

## The Early Expansion of the Franciscan Order

Luigi Pellegrini

*"I quadri e i tempi dell'espansione dell'Ordine"*

*Francesco d'Assisi e il primo secolo di storia francescana 1997: 165-201*

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

**O**n April 30, 1262, at the friary in Halberstadt, where the Franciscan province of Saxony had just held its chapter, Brother Jordan, a native of the city of Giano in Umbria, was chronicling the introduction and spread of the Order of Friars Minor in Germany. Jordan of Giano could look with pleasure upon "the condition and glory our Order has now attained" (ChrJG prol.). It was almost forty years since that day in October 1221 when a band of twenty-five Friars Minor, led by the German Caesar of Speyer, met in the Bavarian city of Augsburg "for the first chapter since their entry into Germany" (ChrJG 23). Since then, the new religious Order had established deep roots and sent out many braches in Germany. It had built a strong and functional organization whose territory had extended well beyond the kingdom of Germany for more than twenty years. As Jordan of Giano also tells us, it was through the initiative of that indefatigable traveler John of Pian di Carpine, provincial minister of Saxony from 1232 to 1239, that the Order had spread to "Hungary, Poland, Dacia and Norway" (ChrJG 55).

### *1. An overall view*

The first manuscripts that list the circumscriptions or "provinces" into which the Order had organized itself date from around 1263, a year after Jordan's chronicle (Golubovich 1913, pp. 239-41). Every region of Catholic Europe is represented, from Portugal to Hungary, from Ireland to

Scandinavia. Beyond Europe, the Franciscans had pushed as far as the Near East. There were thirty-four provinces: fourteen in Italy and twenty outside of Italy (see the accompanying map). This arrangement had been definitively established when the Order was reorganized in 1239, after the deposition of Brother Elias (ChrTE 9). But the Franciscans must have already been present throughout Europe by the time of Elias if, as Thomas of Eccleston says (ChrTE 9), Elias was planning to divide the existing provinces so as to bring their number to seventy-two. And this when the Order of Friars Minor was only twenty years old!

The Friars Minor seem to have organized themselves into territories according to the major ethno-linguistic regions or political divisions of the time. France was divided into five provinces: Turenne, the kingdom of France, Burgundy, Provence and Aquitaine. Germany was divided into the provinces of Alemannia, (Franconia, the Palatinate, Alsace, Swabia, and German Switzerland), Austria (including Carinthia, Carnia, Styria, and the Tyrol), Cologne (from the upper Rhineland to Flanders), and Saxony. Since 1225, Saxony had been expanding southwest toward Thuringia; by around 1240 it had reached the southern coast of the Baltic, stretching from Pomerania to Prussia as far as Livonia, following the spread of Christianity and the establishment of the Teutonic Order (Freed 1977, pp. 26-30, 55-69). Likewise, the division of the Order in the Iberian Peninsula corresponds to the political division of the kingdoms of Castile, Aragon, and Portugal, with suitable adaptations that reproduce, at least in part, the territorial divisions of the ecclesiastical provinces (Garcia Oro 1987, p. 235). The province of Portugal, called the province of St. James, extended northward in the western part of the kingdom of Leon as far as Oviedo. It included the area of the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, from which, significantly, it took its name. In the more outlying regions—where the Franciscan presence, though substantial, was less than in France, Germany, or especially Italy—the territorial model was influenced by the centralizing tendencies of the national monarchies. There is a single province for Ireland, for England, and for the kingdom of Dacia, which includes the Franciscan houses in Jütland and those scattered along the southern coast of the Baltic. The same is true for Hungary and for the kingdom of Bohemia, whose Franciscan province included the territories of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia and stretched to include the houses in the kingdom of Poland. The province of Slavonia took in the houses scattered in the lands of the Croats, from the Sava to the Adriatic, over which the Nemanjidi monarch was gradually exerting its power, though not without internal quarrels. The province of Romania included the Franciscan houses



in the Aegean, while the province of Syria went well beyond Europe to the Near East.

Because the provinces were so large, since the 1220s each one had been divided into custodies. These were smaller circumscriptions although, at least initially, they were still very large regions. We learn from Jordan of Giano that although the "custodians" were appointed by the provincial minister and depended on him, they enjoyed considerable autonomy. This was not only with regard to the government of the brothers and their assignment, but also with regard to the expansion and organization of the Order in their region and adjoining areas where the Friars Minor had not yet been established. The custodian's job was to organize the various phases of establishment in the cities in those areas where the Order was newly expanding. He also had to obtain the *locus* or stable residence for the Franciscan community, which he himself officially erected. Thus the custody initially represented an effective tool for conquering new areas. It was above all a way to divide a territory using adaptation to local realities as criteria. Such criteria allowed for differences of language and culture; often they were based on the ecclesiastical structures and political divisions of the territory. The custody also allowed more direct control over the brothers stationed in the territory of the custody, through groups organized by the custodian himself into local communities under the leadership of a "guardian."

Territorial organization of this kind was becoming more consolidated in the 1220s. The previous decade had been characterized by great fluidity, instability, and multiple forms of establishment. This can be clearly seen in Chapters VII and VIII of the *Earlier Rule*, which give prescriptions for those brothers "who are staying among others to serve or to work" or who practice a trade, in which case it is lawful for them "to have the tools and instruments suitable for their trades." There are also directives for brothers who are in hermitages or who serve the lepers. In the cities, the life of the brothers was expressed in forms of active presence. They worked for or served others in a variety of ways, depending on the talents and abilities of each one, but certainly not according to the rhythms and demands of a conventual community. The provincial minister's role was to serve as a constant reference point for these scattered and unstable groups of brothers. But the last years of that decade already witnessed a growing tendency to build suitable and stable dwellings for the exclusive use of the brothers. This meant the use and expenditure of money, denounced by the same *Rule*, which prohibits the reception of money "for any house or place" (ER VIII, 8). But it is totally incorrect to speak of the spread of "conventualism" in this decade. The term "convent," often used by some

historians to refer to the houses of the brothers during this period, is absolutely improper. What was developing, at most, were forms of living together near hospices for the poor, sick, and travelers, on the outskirts of the cities.

These are the forms of establishment we see in the first documents referring to the Friars Minor in the cities of central and northern Italy. From Rome and Florence to Siena, Pisa, Bologna, Pavia, Bergamo, and Verona, the brothers' first houses were near hospices or leprosaria. The same was true of some of the first houses beyond the Alps (more than one example is mentioned by Berger 1994, pp. 39-183). The case of Verona is especially interesting. It shows the close connection, also with regard to the house, between the Friars Minor and local groups of laity religiously committed to helping the socially disadvantaged, especially lepers (Varanini 1983).

The "houses in Lombardy" mentioned by Jordan of Giano must have been mostly of this type. It was there, he says, that in the summer of 1221 Casear of Speyer dispersed the brothers as they waited to leave for Germany. These "houses" must have served as supports for John of Pian di Carpine and Brother Barnabas the German who were in charge of preparing for the reception of the brothers in Trent. If they stopped in Verona (this is not documented), we are tempted to imagine that they stayed in the leprosarium of Santa Croce, which was the first house of the Friars Minor in that city, as shown by an episcopal document from 1225 (Pellegrini 1984, pp. 92-202).

By the following decade, the Order, which now numbered thousands of brothers, was spreading beyond the Alps and across the sea. Its organizational needs led it to choose forms of establishment that were stable, functional, and similar. Thus, by the 1230s the Friars Minor had extended their network of houses throughout Catholic Europe and well beyond its borders. There would be no further major expansion in the next decades, only consolidation of the network of houses until saturation was reached in the middle decades of the century. This necessarily meant a change of strategy. Efforts seem to be focused on penetrating the urban fabric; on gaining increasingly larger, more centralized, and more prestigious places; on transforming the houses (which by now had become grand conventual buildings) into inevitable centers of religious, cultural, political, and economic activity for the lower classes; on building large churches for the exercise of pastoral ministry (*Lo spazio dell'umiltà*, 1984; Stüdeli 1969, pp. 84-124). This phenomenon of massive insertion into the urban fabric caused tensions within the Order; its most learned exponents had to reply to accusations that it was inconsistent with the vow of poverty

and represented a disturbing invasion (Pellegrini 1984, pp. 123-53). At the same time, it was provoking violent reactions among the clergy. In 1257, these accusations and reactions forced the newly-elected general minister Bonaventure of Bagnoregio to take a firm stand and halt the constant rebuilding and reconstruction projects, which were reaching scandalous proportions (Pellegrini 1993, pp. 22-25).

But pressure was coming from the church hierarchy, especially the papacy. And internal pressure was being exerted by the educated clerics, from among whose ranks were recruited, in massive numbers, new members of the Order beginning in 1216-17. By the 1240s, these pressures had brought to maturity a process of gradual involvement by the Friars Minor in pastoral ministry, which was becoming the predominant (if not exclusive) ministry exercised in the heart of Europe's most important and dynamic population centers. No doubt Jordan of Giano was thinking of this when he spoke of the "condition and glory" of the Order and compared it with the "littleness" of the first brothers sent to Germany.

## 2. *The first years of the Order: the "penitents born in Assisi" expand into Italy*

The "condition" to which Jordan of Giano refers when recalling the 1221 expedition to Germany of which he had been part, was characterized by "littleness." But it had already shifted perceptibly from what Francis's first companions had meant when they called themselves "penitents born in Assisi" in the *Legend of the Three Companions* (37) and the *Anonymous of Perugia* (19). This expression describes and places that first group in a specific geographic region at the precise moment when it was making its first forays outside Umbria. The two sources allow us to focus on the nature and purpose of these forays as strictly related to the specific characteristics of the first Franciscan fraternity. We have here a very small group of laymen who have made a radical religious choice to follow the Gospel literally while maintaining close ties with the local ecclesiastical authority, the bishop of Assisi, who is trying to channel their religious experience into the realm of the "normal" (L3C IX; AP II-III). Their journey into the nearby regions of the Marches and Umbria were not prompted by a desire to proselytize, but only to bear witness and exhort the people to gospel penance.

