto della S. Congregazione per il Culto Divino*, June 15, 1971, (without a protocol number), cf. also C. Koser, B. Heiser, L. Secondo, "Calendaria prout ad normam legum liturgicarum recentium proposita sunt Sacrae Congregationi pro Cultu Divino," *Acta O.F.M.* 90 (1971): 331-333.

Minister General of the Capuchins, Pasquale Rywalski, with a letter dated October 4, 1971,⁹² in which he invited him, together with his Council, to attentively reexamine the problem of a common liturgical calendar, "with the goal of remedying the disagreement in order to arrive at a formulation of a common calendar."⁹³

The Capuchins welcomed the invitation and immediately contacted the other Franciscan Families in order to resume the interrupted work. However, it was not easy to reach an agreement again.⁹⁴ Reconfirming their own willingness and upset in not finding a sense of collaboration in the other Franciscan Families, the Capuchins returned to the Sacred Congregation.⁹⁵

At this point the Sacred Congregation, in order to settle the disagreement, called a meeting of the Procurator Generals of the four Franciscan Families.⁹⁶ The conference, under the presidency of the Cardinal Prefect, was held on November 24, 1971. Due to the persuasion of the Cardinal it was established that each Family would nominate an expert who would meet with the other experts in the offices of the Sacred Congregation in order to realize a common work.⁹⁷

The four experts,⁹⁸ under the presidency of the secretary of the same Sacred Congregation, Annibale Bugnini, met together on December 1,

⁹²Vatican City, Archives of the Sacred Congregation for Divine Cult, Fasc. *Calendario Liturgico Romano-Serafico, Lettera del Card. Arturo Tabera al Rev.mo P. Pasquale Rywalski, Ministro Generale O.F.M. Cap.*, October 4, 1971, Prot. N° 1744/71.

⁹³Ibid.

⁹⁴Of this difficult moment in the collaboration between the Franciscan families similar letters are found in the correspondence of the General Curias of the O.F.M. and the O.F.M. Cap.: cf. Rome, Archives of the General Curia O.F.M. Cap., Busta *Commissio liturgica*, Section EH, year 1971, *Lettera di p. Rosario Francesco Pasquale a p. Costantino Koser, Ministro Generale O.F.M.*, October, 27 1971, Prot. N° 66/71; Rome, Archives of the General Curia O.F.M., *Lettera di p. Angelico Lazzeri a p. Rosario Francesco Pasquale, Procuratore Generale O.F.M. Cap.*, November 3, 1971, Prot. N° 025991.

⁹⁵Rome, Archives of the General Curia O.F.M. Cap., Busta *Commissio liturgica*, Section EH, year 1971, *Lettera di p. Guglielmo Sghedoni a Sua Em. Rev.ma Arturo Card. Tabera, Prefetto della S. Congregazione per il Culto Divino*, November 5, 1971, Prot. N° 57/71.

⁹⁶Vatican City, Archives of the Sacred Congregation for Divine Cult, Fasc. *Calendario Liturgico Romano-Serafico, Lettera di sua Em. A. Bugnini ai Rev.di Procuratori Generali delle Famiglie religiose Francescane*, November 11, 1971, Prot. N° 1925/71.

⁹⁷*Laboris historia*, 23.

⁹⁸Regarding the names of the four experts, in spite of extensive research, only the name of Agostino Amore, the representative of the O.F.M., has been

1971, and completed their task by producing the schemas of the calendars. These in turn were consigned to the respective general superiors for opportune revision and approval.⁹⁹

On December 13, 1971, the draft of a new common Roman-Seraphic Calendar for all of the Franciscan Families¹⁰⁰ was approved with decree number 1760/71, dated January 3, 1972.¹⁰¹ Each order in turn presented their own particular calendars to the Sacred Congregation and obtained approval for them.¹⁰² The *Seraphic Missal with Lectionary*¹⁰³ was born in the wake of the common Liturgical Calendar for all the Franciscan Families and was published in 1974.

Today, at a distance of twenty-five years, it is time to work towards an updated common calendar and a revision of a new and expanded *Seraphic Missal*.

tracked down. Cf. Rome, Archives of the General Curia O.F.M., *Lettera di p. Angelico Lazzeri a Sua Em. Rev.ma Card. Arturo Tabera Araoz, Prefetto della S. Congregazione per il Culto Divino*, November 26, 1971, Prot. N° 026305. In the matter of the names of the experts of the other three Franciscan Orders nothing can be found in any official document in the archives of the respective general curias.

⁹⁹*Laboris historia*, 24.

¹⁰⁰Rome, Archives of the General O.F.M., *Lettera dei pp. Costantino Koser, Basilio M. Heiser e Luigi Secondo a Sua Em. Rev.ma il Sig. Card. Tabera Araoz Arturo C.M.F., Prefetto della S. Congregazione per il Culto Divino*, December 13, 1971, Prot. N° 026510.

¹⁰¹*Calendarium Commune Tribus Familiis Franciscalibus I Ordinis et III Ordini Regulari, Calendarium Commune pro Secundo Ordine Monialium Clarissarum, Calendarium Commune pro Tertio Ordine Franciscali*, Vatican City, January 3, 1972, in *Acta O.F.M.* 91 (1972) 101-103.

¹⁰²The Order of Friars Minor presented their own calendar to the Sacred Congregation on January 18, 1972, cf. Constantine Koser, *Petitio Ministri generalis de Calendario Ordinis nostri proprio*, in *Acta O.F.M.* 91 (1972): 31; and obtained approbation for it on January 29, cf. Sacred Congregation for Divine Cult, Decree N° 1759/71, January 29, 1972, *Acta O.F.M.* 91 (1972): 31-32. The Friars Minor Capuchin had already received approval for their calendar in May of 1971 ("Calendarium Particulare O.F.M.Capp.," *Analecta O.F.M. Capp.* 88 (1972): 101-103; Sacred Congregation for Divine Cult, Decree N° 1035/71, May 26, 1971, *Analecta O.F.M. Cap.* 87 (1971): 148-151. The Friars Minor Conventuals published their own calendar on January 29, 1972, "Calendarium proprium O.F.M. Conv.," *Commentarium O.F.M. Conv.* 69 (1972): 174; Sacred Congregation for Divine Cult, Decree N° 1758/71, January 29, 1972, *Commentarium O.F.M. Conv.* 69 (1972): 174.

¹⁰³*Messale Serafico con lezionario*, (Padua, Famiglie Francescane Italiane 1974).