The self-description given by the members of the first fraternity is quite consistent with the awareness of a group that is very dynamic but has no intention of expanding. Spontaneous memberships, limited to persons from around Umbria, would continue to swell the fraternity's ranks for two or three years after its approval by Innocent III in 1210, which is a precise reference point signaling its intention to branch out. Evidence of this

intention, in the account of the *Legend of the Three Companions* 47 (which agrees with 1C 32), is the apprehension felt by Bishop Guido of Assisi upon meeting Francis and his companions in Rome.

It is very hard to trace when and how the Franciscan experience gradually made its way into the different regions of Italy during the first decade of its institutional life. Complicating the picture are similar religious experiences, also called *fratres minores*, *sorores minores* or *pauperes minores*, but not institutionally related to the Franciscan group, which was called *fratres minores* at least since 1216 (*Minoritismo e centri veneti* 1983). This suggests that we should be very careful not automatically to identify groups referred to as *minores* in documents from the 1220s and 1230s as Franciscans (*Esperienze minoritiche* 1985, pp. 65-77).

Besides one or the other vague mentions in the biographies of Francis, we have a general reference for this first period in a letter of Jacques de Vitry from 1226. This French cleric, closely associated with the ultramontane women's religious movement, speaks of the "Lesser Brothers." He informs us that after their annual meeting "they disperse again for the whole year throughout Lombardy and Tuscany, Apulia and Sicily" (Huygens 1960, p. 76). This meant throughout all of Italy, for the peninsula was divided into three great regions: the Kingdom (Apulia), the regions on this side of the Appenines (Tuscany), and those beyond (Lombardy). That is how Italy would have been divided in organizing the Franciscan circumscriptions, at least until 1230. There was the large province of Lombardy, which included all of northern Italy from the Alps to the Appenines in Tuscany-Emilia, and the province of Tuscany, which included Tuscany, Umbria, and Lazio.

The remaining evidence for tracing the activity and influence of the Franciscan group is rather weak. We must base ourselves primarily on the regions from where the more well-known brothers came, especially those mentioned in the sources as members of the "expeditions" between the years 1217 and 1221. Almost all of them are from the regions of central and northern Italy, starting with those that border on Umbria: Marches, Tuscany, and Abruzzo; then Apulia, Campania, Lombardy, and Veneto. We get the distinct impression, in the case of Italy, of a phenomenon that spread like an oil slick, but that seems to have excluded the area south of a line running from Bari to Salerno (Pellegrini 1992, pp. 17-26).

Even then there were brothers who were not Italian. Among the members of the first mission to Germany in 1221, Jordan of Giano mentions one Hungarian and five Germans (ChrJG 19). Among the latter was Caesar of Speyer, whom the chronicler tells us had been recruited by Brother Elias in the East, where he was among the clerics taking part in the

Fifth Crusade (ChrJG 9). This fact should make us cautious in identifying the places the brothers come from with the places where the Order had spread. In a letter written from Damietta in 1220, Jacques de Vitry speaks of some clerics, his collaborators in the diocese of St. John of Acre, who had joined the Order of Friars Minor. They came from a number of places and included an Englishman and a Frenchman (Huygens 1960, p. 123). Nor should we forget recruitment at the international center of study in Bologna where, precisely around 1220, a house was being built for the brothers (2C 58; 2MP 6).

### 3. *Across the Alps and beyond the sea: the first attempts (1217-20)*

The first attempts to penetrate the regions across the Alps and beyond the sea go back to 1217. At the Chapter of Pentecost that year it was decided to mount true expeditions to northern and eastern Europe and to the lands of the Saracens. These were supposed to bear fruit in the area of recruitment, but they proved unsuccessful in spreading the Order. The story of these attempts, told in rich detail by Jordan of Giano (ChrJG 3-9) and summarized in the *Legend of the Three Companions* 62, and the *Anonymous of Perugia* 44, gives the impression that they were a real failure. The brothers were driven out of Germany, Francis's trip to the East was unsuccessful, and the mission of the five brothers to Morocco ended tragically in January 1220.

The expeditions of 1217 and the two following years were in fact the first ones officially organized by the Friars Minor outside Italy. Earlier journeys by Francis of Assisi and one or the other early companions were individual initiatives (1C 30) in response to personal piety or "missionary" enthusiasm. Only after 1217 did the Franciscans begin to plan systematically to transport their experience beyond Italy by forming larger groups of brothers—sixty went to Germany (ChrJG 5)—to send across the Alps and beyond the sea, under the leadership of a minister, whose job was to decide where and how they would settle.

It is certainly no accident that in 1217 Dominic of Calaruega's group of Friars Preachers also decided to move beyond the boundaries of the diocese of Toulouse and France. By then the pope had singled out the two Orders as effective tools for implementing the reform movement begun by the Fourth Lateran Council of November 1215 and reinitiated by the newly-elected Honorius III after being brought to a halt by the death of Innocent III in 1216. It was in the spring of 1217 that Hugolino of Ostia, during his first legation to central and northern Italy, had established close ties with the Order of Friars Minor during its first years (1215-17) of organization (Selge 1971). This relationship would manifest itself later, after

his appointment as protector of the Order (1220) and his election as Pope Gregory IX (1227).

This relationship gives special meaning to the decisive movement of the Friars Minor beyond the confines of Italy. On the one hand, it is an obvious continuation of their gradual penetration into the regions north of Umbria. On the other hand, it cannot be seen apart from their close ties with the papacy and the ecclesiastical and religious policy begun by Innocent III and continued so energetically and shrewdly by a pontiff like Honorius III (who is certainly deserving of greater attention by historians). Papal support for the penetration of the Friars Minor into the regions beyond the Alps is well documented in the letter sent to the leaders of local ecclesiastical institutions in June 1218 or 1219 (*Bullarium* I, p. 2; Thomson 1971, p. 15). This letter has its exact (and significant) parallel in similar letters sent in favor of the Friars Preachers. The letter's purpose is clear: to guarantee the orthodoxy of the members of the Franciscan group and especially to stress their union with the pope, who has "deservedly approved the way of life chosen by them." The expression is careful from a juridical-institutional viewpoint, but it unambiguously highlights the religious commitment that the pope is guaranteeing.

The socio-cultural, political, and religious structures of the new places where the Friars Minor were trying to establish themselves were different in many ways from those of central and northern Italy. In such a context, these religious whose habit and way of life were so non-traditional were bound to appear strange, and thus they were all too easily identified with religious groups regarded as unorthodox. The aura of suspicion created around the Friars Minor in regions beyond the Alps is brought out in Jordan of Giano's account (ChrJG 4-6) and confirmed by a papal letter of May 1220 to the bishops of France (*Bullarium* I, p. 5). Honorius III recalls his previous letter, which for some bishops had remained a dead letter. For this reason, he is much clearer in stressing his official recognition of an Order that he describes as "among those approved by us" even though, as far as we know, nothing official had been issued by the Roman Curia between June 1218/19 and May 1220 (the papal directive regarding the novitiate is from the following September, and the approval of the Rule is three years later). But what is more interesting here is to note how the papal letter of May 1220 takes a position against the aura of suspicion that had been created around the Friars Minor. Thus its renewed and strong insistence on their complete and acknowledged orthodoxy and dependence on the pope: "We regard the brothers of this Order as truly Catholic and devout men."

#### 4. France

The letter was sent to the prelates of a specific region, the "kingdom of France." The same term appears in the name of one of the first two Franciscan circumscriptions, *Regnum Franciae et Provincia* (Provence), and later, *Aquitania*, each of which is assigned to a separate group of brothers under the leadership of a different minister (Golubovich 1913, pp. 219-22; Péano 1986, pp. 3-11; Dedieu 1983, pp. 129-53). Here I think the term should be taken in a broader sense. Thus Jordan of Giano seems quite reliable when he says that the first Friars Minor to arrive in France were mistaken for Albigenses, a misunderstanding that was cleared up only after "the bishop and the masters [of Paris, obviously] ...took counsel about the matter with the lord Pope Honorius" (ChrJG 4).

The Friars Minor arrived in those regions just as it was becoming clearer that Simon di Montfort's territorial conquests were ineffective, religiously speaking, and from a political and military viewpoint dangerous. He had transformed the crusade against the Albigenses into a war of dynastic conquest. In a few years, with the intervention of Louis VIII, it would become a war of conquest by the French monarchy against the south. Given this situation, these strange religious from Italy were bound to arouse suspicion and concern, all the more so since the Cathar heresy had been widespread in central and northern Italy for some time.

The papal letter, which stressed the Catholicity of the Friars Minor and their complete fidelity to the Roman Church, had its effect. Within a few years—in fact by 1223, the year when the definitive text of the Rule was approved—the brothers were able to establish themselves in Paris and the major cities of southern France: Arles, Montpellier, Aix, Périgueux, Mirepoix, Toulouse, and Limoges (Desbonnets 1986, pp. 67-73). Thus the area of greatest spread was southern France where, as far as we can tell, all the Franciscan houses during those first years were located. In northern France, the Friars Minor seemed to focus all their attention on Paris, which enabled them to recruit persons whose backgrounds were most varied and who were very well-educated. Within a short time, two houses were established: Saint-Denis, in 1219, and probably the one near Sainte-Geneviève, where the Friars Minor seem to be already established in 1224 (Callebaut 1928). The house in Paris thus became the center for the spread of the Order throughout northern France and, in 1224, to the British Isles, the home of some of the brothers recruited at the Paris studium, as Thomas of Eccleston tells us (ChrTE 1).

Paris proved to be fertile ground for the growth of the Order of Friars Minor, in both numbers and quality, much as was the case with the

Order of Preachers (Callebaut 1928, pp. 188-94). There was also a need to combat heresy in southern France on a different and more effective battleground, that of preaching and the witness of a gospel life lived in complete union with the Church of Rome. For these reasons the Friars Minor, supported and backed up in their efforts by papal letters sent directly to the French prelates, tenaciously tried to maintain their positions there, despite suspicion and (in more than one case) violent rejection.

### *5. An organized mission: 1221*

The situation was very different in Germany. The pressure of heresy was much less, which made the presence of a counter-force such as the Franciscans much less urgent in the eyes of the pope. Besides, Germany seemed a much more difficult territory because of its culture, so different from that of Italy, and because of its socio-political organization and population distribution. Unlike Italy and France, Germany was not a land of cities, much less large cities. City life was still linked to feudal structures and tightly controlled by the power of the lord, either ecclesiastical or lay. It had not yet experienced the economic vitality and social mobility that characterized Italy and had, to a great extent, also touched and transformed southern and northeastern France as far as Flanders. Germany also lacked the great university centers, reference points for the expansion of the new religious orders into northern Italy, France, and (in a few years) England. There was also the problem of language, well emphasized by Jordan of Giano (ChrJG 5).

The failure of the 1217 expeditions to northern Europe forced the brothers to pause and reflect, a state of affairs that lasted until Francis's return from the East and the reorganization of the Order by Honorius III in 1221 (Rusconi 1994, pp. 89-94). The decision was made at the Chapter of Pentecost in 1221, the only chapter among the many held during Francis's lifetime that left such deep memories on those who attended. Forty years later, Jordan of Giano wrote: "I have never seen a chapter in the Order like that one, both as to the number of brothers present and the distinction of those who ministered to them" (ChrJG 16). The biographies of Francis, the compilations, and Thomas of Eccleston (6) all speak in the same vein. Francis's initiative, brought out in various ways by all the sources; the importance of the problems discussed, with the observation that Francis's proposal was extraordinarily appealing to every group, even in the area of recruitment (Pellegrini 1992); the decision to channel the developments that were taking place into the fundamental gospel choice and encourage them—all these things left a deep mark on the historical memory of the Order. The disappointments of 1217-20 had shown them first-hand the dangers of

enthusiastic improvisation and indiscriminate acceptance of all who spontaneously responded to Francis's invitation. They needed to give specific norms, and they needed to organize. The norms of Chapter XVI of the Rule approved at that chapter (the so-called *Earlier Rule*) regarding brothers "who go among the Saracens and other unbelievers" prove this, as does the careful organization of the expedition to Germany.

Those who took part in this expedition, a much smaller number than four years before, were carefully chosen. The Order, which numbered several thousand, could now count on men of German origin, able to mediate perfectly between the customs of the Italian world, to which most of the brothers belonged, and the land they were preparing to enter, this time definitively. Along with them were men with a great deal of practical sense who were able to move easily in the most varied situations. They did not need to count on numbers, as in the previous attempt, but on quality. Above all, they needed to avoid any kind of improvisation.

One prominent member of that group of brothers was John of Pian di Carpine (present-day Magione, near Perugia). He was destined to play a leading role in the extraordinary process by which the Franciscans penetrated the most varied regions of the then-known world, a process marked by the events of his life. A native of that Umbrian soil where the Franciscan movement had its first hesitant beginnings, John was the trusted man in 1221, along with the head of the expedition, the German brother Caesar of Speyer. The chronicler notes that John could preach "in the Latin language and in that of the Lombards." By that time, preaching served as a good credential for the brothers, both with the clergy and with the people, to whom they had to speak in the vernacular. In fact, another figure who stands out together with Brother John in this new mission is Brother Barnabas, also "a renowned preacher in the language of the Lombards and in German." The two were sent to Trent by Brother Caesar "to prepare a place for him and his brother in Trent" (ChrJG 19). On their journey to Trent, Brother John and Brother Barnabas had to cross Lombardy (meaning northern Italy, as already mentioned), where they were regarded everywhere with some concern.

### 6. *Lombardy: an acid test*

The fact that many religious movements were coalescing into groups was enough to make church authorities wary, if not suspicious or even ready to issue outright condemnations. These movements were associated with the great socio-economic upheaval, with the claims and political tensions of communes jealous of their authority, constantly struggling to control their territory, and (through a complex network of

alliances) quick to use armed force to defend their own interests. The ecclesiastical condemnations that rained down on some of the Lombard cities during those years, especially on the city of Milan, established a significant link between political choices, armed conflicts between cities, quarrels with bishops, and phenomena regarded as heretical. Seen from outside, the situation seemed utterly bizarre, if not dangerous. Jordan of Giano himself expresses his fear of a world that seemed distant and strange, yet for that very reason was able to arouse the naive religious enthusiasm of a young Franciscan: "There was at that time a certain brother in the chapter who was accustomed to ask God in his prayers that his faith should not be corrupted by the heretics of Lombardy" (ChrJG 18).

A few years before 1221, the year to which Jordan ascribes his former prejudices, Jacques de Vitry expressed the same impression in different words and presented it as an observed fact: "After this I came to Milan, which is a cesspool of heretics" (Huygens 1960, p. 72). Thus Milan is a den of heretics. Indeed, the whole of Lombardy is so infected with the disease of heresy that the young Brother Jordan of Giano ends up identifying all "deviant" religious movements in contemporary Italy as the "heresy of the Lombards"—even though in more than one case their roots were much deeper than merely religious.

At the same time as John of Pian di Carpine, another Friar Minor who would be a profound sign of the Franciscan presence in that region was heading toward Lombardy. His name was Anthony of Lisbon, made famous in *Legend* and cult under the name Anthony of Padua. His decision to remain quietly in the background when he joined Brother Gratian, the unlikely minister of a still non-existent province of Romagna, is probably to be attributed to one of many hagiographic *topoi*. It seems rather that his mission to Lombardy, like that of other trained preachers, must be seen as linked to the scope and demands of Hugolino of Ostia's legation. The cardinal had been sent to that region by Honorius III to collect funds and troops for the crusade, to defend the freedom of the Church, and to combat various forms of ecclesiastical dissent and heresy. These objectives appeared to be, and were, closely related. We see this in a letter of September 1220 from Honorius III to the emperor Frederick II, declaring that certain civic statutes, which attack the freedom of the Church and thus look like heresy, are unacceptable:

Since the vice of heresy is said to be very widespread in Lombardy, as appears from the wicked statutes against God and the Church issued by many cities in that province..., you must reverse these statutes and order that they be abrogated, since as they are laws that spring from the root of

heretical perversity and attack the freedom of the Church (MGH *Epistolae saeculi XIII*, p. 101).

It was Cardinal Hugolino who in July 1221 issued the first of a series of excommunications against the city of Milan, in the context of a dispute between the podestà Amizzone Sacco and the archbishop Enrico Settala, which had led to the latter being expelled (Alberzoni 1991, pp. 241-42). Reconciling the Church's aims and interests with the uncertainties and political and social aims of the cities of Lombardy must not have been easy. Hugolino needed faithful, intelligent, and efficient collaborators. The more educated members of the two young religious Orders, Franciscans and Dominicans, were the best that could be offered to the papal legate who, it may be recalled, had established a good relationship with Francis and his group a few years before. This makes the suggestion of collaboration between the Friars Minor and the papal legate a plausible one, even though we have no certain proof of this (Rigon 1992, pp. 182-90). Indeed, the hagiographic legend of Anthony presents him as preaching against the heretics in Lombardy from the very beginning of his pastoral ministry.

But Lombardy also meant something else: it was a place where people from the different parts of Europe came to study law, and not only law. In Bologna especially, and a little later also in Padua and Vercelli, the structures of the university system were being consolidated. It is no accident that Bologna is mentioned as the site of the first permanent house for the brothers, a fact that aroused Francis's anger when he returned from the East in 1220. Significantly, the sources that mention it, beginning with Thomas of Celano (2C 58), also note that Cardinal Hugolino was "Legate in Lombardy." Thomas of Eccleston reports the testimony of the Englishman, Brother Martin of Barton, who said that Francis had predicted an earthquake (that of 1221?) and "caused it to be announced through all the schools of Bologna" (ChrTE 6). Ever since the 1220s, contact with higher education and its structures (we have already seen this in the case of Paris) was one of the characteristics of the Friars Minor, or at least those who would become the leaders. It is no accident that it was in Lombardy, thanks to Anthony, that the first organized studium in the Order was begun with Francis's official permission, as evidenced by his *Letter to Anthony* written between late 1223 and early 1224.

After spending about three years in southern France, where he was involved in preaching and also spreading and consolidating the Order in that region, Anthony assumed leadership of the huge province of Lombardy. There he would increase the number of houses of the Order and strengthen and reorganize its presence, so that by the 1230s it seemed time to divide it

into three provinces. From the vast territory of central and northern Italy, which ran from the Alps to the Appenines in Tuscany-Emilia, was separated the western part, which included Piedmont and Liguria, and the eastern part, thereafter called the March of Treviso, to which was added Venice and Friuli (Golubovich 1913, pp. 228, 233-37).

### *7. In the major cities of Germany*

October 1221 marks the official date of the definitive entry of the Friars Minor into Germany. It was then that they met for "the first chapter since their entry into Germany." The chapter sent Brother John and Brother Barnabas to introduce Franciscanism in the key centers of the Rhine Valley. Setting out from Augsburg, they crossed the Rhineland, "preaching the word of penance and preparing hospices for the brothers who were to follow" in the cities of Strassburg, Speyer, Worms, Mainz, and Cologne (ChrJG 23). There they established many permanent houses, thanks to a close relationship with the ecclesiastical princes and the more outstanding figures among the urban laity (Degler-Spengler 1978, p. 44; Berg 1982, pp. 144-50). More than once the Friars Minor settled near hospices and leprosaria, as in Mainz and Speyer (Berger 1994, pp. 112, 147-48).

Thus were laid the foundations for what became, when the province of Germany was first subdivided in 1223, the custody of Alsace, which was entrusted to Brother James. The second custody was that of Bavaria-Swabia and Franconia, in whose major cities (Augsburg, Salzburg, Regensburg, Würzburg) the Franciscans are by now solidly attested. The third was Saxony, a frontier custody and a base for further expansion of the Order into Thuringia and central Europe. It was entrusted to John of Pian di Carpine.

In 1224, John was sent to Cologne, exchanging places with Brother James who became custodian of Saxony. In 1228, John was elected minister of Germany, still a single huge province that included all of Saxony and Thuringia, organized into custodies. A few years later, the time was ripe for dividing Germany into four provinces: Alemannia, Austria, Cologne, and Saxony.

### *8. A bridgehead to the land of the Saracens: the Iberian Peninsula*

John of Pian di Carpine, destined to return to Saxony as provincial in 1232, had been away for two years, summoned to the other end of Europe. In 1230 he had been appointed provincial minister of Spain. He was needed there.

The first attempt by the Friars Minor to penetrate the Iberian Peninsula was probably in the context of the first missions in 1217. Here again, the attempt met with very little success because of the same

difficulties already mentioned for the regions beyond the Alps. The brothers managed to overcome these difficulties thanks to a better-organized mission, probably led by the future general minister John Parenti. They were also able to show letters of recommendation from the pope (Lopez 1915, pp. 279-85; Uribe 1988, pp. 72-75).

We have no precise information about the first establishment of the Franciscans in the Iberian Peninsula. Indeed, the same is true for the other parts of Europe, where we have no sources like Jordan of Giano's *Chronicle* for Germany (more specifically, Saxony) or Thomas of Eccleston's *Coming of the Friars Minor* for England. Yet it is no accident that the first relatively trustworthy information indicates that there were already Franciscan houses in Portugal in 1219-20, despite the tensions that jeopardized relations between Alfonso II and the pope. Portugal represented a kind of extension, toward the land of the Saracens, of the pilgrimage route from central and northern Europe to Santiago de Compostela. It is no accident, then, that the accounts of the martyrdom of the first Friars Minor in Marrakesh mention that, before leaving for Africa, they spent time with Queen Urraca in Coimbra in 1219, and with the queen's sister Sancia in Alenquer.

We see here the daughters of the upper nobility of the realm acting as effective intermediaries on behalf of the Friars Minor. We will see something similar in the case of Agnes of Prague. It would be very interesting to study the relationships between these members of the upper nobility and the Friars Minor with regard to their positive effect, indeed their very great influence, on the establishment of houses for the young religious Order. We recall that Urraca was the sister of Blanche of Castile, queen of France, and the aunt of Ferdinand II, who had united the kingdoms of Castile and Leon. The protection given by Urraca must certainly have influenced the spread and consolidation of Franciscanism in the Iberian Peninsula during the 1220s, under the able leadership of John Parenti.

The province of Spain, thus established, was a real bridgehead to those parts of the Iberian Peninsula still in the hands of the Almohadi (Andalusia, Murcia, and Valencia), and to Morocco. In 1225, Honorius III officially entrusted the Franciscans and Dominicans with the mission to the kingdom of the Almohadi, which by then was falling into a state of crisis and decay. He also ordered the metropolitan of Spain, Bishop Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada of Toldeo, one of the leading figures in contemporary Spanish culture and politics, to lay the groundwork for the organization of the Church on the northwest coast of Africa by consecrating some of these brothers as bishops (*Bullarium* I, pp. 24-25). In March 1226, he dispensed

the brothers who were working in those regions from the prohibition to use money (*Bullarium* I, p. 26; Thomson 1975, pp. 21-26).

John Parenti discharged his office until 1227, when he was elected general minister. It was he who sent John of Pian di Carpine as provincial minister to the Iberian Peninsula. This is the only certain piece of information we have on events in the Franciscan province of Spain before the 1230s. It is a mere hypothesis, though with some foundation, that Brother Alber of Pisa preceded John in the triennium 1227-30. The date of the division of the Iberian Peninsula into three provinces is also open to discussion. Perhaps when Brother John took office, the Friars Minor, although they already had a strong presence in the peninsula, did not yet have enough houses to permit division of the territory. The brothers were still not present in many areas, including Andalusia, most of which was still controlled by the Almohadi, and the kingdom of Valencia, where Brother John of Perugia and brother Peter of Sassoferrato had been martyred recently (Lopez 1915, pp. 86-94; Uribe 1988, p. 72). We are sailing on a sea of hypotheses, but our protagonist does seem to have been cut out for this kind of work, as shown by his entire life before and after.

At any rate, the hypotheses advanced are certainly more believable than the alleged "foundations" of houses by Francis or one of his first companions, between 1212 and 1217. Although these dates have a long historical tradition, they are based on nothing more than pious local memories. The work of establishing the Friars Minor, in Spain as elsewhere, was begun only in the early 1220s. The leading figure was not Francis or some hypothetical companion of his, but John Parenti whose immediate successors, perhaps Albert of Pisa and certainly John of Pian di Carpine, assumed the job of completing the work of expansion and organization of the Order in the region. Brother John must have been an energetic and effective worker, for it may have been in 1232, when he was setting out for Germany once more, that the Iberian Peninsula was divided into the three provinces of Portugal (St. James), Aragon, and Castile (Lopez 1915, pp. 293-97).

During the provincialate of Brother John, the brothers must also have penetrated and settled in the regions controlled by the Almohadi. Some time later, in May 1235, when the Franciscan circumscriptions were being redrawn, Gregory IX refers to a (provincial?) administration of Barbary (*Bullarium* I, pp. 155-56). This circumscription extended into the territory of the Almohadi, from Andalusia to the coast of Africa (Lopez 1915, pp. 304-07). These places had seen a certain Franciscan presence in the years immediately before, but these had been scattered missionary efforts, sustained more by enthusiasm than any organized plan, as shown by

the martyrdom of Brothers John and Peter. Thus the first Franciscan penetration and establishment of houses in Andalusia was probably planned and coordinated by John of Pian di Carpine. There is also some basis for the idea that this was done in concert with James I of Aragon, who was beginning to reconquer the kingdom of Valencia in 1232. It is certain that the expansion into Andalusia by the Friars Minor preceded by twenty years the taking of Seville by Ferdinand III, who was to complete the annexation of that region to the kingdom of Aragon.

After finishing his task, John of Pian di Carpine returned to Germany in 1232 as minister of the new Franciscan province of Saxony. Once again he set to work: it is he who conceived and planned the penetration of the Friars Minor into the regions of eastern Europe (Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland) and into the northern countries of Denmark and Norway.

### 9. *To the East and North under the protection of the local nobility*

In 1234, Gregory IX entrusted John with the task of canonically erecting the women's monastery of St. Francis in Prague, founded by Agnes with the support of her brother Wenceslaus II, king of Bohemia (*Bullarium* I, pp. 135-36). Agnes of Prague is a key figure when it comes to explaining the close relationship with the ruling family that enabled the Friars Minor to establish houses in those territories. The daughter of Otakar I, who had obtained the throne of Bohemia in 1198, and Constance, daughter of King Bela III of Hungary, Agnes had been at the center of marriage plans aimed at strengthening the dynasty's political influence (Marini 1991, pp. 37-54). Her sister Anne strengthened bonds with the dynastic princes of Poland, the Piasti, by becoming the wife of Henry II of Silesia. Anne also seems to have ties with the Franciscans: following some family tragedies, she founded the Franciscan monastery in Wroclaw (Breslau) and became associated with that women's community.

Agnes, who had attended her brother's coronation in 1228, finalized her plans for religious life in 1233 with the construction of a monastery dedicated to St. Francis and a hospital. The latter indicated to her the charitable interests that also led her to found the confraternity of *fratres hospitaleres*, which in 1237 became a canonical order named the Crucifers of the Red Star (Machilek 1974, pp. 69-71; Marini 1991, pp. 55-64). The realization of these projects was supported by her brother Wenceslaus, who had become king of Bohemia. Her close ties to the Franciscan world are documented by her correspondence with Clare of Assisi.

We learn from a letter of Gregory IX to John of Pian di Carpine that the Friars Minor had been definitively established in Bohemia by 1234,

so that the pope was able to entrust it to the custodian of Bohemia, in addition to the provincial minister of Saxony. A year earlier there is evidence of a (provincial?) minister for Hungary. There, the Friars Minor enjoyed the protection of the king, probably already under Bela III, grandfather of Agnes of Prague, and certainly under Bela IV (1235-70), whose favorable attitude toward the Friars Minor is documented (Hervay 1982, pp. 312-13). Toward the end of the 1230s, the Franciscans had settled as far as the eastern borders of Poland, here too thanks to a close network of relationships with the Slavic princes. In Poland, John of Pian di Carpine had an essential contact in Conrad, duke of Masovia and Kujavia (the region of Warsaw). He was also lord of Cracow and Sandomir, areas he had seized from the control of Boleslaw V, husband of Kinga (Cunegunda), daughter of Bela IV of Hungary, who had ties with the Franciscans. We see once again the decisive role played by devout princesses and queens, founders of Franciscan women's monasteries in which many of them spent their last days. Cracow, where the Friars Minor arrived in 1237, along with Wroclaw was the base for Franciscan expansion into Poland (Kloczowski 1982, pp. 318-22).

Thus the plan to spread the Order toward the lands to the east, conceived by John of Pian di Carpine in 1232, was accomplished quickly, thanks to relationships with the ruling families, on whom the brothers were able to exercise considerable influence. Brother John himself sheds light on these personal relationships. In recounting his journey to Mongolia, when he mentions preparations for his departure for the land of the great Tartar Empire, organized with the help of the rulers of eastern Europe who loaded him with gifts meant to win his favor with the Tartar military leaders, he stresses his earlier friendship with them. There was Wenceslaus of Bohemia, "because he was a noble and an old friend of ours" (*Historia Mongalorum*, 302); there was Boleslaw II, duke of lower Silesia, "also a friend of ours and well-known" (*ibid.*, 303); finally, there were the rulers and princes of Poland and especially the "duchess of Cracow," probably the kings mentioned above.

The relationship established with the ecclesiastical and lay princes in Germany a decade before had fulfilled the same function. The same thing happened then, in the 1230s, for the areas of the southern coast of the Baltic, a base for Friars Minor to expand into the northern countries of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. The Danish chronicles give 1233 as the date the Friars Minor entered the region (*Chronicon Sialandiae e Annales Essenbecenses*, in *MGH Scriptores*, XXII, pp. 214 and 226). Six or seven years later, the number of Franciscan houses was enough to establish the province of Dacia (Lindbaek 1914; Lorenzen 1914). The push northward had

brought the Friars Minor to Norway in 1232, but here they seem to have become established more slowly, as far as we can tell from the documents (Ruyter 1979).

Thus the extraordinary expansion of the Franciscans toward the east and north was due to John of Pian di Carpine and his political and organizational abilities. His last act as provincial of Saxony was to return to Italy for the painful general chapter of 1239 at which Brother Elias was deposed. At that chapter John was relieved of office. We lose track of him at that point, no longer guided by the information provided us by Jordan of Giano, our principal source of information about John of Pian di Carpine in the years preceding his mission to Mongolia.

#### 10. *A unique Franciscan province: England*

Another precious source of information is the English Franciscan Thomas, known to historians since the sixteenth century as Thomas of Eccleston. His *Coming of the Friars Minor to England* describes the arrival of the first Friars Minor in England in September 1224 and the gradual growth of the Order in that country. The mission of the Friars Minor to England must have been supported, if not actually suggested, by the papal legate Romanus, cardinal deacon of Sant'Angelo. In 1224 his duties as legate were extended from France to include England (Callebaut 1928, pp. 20-24). The chronicler starts with the landing of the Order in England and presents the various facets of its growth: choice of the first places, beginning of local recruitment, establishment of actual houses, division into custodies, provisional reorganization into the two provinces of England and Scotland (under the generalate of Brother Elias), transfer and enlargement of the houses. All of this brings us to the time when Thomas is writing his chronicle, in others words 1257, when "in the thirty-second year from the coming of the brothers to England, there were 1242 brothers living in England in 49 places" (ChrTE 2).

The eleventh of the fifteen *collationes* into which the author tries to organize his mass of notes is called "The Promotion of Lectors." This refers to the first organization and later growth of studies, which attained such a level and importance that they are one of the distinctive notes of the English Franciscan province. Interesting in this regard is our author's frequent mention of the Paris studium, from which came many of the leading figures in the establishment of the Order in England. Haymo of Faversham comes to mind above all. Thomas recounts with pleasure the circumstances of his entrance into the Order together with three other Paris masters. Another figure occupying an important place in Jordan's *Chronicle* is the celebrated master Adam Marsh (3, 11, 14, 15). Contact with the Paris studium left a

deep mark on the Franciscan experience. The fact that the membership of the Order included many masters involved profound changes in mentality and approach. These are very evident in the tendencies that from the beginning seem to characterize the choices of places to settle and the organizational structures of the Friars Minor in England. It is probably not completely by accident that the brothers' first residence in England, in Canterbury, was in a "school house" (ChrTE 1). Once they had laid the foundations for a house in the ecclesiastical capital and pushed on to the capital of the kingdom, the brothers made their way decisively to the university city of Oxford.

Oxford became the dynamic center of English Franciscanism, thanks to an agreement with the chancellor of the university, Robert Grosseteste. In 1229/30, he decreed that the chair in theology would be held by the Friars Minor, and when he became bishop of Lincoln in 1235, he promoted the further expansion of the Franciscan and Dominican Orders into the territory of his diocese. Along with their fellow countrymen from Paris, it is the Oxford masters who joined the Order that occupy first place in Thomas of Eccleston's *Chronicle*, since they brought prestige to the young Franciscan Order in England (ChrTE 3). People such as these left a special mark on the English Franciscans. The strong push toward study, whose epicenter was the Franciscan house at Oxford, soon bore fruit throughout the Franciscan province of England. Again it is Thomas of Eccleston who furnishes us with the details:

And the gift of wisdom so flooded the English province that before Brother William of Nottingham was released from office there were thirty lectors who engaged in solemn disputation and three or four who lectured without engaging in these disputations. For he had assigned students in the universities for the single places, who would succeed the lectors who died or who would be removed from office (ChrTE 11).

The organizational model of the Dominicans, with whom the English Friars Minor formed a special relationship as soon as they entered England (so much so that they were guests of the Dominicans upon their arrival in London and Oxford), could not have been better copied!

The fate of English Franciscanism certainly owed much to King Henry III, who was very generous on the occasion of foundations, settlements, and additions to the Franciscan houses in London, Cambridge, Shrewsbury, and Gloucester (ChrTE 4). The English chronicler Matthew Paris tells us that Brother Agnellus of Pisa, "who was a friend of the lord king and his counselor," acted as intermediary for Count Richard of Pembroke, royal marshal of Wales, in an attempt to settle some disputes

between the king and his vassal (MGH *Scriptores*, XXVIII, p. 69). But we must also remember the positive relationship established from the beginning with the English hierarchy, for whom the Friars Minor served as intermediaries at the Roman Curia. But expansion of the new religious Order was also favored by the lively urban atmosphere, from which the mendicant phenomenon sprang and to which it was closely linked, so much so that it could be considered itself "the most striking phenomenon in late-medieval urban France" (Le Goff 1968, p. 337) as well as in the cities of other parts of western Europe.

A look at the British Isles confirms what is by now more than the mere hypothesis of historians. The differences in distribution of the Franciscan houses correspond to the density, distribution, and organization of the urban centers in the different regions. Toward the middle of the thirteenth century, while there are some fifty Franciscan houses in England, in Wales we have only one late foundation in Llanfaes (1245). There are three houses in Scotland, where the Friars Minor had arrived seven years after their arrival in England (Moir Bryce 1909, pp. 5-9). To form the province of Scotland, a province that lasted only a short time, it was necessary to include the England houses located north of York (ChrTE 9).

Although the situation in Ireland is somewhat different than in Wales and Scotland, it is in no way comparable to that in England. It is hard to date the entry of the Franciscans into Ireland. The late tradition of an early attempt by Friars Minor from Spain in 1214 seems unfounded. More likely, the establishment of Franciscan houses on the island is the result of gradual expansion toward the northwest by the brothers in England. In fact the first minister of the Irish province was Richard of Ingworth in 1231, and not even the traditional dates would place the establishment of the first houses before the late 1220s (*Materials*, XL-XVII; Gwynn and Neville Hadcock 1970, pp. 240-71). At any rate, around the middle of the thirteenth century, there are slightly more than ten Franciscan houses in Ireland, located for the most part in port cities, where the English monarchy exercised considerable presence and control, as seen from royal documents regarding the individual houses (*Materials*, XVI; documents on pp. 1-17). A few rural centers also appear on the list (Burns 1986, pp. 51-52). Thus the situation in Ireland shows clearly the connection between the places chosen by the Friars Minor and the considerable differences in urbanization in the individual parts of the British Isles.

The lively cultural diversity of English university towns, the social and cultural mobility in cities where there was a flourishing wool industry, the dynamic organization of episcopal cities, whose leaders were actively involved in the reform of church institutions—all these things explain the

considerable expansion of the Franciscans in England. The situation can be compared only with that in France and central and northern Italy. Aside from the many differences, it is the urban setting that makes the three situations comparable.

### 11. *To the land of the Tartars: John of Pian di Carpine*

Toward the mid-thirteenth century, once the Franciscan Order had spread throughout Europe, there began for the Friars Minor the period of great voyages outside Europe. By way of the often inaccessible and mysteriously fascinating regions of central Asia, they were to reach the Far East and come in contact with civilizations and cultures radically different from their own. Their descriptions of these reveal a keen power of observation and an extraordinary ability to adapt.

The leading figure and forerunner in this adventure was once again Brother John of Pian di Carpine. In March 1245, six years after completing his term as provincial in Saxony, we find him in Lyons at the curia of Innocent IV, who entrusted him with letters for the grand khan of the Tartars. To halt the Mongol advance, which was threatening western Europe, Gregory IX had proclaimed a crusade and entrusted its preaching to the Friars Minor of Germany, as we learn from a papal letter of June 19, 1241 (*Bullarium* I, pp. 296-98). After the Mongol advance had been halted militarily, thanks in part to the death of the khan Ögödei (Rossabi 1990), it was decided to use diplomacy in an attempt to prevent new attacks. From Lyons, John began his long journey, which he describes in his *Historia Mongalorum* (see the accompanying map).

The account of his journey begins, significantly, in Bohemia where he himself had planted the Franciscan Order. From there he passed through Poland where the Franciscan houses, by now very numerous, served as excellent reference points. In Wroclaw, where Duke Boleslaw II of Silesia had restored city life after the destruction by the Mongols, John was joined by the Polish brother named Benedict, who would also write his own account of the journey (Van den Wyngaert 1929, pp. 131-43). The brothers of that region, after their dramatic experience of the Mongol raids, had established a kind of relationship with them. They had even learned their language, since John of Pian di Carpine was to use Brother Benedict as interpreter. But what helped him especially were the relationships he had formed and consolidated with the Bohemian and Polish princes as minister of Saxony and propagator of the Order in the Slavic regions. The next steps of his journey took him to the courts of King Wenceslaus II of Bohemia, Duke Boleslaw II of Silesia, and Conrad, duke of the region around Cracow. Four years earlier, this city had also been attacked and partly destroyed by

the Mongols, enabling Conrad to take charge of the situation and bypass his nephew Boleslaw V ("the Chaste"), duke of Cracow and Sandomir.

At Conrad's court, the Friars Minor met the Russian princes Vasilko and Daniel Romanovich, who were brothers and dukes of Volhynia and Halicz (Galicia) respectively. Vasilko's residence in Vladimir was the next stop on their journey. The principalities of central and Eastern Russia had been saved from annexation by the great empire of Genghis Khan, who was driven by the armies of his successor Ögödei until he threatened the heart of Europe. In such regions, John introduced himself as an agent of the pope authorized to appeal, against the Mongol threat, to the political and military advantages of a possible alliance between the local powers and the Apostolic See. In Vladimir he negotiated with some of the local bishops (*Historia Mongalorum* IX, p. 304), trying to persuade them to submit to Rome, a necessary condition if he was to continue his journey in territories that were ecclesiastically linked to Byzantium. Thus when he reached his final destination, at the court of the Tartar khagan Güyük, John obtained a declaration of obedience to Rome from Yaroslav II Vesvolodovich, prince of Suzdal and Vladimir (in the upper Volga valley). And it was there, as John tells us (*ibid.*, p. 323), that the prince met his death. This "conversion" is attested in a letter addressed two years later by Innocent IV to Yaroslav's son Alexander, who is also mentioned in the *Historia* (*Bullarium* I, pp. 506-07).

Within a few decades, the beginning of relations with the Russian princes permitted the establishment of a dozen Franciscan houses. These houses were concentrated mostly in Volhynia, that is, in the territories of the Romanovich dukes. They were located in the cities along the valley of the Dniester and the Prut, and thus on the routes linking Poland and the Black Sea coast, which passed through Moldova and present-day Ukraine. For the later waves of Friars Minor that tried to reach (or actually reached) the Far East, they were to act as links to the outposts west of the Black Sea.

From Vladimir, John of Pian di Carpine headed toward Kiev. The city had just recovered from the Mongolian destruction of 1240 and returned to being an active center where merchants from many places gathered. At the end of his account, John appeals to the witness of the merchants who had accompanied him from Vratislava to Kiev and those he met in Kiev on his return journey. They were from Germany, Poland, and Constantinople, and there were even some from Genoa, Venice, and Pisa (*Historia Mongalorum* IX, p. 332). Thus the trade routes were reopened, thanks in part to the Friar Minor's pioneering venture into the land of the Mongols.

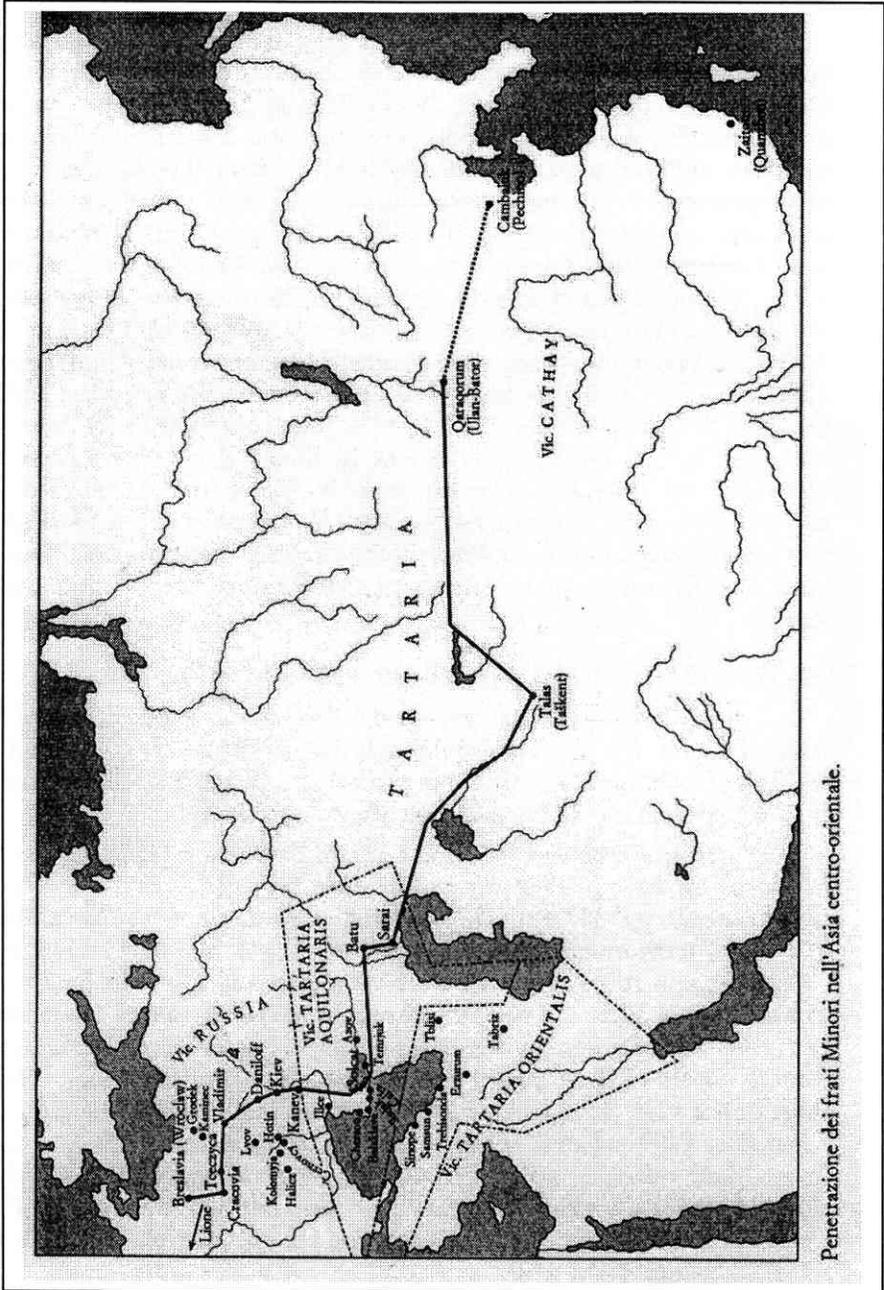
When he reached Kiev, John of Pian di Carpine could no longer take advantage of the experience gained during his twenty years of activity in Germany and the Slavic lands. Before him lay regions that were still unexplored. He was among people whose cultural and religious traditions were too different from those of the west, for even though it was quite heterogeneous, the western world was in many ways united by common traditions and cultural, social, and institutional points of reference. The good brother resolutely went to meet the terrible armies of the Tartars. It was an adventure that apparently discouraged the other two legates sent by the pope at the same time, the Dominicans Ascelino of Cremona and Andrew of Lonjumeau. They were arrested when they reached Syria, one in Tiflis, where a Dominican house had been established a few years earlier, the other in Tabriz (Richard 1977, p. 181). John himself had been forced to leave one of his traveling companions in Kanev, just beyond Kiev. He continued on toward Karakorum with his other companion, Brother Benedict. When he arrived there, he was able to attend the coronation of the new sovereign, Güyük, and meet the assembled Tartar princes. Then he set out on the road back to Europe. His journey had lasted a little over a year.

### *12. The organization of the Franciscans in the Tartar Empire*

John had opened the way for the Franciscans to penetrate the Far East, and in a few years (1253-55) the leading figure in this would be William of Rubrouck (Van den Wyngaert 1929, pp. 147-332). By the end of the century, there would be a relatively vigorous structure.

There is evidence that, in the 1270s, Franciscans dependent on the provincial minister of Hungary had a stable presence among the Tartars (*Bullarium*, III, pp. 347-48). The organizational efforts of the Friars Minor in Mongol territory are evident in the next decade. We find a Franciscan circumscription (the custody of Gazaria) with headquarters in Solcat, the Mongol capital of the Crimea. And thanks to the conversion to Christianity and protection of the empress Yäilak, Franciscan houses reached as far as the western shores of the Caspian Sea and lower valley of the Volga. There, shortly after 1250, a Franciscan house was being built in Saräi, the capital of Kipchak or Golden Horde (*Epitome* 1908, p. 165; Golubovich 1913, p. 262). From these reference points, groups of Friars Minor took their place alongside the Tartar hordes, adapting to their nomadic way of life. They carried portable altars on Mongol carts and set up "movable friaries in the tents" (Richard 1956, p. 182).

It was the Venetian, Genoan, and (later) Florentine merchants who opened the trade routes to the Far East and the ports there. Once these had



Penetrazione dei frati Minori nell'Asia centro-orientale.

been firmly established, penetration by the Franciscans, in the form of permanent houses, continued to the very edge of the Asian continent in those cities where the Italian merchants had their warehouses (Richard 1956, pp. 183-84). Until the end of the thirteenth century, the leader in organizing the Church and the Franciscan Order in the Far East was John of Montecorvino. Thanks to his good relationship with the khan Toktai, whom he managed to convert to Christianity, he was able to establish the first ecclesiastical organization in Central Asia and China (the archdiocese of Cambaluk). However the archdiocese survived the founder's death in 1330, or shortly before, only in name (Petech 1979, pp. 234-38). Alongside it was the Franciscan circumscription, the vicariate of Tartary, which extended from the east coast of the Black Sea to the Asian shores of the Pacific. It was a huge territory, inhabited by people of various races, languages, and religions, and Franciscan houses were very thinly spaced.

Division was essential, given the enormous distance between the houses on the Black Sea and the isolated residences near the Pacific, which found themselves in an extremely delicate political and cultural situation. The breakup of the Mongolian Empire and the political and military instability that followed made communication difficult between the east coast of the Caspian Sea and Mongolia and China. John of Montecorvino testifies to this in a letter of 1305 where he complains that he has been completely isolated for more than ten years (Van den Wyngaert 1929, p. 349). And so the Franciscan vicariate of Tartary was divided into three vicariates. *Eastern Tartary* included the houses between the southern shore of the Black Sea, the southeastern coast of the Caspian Sea, and the Persian Gulf; the houses of *Northern Tartary* were mostly on the northeastern coast of the Black Sea, extending east to the Caspian and north to the upper valley of the Volga; in the vicariate of *Cathay*, the Friars Minor were concentrated in Cambaluk (Beijing) and Zayton (Quanzhou). While this was certainly a "missionary" presence, in the end it turned out to be a mission of assistance to the groups of Catholics who had come from the west for reasons of commerce and who were living, more or less temporarily, in the major cities along the trade route leading to the East.

### *13. Across the Adriatic: the end of a long journey*

John of Pian di Carpine ended his eventful and adventurous life in 1252 as archbishop of Antivari (Bar) in Montenegro, at a moment of particular tension for that diocese. This is another sign that times had changed for the Order. If we exclude the emergency situation in which Brother Agnellus of Pisa was made bishop of Marrakesh (Thomson 1975, pp. 21-28), the Friars Minor were first recruited for the church hierarchy in

the early 1240s with a certain Brother Leo of Perego. One of the leading exponents of Franciscanism in Lombardy since the time of Anthony of Padua, Leo had been elected archbishop of Milan in circumstances that were far from tranquil for that archdiocese (Alberzoni 1991). Similarly, things were far from tranquil in the archdiocese of Antivar. The quarrel with Ragusa (Dubrovnik) over metropolitan supremacy (Thomson 1975, pp. 117-25) was complicated by political tension in the new kingdom, which was being escalated by Stephen Uros to the detriment of Bela IV of Hungary, who had just been defeated by the Mongols. Moreover, the Catholics, who depended on Rome, and the Orthodox, who looked to Byzantium, were finding it hard to live together in the same diocese.

Innocent IV's choice of a new archbishop in 1249 was an act of trust in John of Pian di Carpine, whose diplomatic ability and extraordinary and proven flexibility would, he hoped, bring a peaceful solution to the disputes. No doubt he was also thinking of the support John would be able to get from his confreres in the friary in Ragusa. Not coincidentally, it was there that the new archbishop called the parties together in January 1249. The conflict between the two dioceses was threatening to assume political and military proportions that would have a major impact throughout the Balkans. Stephen Uros's support of Antivari had set off a reaction in Ragusa, which was assembling a coalition against Stephen. One member of the coalition, Michael II Asen of Bulgaria, was hoping to take advantage of the situation to extend his rule into Serbian territory. A peaceful settlement of the quarrel would thus avert the danger of general war in the region. The Friars Minor could be one important element in the mediation process.

The young religious Order had, in fact, already established a solid organization in the region over a decade ago. Documents from 1235 show a province in Dalmatia, which leads us to suppose that there were a good number of Franciscan houses. But it is hard (in this territory as in others so distant in time) to give their number and location. The presence of the Franciscans and Dominicans must, it seems, go back to the early 1220s. It was then that the papal legate Acconcio (chaplain to Honorius III), who had been sent to the region to oppose the Cathars, perhaps took with him some members of the two mendicant Orders. The establishment of the first houses in Zadar and Ragusa, the two centers of Franciscan expansion into Dalmatia, would seem to go back to this period. In a little more than a decade the brothers had reached the major political and religious centers of the region, forming the province of Slavonia. John of Pian di Carpine could thus count on the help of his confreres, by now thoroughly involved in the complex religious and political problems of the huge archdiocese he had been called to lead.

But it was not enough to smooth the way. The three years of his episcopate were marked by tensions that exploded in violence and had as their dramatic theater the bishop's palace itself. The problems were still unresolved when the brother from Pian di Carpine closed his eyes on an adventurous life in August 1252. The next year the Bulgarian army invaded the territory as far as the Lim River. John's life as a protagonist ended with a painful lack of success.

In a little less than thirty years, the small group of Umbrian penitents who had made their first brave forays at the end of the 1210s, had spread and established themselves throughout the then-known world, including the Islamic regions of North Africa and the East, and were preparing to open the way to the discovery of the unknown and fabled lands of central and eastern Asia. We have tried in these pages to follow this gradual geographic conquest and to see when and how it took place. The leading figures of the 1220s and 1230s, besides John of Pian di Carpine, included men such as Agnellus and Albert of Pisa, Gregory of Naples (who energetically and actively organized the establishment of the Franciscans in Paris), Anthony of Padua, and Haymo of Faversham. Along with many others like them, they traveled from one end of Europe to the other as effective preachers, learned masters, and able diplomats, responsible for the presence and organization of the Franciscans in the most varied situations.

Thus it was the most representative members of the "learned brothers" who enabled the Franciscan Order to penetrate so deeply and exercise such a great influence on the society of its time. They are the ones whom the writings of one segment of the Franciscan Order, beginning in the last decades of the thirteenth century, would polemically accuse of "betraying" Francis's ideal. Not so very different, at least in their partisanship, are the conclusions of a historical trend that began with Paul Sabatier at the end of the last century. In its praiseworthy desire to purify the image of Francis and the first Franciscan fraternity from the interpretive distortions of the so-called official sources, it ended by exacerbating and universalizing a dispute between two "parties" that are not all that clearly delineated in the sources themselves. Sabatier's paradigm cannot stand in the face of the extraordinary phenomenon we have tried to describe, whose deepest motives it would be incapable of understanding.

Around the middle of the century, while the Friars Minor in Europe were rebuilding and moving their houses in the heart of the cities, they were opening the way for the West to penetrate the lands of Asia. They were establishing houses between the Black Sea and the Caspian, in the upper valley of the Volga and the Persian Gulf, pushing all the way to the Pacific. John of Pian di Carpine, whom we have chosen as guide for our

journey, is the leading figure and most typical exponent of the extension of the Franciscan experience to the northwest and to the Far East. His own life story is a good example of the gradual transformation of that experience. In its attempt to adapt to local circumstances, to establish collaborative ties with the heads of various social and institutional hierarchies (from lay and ecclesiastical lords to civic leaders), to enter into the thick of conflicts between cities, peoples, and religious confessions, that Franciscanism generously bore witness to the fact that all people can live together in peace.

### *Critical Note*

The story of Franciscan expansion must take into account a long historiographic tradition that did not (and perhaps could not) grasp the great difference between the life shared by cleric and lay members, learned and unlearned, in the first decade of the Order's history. Nor did it the later and gradually developing reality of a religious Order established in its own permanent and exclusive dwellings and ready to take over increasingly larger and more prestigious places within the cities, an Order in which community life served to reinforce and extend a socially powerful presence. Already in the contemporary sources, this mature organization of the Order has had the effect of distorting the original Franciscan experience and reshaping it according to their own particular model. It has been no different with the long historiographic tradition that began with fifteenth- and sixteenth-century writers—such as Mariano of Florence, Mark of Lisbon, Peter Ridolfi of Tossignano, and Francesco Gonzaga—and whose greatest work was Wadding's *Annales Minorum* (1637), to which all who have tried to reconstruct the first settlement of the Friars Minor in a given area have referred. It was very difficult, of course, to go back to that original experience and all its particular connotations. They countered the total lack of direct evidence about the settlement of the Friars Minor before the early 1220s with the reconstructions, or better, reinterpretations—as clear as they were misleading—offered by later sources and local traditions, who wished to consecrate the beginnings of a presence by attributing “foundations” to Francis or one of the early revered figures, the immediate construction of urban houses, and so forth.

Only in recent decades has a more careful and perceptive reading of the sources and a different historiographic sensibility enabled us to show the particular forms of settlement that accompanied the first penetration by the Franciscans into the different regions and the kinds of relationship established by their presence in greatly differing local situations. Thus, not only the time, but also the place and characteristics of this insertion have allowed us to begin to take into account the strong conditioning effect of

social, political, and economic realities on later developments. Thus also the mendicant phenomenon, more specifically that of the Franciscans, has received strong historical validation from the suggestion made by Le Goff (1968) to take it as a historical indicator of urbanization in Europe. His hypothesis, in addition to soliciting particular responses (Stüdeli 1969 for Germany, De Fontette 1970 for France, Fügedi 1970 for Hungary, and *Les ordres mendiants* 1977 for Italy), has contributed to a general resumption of study of the subject.

Among other things, the positive effect of this has been felt by research on the original features of the architecture of Franciscan churches and mendicant churches in general, a subject not dealt with here. See at least *Chiese e Conventi* 1982 and *Lo spazio dell'umiltà* 1984.

Naturally it is impossible to take into account the infinite amount of research on the history of individual Franciscan settlements, especially in Italy (for which it is enough to refer to Pellegrini 1984) and France (for which we have the inventory by Emery 1962 and the summary by Desbonnets 1986). I will limit myself to works of a summary nature on the other European and extra-European geographic areas.

On the first phase of Franciscan recruitment, see Pellegrini 1992. The *Atti Assisi* 1979 are devoted to the expansion of the Order in the West and East; the picture in Europe is described by Brooke 1979 and *Atti Roma* 1986. A recent attempt to summarize the cultural and social impact of Franciscanism on western civilization is Lawrence 1994.

On the spread of the Franciscans to Germany, attested especially by Jordan of Giano (cfr. Dal Pino 1992), we have Freed 1977 and Selge 1986; specific regions and "provinces" are studied by Degler-Spengler 1978 (western Germany), Englisch 1982 (Austria), Berg 1982 (Westphalia), Berger 1994 (Rhineland). Regarding expansion to the north, for Denmark we must refer again to Lindbaek 1914 and Lorenzen 1914, for Norway to Ruyter 1979; comparison with the history of the Dominicans is useful, as illustrated by Gallen 1946. For the countries of central Europe, also treated by Selge 1986, good summaries are offered by Machilek 1974 (Bohemia), Hervay 1982 (Hungary) and Kloczowski 1982 (Poland).

The growth of the Order in the British Isles is described by Burns 1986; Ireland is treated specifically by Gwynn and Neville Hadcock 1970 (based on material gathered by Fitzmaurice and Little 1920), while the only thing available for Scotland is Moir Bryce 1909. A list of medieval religious places (including Franciscan) is provided by Knowles and Neville Hadcock 1971.

A general picture of the presence of the Friars Minor in the Iberian Peninsula is provided by Garcia Oro 1987, which has supplanted the old, but still useful Lopez 1915. Recent monographs include Uribe 1988 (on Cantabria) and Webster 1993 (on Aragon).

There is a rich literature on the Franciscan "missions" in the East, naturally centered on John of Pian di Carpine (for whom, besides the material provided by the editors of the *Historia Mongalorum*, see Sorelli 1992), but not only on him. Important collections of documents were prepared by Golubovich 1913, on the Holy Land and the Franciscan East, and by Van den Wyngaert 1929, on China. On different aspects and phases of that extraordinary event, one can read Richard 1956, Troll 1966-67, Pelliot 1973, Richard 1977, Petech 1979 and Schmitt 1987.

## List of Works Cited

- Alberzoni, M. P.  
1991 *Francescanesimo a Milano nel Duecento* ("Fonti e ricerche," I), Edizioni Biblioteca Francescana, Milan.
- Atti Assisi*  
1979 Espansione del francescanesimo tra Occidente e Oriente nel secolo XIII. Atti del VI convegno internazionale, Società internazionale di studi francescani, Assisi.
- Atti Roma*  
1986 *Francesco, il francescanesimo e la cultura della nuova Europa*, ed. I. Baldelli and A.M. Romanini, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, Rome.
- Berg, D.  
1982 "Die Franziskaner in Westfalen," in *Monastisches Westfalen*, ed. G. Jaszai, Der Landschaftsverband des Landesmuseum, Münster, pp. 143-63.
- Berger, T.  
1994 Die Bettelorden in der Diözese Mainz und in den Diözesen Speier und Worms im 13. Jahrhundert. Ausbreitung, Förderung und Funktion ("Quellen und Abhandlungen zur Mittelrheinischen Kirchengeschichte," 69), Selbsterlag der Gesellschaft für Mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte, Mainz.
- Bullarium*  
1759-65 J.H. Sbaralea, *Bullarium Franciscanum*, I-III (I: 1759; II: 1761; III: 1765), Rome.
- Burns, C.  
1986 "Arrivo e insediamento dei frati minori nelle Isole Britanniche," in *Atti Roma* 1986, pp. 47-64.
- Callebaut, A.  
1928 "Essai sur l'origine du premier couvent des Mineurs à Paris et sur l'influence de frère Grégoire de Naple," in *La France franciscaine*, XI, pp. 5-30, 179-209.
- Chiese e Conventi*  
1982 *Francesco d'Assisi. Chiese e Conventi*, catalogo della mostra per l'VIII centenario della nascita di Francesco d'Assisi [II], ed. R. Bonelli, Electa, Milan.
- Dal Pino, F. A.  
1992 "Giordano da Giano e le prime missioni oltralpe dei frati Minori," in *Atti Assisi* 1992b, pp. 201-57.

- Dedieu, H.  
1983 "Les ministres provinciaux d'Aquitaine des origines à la division de l'Ordre (XIII<sup>e</sup> s. - 1517)," in *AFH LXXVI*, pp. 129-238.
- De Fontette, M.  
1970 "Villes médiévales et Ordres mendiants," in *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, XLVIII, pp. 390-407.
- Degler-Spengler, B.  
1978 "Oberdeutsche (Straburger) Minoritenprovinz 1246/1264-1939," in *Der Franziskusorden. Die Franziskaner, die Klarissen und die regulierten Franziskaner-Terziarinnen in der Schweiz*, ed. B. Degler-Spengler ("Helvetia sacra" 5), Francke, Bern, pp. 42-97.
- Desbonnets, T.  
1986 "Lo sviluppo degli insediamenti francescani in Francia," in *Atti Roma 1986*, pp. 65-90.
- Emery, R. W.  
1962 *The Friars in Medieval France. A Catalogue of French Mendicant Convents 1200-1550*, Columbia University Press, New York, London.
- Englisch, E.  
1982 "Zur Geschichte der franziskanische Ordensfamilie in Österreich von den Anfängen bis zum Einsetzen der Observanz," in *800 Jahre Franz von Assisi. Franziskansiche Kunst und Kultur des Mittelalter*, n.p. Vienna, pp. 289-311.
- Epitome*  
1908 Bullarii franciscani epitome sive summa bullarum in eiusdem bullarii quatuor prioribus tomis relatarum, ed. C. Eubel, Collegio San Bonaventura, Quaracchi.
- Esperienze minoritiche*  
1985 "Esperienze minoritiche nel Veneto del Due-Trecento. Atti del convegno nazionale di studi francescani," in *Le Venezie francescane*, new series, no. 2.
- Fitzmaurice, E.B. and Little, A.G.  
1920 (eds.) *Materials for the History of the Franciscan Province of Ireland A.D. 1230-1450*, The University Press, Manchester.
- Freed, J. B.  
1977 *The Friars and German Society in the Thirteenth Century*, The Mediaeval Academy of America, Cambridge (Mass.).

- Fügedi, E.  
1970 "La formation des villes et les ordres mendiants en Hongrie," in *Annales. Economie, Sociétés, Civilisation*, XXV, pp. 966-83.
- Garcia Oro, J.  
1987 "El Franciscanismo hispano de la edad media," in *Verdad y Vida*, XLV, pp. 207-49.
- Golubovich, G.  
1913 (ed.) *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente francescano*, II, Collegio San Bonaventura, Quaracchi.
- Gwynn, A. and Neville Hadcock, R.  
1970 *Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland*, with an Appendix to early Sites, Longmans, Harlow.
- Hervay, F.  
1982 "Geschichte der Franziskaner in Ungarn bis zum Beginn der Reformation," in *800 Jahre Franz von Assisi. Franziskanische Kunst und Kultur des Mittelalter*, n.p., Vienna, pp. 312-17.
- Historia Mongalorum*  
1989 Giovanni di Pian del Carpine, *Storia dei Mongoli*, ed. P. Daffinà, C. Leonardi, M.C. Lungarotti, E. Menestò and L. Petech, Centro italiano di studi sull'Alto Medioevo, Spoleto.
- Huygens, R. B. C.  
1960 (ed.) *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry (1160/70-1240), évêque de Saint-Jean-d'Acre*, critical edition, Brill, Leiden.
- Kloczowski, J.  
1982 "Die Minderbrüder im Polen des Mittelalters," in AA.VV., *800 Jahre Franz von Assisi. Franziskanische Kunst und Kultur des Mittelalter*, n.p., Vienna, pp. 318-31.
- Knowles, D. and Neville Hadcock, R.  
1971 *Medieval Religious Houses England and Wales*, Longmans-Green, London, New York, Toronto.
- Lawrence, C. H.  
1994 *The Friars. The Impact of the Early Mendicant Movement on Western Society*, Longman, London, New York.
- Le Goff, J.  
1968 "Apostolat mendiant et fait urbain dans la France médiévale: l'implantation des ordres mendiants. Programme-questionnaire pour une enquête," in *Annales. Economie, Sociétés, Civilisations*, XXIII, pp. 335-53.

*Les ordres mendiants*

- 1977 "Les ordres mendiants et la ville en Italie centrale (v. 1220 - v. 1350)," in *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome. Moyen Age - Temps Modernes*, LXXXIX.
- Lindbaek, J. P.  
1914 De danske Franziskanerklostre, Copenhagen.
- Lopez, A.  
1915 La provincia de España de los frailes menores. Apunte historico-criticos sobre los origenes de la Orden Franciscana en España, El Ero Franciscano, Santiago de Compostela.
- Lorenzen, W.  
1914 De danske Franciskanerklostres Byginnshistorie, Copenhagen.
- Lo spazio dell'umiltà*  
1984 Lo spazio dell'umiltà. Atti del convegno di studi sull'edilizia dei minori, Porziuncola, Fara Sabina, Assisi.
- Machilek, F.  
1974 "Reformorden und Ordensreform in den böhmischen Ländern von 10. bis 18. Jahrhundert," in *Bohemia sacra. Das Christentum in Böhmen 793-1973*, ed. F. Seibt, Düsseldorf, pp. 63-80.
- Marini, A.  
1991 *Agnese di Boemia* ("Bibliotheca seraphico-capuccina," 38), Istituto Storico dei Cappuccini, Rome.
- MGH *Epistolae*  
1883 *Epistolae saeculi XIII e regestis pontificum Romanorum selectae*, ed. G.H. Pertz and C. Rodenberg, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Berlin.
- MGH *Scriptores*  
1888 Mathei Parisiensis, "Historia Anglorum," in *Scriptores*, XXXVII, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Hannover (new ed. Stuttgart, New York 1964), pp. 390-434.
- Minoritismo e centri veneti*  
1983 *Minoritismo e centri veneti nel Duecento* ("Studi e testi," 7), ed. G. Cracco, Civis, Trent.
- Moir Bryce, W.  
1909 *The Scottish Grey Friars*, 2 vols., Sands, Edinburgh, London.
- Péano, P.  
1986 "Les Ministres provinciaux de la primitive Province de Provence (1217-1527), in *AFH* LXXIX, pp. 3-77.

- Pellegrini, L.  
 1984 *Insedimenti francescani nell'Italia del Duecento*, Laurentianum, Rome.  
 1992 "Storia e geografia del 'reclutamento' francescano della prima generazione," in *Atti Assisi 1992b*, pp. 3-29.  
 1993 *Introduzione a S. Bonaventura, Opuscoli francescani* ("Opere di san Bonaventura," XIV/I), trans. A. Boni, S. Cerrini and R. Paciocco, indices J.G. Bougerol, Città Nuova, Rome, pp. 7-77.
- Pelliot, P.  
 1973 *Recherches sur les chrétiens d'Asie centrale e d'Extrême Orient*, Jean Maisonneuve, Paris.
- Petech, L.  
 1979 "I Francescani nell'Asia centrale e orientale nel XIII e XIV secolo," in *Atti Assisi 1979*, pp. 213-40.
- Richard, J.  
 1956 "Les missions chez les Mongols au XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle," in *Histoire universelle des missions catholiques*, I. *Les missions des origines au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Grund, Paris, pp. 173-95.  
 1977 *La Papauté et les missions d'Orient au Moyen Age*, Ecole Française de Rome, Rome.
- Rigon, A.  
 1992 "Antonio di Padova e il minoritismo padano," in *Atti Assisi 1992b*, pp. 167-99.
- Rossabi, M.  
 1990 *Qubilay Khan*, Garzanti, Milan.
- Rusconi, R.  
 1994 "*Clerici secundum alios clericos*: Francesco d'Assisi e l'istituzione ecclesiastica," in *Atti Assisi 1994*, pp. 71-100.
- Ruyter, K.  
 1979 "*In Norvegiam fratres misit*. Die Geschichte der Minderbrüder in Norwegen," in *Vita seraphica*, LX, pp. 3-24.
- Schmitt, C.  
 1987 "L'epopea francescana nell'impero mongolo nei secoli XII-XIV," in *Venezia e l'Oriente*, ed. L. Lanciotti, Olschki, Florence, pp. 379-408.
- Selge, K. - V.  
 1971 "Franz von Assisi und Hugolino von Ostia," in *Atti Todi 1971*, pp. 157-222.  
 1986 "L'espansione degli insediamenti francescani in Germania e nell'Europa centro-orientale," in *Atti Roma 1986*, pp. 37-45.

Stüdeli, B.

- 1969 Minoritenniederlassungen und mittelalterliche Stadt. Beiträge zur Bedeutung von Minoriten- un anderen Mendikantenanlagen im öffentlichen Leben der mittelalterlichen Stadtgemeinde, insbesondere der deutschen Schweiz ("Franziskanische Forschungen," 21), Dietrich-Koelde, Werl/Westphalia.

Thomson, W. R.

- 1971 "Checklist of Papal Letters relating to the Three Orders of St. Francis. Innocent III - Alexander IV," in *AFH* LXIV, pp. 366-580.
- 1975 *Friars in the Cathedral. The First Franciscan Bishops, 1226-1261*, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto.

Troll, C. W.

- 1966-67 "Die Chinamission im Mittelalter," in *Franziskanische Studien*, XLVIII, pp. 109-50; XLIX, pp. 22-79.

Uribe, A.

- 1988 *La provincia franciscana de Cantabria, I. El Franciscanismo Vasco-Cantabro desde sus origenes hasta el año 1551*, Editorial Franciscana Aranzazu, Oñate (Guipúzcoa).

Van den Wyngaert, A.

- 1929 (ed.) *Sinica Franciscana, I. Itinera et relationes Fratrum Minorum saeculi XIII et XIV*, Collegio San Bonaventura, Quaracchi.

Varanini, G.

- 1983 "Per la storia dei minori a Verona nel Duecento," in *Minoritismo e centri veneti* 1983, pp. 92-125.

Webster, J. R.

- 1993 *Els Menorets. The Franciscans in the Realms of Aragon from St. Francis to the Black Death* ("Studies and Texts," 114), Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto.