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"Per Antonium ad Jesum."

Pope Pius XI

St. Anthony of Padua

DOCTOR *of the* CHURCH UNIVERSAL

A Critical Study of the Historical Sources of
the Life, Sanctity, Learning, and Miracles of
the Saint of Padua and Lisbon

BY

VERY REV. RAPHAEL M. HUBER, O.F.M.Conv., S.T.D.

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF CHURCH HISTORY,

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA, WASHINGTON, D. C.

PROFESSOR OF FRANCISCAN HISTORICAL SOURCES,

FRANCISCAN INSTITUTE OF ST. BONAVENTURE'S COLLEGE, ALLEGANY, N. Y.

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Dedicated to the memory
of
my esteemed classmate,
His Excellency,
Most Rev. Thomas H. McLaughlin, D.D.,
Bishop of Paterson
who had promised and planned to write the
Preface
of this book, but was prevented by
Death
March 17, 1947
R.I.P.

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	ix
ABBREVIATIONS	xiii
I. PREREQUISITES OF A DOCTOR OF THE CHURCH	1
II. A SHORT CRITICAL LIFE OF ANTHONY OF PADUA	9
III. ST. ANTHONY: TEACHER, PREACHER, THAUMATURGIST	23
Part 1. St. Anthony, the Teacher and Theologian	23
Section I: Christology and Soterology	24
1. <i>Kingship of Christ</i>	24
2. <i>Sacred Heart of Jesus</i>	26
3. <i>Devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus</i>	27
Section II: Mariology	31
1. <i>Immaculate Conception</i>	31
2. <i>The Assumption</i>	34
3. <i>Coredemptrix</i>	38
4. <i>Mediatrix</i>	39
5. <i>Other Affectionate Names for Mary</i>	39
Section III: Ecclesiology	41
1. <i>The Primacy</i>	41
2. <i>Papal Infallibility</i>	43
Part 2. St. Anthony, the Preacher	45
1. <i>His Natural and Supernatural Qualifications</i>	45
2. <i>Time and Place of the Composition of the Sermons of St. Anthony</i>	46
3. <i>Nature and Style of St. Anthony's Sermons</i>	47

4. <i>The Language of St. Anthony</i>	50
5. <i>The Subject Matter of St. Anthony's Sermons</i>	51
Part 3. St. Anthony, the Thaumaturgist	52
IV. THE SERMONS OF ST. ANTHONY	72
1. <i>The Method Used</i>	72
2. <i>A Manual for Preachers</i>	76
3. <i>Sources</i>	76
4. <i>Augustinianism</i>	78
5. <i>Originality</i>	79
a) <i>Dogmatic Theology</i>	79
b) <i>Moral Theology</i>	80
c) <i>Mystical Theology</i>	80
V. THE AUTHENTIC, SPURIOUS, AND DOUBTFUL WRITINGS OF ST. ANTHONY OF PADUA	85
VI. AUTHENTIC SOURCES OF THE LIFE OF ST. ANTHONY — LEGENDS, ANNALS, PAPAL DOCUMENTS, ETC.	99
VII. LITERARY EVALUATION; HISTORICAL RETROSPECT	155
VIII. BIBLIOGRAPHY	164
APPENDIX (THREE OF ST. ANTHONY'S SERMONS IN THE ORIGINAL)	200
INVOCATION	204
INDEX	205

INTRODUCTION

THE present treatise formed the nucleus of a series of lectures delivered at St. Bonaventure's College, Allegany, New York, during the summer-school session of 1946. During that summer the author also gave several addresses on the eminent sanctity and deep learning of St. Anthony of Padua, two of the main requirements, next to the Church's official confirmation, demanded by Pope Benedict XIV for the designation of a saint of God as Doctor of the Church Universal. These addresses were delivered in the aula of St. Bonaventure's on the night of July 25, 1946; in the auditorium of St. Anthony's High School, Syracuse, New York, on the night of July 27th; and in the school hall of St. Stanislaus Church, Chicopee, Massachusetts, on the occasion of the fortieth sacerdotal jubilee of the Very Rev. Lawrence Cyman, O.F.M.Conv., provincial of St. Anthony's Province, August 7, 1946, in the presence of their excellencies, the Most Rev. Thomas O'Leary, D.D., bishop of Springfield, Massachusetts, and of Most Rev. Lawrence A. Whelan, D.D., auxiliary bishop of Montreal, Canada.

Although there had never been any doubt concerning the eminent sanctity of St. Anthony of Padua, the saint's theology was so little known that his confirmation as a Doctor of the Church by our present gloriously reigning Pope Pius XII on January 16, 1946, doubtless came as a complete surprise to thousands, including the author of this treatise. While at Rensselaer, New York, attending the celebration of the silver jubilees of five of our Conventual Fathers of the Province of the Immaculate Conception, the writer first learned of the signal honor accorded the great saint whose relics repose in the Franciscan-Conventual Basilica at Padua. Then and there the resolution was formed to delve deeper into his theology.

Years ago, while functioning as English confessor at St. Peter's Basilica, Rome, the writer had revised a small illustrated *Life* of

St. Anthony by Carolina Bertini.¹ Among the valuable material found in the library of St. Anthony-on-Hudson are two volumes of the life of St. Anthony in Italian written by his former colleague in Rome, the Very Rev. Domenico Sparacio, O.F.M.Conv.²

At Fonda, New York, good fortune brought about a meeting with the Very Rev. Thomas Grassman, O.F.M.Conv., national director of the Third Order of St. Francis, who had just returned from Rome whither he had made a hurried trip in the interest of distressed European Tertiaries of the Franciscan Order. Father Thomas had brought back with him not only the official program of the celebrations held during the month of May at Rome and at Padua in honor of St. Anthony's new title as Doctor of the Church, but also many booklets and pamphlets recently printed abroad concerning our saint.

By that time the decision was reached to give a course of lectures on the sources, sanctity, learning, miracles, and bibliography of St. Anthony at the Franciscan Institute, St. Bonaventure, New York, an invitation accepted at the request of the president, the Very Rev. Thomas Plassman, O.F.M. At the Friedsam Library at St. Bonaventure's, through the able assistance of Rev. Philotheus Boehner, O.F.M., professor of Franciscan Philosophy; the Rev. Irenaeus Herscher, O.F.M., librarian; and the Rev. Kilian Lynch, O.F.M., secretary of *Franciscan Studies*, the writer was able to use the official *Acta* of the process of the *informatio*, *inquisitio*, and *confirmatio* of St. Anthony as a Doctor of the Church; of the official document of Pope Pius XII, *Exulta Lusitania Felix*, January 16, 1946; and of the theological and mystical studies of St. Anthony, published by the Rev. Diomede Scaramuzzi, O.F.M., in various periodicals and programs, but especially in his *La Figura Intellettuale di San Antonio: I suoi Scritti; La sua Dottrina*,³ and in a similar work, with the original title, only the second part having been changed to read *All Luce della Critica*,⁴ which latter work was incorporated into the above-mentioned official *Acta* of the Sacred Congregation of Rites. These *Acta*, plus the utterances of the popes down the centuries, Scaramuzzi's studies, Sparacio's *Life* of St. Anthony, and (Bishop) Vittorino Facchinetti, O.F.M.,

Antonio di Padova: Santo, Apostolo, Taumaturgo,⁵ formed the basis of the lectures at the college.

Locatelli's edition of St. Anthony's *Sermons* had been loaned by the library before World War II and never returned; fortunately, however, there were sufficient extracts from the same in Scaramuzzi's works, and in the official *Acta* of the Sacred Congregation to cover all the research work the students and the writer of this treatise required for a good understanding, appreciation, and evaluation of St. Anthony's dogmatical, moral, and mystical theology.

Besides all this, we had De la Haye's edition of the works of St. Francis and of St. Anthony which we used with critical discretion,⁶ and the edition of the Marian sermons of St. Anthony by Rev. Antonio M. Josa, O.F.M.Conv.,⁷ based on the *Codex del Tesoro* of the Paduan Basilica. Some of these sermons of St. Anthony are given word for word in the appendix. At Washington, finally, through the good graces of the Very Rev. David Baier, O.F.M., rector of the Holy Name College, it was possible to obtain a copy of Locatelli's edition of the authentic sermons of St. Anthony and thus verify the citations taken from the above-named compilations.

Because the beauty of St. Anthony's thoughts, as expressed in Latin, defies at times adequate English translation, it has been deemed advisable in most cases to quote our saint in his original words, giving in a note or parenthesis a corresponding English translation, lest those less proficient in Latin be deprived of enjoying their full import.

The writer is particularly grateful to his former classmates, the Very Rev. Vincent Mayer, O.F.M.Conv., provincial secretary and treasurer, ex-provincial, for having consented to act as religious censor, and to his Excellency, the late Most Rev. Thomas H. McLaughlin, D.D., bishop of Paterson, New Jersey, for promising to write the Preface for this treatise, a promise he was unable to fulfill due to his sudden death.

The fruit of the author's lectures and of the seminar essays of the students are herewith given to the public. This volume, as

the writer sincerely believes, marks the first effort, next to the publications of the Very Rev. Cuthbert Gumbinger, O.F.M.Cap., in the *Franciscan Herald and Forum* (Jan.–Aug., 1946), made for the purpose of providing a concise, yet co-ordinated study in English on St. Anthony's theology.

To round out the course a critical study of the sources of St. Anthony's life has been added; also an evaluation of the editions of his authentic works; an enquiry into his miracles; and a profuse bibliography of the saint in the various modern languages of the world published up to 1947.

It is the sincere hope of the author that his work may find a welcome in the minds and hearts of the English-speaking devotee of St. Anthony of Padua, the new "Evangelical Doctor" of the Church Universal.

— RAPHAEL M. HUBER, O.F.M.Conv.

St. Bonaventure Convent, Washington, D. C.

Feast of the Transfer of the
Relics of St. Anthony of Padua
February 15, 1947

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

1. Milan: Lanzani Bros., 1930.
2. *S. Antonio di Padova Taumaturgo Franceseano Nella Vita-Nel Pensiero-Nella Gloria*, 2 vols. (Padova: Il Messaggero di Sant' Antonio, 1923).
3. Rome: Collegio San Antonio, 1934.
4. Rome, 1936.
5. Milan, 1925.
6. *S. Francisci Assisiatis — necnon S. Antonii Paduani — Opera Omnia*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1641).
7. Padua, 1888.

ABBREVIATIONS

A. BOOKS AND PERIODICALS, ETC.

- AAS *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* (Rome, 1909 ff.).
- Acta Fr. Min. *Acta Fr. Minorum*, official organ of the Reformed Franciscans.
- AF *Analecta Francescana* (Quaracchi, 1885 f.). To date 10 vols. have been published.
- AFH *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* (Quaracchi, 1909 ff.).
- ALKG *Archiv für Literatur und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, publ. by Frs. Denifle and Ehrle. No longer being published but the issues printed contain articles of permanent value.
- AM *Annales Minorum* of Luke Wadding, O.F.M.
- Analecta Cap. *Analecta Cappucinatorum*, official organ of the Friars Minor Capuchin. Published at Rome.
- Ant. *Antonianum*, published at Rome, Collegio San Antonio.
- ASS *Acta Sanctae Sedis* (Rome, 1872–1908 inclusive).
- BF *Bullarium Franciscanum*, publ. by Frs. Sbaralea and Eubel, O.F.M.Conv., Vols. I–IV (Rome, 1759–1768), Vols. V–VII (Rome, 1898–1904).
- BF (NS) *Bullarium Franciscanum* (Nova Series), begun by Fr. Hüntemann, O.F.M., continued by Fr. Pou y Marti, O.F.M. (Quaracchi, 1929–1932).
- C24G *Chronicle of the 24 Generals*.
- Cath. Encyc. *Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York, 1907–1913); Supplement, ib. 1916.
- CF *Collectanea Francescana*, publ. by the Capuchins, at Assisi and Rome.
- Com. Conv. *Commentarium Fr. Minorum Conventualium*, official organ of the Friars Minor Conventuals, published at Rome (1904 ff.). From 1904–1914 it

	bore the name of <i>Notitiae ex Curia Generalitia</i> .
FEC	<i>Franciscan Educational Conference Report</i> (Washington, D. C.).
MF	<i>Miscellanea Francescana</i> , begun at Assisi, 1886; later publ. at Rome.
O.F.M.	<i>Order Friars Minor</i> — a member of the Reformed Franciscans frequently called a Brown Franciscan.
O.F.M. Cap.	<i>Order Friars Minor Capuchin</i>
O.F.M. Conv.	<i>Order Friars Minor Conventual</i>

B. ORDINARY ABBREVIATIONS

ad ann.	<i>ad annum</i> — in the year of
Anonys.	Anonymous, the name of the author is not signed or unknown.
b.	born
c.	<i>circa</i> ; the exact date being unknown
cf.	confer (not to be confused with the capitals CF (<i>Collectanea Francsc.</i>))
chap.	chapter
d.	died
ed.	edited by
eds.	editors
f. or ff.	following, i.e., pages
<i>ibid.</i>	<i>ibidem</i> , at the same place
<i>id.</i>	<i>idem</i> , the same person or author
<i>infra</i>	cf. below
<i>l.c.</i>	<i>loco citato</i> , at the place given
<i>op. cit.</i>	<i>opus citatum</i> , the work already indicated
p. or pp.	page or pages
publ.	published by
<i>q.v.</i>	<i>quod vide</i> , i.e., look up
<i>supra</i>	above
transl.	translation
vol.	volume

CHAPTER I

PREREQUISITES OF A DOCTOR OF THE CHURCH

QUALIFICATIONS OF ST. ANTHONY OF PADUA FOR THIS HONOR DECLARATION OF POPE PIUS XII TO THIS EFFECT

IN HIS famous book on the beatification of the venerable servants of God and the canonization of the Blessed of God, Pope Benedict XIV (1740–1758) teaches that three things are required to honor a saint of God as a Doctor of the Church: (1) eminent sanctity, (2) profound learning, (3) the official designation by the Church.

How were these essential qualifications fulfilled in St. Anthony of Padua? The answer to this question will also be the answer to the query on the lips of everyone: Why was St. Anthony declared a Doctor of the Church? We shall treat of the three qualifications of a Doctor of the Church in the inverted order: (1) the solemn and official declaration of the Church; (2) the saint's deep learning; and (3) his eminent sanctity.

On January 16, 1946, the feast of the Five Protomartyrs of the Franciscan Order, at the sight of whose relics at Coimbra, Portugal, St. Anthony decided to become a Franciscan, Pope Pius XII, in virtue of the Encyclical Letters: *Exulta, Lusitania felix; O felix Padua gaude*¹ declared him a Doctor of the Church *Universal*. St. Anthony had already been honored with the cult of a Doctor of the Church since his canonization by Pope Gregory IX on May 30, 1232, throughout the entire Franciscan Order; in the diocese of Padua; in Portugal; in Brazil; and prior to the liturgical reform of 1570 by Pope Pius V (1566–1572), throughout the entire Church.

By his official declaration Pope Pius XII lifted the restrictions of his predecessor, Pius V, and St. Anthony thereby became the twenty-ninth saint to be honored as a Doctor of the Church Universal² and the second of the Franciscan Order to be so designated, the other being the Seraphic Doctor, St. Bonaventure of Bagnoreggio (d. 1274). St. Anthony's title is *Doctor Evangelicus*. The Doctors of the Church to date number two popes, eighteen bishops, eight priests, and one deacon (St. Ephrem). As a priest and Doctor St. Anthony takes his place and rank with SS. Jerome, Bede the Venerable, John Damascene, Bernard of Clairvaux, Thomas of Aquin, Peter Canisius, and John of the Cross. Those so honored before St. Bernard's time (d. 1153) are called also Fathers of the Church.

In his encyclical letters, Pope Pius XII shows how the humble friar, Anthony, unknown at the beginning of his apostolate and almost unwelcome, soon became one of the greatest preachers of Europe and one of the most distinguished scholars of the Middle Ages. Anthony was commissioned by St. Francis himself to teach theology; "I command thee to teach theology, but in such a way that the spirit of prayer and piety be not relaxed."

Carissimo meo fratri (episcopo) Antonio, Fr. Franciscus salutem in Domino. Placet mihi quod sacram theologiam legas fratribus, dummodo propter hujusmodi studium sanctae orationis et devotionis studium non extinguatur, sicut in Regula continetur. (Cf. Raphael M. Huber, *A Documented History of the Franciscan Order* [Milwaukee and Washington, 1944], p. 42 and the bibliography there quoted.)

He soon covered himself with honors at Bologna, where eventually arose the first school of theology of the friars, later to develop into the faculty of theology of the University of Bologna. The saint won similar laurels at Toulouse and at Montpellier, in France.

In making his final decision to hearken to the petitions of almost innumerable religious, bishops and cardinals, of universities and other institutions of learning and societies of higher culture, Pope Pius XII was inspired not only by the Decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, June 12, 1945, which after

exhaustive investigation and prolonged deliberations recommended the honor³ but also by the encomiums of his predecessors, Pope Gregory IX, who styled St. Anthony the "Ark of the Testament,"⁴ "full of merits," and "resplendent with miracles";⁵ of Pope Sixtus IV (1471-1484) who in his apostolic letter *Immensa*, dated March 12, 1472, calls him a "most brilliant star which rose on high to illuminate the world";⁶ and of Sixtus V who in his bull *Immensa*, extending the feast of St. Anthony to the Church Universal, dated January 14, 1586, says that he was a "man of exceptional sanctity and endowed with divine wisdom."⁷ Similarly spoke Leo XIII, who asserted "This saint of the whole world shone like a star in the House of God to disperse the darkness of errors; whereas by his eloquence he revealed the sense of the Scriptures, solved controversies, and clarified doubts and obscurities," qualities and endowments (*Doti*) already required by Pope Boniface VIII (1293-1303) for a Doctor of the Church and later adopted by Pope Benedict XIV in his above-quoted classical work as a definite norm.⁸

Pope Pius XI in his apostolic letters, *Antoniana Solemnia*, addressed on March 11, 1931, on the occasion of the seventh centenary of the death of St. Anthony, to the bishop of Padua, Elia della Costa, now cardinal archbishop of Florence⁹ wrote these beautiful lines: "St. Anthony by means of his eloquence caused in his day the purity of the Gospel to revive; he combated heretics and recalled the erring to the bosom of Mother Church." Not less solemn was the eulogy paid our saint by the same pope when on December 20, 1931, on the occasion of the inauguration of the Pontifical Academy of Sciences, he said: "St. Anthony besides being the saint of the miraculous, i.e., of the truly impossible, has also been a true illustration of the sciences, as his copious manuscripts demonstrate. From Lisbon to Padua his life was one of consummate sanctity and marvelous learning."¹⁰

St. Anthony thus possessed, in the opinion of these great popes, Gregory IX, Sixtus IV, Sixtus V, Leo XIII, and Pius XI, the qualities of sanctity and wisdom which Benedict XIV, follow-

ing in the wake of that other great canonist, Boniface VIII, required for a saint of God in order to qualify as a Doctor of the Church.

Pius XII, in the above-quoted letter of January 16, 1946, refers a second time to Pope Gregory IX, who on May 30, 1232, when canonizing St. Anthony, less than a year after his death, spontaneously invoked him in the antiphon proper to the solemnly proclaimed Doctors of the Church: "*O Doctor Optime, Ecclesiae sanctae lumen, divinae legis amator, deprecare pro nobis Filium Dei.*"¹¹

In consequence of this high esteem paid St. Anthony from the very beginning of his public veneration as a saint which began unofficially after the moment of his death when the little children began to shout: "The holy father has died. St. Anthony is dead," he was accorded in the Order the formula of the Mass proper to the officially proclaimed Doctors of the Church.¹² Nor was this honor revoked when the saintly Pope Pius V (1566–1572), in 1570, made a new revision¹³ of liturgical books and their uses.¹⁴

All Franciscan communities used the formulas for both the Divine Office and the Missal proper to Doctors of the Church up to the year 1242. In that year they adopted the rhythmic Office of Julian of Spires. In 1742, the Friars Minor Conventual, the Friars Minor Capuchin, and the priests of the diocese of Padua began using the formula for the Divine Office and the Mass approved by Pope Benedict XIV, in virtue of the decree *Praecipuum*, February 16, 1742.¹⁵

Neither does Pope Pius XII pass over lightly the immemorial tradition of depicting St. Anthony with an open book in one hand, or near by, as a token of his wisdom and learning, while in the other hand he raises a torch to indicate the ardor of his faith — a truthful representation of the Franciscan adage: *in sanctitate et doctrina*. At times Anthony is also shown with the Infant Jesus standing on a book, thereby commemorating the generally accepted apparition of the Christ Child — the divine source of all knowledge — to the saint.¹⁶

Hardly had St. Anthony been crowned with this new aureole

of the doctorate when the Church Universal began to institute special celebrations in his honor. At Padua, in the basilica dedicated to his honor, as also in the Eternal City, in the basilicas and churches in charge of the Franciscan Fathers of all three families and of the Third Order Regular, ecclesiastical celebrations (tridua, etc.) were held.¹⁷ In the City of Rome, likewise, from April 28, 1946 to May 5, and at Padua from May 12 to 19, learned discourses on the various phases of St. Anthony's missionary and educational activities, on his sermons and doctrines, on his devotions and ascetical life, were held by some of the eloquent preachers and learned scholars of Italy, including members of the diocesan clergy and religious orders.¹⁸

In November, 1946, while the bishops of the United States held their annual meeting at the Catholic University in Washington, the Church in America had an opportunity to give expression to her esteem for the new Doctor of the Church by a solemn pontifical High Mass celebrated on Armistice Day, November 11, in the Crypt, by His Excellency, Most Rev. Amleto Cicognani, D.D., apostolic delegate to the United States. The sermon of the occasion was preached by His Excellency, the Most Rev. Richard J. Cushing, D.D., archbishop of Boston. In the evening three addresses were delivered in the university gymnasium by the well-known preachers and scholars, the Rev. Gerald Walsh, S.J.; the Very Rev. Ignatius Smith, O.P.; and the Very Rev. Thomas Plassman, O.F.M.¹⁹

On April 17, 1946, the Sacred Congregation of Rites, at the request of the procurator-general of the Order Friars Minor, issued an instruction in the form of a rescript regarding tridua and octaves pertaining to St. Anthony. The instruction in turn was extended to similar functions in honor of any mystery of our Lord, of the Blessed Virgin Mary, or of any saint or blessed.²⁰

Only in South America, where St. Anthony, due to his Portuguese origin, is called "St. Anthony of Lisbon," was the new honor accorded our saint (it is said) somewhat frowned upon. The common people were afraid that the pope, in declaring St. Anthony a Doctor of the Church, had removed their cherished

San Antonio from their altars, to place him on a pedestal in the classroom; in other words, they thought that St. Anthony belonged to the people, and they did not intend to allow the scholars to take him from them.

In Brazil, St. Anthony is frequently seen garbed as an officer of the army, and the Franciscans of Brazil collected, for years, the salary corresponding to his rank. The same is true of Portugal, where, under King Don Pedro (d. 1706), St. Anthony was enlisted January 24, 1688, as a "private soldier in this regiment of Lagos," and on September 12, 1693, due "to good services and the miracles performed for the benefit of our troops" the saint was promoted to the rank of captain.²¹

In Coimbra, St. Anthony is garbed as an Augustinian canon, and in the parish church at Lisbon where he was accustomed to serve Mass, he is clothed as an altar boy.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. *Litterae Encyclicae quibus S. Antonius Patavinus Doctor Ecclesiae Universalis Renunciatur*. Pius PP. XII. Ad Perpetuam rei memoriam. (Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1946). Publ. in the *Acta Apost. Sedis* (AAS.), Anno et vol. XXXVIII (June 1, 1946), p. 200. For an English transl. of the decree cf. *Franciscan Herald and Forum*, Vol. XXV (June, 1946), No. 6, p. 163. Cf. also Revmi. Valentini Schaaf, Min. Gen. O.F.M., *De S. Antonio Patavino Ecclesiae Doctore Litterae Encyclicae datae die 15 Feb., 1946* (Romae: Apud Collegium S. Antonii, 1946 and *Acta Ordinis Fr. Min. (Acta Min.)*, Anno LXV. Fasc. I (Jan.-Feb., 1946), pp. 16-34; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 39-40; Most Rev. Bede Hess, Min. Gen. O.F.M.Conv., *Litterae Circulares*, Apr. 7, 1946, publ. in *S. Antonio di Padova, Doctore Evangelico* (Padova, 1946), pp. 23-34; and Most Rev. Donatus a Welle, Min. Gen. O.F.M.Cap., *Litterae Circulares*, Feb. 15, 1946, in *Analecta Ord. Fr. Min. Cappuciniun*, Vol. LXII (Jan. 15-Mar. 15, 1946), pp. 3-4.

2. Cf. Rev. Father Paul, O.F.M.Cap., *The Doctors of the Church* (London: Burns, Oates & Washburne, 1931), p. 181 ff.

3. *Sacra Rituum Congregatione* (sic), *Confirmationis Cultus Doctoris S. Antonii Patavini per saecula tributa ejusdemque extensionis ad Universam Ecclesiam Nova Positio*. (Typis Polygl. Vat., 1945); *Sacra Rituum Congregatione* (sic), *Urbis et Orbis, Declarationis seu Confirmationis Cultus ac Tituli Doctoris et Extensionis ad Universam Ecclesiam cum Officio et Missa De Communi Doctorum in Honorem Sancti Antonii Patavini ex Ordine Fratrum Minorum* (Romae: Ex Typographia Augustiniana, 1936).

4. Cf. *Il Santo* (Italian periodical publ. at the Basilica of St. Anthony at Padua between 1928-1932), Vol. II, p. 20; III, p. 229; IV, p. 12.

5. "De quorum numero (qui fidem catholicam tam corde quam ore nec non et opere roborarunt) sanctae memoriae beatus Antonius de Ordine Fratrum Minorum, qui olim degens in hoc saeculo magnis pollebat meritis nunc vivens in coelo coruscat miraculis ut ejus sanctitas certis indiciis comprobatur." Bull *Cum Dicat Dominus*, June 3, 1232 in *Bullar. Rom.*, Tom. II (Augustae Taurinorum, 1858), p. 464.

6. "Beatus Antonius de Padua, veluti oriens ex alto, splendidissimum sidus effulsit, qui suis amplissimis meritorum virtutumque praerogativis praedicationibus orthodoxam fidem nostram catholicamque ecclesiam illustravit, ornavit, stabilivit." M. Gonzati, O.F.M.Conv., *La Basilica di San Antonio di Padova descritta ed illustrata*, Vol. I, Doc. XLVII, pp. 52-54 (Padova: Bianchi, 1852).

7. "Quapropter Nos considerantes quod inter multos sanctitate et doctrina praeclaros viros, qui sancti Francisci vestigia secuti fuerunt, Beatus Antonius Ulyssiponensis, Patavini nuncupatus eximiae sanctitatis vir fuit . . . divina praeterea imbutus sapientia multisque variis provinciis peragratis maximam hominum ab eo qui lux, via, veritas, et vita est aberrantium, copiam praeclaris christianarum virtutum exemplis illustravit, ac verbo Dei, quod velut imber de coelo descendens terramque inebrians facit eam germinare, pia facundaque praedicatione mentes hominum salubribus praeceptis foecundavit multosque ad ecclesiae doctrinae lucem et verbis et consequentibus signis perduxit, etc. *Bullar. Rom.*, *op. cit.*, Tom. VIII, p. 654.

8. *De Servorum Dei Beatificatione et Canonizatione*, Tom. IV, p. 513. The words of Pope Boniface VIII read thus: "Quod videlicet per eam (scil. doctrinam) errorum tenebrae fuerint profugatae, obscura fuerint dilucidata, dubia declarata, Scripturarum aenigmata reservata."

9. *AAS XXII* (1931), pp. 71-80. Cf. *Il Santo*, III, 29; *S. Cong. Rit., Urbis et Orbis — Informatio* (Romae, 1936), p. 91 ff.

10. Cf. *L'Osservatore Romano*, Dec. 21, 1931; and *S. Cong. Rit., Urbis et Orbis — Informatio*, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

11. "O best of Doctors, light of Holy Mother Church, Blessed Anthony, lover of the divine law, implore in our behalf the Son of God."

12. Cf. Dom. Sparacio, O.F.M.Conv., *Vita di San Antonio di Padova*, 2 vols. (Padova: Messaggero, 1923), Vol. I, p. 77. The only other saint I recall being given a similar privilege is St. Dominic, founder of the Order of Preachers, feast August 4.

13. Cf. *Urbis et Orbis — Informatio*, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

14. The official Acts of the process of the S. Congregation of Rites for the declaration of St. Anthony as a Doctor of the Church lists 65 Missals, printed during the thirteenth century and down to 1535, to show that for the feast of St. Anthony the formula of the Mass reserved only for Doctors of the Church was used on June 13. Cf. *Urbis et Orbis — Informatio*, *op. cit.*, p. 47; cf. also Scaramuzzi, *La Figura Intellettuale di San Antonio di Padova, alla luce della critica*, pp. 80-102 as included in the cited *Urbis et Orbis — Informatio* edition of the S. Cong. of Rites.

15. Cf. Scaramuzzi, *La Figura Intell.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 80 and 84.

16. Cf. *Urbis et Orbis—Informatio, op. cit.*, pp. 53–54; *Il Santo II*, 851; *San Antonio di Padova Dottore Evangelico* (Padua, 1946), p. 51 ff. From among the many works dedicated to St. Anthony in art (cf. CF, III [1933], 309–320 and *ibid.*, VII [1937], pp. 126–160), I quote only the classical Beda Kleinschmidt, O.F.M., “De S. Antonio ab artificibus qua docto representato” in *Antonianum* (Ant.), Vol. VI (1931), pp. 253–262; *Id.*, “Els simbols de Sant Antoni en l’Art” in *Estudios Franciscanos*, Vol. XLIV (1932), pp. 191–197. (Cf. CF, III [1933], p. 309); L. Fausti, “L’Iconografia di San Antonio di Padova” in MF, XXXII (1932), pp. 189–200 (cf. CF, III [1933], 312 and *ibid.*, VIII, 1938), 130, Nos. 228 and 132 (6); and Aug. de Castro, “Saint Antoine dans l’art” (French transl. from the original Portuguese by Jean Durian) in *Vie Intell.*, 1933, pp. 106–127; cf. CF, VII (1937), 143 (No. 60).

17. Cf. e.g., *Acta O.F.M.*, Anno LXV, Fasc. III (May–June, 1946), p. 109.

18. Cf. *Ciclo di Conferenze in Onore di San Antonio, Dottore Della Chiesa*: Roma: 28 Aprile–5 Maggio; Padova: 12–19 Maggio. All of the lectures were later published in a work entitled *S. Antonio, Dottore della Chiesa* (Città del Vaticano, 1947).

19. The sermon and the addresses were published privately in 1947. The address of Very Rev. Dr. Smith appeared in two installments in the *Baltimore Catholic Review*, Nov. 22, and Dec. 6, 1946.

20. Cf. *Acta O.F.M.* (Quaracchi, 1947), Anno. LXV, Fasc. III (May–June, 1946), pp. 106–107.

21. Cf. AFH, XXV, 559–561.

CHAPTER II

A SHORT CRITICAL LIFE OF ANTHONY OF PADUA

N.B. For the many *lives* of St. Anthony of Padua and the literature pertaining thereto, cf. the Bibliography in Chapter VIII. The summary of the *life* of St. Anthony given here is based on the *Legenda Prima*; on Facchinetti's *San Antonio di Padua* (Milan, 1925); on Del Gal's account in the Catholic Encyclopedia (New York: Appleton, 1936), Vol. I, p. 583 ff.; and on other highly accepted works.

ST. ANTHONY OF PADUA, "one of the most illustrious glories and most popular saint of the Franciscan Order"¹ was born at Lisbon,² allegedly on the feast of the Assumption of our Lady, August 15, 1195.³ In baptism he received the name of Ferdinand.⁴ His genealogy is rather uncertain,⁵ and little is known of his early youth,⁶ although later writers of the fifteenth century, e.g., Mark of Lisbon,⁷ Azevedo,⁸ Pacheco,⁹ Cardoso,¹⁰ etc., assert that his father was Martin de Boullion, descendant of the renowned Godfrey de Boullion, commander of the First Crusade, and his mother, Theresa Travejra, descendant of Froila I, fourth king of Asturia.¹¹ All that we know for certain is that his parents, if they were nobles, were powerful and God-fearing.¹²

After he had completed the course at the Cathedral School of St. Mary,¹³ Ferdinand at the age of fifteen joined the Canons Regular of St. Augustine, in the convent of St. Vincent outside the city walls (September, 1210).¹⁴ Two years later (1212), to detach himself still more from his relatives, he betook himself, with the permission of his superiors, to Coimbra¹⁵ where he remained for eight years occupying his time mainly with study and prayer.

Since St. Anthony was 25 years old when he joined the Franciscans, there is every reason to believe that he had been ordained a priest *c.* 1218 while he was still an Augustinian.¹⁶

In 1220, seeing the bodies of the first five Protomartyrs of the Franciscan Order (SS. Berard, Peter, Otho, Adjutus, and Accursius) being transferred from Morocco, where on January 16, 1220, they had suffered death for the Faith, Ferdinand inflamed with the same desire for martyrdom resolved to become a Friar Minor that he, too, might the more easily be able to preach the Gospel to the Saracens and, if God so willed, suffer death for Christ's sake.¹⁷ That same year (1220) he received the Franciscan habit from the Franciscans of the Convent of Holy Cross at Olivares (near Coimbra) who were accustomed to beg alms from the canons.¹⁸ On this occasion he took the name of Anthony,¹⁹ which name was later assumed by the convent at Olivares itself.²⁰ When one of the canons said to him at his departure: "Go, go; perhaps you will become a saint," Anthony humbly answered: "When you hear that I have become a saint, I feel certain that you will praise God."²¹

A short time thereafter (December, 1220), hoping to fulfill his heart's desire, Anthony went to Morocco;²² stricken however with a severe illness which affected him the entire winter, he was compelled the following spring (April or May, 1221) to set sail for Portugal. His ship was overtaken by a violent storm which drove it to the coast of Sicily. Here Anthony remained until he had regained his health.

Having been informed by the Friars of Messina that a general chapter of the Order was to be held at Assisi, May 30, 1221, he journeyed there, accompanied by Friar Philip, arriving in time to take part in the famous Chapter of the Mats.²³

During the Chapter and immediately thereafter Anthony remained entirely unnoticed. "He said not a word of his studies" writes his earliest biographer, "nor of the services he had performed; his only desire was to follow Jesus Christ and Him Crucified." At Brother Philip's request Friar Graziano, provincial of Bologna, accepted him and sent him to the hermitage of

Montepaolo (near Arezzo) where he led a solitary and penitential life, reading Mass for the lay brothers (1221–1222).²⁴

During his sojourn at Montepaolo, Anthony, due to the absence of the regularly appointed preacher, was requested to deliver an address on the occasion of the ordination of some Dominicans and Franciscans at Forli, 1222, by a certain Bishop Albert, the nineteenth in the series of bishops of that city.²⁵ Compelled by obedience to preach the sermon, which others, alleging lack of preparation, had declined, Anthony delivered an oration which astounded his hearers.

As he began explaining the Sacred Scriptures he demonstrated such deep knowledge and profound erudition that all were struck with amazement.²⁶ Could this be the same lowly friar whom all considered capable only of reading the Missal and of reciting the Breviary? Thereafter Anthony began his missionary apostolate in the Romagna (1222) where the miraculous sermon to the fishes and the adoration of the Blessed Eucharist by the beast of burden are said to have taken place.²⁷

When St. Francis was informed of the astounding sermon at Forli, he wrote to Friar Anthony, commanding him henceforth to teach the friars theology, but in such a manner that the spirit of prayer and piety, as contained in the Rule, be not relaxed (1223).

Antonio, fratri (episcopo) meo Frater Franciscus, salutem. Placet mihi quod theologiam legas fratribus, dummodo inter hujusmodi studium sanctae orationis devotionis spiritum non extinguas, sicut in Regula continetur.²⁸

Due to the various readings of the original,²⁹ which might easily be explained by the diversity of manuscripts from which it was copied, the Quaracchi editors have excluded this letter from the authentic writings of St. Francis.³⁰ It is given for the first time in the *Liber Miraculorum*, No. 20.³¹ Sabatier was among the first to call it into doubt,³² but later seemed less inclined to reject it.³³ Prof. Goetz,³⁴ who places its composition between 1222–1225, has decided for its authenticity; whereas Boehmer³⁵ places it among

the dubious works of St. Francis. Similarly Gratien of Paris, O.F.M.Cap.,³⁶ and Martin of Barcelona, O.F.M.Cap.³⁷ However, although the Quaracchi editors exclude its publication from among the authentic letters of St. Anthony they do not deny that St. Francis did write to "Brother Anthony"; but since this letter, to their knowledge, existed in three different forms and readings, they could not decide which one to accept and for that reason omitted it entirely.³⁸

Before undertaking his teaching mission — irrespective of the authenticity of the letter in question — but certainly in accordance with the wishes of his seraphic father, Anthony repaired for some time to Vercelli (1222–1223, or 1224–1225),³⁹ where he exchanged viewpoints on mystical theology with his friend, the famous abbot, Thomas Gallo of that city.⁴⁰ It was Abbot Gallo who had translated the Greek works of Denis, the Areopagite, and edited a commentary thereof much esteemed by his contemporaries.

Anthony so impressed the abbot that the latter was able to assert of him that, "aided by divine grace, he drew most abundantly from the mystical theology of the Sacred Scriptures."⁴¹ Thereafter St. Anthony taught successively at Bologna, Toulouse, and Montpellier.⁴² At Bologna, where he was called a *Pater Scientiae* and a *Doctor Veritatis*, he inaugurated a school of theology (1223)⁴³ for the friars. Eventually this developed into the school of theology of the university of that city.⁴⁴ At Toulouse and Montpellier, he taught only in the convent school of the Order, not in the universities of these cities: Bologna had no public faculty of theology before 1360; Montpellier only after 1240; and Toulouse only in 1229. Although founded in 1217, the university of this last-mentioned city was not able to function, for political reasons, until the year mentioned.⁴⁵ Due to the great love of God which influenced him, Anthony's lectures fairly scintillated with heavenly wisdom.⁴⁶

Anthony apparently was not able to devote too much of his time to teaching, for already, in 1224, he was invited to Languedoc to combat the heresy of the Albigensians.⁴⁷ It was at the

Chapter celebrated this year at Arles (1224), while St. Anthony was preaching on the sign of the cross, that St. Francis appeared to the assembled friars as witnessed by Friar Monaldo, and as attested to by both Celano and St. Bonaventure.⁴⁸

In 1225, we find Anthony at Toulouse. In September (?), of that same year he was elected guardian of the convent at Puy-en-Velay (De Podio), his first superiorship.⁴⁹ How well he, who had always been an ideal subject, functioned as an ideal superior can be seen from the eulogy given him in one of the early legends.⁵⁰

After the death of St. Francis, October 3, 1226, Anthony returned to Italy (1227), where he was elected provincial of the Province of the Romagna-Emilia.⁵¹ To the year, 1227, is usually ascribed the sermon in Rome before Pope Gregory IX, the cardinals *in Curia*, and an innumerable multitude of men of all nations, all of whom miraculously heard him, as once did the multitudes the Apostles addressed on the first Pentecost Sunday, preaching in their own tongues.⁵²

During the year 1228, St. Anthony evangelized the Venetian province and preached the Advent sermons at Florence. His center of activity seems to have been at Ferrara. The following year (1229) he preached the Lenten course at Florence. Toward the end of 1229, he took up his last permanent residence at Padua, at the convent which he himself had founded in 1227.⁵³ At the General Chapter, May 30, 1230, he resigned his office of the provinciate;⁵⁴ but in June of the same year he was sent as a member of a special commission to Rome to confer with Pope Gregory IX concerning the interpretation of certain matters pertaining to the Rule.⁵⁵ During the winter of 1230–1231 he worked on a revision of his sermons.⁵⁶ In 1231, he preached his last course of Lenten sermons.⁵⁷ His success was enormous. The dissidents became reconciled; the imprisoned were freed; usurers and robbers made restitutions; profligate women became converted; and brokers threw the pledges of their loans at his feet.⁵⁸

At times his audience numbered as high as 30,000. He was frequently obliged to speak in the open air, since no churches were sufficiently large to accommodate his hearers.⁵⁹ At Camposanpiero

(May, 1231), his last field of activity, St. Anthony, seated on a bench perched between the forks of an oak tree,⁶⁰ and protected by a gabled covering, much like that of a wayside shrine, preached to the public.⁶¹ A field of wheat near by was trampled underfoot by the unmindful listeners, and the crop was ruined. The owner complained bitterly to the saint for the loss of his harvest. The next day the grain stood again erect as though nothing had happened.⁶² While at Camposanpiero Anthony was accompanied by his faithful friends, Blessed Luke Belludi⁶³ and Friar Roger.⁶⁴

The incident just narrated demonstrates that St. Anthony always had a sympathetic and kind heart for the poor, the oppressed, and the afflicted — all of which occasioned, under God, so many of his miracles⁶⁵ and charitable activities. As a result of his exertions the municipality of Padua, on March 15, 1231, passed a law in favor of debtors who could not pay their creditors. A copy of this law is still preserved in the museum of Padua and forms an interesting record for the history of bankruptcy.⁶⁶ In 1231, while war was being waged in Lombardy, Anthony is said to have gone to Verona to solicit from the ferocious Ezzelino da Romano⁶⁷ the liberation of certain Guelph prisoners.⁶⁸ Although, according to Rolandino, his mission was a failure,⁶⁹ the danger to which he exposed himself demonstrates again his love and sympathy for the common people. Later, as a saint in heaven, he was to achieve for his afflicted people, due to the intercession of his friend in life, Bl. Luke Belludi, that which he was unable to accomplish while on earth.⁷⁰

At the end of Lent, 1231, Anthony, as mentioned above, retired to Camposanpiero⁷¹ near Padua where, after a short time, he was overtaken by a severe illness.

“Two weeks before his death,” says John Peckham, “standing on the summit of a hill which overlooks Padua, all on fire with heavenly ardor, he blessed Padua as the dying Francis had once blessed his beloved Assisi, saying: “Blessed be thou, O Padua! Beautiful is thy site, rich thy fields, but Heaven is about to crown thee with a glory still richer and more beautiful.”⁷²

Feeling his end drawing near Anthony desired to be brought

back to Padua, to the convent of *Santa Maria Mater Domini*⁷³ where some friars, who had charge of the Poor Clares, lived.⁷⁴ Arriving at Arcella, and unable to proceed further due to the gravity of his illness, after having confessed and received Extreme Unction,⁷⁵ Anthony began to chant the touching hymn to the Blessed Virgin Mary "*O Gloriosa Domina, Excelsa super sidera.*"⁷⁶ Shortly thereafter, strengthened by a heavenly vision, during which he exclaimed: "I see the Lord!"⁷⁷ he died on Tuesday, June 13, 1231, at the age of 36.

Despite the desire and the attempt of the friars to keep his death secret, the children of Padua, running through the streets of the city, proclaimed everywhere: "The holy father has died: St. Anthony is dead."⁷⁸

On June 17 the precious remains, despite the attempts of the Poor Clares to keep them at Arcella⁷⁹ and the contentions of the citizens of Capodiponte that St. Anthony belonged to them,⁸⁰ were transferred to Padua. "So great was the public and universal opinion of St. Anthony's sanctity, confirmed by numberless miracles, that the Supreme Pontiff immediately after his (Anthony's) death, established a commission at Padua, to start the process of canonization," say the official *Acta* in which he was declared a Doctor of the Church.⁸¹

On Pentecost Sunday, May 30, 1232, less than a year after his death, due to the many miracles performed at his tomb,⁸² Pope Gregory IX in the Cathedral of Spoleto, pronounced the solemn decree of St. Anthony's canonization.⁸³ In the bull of canonization the pope makes use of most elaborate expressions to reveal his high regard for the saint of Padua, who soon was to become, in the language of that other great admirer of St. Anthony, Pope Leo XIII, the "Saint of the whole world."⁸⁴ In 1263, on Low Sunday, the relics of the saint were transferred to the newly erected magnificent temple which the people and the city of Padua, after twenty years of strenuous labor, had erected to their beloved saint. (Its consecration took place in 1260.)⁸⁵

On this occasion of the exhumation of the remains of Anthony, St. Bonaventure, then general of the Order (1257-1274), found

that, whereas the rest of the body had disintegrated into dust, the tongue was still lifelike and ruddy.⁸⁶ Taking it into his hands the Seraphic Doctor pronounced over it these memorable words: "O Blessed Tongue, that always praised the Lord and made others bless Him, now it is evident what great merits thou hast before God."⁸⁷ This miraculously preserved tongue of St. Anthony is kept in the Basilica of St. Anthony of Padua in a precious reliquary donated, in 1745, by Cardinal Rezzonico, then bishop of Padua, later Pope Clement XIII. In 1315, the relics of the saint were definitely placed in the new chapel of the basilica at Padua dedicated to his honor.⁸⁸

This is substantially the simple unadorned life of St. Anthony of Padua, as the best critics have reconstructed it from the primitive or original sources. However, in the following chapter, the record of the saint's activities as preacher, his productions as writer, and his miracles as a thaumaturgist will contribute to a more complete realization of the saint's life and a much deeper appreciation of his merits before God and man.

That St. Anthony, besides all these achievements practiced in heroic degree the theological and cardinal virtues, as also all those other virtues which make for personal sanctity, is evident from the *Legenda Prima* written immediately after the saint's canonization. This account accentuates in a particular manner St. Anthony's spirit of deep contemplation and continued union with God;⁸⁹ his simple humility, so complete that some of the friars thought that he knew more about washing dishes than expounding the Sacred Scriptures;⁹⁰ his perpetual fasting and spirit of self-denial;⁹¹ his active love for the poor;⁹² his burning apostolic zeal, etc.⁹³ The manner in which he practiced all the other virtues of a true religious: poverty, chastity, obedience, desire for martyrdom, etc., will be described in Chapter VI, No. 7, when we shall treat of St. Bonaventure's sermons on St. Anthony.

Thus, besides the official declaration of the Church, St. Anthony without a shadow of doubt possessed the second qualification required by Pope Benedict XIV in a Doctor of the Church, viz., eminent sanctity. We shall now proceed to prove

St. Anthony's deep knowledge of matters theological, spiritual, and mystical.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. "Une de glories les plus éclatantes et le plus populaires de l'ordre seraphique," C. Toussaint, in *Dict. de la Théol. Cath.*, Tom. I, col. 1145-1146. For a few of the many, many works on the saint's popularity, cult, and devotion to him, cf. CF, III (1933), 298-308.

2. Cf. CF, VIII (1938), 130 (No. 225), and *ibid.*, p. 131 (No. 6). On March 25, 1936, Pope Pius XI declared the Blessed Virgin Mary, under the title of her Immaculate Conception, St. Anthony of Padua, and St. Francis Borgia, S.J., to be the patrons (*aeque principales*) of Portugal. Cf. AAS, XXVIII (1936), pp. 397-398.

3. De Kerval thinks this date a gratuitous conjecture by later biographers without any historical or documentary foundation, based on merely mystical reasons, perhaps — if I dare venture a personal opinion — on the saint's later great devotion to our Lady's Assumption. Some biographers, in fact, like Angelico of Vicenza place the time of St. Anthony's birth in January. Cf. *Sancti Antonii de Padua Vitae Duae Quarum Altera hucusque Inedita, Edidit Notis et Commentariis illustravit Léon de Kerval* (Paris: Fishbacher, 1904), p. 26, Note I (Quoted in the future as De Kerval).

4. *Legenda Prima*, Chap. 2, No. 5, De Kerval, p. 26.

5. Cf. A. Callebaut, O.F.M., in AFH, XXIV (1931), pp. 454-455.

6. *Legenda Prima*, De Kerval, p. 29, Note 1.

7. *Chronica*, Lib. IV.

8. *Vita di San Antonio* (Bologna, 1790).

9. *Épitome de la Vida de S. Antonio* (Madrid, 1647).

10. *Agiologico Lusitano*, Tom. III (Lisbon, 1666). Cf. De Kerval, p. 25, Note 1.

11. De Kerval, pp. 197-198.

12. Cf. Abbé Lepitre, *S. Antoine de Padoue*, Chap. 1 (Paris: Lecoffre, 1901). De Kerval, p. 26, Note.

13. *Legenda Prima*, Chap. II, No. 6, De Kerval, p. 26.

14. This monastery, founded, in 1147, by Alphonse I, was a filial of the Monastery of Holy Cross, Coimbra, whence the first canons came. De Kerval, p. 27, Note 1.

15. The Augustinian Monastery of the Holy Cross at Coimbra, founded, in 1132, by the Archdeacon Tello, had for its first prior, St. Theotonio. Cf. De Kerval, p. 28, Note 1.

16. Cf. De Kerval, p. 38, Note 1; CF, III (1933), 257(9).

17. Cf. CF, III, 569-594 (Quaracchi, 1897); *Il Santo*, II, pp. 16, 18; *Legenda Prima*, Chap. V, No. 1 (De Kerval, p. 29, Note 2. Extensive literature *ibid.*); *Legenda Prima*, Chap. VI, Nos. 1-2 (De Kerval, p. 33); Chap. XVII, No. 17 (De Kerval, p. 57).

18. *Legenda Prima*, Chap. V, Nos. 3-4 (De Kerval, p. 30).
19. For the derivation of this name, cf. MF, XLII, 123; *Legenda Prima*; V, Nos. 1-13 (De Kerval, pp. 29-31); *ibid.*, V, No. 14 (De Kerval, p. 32).
20. *Legenda Prima*, Chap. V, Nos. 13-14 (De Kerval, pp. 31-32).
21. *Ibid.*, No. 10 (De Kerval, p. 31).
22. *Ibid.*, Chap. VI, No. 2 (De Kerval, p. 33). Cf. Gustavo Cantini, O.F.M., "La vocazione missionaria di San Antonio" in MF, X (1932), 205-208; CF, VI (1936), p. 501 (13).
23. Cf. Raphael Huber, *Documented History of the Franciscan Order* (Milwaukee-Washington, 1944), pp. 33-35; De Kerval, p. 34, Note 1.
24. *Legenda Prima*, Chap. VII, Nos. 1-11 (De Kerval, pp. 34-37).
25. Cf. *ibid.*, Chap. VIII (De Kerval, p. 38, Note 2); *Il Santo*, I, pp. 18, 162; II, p. 19; III, pp. 213, 214, 216. Some authors are of the opinion that St. Anthony, too, was ordained priest on this occasion, but this seems to others highly improbable, since if that were the case he would hardly have been invited to preach.
26. "Stupenda fratres admiratione percussi intentis auribus perorantem virum unanimiter intendebant. Dabat quippe stuporis augmentum inspirata dictorum profunditas," *Legenda Prima*, Chap. VIII, Nos. 7-8 (De Kerval, p. 40).
27. Although there is no mention of the miracle of fishes coming up from the sea to listen to St. Anthony's sermon after the heretics had refused him a hearing, there is related in the *Legenda Prima* the conversion of a certain heretic by the name of Bonillus (Bonvillo) who had been away from the Church for thirty years—a moral if not a physical miracle. *Legenda Prima*, Chap. IX, No. 6 (De Kerval, pp. 41-42).
28. Glassberger in AF, II, 34-35; *ibid.*, III, 132; *Il Santo*, III, 222; Felder, *Histoire des Études dans L'Ordre di Saint François* (Paris, 1908), p. 144 ff.; Huber, *Doc. Hist. of the Franc. Order, op. cit.*, p. 843.
29. Cf. Sparacio, Domenico, O.F.M.Conv., *San Antonio di Padova* (Padova: Messaggero, 1923), Vol. I, pp. 67-68.
30. Cf. Robinson, Pascal, *The Writings of St. Francis* (Philadelphia: The Dolphin Press, 1906), p. 93; Scaramuzzi, Diomede, O.F.M., *La Figura Intellettuale di San Antonio di Padova, op. cit.*, p. 13, Note 1; Felder, *op. cit.*, p. 144.
31. Cf. *Acta S.S.* No. 20; De Kerval, *op. cit.*, p. 259; C24G in AF, III, 132.
32. *Vie de St. François*, Chap. XVI; English transl. (London, 1925), p. 280.
33. *Opuscules*, fasc. X, p. 128, Note 1.
34. *Die Quellen zur Geschichte des hl. Franz von Assisi* (Gotha, 1904), pp. 19-20.
35. *Analekten zur Geschichte des Franziskus von Assisi* (Tübingen und Leipzig, 1904), p. 71.
36. Cf. *Les Opuscules de S. François d'Assise* (Paris, 1925), pp. 165-166.
37. *Estudio critico de las fuentes historicas de san Francisco y sancta Clara* (Barcelona, 1921), p. 37. Cf. CF, VII (1937), 257.

38. Cf. Robinson, Pascal, *op. cit.*, pp. 180-181.

39. Cf. CF, VIII (1938), 86, 88.

40. Some assert that St. Anthony attended the lectures of Thomas of Vercelli. Others deny this, saying that there is neither time nor place in the biography of St. Anthony for such a course of lectures. For that reason they prefer to say that St. Anthony merely visited his friend for a while and exchanged viewpoints with him.

Concerning Abbot Thomas Gallo, cf. Théry, Gabriel, O.P., "Thomas Gallo et Egide d'Assise" in *Revue néo-scholastique de Philosophie*, XXXVI (1934), 180-190, printed also separately (Cf. MF, XXXVII [1937], p. 288); *id.* in *Archives d'histoire doctr. et litt. du moyen-âge*, Vol. X-XI (1935-36), pp. 163-264; cf. Heerinckx, in *Studi Franc.*, III (1933), 39-60; (Cf. VIII [1938], 119); *id.* in *Vie Spir.*, XXXVII (1933), Suppl., pp. 94-115 and 163-178 and *ibid.*, XXXVIII (1934), Suppl., 35 (cf. CF, VIII, 125); *Lexikon f. Theol. u. Kirche*, X, 133-134; Sparacio, *op. cit.*, II, 301, 371; AF, III, 130-131; ASS, ed. 1698, Tom. II, Junii, p. 728, De Kerval, 123, 233.

41. "Fratr Antonius de Ordine Fratrum Minorum de purae theologiae sensu mystico hausit plenissime, divini radii gratia perlustratus." *Legenda Benignitas* (De Kerval, *op. cit.*, p. 233); Scaramuzzi, *La Figura Intellet.*, p. 4; cf. Glassberger, in AF, II, 33. Felder (*Histoire*, etc., *op. cit.*, pp. 151-153) remains unconvinced that Anthony actually attended the classes of the abbot of Vercelli, and certainly not for five years, as certain biographers contend, since, as mentioned, there is no space in St. Anthony's life sufficiently extensive to embrace such a long period of time. Cf. Dal-Gal, in MF, XXXII, p. 83, concerning the authenticity of the praise accorded St. Anthony by Thomas Gallo of Vercelli.

42. *Il Santo*, I, p. 19; III, 14, 223. Felder, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

43. *Legenda Benignitas*, M² (De Kerval, p. 217). "Siquidem ipse fuit primus lector in theologica facultate qui rexit, et hoc apud Bononiam in theologica facultate." Additio prima, No. 8 of the Ms. of Lucerne to the *Legenda Prima* (De Kerval, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-118). Cf., however, MF, XXXIV, 118-121.

44. Cf. Felder, *op. cit.*, p. 158 ff.; *Cath. Encycl.*, II, 641-643.

45. Cf. Scaramuzzi, *La Figura Intell.*, p. 14, Note 1; Lepître, *Saint Antoine de Padoue* (Paris: Lecoffre, 1916), p. 79; Felder, *op. cit.*, p. 156; Benvenuto Bughetti, O.F.M., in *Bollettino Francescano*, III, p. 3; Denifle-Chatelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Perisensis* (Paris, 1891), pp. 340, 325; De Kerval, *op. cit.*, p. 118, Note 1; and *ibid.*, p. 199; p. 217, Note 1; cf. AFH, XXVII, 3-61 (Franciscans at the Univ. of Bologna).

46. "Quia enim amore ardebat, lucebat interius lucebat exterius" (Cf. *Dict. de la Theol. Cath.*, Vol. I, partie, 2, col. 1446).

47. Felder, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-156.

48. Cf. Celano, *Vita Prima*, I, Chap. XVIII; St. Bon. *Leg. Maj.*, Chap. IV.

49. *Il Santo*, I, 19, 164; II, 11, 14, 18, 86, 90; III, 223; AFH, XXXII, 201 ff.

50. *Legenda Benignitas*, M, 2, 3 (De Kerval, *op. cit.*, p. 217); Facchinetti, *op. cit.*, p. 326, Note 3.

51. *Legenda Benignitas*, Fragment M, No. 3 (De Kerval, *op. cit.*, p. 217); *Il Santo*, III, 227. Bl. Luke Belludi says in one of his writings that St. Anthony was provincial of Milan. These two statements can easily be explained if one recalls that the province actually embraced all three places (the Romagna, Emilia, and Milan) and was known under any one of them. Cf. Huber, *Doc. Hist. of the Franc. Order*, pp. 742-743.

52. Cf. *Fioretti*, Chap. XXXIX; *Nuova Vita di S. Antonio di Padova*, publ. by the Friars Minor Conventuals (Padua: Messaggero, 1928), p. 192.

53. It was on Ash Wednesday, 1227, that he had entered Padua for the first time.

54. *Legenda Prima*, Chap. XI, No. 2; Eccleston, *De Adventu Fr. Min. in Angliam* (Coll. XIII), in AF, I, 241.

55. Cf. AF, II, 45, Note 7; Eccleston, *op. cit.*, in AF, I, 241 and 242 (Quaracchi, 1885).

56. CF, II (1932), p. 580.

57. *Legenda Prima*, Chap. XI, Nos. 5-7 (De Kerval, pp. 45-46).

58. *Ibid.*, Chap. XIII, Nos. 12-13 (De Kerval, pp. 48-49).

59. *Ibid.*, Chap. XIII, No. 7 (De Kerval, p. 48); Facchinetti, *op. cit.*, p. 459 ff.; Dent, *St. Anthony of Padua* (New York: Kenedy, 1900), p. 185.

60. *Legenda Prima*, Chap. XV, No. 3 (De Kerval, p. 51). For Lazzaro Sebastiani's (d. 1484) picture of this famous scene, cf. *S. Antonio di Padova, Dottore Evangelico* (Padua, 1946), p. 155. Historically, however, the artist erred when he placed St. Bonaventure at the left of the tree instead of Brother Roger, Anthony's companion at Camposanpiero. St. Bonaventure at the time (Lent, 1231) was only a boy about 10 or 11 years old. The other companion was Bl. Luke Belludi.

61. *Legenda Prima*, Chap. XV, Nos. 3-5 (De Kerval, p. 51); *ibid.*, Chap. XVII, No. 2 (De Kerval, p. 54).

62. Cf. Conti, *I Miracoli di St. Antonio* (Padua: Messaggero, n. d.), Painting No. 19.

63. Concerning Bl. Luke Belludi, cf. Girolomo Dal-Gal, O.F.M.Conv., *Il B. Luca Belludi dei Frati Minori Conventuali Compagno di S. Antonio di Padova* (Padova: Messaggero, 1936). For many other works on Bl. Luke cf. CF, II (1931), p. 578.

64. *Legenda Prima*, Chap. XVII, No. 5.

65. Cf. Chap. III, 3, of this present work.

66. De Kerval, *op. cit.*, p. 48, Note 2; CF, VIII (1938), p. 130 (227) and p. 132 (8).

67. *Legenda Benignitas*, Chaps. 41-47 (De Kerval, *op. cit.*, 230-231); *Legenda Rolandina* (De Kerval, p. 251); Remo Manfredi, *Ezzelino da Romano, Romanzo Storico* (Padova: Messaggero, 1945), 3 ed., p. 281. Modern critics, however, think this incident is devoid of all historical basis; cf. CF, II (1932), 580.

68. The Guelphs were in favor of the pope; the Ghibellines in favor

of the emperor. For their relation to each other at the time of St. Anthony cf. CF, V (1935), p. 485 (Nos. 162 and 163) and *ibid.*, p. 488 (14 and 15).

69. "Sed nihil preces etiam si sint justae, fructificant ubi nullus est ramunculus charitatis" — significant words indeed of this ancient thirteenth-century chronicler of the *Life of St. Anthony*. Cf. De Kerval, *op. cit.*, p. 252. Cf. Chap. VI, Group B, No. 3.

70. Cf. the Divine Office (II Nocturn) of Bl. Luke Belludi in the Proper of the Breviary of the Friars Minor Conventual. Cf. also De Kerval, *op. cit.*, p. 81, Note 1.

71. De Kerval, *op. cit.*, p. 127 ("Additiones" to the manuscript of Lucerne, III, 8).

72. Cf. Dent, *Life of St. Anthony* (New York: Kenedy, 1900), pp. 188–189; *Legenda Prima*, Chap. XIV, No. 2,

73. *Legenda Prima*, Chap. XVII, No. 1.

74. *Ibid.*, No. 8.

75. *Ibid.*, Chap. XVII, Nos. 13–14.

76. At the time of St. Anthony the hymn at *Lauds* for the Feasts of the B.V.M. began with these words. Later, under Pope Urban VIII (1623–1644) this hymn was replaced by the one used today: *O, gloriosa virginum, Sublimis inter sidera*, etc. (Cf. De Kerval, *Legenda Prima*, p. 56, Note 1.) For an illustration of St. Anthony's death, cf. Conti, *op. cit.*, No. 20.

77. *Legenda Prima*, Chap. XVII, No. 12; *Spicilegium Franciscanum*, IV; *Miscellanea Antoniana* (Rome, 1902), p. 60.

78. "Mortuus est pater sanctus; mortuus est sanctus Antonius." *Legenda Prima*, Chap. XVIII, No. 1 ff.

79. *Legenda Prima*, Chap. XIX, No. 1 ff.

80. *Ibid.*, Chap. XIX, No. 1 ff.

81. *Urbis et Orbis S. Rituum Congr. Informatio Officialis* (Romae: Ex Typ. Augustiniana, 1936), p. 13.

82. "Ut sepulcrum ejus tot et tantis det coruscari miraculis quod ejus inter alios sanctos non invocare suffragia est indignum." *Bull of Canonization*, 1232.

83. Cf. *Legenda Prima*, Chaps. XXVII and XXIX (De Kerval, pp. 75 and 80–82). For the decree of canonization, cf. *Il Santo*, I, 182; AM, II, 285, new pagination, p. 328.

84. For the process of canonization and the miracles adduced for the confirmation of St. Anthony's sanctity, cf. AM, *ad ann.*, 1232, Nos. 1–14.

85. Addition of the manuscript of Paris to the *Legenda Prima*, Nos. 1–8 (De Kerval, pp. 144–145).

For a description of the beautiful church, later declared a basilica, cf. the bibliography under IV, in Chap. VIII, e.g., "Gonzati," "Grignola," etc.

86. Cf. *Additio Secunda* of the Lucerne Manuscript to the *Legenda Prima* (De Kerval, p. 145); John Rigauld, *Vie de St. Antoine* (p. 123); *Additio Parisiensis* to the *Legenda Prima*, Nos. 6–8 (De Kerval, p. 145); John Rigauld, *Vie de St. Antoine de Padua*, Chap. VIII, edited by P. Ferdinand M. d'Aurales (Delorme) (Paris, 1899). Cf. De Kerval, *op. cit.*, pp. 142–143.

87. "O lingua benedicta, quae semper benedixisti Dominum, ac etiam alios benedicere fecisti, nunc manifeste apparet quanti extitisti (existis) meriti apud Deum." De Kerval, *op. cit.*, p. 145; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 142-143; 123; *Cath. Encyc.*, I, 558.

88. Cf. Raphael Huber, "The Basilica of St. Anthony at Padua" in *The Minorite*, Vol. I, No. 6 (June, 1926), pp. 163-169, 175.

89. *Legenda Prima*, Chap. XV, No. 7 (De Kerval, p. 52).

90. *Ibid.*, Chap. VIII, No. 6 (De Kerval, p. 40).

91. *Ibid.*, Chap. VII, No. 8 (De Kerval, p. 37); *ibid.*, XI, No. 7 (De Kerval, p. 46); *ibid.*, Chap. XVII, No. 4 (De Kerval, p. 54).

92. *Ibid.*, Chap. XIII, No. 11 (De Kerval, pp. 48-49, Note 2).

93. *Ibid.*, Chap. XI, No. 6 (De Kerval, p. 46); *ibid.*, Chap. XIII (De Kerval, p. 49). Cf. the author's article "The Spirituality of St. Anthony of Padua," in the FEC Report of 1948.

CHAPTER III

ST. ANTHONY: TEACHER, PREACHER, THAUMATURGIST

PART I. ST. ANTHONY, THE TEACHER AND THEOLOGIAN¹

ALTHOUGH the primitive sources are silent on St. Anthony's attainments as a teacher,² the "first of the Order of Friars Minor,"³ we may properly assume that he taught the friars in the same simple, humble, and forceful manner, and with the same masterful comprehension of the Sacred Scriptures, which characterized his sermons⁴ wherein he not only lucidly expounded Catholic doctrine, but also effectively combatted the stillborn heresies of his day, so much so that he merited the title of *malleus hereticorum* — the "mauler or hammerer of heretics."⁵ Not less effective was his war against the moral and social evils of his times. In his denunciations, however, he held the middle way between rigorism and laxism. He wrote no commentary on Peter of Lombardy, as was customary for most medieval theologians, including St. Bonaventure, to do; nor did he compose a *Summa* as did St. Thomas of Aquin; nevertheless he did expound the Sacred Text in such a deeply theological and a clearly mystical manner that these very sermons have become, in a sense, a textbook of dogmatic and moral theology; at least we find in them the marrow and quintessence of every theological tract. "Theology is the science of the Sacred Scriptures," he himself once said.⁶

Anthony's doctrine, for instance, on the Blessed Trinity⁷ and on the Incarnation, both theologically and scholastically speaking, are so exact and complete that a student today about to take his comprehensive examination for the degree of the Licentiate in Sacred Theology would need to know only what St. Anthony had written on these two divine mysteries in his sermons to pass — in this author's opinion — *summa cum laude*.

From the context of Anthony's authentic sermons, Fr. Diomede Scaramuzzi, O.F.M., has compiled a complete, albeit concise, course on dogmatic and moral theology as expounded by the saint.⁸

Particularly interesting are St. Anthony's instructions or expositions of Christology, Mariology, and Ecclesiology,⁹ especially some of the newer phases of these doctrines. In Christology he comments on the kingship of Christ, on veneration of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, and on devotion to the Holy Name; in Mariology, he refers to the doctrines of Mary's Immaculate Conception, her corporal assumption into heaven, and her relation to us (*a*) as our Coredemptrix, and (*b*) as our Mediatrix; in Ecclesiology, as hardly any of his predecessors, and as few of his successors have equalled, he strongly accentuates the primacy and infallibility of Peter and of Peter's successors, the Roman pontiffs.

The font of Revelation was closed with the death of the last Apostle; hence no new public doctrinal revelations are to be expected; accordingly all that the Fathers and theologians can do is to examine the Sacred Text and try to find some Catholic doctrines heretofore either not detected by others or not taught in the same light. The maxim, therefore, holds good: "*non nova, sed noviter.*" The same principle applies to St. Anthony.

SECTION I: CHRISTOLOGY AND SOTEROLOGY (DOCTRINE OF SALVATION) ACCORDING TO ST. ANTHONY

1. *The Kingship of Christ*

At the end of the holy year, 1925, Pope Pius XI (1922–1939) instituted the feast of Christ the King and ordered it to be celebrated on the last Sunday of October, immediately preceding the feast of All Saints. Although the feast is new, the background and the doctrine are as old as the Sacred Scriptures of the New Testament themselves. Many Fathers and Doctors of the Church, much like the good thief on the cross when he said, "Remember me, O Lord, when thou shalt come into thy kingdom,"¹⁰ refer to this mystery of Christ's eternal kingship. St. Anthony readily saw

in the texts of Holy Writ allusions to it. Thus, in his sermon on Palm Sunday,¹¹ commenting on the text of the prophet Zaccharias, "Behold thy King shall come to thee as a Saviour,"¹² he exclaims, referring to Christ: "*Ecce rex tuus de quo Jeremias (10, 6-7): Non est similis tui Domine; magnus es tu, et magnum nomen tuum in fortitudine, O rex gentium. Qui, ut dicitur in Apolcalypsi (19, 16) habet in vestimento et in femore scriptum: Rex Regum et Dominus Dominantium.*" The Jews indeed, says the saint, tried to deprive Christ of His royalty; they refused to accept Him as their king;¹³ they found fault with the inscription on His cross (cf. John 19, 14-15), yet by divine ordinance, the more they essayed to deny the mystery of Christ's divine kingship the more they proclaimed it; for, says St. Anthony, they clothed Him with the purple robes of a king; they placed a crown on His head; they put a scepter into His hands: "*Ecce ergo,*" continues the saint, "*rex tuus tibi, idest ad utilitatem tuam, venit mansuetus ut ametur non ut per potentiam timeatur.*"¹⁴ How like the words of St. Fulgentius: "*Venit (Christus) non ut pugnet vivus, sed ut triumphet occisus?*"¹⁵ "*Jesus Christus (est) rex regum qui nos liberavit de manu inimicorum nostrorum,*" says St. Anthony.¹⁶ Again he writes: "*A rege regum totius creaturae Domino Jesu Christo, qui angelis in coelo et hominibus praeest, in hoc mundo quilibet fidelis nominatur regulus.*"¹⁷

Commenting on the words of St. Matthew: "*Simile est regnum coelorum homini regi, qui voluit rationem ponere cum servis suis,*"¹⁸ he says: "*Iste homo rex est Jesus Christus: homo in humanitate, rex in divinitate; homo in nativitate; Rex in passione, in qua habuit illa regalia, quae spectant ad regem, scilicet coronam, purpuriam et sceptrum.*"¹⁹

St. Anthony calls Christ: *Imperator noster* (our Emperor);²⁰ *Rex noster Christus* (Christ our King);²¹ *Rex noster* (our King);²² *Princeps trium ordinum in Ecclesia* (a Prince of all three orders in the Church);²³ *Rex regum totius creaturae* (the King of Kings of every creature);²⁴ and finally *Rex dilecti virtutum* (King of the beloved of all virtues).²⁵

Among the virtues with which this King is adorned, St.

Anthony mentions justice and piety; perpetuity (*et regni ejus non erit finis*)²⁶ and individuality, *Omne judicium dedit Filio suo*;²⁷ patience, humility and fortitude: *Nullus eo patientior et humilior cum flagellabatur, spinis coronabatur, colaphis caedebatur. Nullus eo fortior, cum in judicio sententia irrevocabili diabolum cum omnibus membris suis praecipitabit in infernum, a quo nos liberet, qui est benedictus in saecula.*²⁸

But Christ is King not only of all the nations of the world; He is also the King of each individual soul: *Jesus Christus qui est Dei virtus et Dei sapientia, fecit sibi thronum, quo requiesceret. Thronus est anima cujuslibet justis, quam sua sapientia Jesus Christus creavit cum non esset, sua virtute recreavit cum perdita esset. Fecit ergo thronum ut in eo requiesceret.*²⁹

2. The Sacred Heart of Jesus³⁰

St. Anthony refers not only to the wound in Christ's side as a motive for our everlasting fidelity to Him, lest by our sins we crucify Him anew, but also, in the recognition of His love, as a reason why we in turn should love Him. There are four reasons, it seems to me, says our saint, why Christ showed the wounds in His hands and feet to the Apostles:³¹

a) that He might therefore prove His bodily Resurrection and remove every species of doubt from their minds;

b) that, like in sheltered nooks of doves, men might find refuge in these wounds against the assaults of the evil one, the hawk (*accipiter*);

c) that Christ might imprint the signs of His sacred Passion on our own hearts (as a seal of love); and

d) that seeing His sacred wounds we might take compassion on Him lest by the "nails of sin" we crucify Him anew: to quote St. Anthony's own words we have:

*Quarto ostendit [vulnera] rogans ut ipsi compatientes, clavis peccatorum ne ipsum iterum crucifigamus — Nolite ergo iterum me crucifigere, et sanguinem testamenti, in quo sanctificati estis, pollutum ducere, et spiritui gratiae contumeliam facere.*³²

Like his Seraphic Father, St. Francis, Anthony was a great

devotee of Christ's sacred humanity; of His Incarnation; of His sufferings and death. The early apologists and Fathers of the Church were almost completely absorbed in defending the divinity of Christ and His hypostatic Union with the Divine Word; later, the Benedictines and Cistercians exalted the triumphant Christ: *Christus heri, Christus hodie et in saecula*. It remained for Francis and Anthony and the Franciscan School of Love to become enamored of Christ in His human nature and to become the new exponents of Christ's sacred humanity in the great work of man's redemption. Anthony in particular gave vent to his love for the Sacred Heart of Christ, man's Friend, who because He had first loved us deserves to be loved in turn by us, as St. John so beautifully inculcates: "*Amemus Deum quoniam ipse prior dilexit nos*,"³³ or to put it in an Anthonian phrase, "*Se totum tibi dedit ut totum dares ei*."³⁴

3. Devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus

Again like his Seraphic Father, St. Francis, St. Anthony entertained a tender devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus.³⁵ His dependence in this regard on St. Bernard of Clairvaux, that other great devotee of the Holy Name, whom he quotes no less than thirty-five times, is not less evident. Their very expressions and mode of treatment are so similar that they seem to have drawn their love for the Holy Name from the same font, which of course they did.³⁶ One need but compare St. Bernard's, *Sermon XV in Cant. Cant.*, Nos. 5-6,³⁷ with St. Anthony's sermon on the Circumcision of our Lord to become convinced of this fact.³⁸ Anthony, however, adds a few features not mentioned by St. Bernard. Speaking, e.g., of the excellence of the Holy Name of Jesus and commenting on the text: "His Name was called Jesus,"³⁹ he exclaims: "*Nomen dulce, Nomen delectabile, Nomen confortans peccatorem et beatæ spei. Jubilus in corde, melos in aure, mel in ore*."⁴⁰

Commenting on the words of Sacred Writ: "*Oleum effusum est nomen tuum*,"⁴¹ St. Anthony says: "Oil has five qualities: (1) it floats on water; (2) it softens hard objects; (3) it alleviates difficult

things; (4) it illuminates darkness; (5) it satiates the body." He then explains his five points in these words: "(1) *hoc Nomine Jesus omni hominum et Angelorum superexcellit (omni liquori supernatat) quia in Nomine Jesu omne genus flectit genu;* (2) *si ipsum praedicat, dura corda mollificat;* (3) *si invocat, asperas tentationes indulcat;* (4) *si cogitat, cor illuminat;* (5) *si legat, mentem satiat.*"⁴²

Again, he tells us, the name Jesus is composed of two syllables and five letters, three of which are vowels and two consonants. The two syllables, says St. Anthony, represent the two natures of Christ; the three vowels, the Blessed Trinity, the two consonants, the component parts of Christ's human nature, His body and soul.⁴³ Vowels, says St. Anthony, effect a sound by themselves (a, e, i, o, u), and hence the three vowels in the name of Jesus represent the Blessed Trinity, because the three Divine Persons subsist by Themselves from all eternity; but consonants effect sounds only in conjunction with vowels, and hence they represent Christ's soul and body, which exist only in the personality of the Divine Word (indeed profound theological thoughts deduced from a simple exposition of vowels and consonants!): "*Nam sicut anima rationalis et caro unus est homo, ita Deus et homo unus est Christus.*"⁴⁴

He then gives us this definition of *persona*: "*Persona siquidem dicitur rationalis substantia 'per se sonans' quae est Christus. Et Deus est quidem et homo, non autem per se sonat quantum est homo.*"⁴⁵

Thereafter, still explaining the name of Jesus and demonstrating his knowledge of Oriental languages, which, as occasion arises, he uses to advantage, Anthony continues in these words: "The Name of Christ in Hebrew is *Messias*; in Greek, *Christos* or *Soter*; in Latin, *Salvator* or the Saviour." "Let us then," he exhorts, "pray the Father to confer upon us the privilege of His love (*sui amoris conferat privilegium*) if not on account of our merits, at least on account of those of His Son, through Whom He redeemed the world."⁴⁶

The expression *amoris sui privilegium*, as opposed to the *mys-*

terium iniquitatis,⁴⁷ and so like St. Clare's "privilegium paupertatis" contains such a marvelous thought that it carries one to the very height of mysticism: the *privilege* of loving God! One could meditate for hours on all that that thought implies: (a) the *active* love of God, or the privilege of being able to love God (*in life* through faith and affection; *in heaven* through eternal contemplation; but not *in hell* where the absence of the love of God becomes the very essence, theologically speaking, of hell); and (b) *passive* love, the privilege of being loved by God which implies sanctifying grace, resignation to God's will, complete contentment and satisfaction in God, and union with God in time and eternity!

Again, commenting on the beautiful thought of St. Augustine,⁴⁸ "*Repellis nos a Te? Da nobis alium Te. Ad quem ibimus?*"⁴⁹ he ascends the mount of mystic union with God. One is forcibly reminded of the *Noce obscura* of St. John of God, and of the aridities of St. Theresa of Avila, who for eighteen years was deprived of the consolations of God and of religion, when he hears Anthony pray: "*In nomine ergo ipsius (Christi), sicut ipse nobis praecepit, petimus te ut des nobis te, quia sine te non est esse,*"⁵⁰ in other words what is the use of living if one cannot live with God, in God, for God? For as St. Paul would say: "*In ipso enim vivimus, movemur, et sumus.*"⁵¹

What deep philosophy and theology lie in the thought: either God, or nothing! It reminds one of St. Thomas' request, "Thee, alone O Lord"; of St. Theresa's "*aut pati aut mori*" (either let me suffer or die); of St. Magdalen Pazzi's "*Non mori, sed pati*" (not to die but to suffer); of St. Ignatius' "*Omnia ad Majorem Dei gloriam*" (all for the greater glory of God); and of St. Francis' "*Deus meus et omnia*" (My God and my All). All finite things, by comparison, are as naught when compared to the Infinite.

Here, too, one sees the influence of St. Augustine, for it was Augustine who said: "Thou hast created our heart for Thee, O Lord, and it remains at unrest until it rests in Thee."

Again the thought *sine te non est esse* (without Thee there is no being) reminds one of the absolute nothingness of all created

things when compared to the Infinite and man's total dependence on God. Only in heaven, when we shall have been freed from all earthly dross, shall we fully realize that only God perfectly exists and subsists in time and in eternity, not in the pantheistic sense, as though everything were God, but in that sublime Catholic sense, whereby God became man's all. St. Francis fully realized the nothingness of everything earthly and carnal, and for that reason he espoused Lady Poverty, so that she might take from him all worldly goods and enable him to adhere to God only: *Deus meus et omnia* — "My God and my All!"

Murillo, the great Spanish painter of religious art, depicts St. Francis with one foot on the orb, as if about to leave the world so that he might embrace his beloved Master on the cross and be united with Him forevermore. Mother Church expresses the same thought when in the oration for the Eighth Sunday after Pentecost, she prays thus:

Largire nobis, quaesumus, Domine, semper spiritum cogitandi quae recta sunt, propitius et agendi, ut qui *sine te esse non possumus*, secundum te vivere valeamus, per D.N.J.C. Amen.⁵²

St. Anthony concludes his beautiful treatise on the Holy Name of Jesus with this exclamation:

O dulcis Jesu! quid te dulcius? Dulcis tua memoria super mel et omnia, Nomen dulcedinis, Nomen salutis. Quid est enim Jesus nisi Salvator? Ergo bone Jesu, esto propter Temetipsum nobis Jesus, ut, qui dedisti initium dulcoris, idest fidem, des spem et caritatem, quatenus in ipsa viventes et morientes ad te pervenire mereamur.⁵³

There can be no doubt that St. Anthony transmitted his profound doctrines on the Holy Name, which he learned from SS. Bernard, Augustine, and Paul, to SS. Bernardine, John Capistran, Leonard of Port Maurice, and to other great devotees of the Holy Name.

Not less original and beautiful than his Christological teachings are St. Anthony's doctrines on Mariology.

SECTION II. MARIOLOGY — MARY'S PURITY — HER
IMMACULATE CONCEPTION AND ASSUMPTION — HER IN-
TERMEDIATION AND CO-OPERATION IN MAN'S REDEMPTION⁵⁴

1. *The Immaculate Conception*

Although St. Anthony lived more than six centuries before the dogmatic proclamation of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary by Pope Pius IX, in 1854, and despite the conflicting opinions of the theologians of his day he seems at times to teach and proclaim in his sermons his personal belief in Mary's Immaculate Conception.⁵⁵

In his sermon for Quadragesima Sunday⁵⁶ St. Anthony writes:

a) "Pater induit Filium suum Jesum veste alba, idest *carne ab omni labe peccati munda* a Virgine immaculate concepta."⁵⁷

b) St. Anthony styles Mary a "throne of God made of pure ivory" (*turris eburnea*), "quia beata Maria fuit *candida* innocentia, *frigida* sine libidinis ardore."⁵⁸ From this it would seem to follow that Mary, because free from the consequences of original sin, i.e., without the ardor of concupiscence and lily-white in her innocence, was also free from the cause thereof, i.e., original sin, and hence immaculately conceived. This expression of St. Anthony terming the Blessed Virgin "lily-white in her innocence" and "frigid," because without the "concupiscence of passion," forcibly reminds one of the Bible narrative concerning Abisag, the Sunamite maiden, who was selected from all the women of Israel (as we read in the Third Book of Kings, 1, 1-4) to keep the aged David warm (*quam vero rex non cognovit*); for Mary too, "Blessed among women" like the cold, frigid marble of ivory, was "without the ardor of passion."⁵⁹

c) St. Anthony compares Mary to a "rock of the desert" (*lapis deserti*). Mary is a rock, says our Franciscan theologian, because Satan, seeking to sow the seed of iniquity in the field of the world, became aware that on that rock, because unarable, "he could plant no seed."⁶⁰

d) Again he compares Mary to a sheep which gave its pure white wool "so that the Son of God might be clothed therewith."⁶¹

e) As the first Adam was formed from the virginal earth (*de terra virgine*) St. Anthony tells us, so it behooved the second Adam (Christ) "to be born from blessed earth, the Virgin Mary" (*de benedicta terra, Maria Virgine, erat nasciturus*).⁶²

Here, comments Scaramuzzi whose book on St. Anthony's theology⁶³ was included in and formed part of the process of the Sacred Congregation of Rites declaring St. Anthony a Doctor of the Church, there is evidently in the mind of the saint the doctrine of Mary's Immaculate Conception, for he clearly differentiates between simple virginity (*terra virgine*) and a pre-elected virgin (*terra benedicta*). Mother earth is called "virgin soil"; the Blessed Virgin Mary, Christ's blessed Mother, "blessed soil." Mary, says Scaramuzzi, would not measure up to the saint's antithesis if she were merely a virgin, like the soil from which the first Adam was formed, and not immaculately conceived, but only sanctified in the womb of her mother, St. Ann, as in the case of St. John the Baptist. *Terra virgine* might be applied to every virgin, but only to one immaculately conceived, thinks Scaramuzzi, can the term *terra benedicta*, presupposing Mary's virginal maternity, be applied.

f) Contrasting Eve with Mary — a familiar form of oratory with St. Bernard — St. Anthony shows that whereas to Eve, who was formed from the flesh and bone of Adam, God said: "Woe be to thee, because I shall multiply thy sorrow, and in pain shalt thou give birth,"⁶⁴ to Mary "whose converse was already in Heaven" the Archangel Gabriel said, "Hail, full of grace" (*Ave gratia plena*).⁶⁵

g) Finally, commenting on the words of St. Augustine "where there is a question of sin, exclude as far as I am concerned, the Blessed Virgin Mary" — words incorporated into the Council of Trent⁶⁶ — the former Augustinian Canon (St. Anthony of Padua) says that were any of the saints asked if there were any sin in them, all (*omnes sancti et sanctae*) would respond in the words of St. John: "If we would say that we have no sin we would only be deceiving ourselves and the truth would not be in us."⁶⁷

"But," says he, "from this universal confession of sin Mary

among all creatures is to be excepted *for she was full of grace from the very beginning* (*Singulari gratia praeventa est atque repleta*). Since original sin excludes sanctifying grace and Mary was full of grace from the very beginning of her existence, it would necessarily seem to follow that, in the mind of the Evangelical Doctor, Mary was conceived without sin, i.e., immaculate. He furthermore, like the deep theologian he is, states the reason for this singular favor granted to Mary, viz., "that she might worthily bear in her womb Him, who from the beginning held in His hands the control of the universe," (*ut ipsum haberet ventris sui fructum quem ex initio habuit universitatis dominum*).⁶⁸

What a familiar resemblance do not the words, *singulari gratia praeventa est atque repleta*, have with the liturgical oration of the Church on the feast of the Immaculate Conception: *ut qui ex morte ejusdem Filii tui praevisa, eam ab omni labe praeservasti, nos quoque mundos ad te pervenire concedas?*

Future students might well inquire into, and investigate, the dependence of William of Ware (*fl. c.* 1270–1300) and the Ven. Duns Scotus (d. 1309), his scholar, on St. Anthony's doctrine (d. 1231) on the Immaculate Conception. Did Scotus know of it and if so did he ever borrow Anthonian expressions, similies, metaphors, comparisons, antitheses, etc., to express his own doctrines? Again, what relation is there between Scotus' doctrine of Mary's *praeredemptio intuitu meritorum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi*, and St. Anthony's doctrine on Mary's *singularis gratia praeventiva*?⁶⁹

There are authors, however,⁷⁰ who do not believe that these theological *deductions* from the texts of St. Anthony's sermons are sufficient to clinch the argument that our saint adhered to the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. They would demand also *explicit* texts to that effect; for they say that other Scholastics also, like St. Bonaventure and St. Thomas, who did not teach the Immaculate Conception,⁷¹ used expressions similar to those employed by St. Anthony to express Mary's virginal purity and innocence; and yet, influenced by St. Bernard,⁷² taught only her sanctification in the womb of her mother, St. Ann. Indeed, there is a certain text in which our saint seems to teach the same, for

he says: "*Gloriosa Virgo nec in sua nativitate habuit maculam, quia in utero matris fuit sanctificata.*" Di Fonzo and Cantini think that this text should be explained in the sense of St. Anthony's other statements, which they consider clearer enunciation of his belief in this matter, rather than *vice versa*, i.e., force all his other beautiful texts to be interpreted by this one and have him teach that Mary was sanctified only in the womb of her mother. Scaramuzzi basing his opinion on the texts just quoted, also is of the opinion that St. Anthony taught the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. Whatever eventually might result from the controversy, one thing seems certain: St. Anthony, as far as we can ascertain from his present works, certainly prepared the way for Scotus and the other defenders of the Immaculate Conception in the Franciscan School.

2. *The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary*⁷³

During the early Middle Ages the doctrine of the Assumption of our Lady was not so generally admitted nor was the feast day thereof universally celebrated throughout the Church⁷⁴ so much so that the important *Usuard Martyrology*,⁷⁵ written by a Benedictine monk of the Abbey of St. Germain-des-Prés (Paris) shortly before 875 not only makes no mention of the latter (the feast day) but even seems to deny the doctrine,⁷⁶ despite the fact that since the era of St. John Damascene (675-749) both the belief in the doctrine and the celebration of the feast, although on various days,⁷⁷ had so increased from century to century that by the beginning of the thirteenth century it had become the common teaching of theologians. There is a legend current that even St. Anthony for a time had doubts concerning the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. But enlightened to the contrary in a vision he thereafter became one of its staunchest promoters and most ardent defenders.⁷⁸ The Franciscan School in general, including St. Bonaventure,⁷⁹ defended the doctrine; so did the Thomistic School, following their illustrious St. Thomas of Aquin.⁸⁰ On this phase of Mary's prerogatives, at least, both schools were in agreement.

a) St. Anthony preached a most beautiful sermon on the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary (*In Assumptione s. Mariae Virginis*) in which he so firmly and lucidly defends the doctrine that it deserves further commentary. It was printed by Locatelli⁸¹ and also by the Conventual Father Antonio M. Josa, O.F.M. Conv., the former prefect of the *Bibliotheca Antoniana* in his *Sermones S. Antonii de Padua in Laudem Gloriosae Virginis Mariae*.⁸² Since there are no direct and formal texts in the Sacred Scriptures on the corporeal assumption of our Lady into heaven St. Anthony bases his defense of the doctrine on accommodated texts which he confirms by arguments of appropriateness (*argumenta convenientiae*) and by theological inductions and deductions (*rationes theologicae*).⁸³

b) Commenting in the text of Isaias (60, 13) *Et locum pedum meorum glorificabo* the Evangelical Doctor says: "The place of the feet of our Lord was the Blessed Virgin Mary from whom He assumed humanity and whom today He glorified because He exalted her above the choirs of angels." From this text, continues our saint, "it evidently follows that the Blessed Virgin Mary, who was the resting place of the Lord, was glorified, because she was taken up to Heaven."

c) Explaining the text in Psalm 131, 8, *Exsuge, Domine in requiem tuam, tu et arca sanctificationis tuae*, St. Anthony says that the first part of the verse refers to Christ's Resurrection and Ascension: the second part, i.e., the "ark which thou hast sanctified," to Christ's Blessed Mother, "whom He took unto Himself into Heaven": *cum in hac die* (August 15) *ad aeternum assumpta est thalamum*.

d) Continuing with the thought of the "ark which the Lord had sanctified" (Ps. 131, 8) St. Anthony compares Mary with the ark of Noah, which after the flood rested on Mt. Ararat in the mountains of Armenia, i.e., *super choros angelorum* because in her Assumption she "was placed over the choirs of angels."

e) He compares Mary to Esther, and says that like her type in the Old Testament (Esther) Mary, too, was led to the room of a king — *ducta est ad cubiculum regis* (Esther 2, 15–17) — i.e., to

the etherial dwelling, "in which the King of Kings, the joy of the angels, Jesus Christ, Who loved the same glorious Virgin above all other women, because of her He assumed flesh, sits upon a starry throne."

Ducta est ad cubiculum Regis, idest ad aetherium thalamum, in quo Rex Regum, beatitudo angelorum, stellato solio residet Jesus Christus, qui eandem gloriosam Virginem super omnes mulieres amavit, *ex qua carnem accepit*.⁸⁴

Then in ecstatic admiration of the dignity accorded Mary, who was led to the throne room of the King and exalted above all the choirs of angels, St. Anthony breaks forth into the following exclamation: "*O inestimabilis Mariae dignitas; O inennarabilis gratiae sublimitas; O investigabilis misericordiae profunditas!*"⁸⁵ It was on account of Mary's divine maternity that she was taken up to heaven and crowned: *et ideo hodie coronari meruit* in other words, the *ratio theologica* of Mary's Assumption into heaven and Coronation as Queen of the Angels, is her divine maternity (*ex qua carnem accepit*). Herein lies real theological progress. As Mary's Immaculate Conception⁸⁶ was preparatory to her maternity, the greatest of her prerogatives, so was her Assumption into heaven the crowning glory of both. Because immaculately conceived it behooved Almighty God (*conveniens erat*) to preserve from corporeal corruption the body of her whom He wished to exempt from original sin, the cause of the death of all (cf. Rom. 5, 12).⁸⁷ On the other hand, because it was from Mary's chaste body that the Son of God assumed flesh and blood, it behooved God to free from material, corporeal corruption her body through the Assumption as much as He did the body of His Son through the latter's Resurrection and Ascension.⁸⁸

Wherefore, accommodating the word of the *Canticle of Canticles* (3, 11) our saint exclaims: "*egredimini ergo et videte matrem Solomonis in diademate, quo coronavit eam in die assumptionis suae.*"⁸⁹

f) Commenting on the *Introit* and the Gospel of the feast day of the Assumption: *Introivit Jesus in quoddam castellum* (Luke 10, 38), St. Anthony says: "the castle into which Jesus entered at

the moment of His Incarnation was Mary, His Virginal Mother" (*Castellum enim est Beata Maria, quae quia totius castitatis claritate nituit, ideo in ipsam Dominus introivit*).

Then playing on the Gospel narrative, in his own inimitable analogical and symbolical method of scriptural interpretation, he continues: "Around every castle is a wall and on every wall a tower. The wall which protected Mary was her virginity; the tower defending the castle, was her humility" (*Murum ipsam muniens, turrin circumcingens fuit virginitas; turris murum defendens ipsius fuit humilitas*).

Furthermore, says our saint, this tower was straight and long (*turris dicta est "teres," i.e., directa et longa*). The tower representing Mary was straight because she looked up solely to Him, who regarded her humility; long, because in the word of humility "Behold the handmaid of the Lord" (Luke 38) she became the Queen of heaven.

Directa, quia ad illum solum aspexit, qui ipsius humilitatem respexit; longa, quia in verbo humilitatis "Ecce ancilla Domini" facta est Regina Coelestis.

Finally, accommodating the Gospel text referring to Martha and Mary, the sisters of Lazarus, St. Anthony says: "Our Mary, the Mother of Christ, was both a Martha and a Mary. She was a Martha, because she wrapped up the Child in swaddling clothes, laid Him in a manger, nursed Him from a breast full of heavenly nourishment, fled with Him into Egypt and returned with Him therefrom" — (*Puerum pannis involvens praeseptio reclinans, ubere de coelo pleno lactans, in Aegyptum cum eo fugiens et inde rediens*) — "but she was also a Mary, because like the other sister of Lazarus, sitting at the feet of Jesus, she kept all these things in her heart." (Luke 2, 19).

En passant, this sermon on the Assumption is an excellent example of the homiletic method used by St. Anthony: a combination of a homily on the Gospel, the Epistle, the Introit of the Mass, and the history of the Old and New Testament as expounded by the Fathers of the Church in the second nocturn of the Divine Office. This fourfold application St. Anthony calls

the "four wheels of the chariot of Elias" (*quatuor rotae quadrigae Eliae*) which carried the prophet up to heaven.⁹⁰ Excerpts from the sermon of St. Anthony on the Assumption in the original and beautiful, but simple Latin are given in the appendix.

3. *Mary, the Coredemptrix of the World*

In his sermons on the Sacred Scriptures, which together with the doctrines of the Fathers of the Church are the font of his dogmatic and moral theology, St. Anthony calls Mary, in the language of Pope Pius X, the "coredemptrix" of the world.⁹¹

Commenting on the words of Isaias (66, 7), *Antequam parturivit, peperit* ("Before she was in labor she brought forth a child"), St. Anthony says that Mary *antequam parturivit in Passione, peperit in Nativitate* ("before she gave birth in the Passion of Christ, she brought forth a child in His Nativity"). "In the Nativity of Christ, she rejoiced and all others rejoiced with her." *Risum fecit mihi Deus; quicumque audierit, corridebit mihi:* but in Christ's bitter passion, through which the Saviour effected our redemption and in which Mary's heart was pierced with a sword, she was sad and sorrowful (*dolorosa et omni amaritudine plena*). But why this contrast of emotions? St. Anthony tells us: *Dei enim Filium, quem Spiritu cooperante Virgo peperit, videbat ligno clavis affigi; inter latrones suspendi. . . . Antequam ergo parturivit in Passione, peperit in Nativitate.*⁹² The inference is clear. Mary became the Mother of Christ in His Nativity in joy, "because a child (and such a child) was born into the world" (cf. John 16, 21); but in Christ's bitter passion, when she saw Him die on the cross between thieves, she received us in the person of St. John as her children (cf. John 19, 27). As she gave the world its Saviour, so she also in His death, when a sword of sorrow pierced her maternal heart (cf. Luke 2, 35), she gave us a Redeemer. She thus became, through Christ's death on the cross the Coredemptrix of the world. In the words of St. Bernard, whom St. Anthony loves to quote: "The sword which opened the side of Christ could do Him no harm, for His soul had already departed from His body in death; but it did pierce thy soul, O Mary!"⁹³

4. *Mary, Our Mediatrix*

Mary is furthermore, according to St. Anthony, our Mediatrix. In Osee, the prophet, we read the words: *Et erit gloria ejus quasi oliva* (His glory shall be as the olive tree) (14, 7). Now the olive and its branches, says our saint, signify peace and mercy. Such an olive branch was Mary: *Beata ergo Virgo Maria, mediatrix nostra, inter Deum et peccatorem pacem reformavit.*⁹⁴ In another place by a beautiful alliteration he calls St. Ann an olive tree (*olea*); her child, the Blessed Virgin Mary, an olive (*oliva*); and Christ, the fruit of Mary's womb, a soothing balm of oil (*oleum*), because "His name is like poured out oil" (*Oleum effusum Nomen tuum*).

Furthermore, says our saint, Mary is the *beautiful rainbow* which God placed in the heavens as a sign of His covenant with the world that He would never again destroy it by water (cf. Gen. 9, 13). The arc or rainbow, he says, has two elements *aqueous* and *igneous*; aqueous, because water gives everything fecundity; igneous, because the arc or the sun which forms it is indestructible. The one (the aqueous element) signifies Mary's maternal fecundity; the other (the igneous) her inviolable virginity. How conformable are not these thoughts to the words of the Preface for the feast days of the Blessed Virgin Mary: "*Quae et Unigenitum Sancti Spiritus obumbratione concepit; et virginitatis gloria permanente, lumen aeternum mundo effudit, Jesum Christum, Dominum nostrum!*"⁹⁵ Hence, she appears as a sign of the covenant and of peace between God and the sinner (*signum foederis et pacis inter Deum et peccatorem*) for she is "an olive tree of mercy" (*Oliva misericordiae*). Then quoting St. Bernard, after St. Augustine, his favorite Father of the Church, he adds: "*Securum habes, homo, accessum ad Dominum ubi habes ante Filium Matrem, et Filium ante Patrem. Mater ostendit Filio pectus et ubera, Filius ostendit Patri latus et vulnera. Nulla ergo ibi est repulsio ubi tot occurrunt insignia caritatis.*"⁹⁶

5. *Other Affectionate Names for Mary*

a) Mary, according to St. Anthony, is a coelestial *sweet-smelling*

balm from the trees of Lebanon — the *odor Libani* (Osee 14, 6) *quia ubicumque diffusus mortuis vitam, desperatis veniam, poenitentibus gratiam, justus gloriam respirat*; and because through her intercession and merits we hope that the *ros Spiritus Sancti mentis nostrae ardorem refrigeret, peccata dimittat, gratiam effundat, ut ad aeternae et immortalis vitae gloriam pervenire mereamur, ipso praestante, qui est benedictus in saecula saeculorum, Amen.*⁹⁷

b) Mary is the *Ark of the Testament*, because like “the rainbow giving light in the clouds” (*arcus refulgens*: Eccles. 50, 8) she dispels a double cloud which conceals God from our view: God’s anger and man’s guilt (*Ira scilicet Dei et hominis culpa*). But when the Sun of Justice entered Mary’s womb, says our saint, she “became our peace and reconciliation” (*facta est pax et reconciliatio nostra*). Through Mary these two *dark clouds (nebulae)* were changed into bright clouds resplendent with God’s glory (*gloriae*), “because through the glorious Virgin the darkness was dissipated” (*eo quod per gloriosam Virginem [nebulae] fuerunt dissipatae*).⁹⁸

c) Mary repels no sinner from her maternal audiences but receives all who would have recourse to her, for which reason she is called the “Mother of Mercy, merciful to the miserable, hope of the despairing” (*Mater Misericordiae, misericors miseris, spes desperatis*).⁹⁹

d) Mary is furthermore our *Star of the Sea (Stella Maris)*. In this regard St. Anthony makes a beautiful comparison between ourselves and the angels. They, who are secure from all storms and abiding on the safe shores of eternity salute Mary, their Queen, merely by exclaiming *Ave, gratia plena* (Hail, full of grace!); we however, by exclaiming “*Ave Maria!*” The reason for this latter invocation? Simply this: “Mary,” etymologically speaking signifies the bitter waters of the sea in which we are in danger of being submerged, but from which through her we are protected, escape all danger and arrive at the safe haven of eternity; for she is the Star of the Sea who rescues us from tempests, shows us the way, and guides us to the port of safety.

*Ave, Maria, i.e., maris stella, quia in medio maris sumus, fluctibus concutimur, tempestate submergimur, et ideo Stella Maris clamamus, ut per ipsam ad portum salutis aeternae perveniamus; ipsa est enim quae se clamantes a tempestate eripit, viam ostendit, et ad portum ducit.*¹

e) No wonder then that St. Anthony in his dying hours intoned the beautiful hymn *Ave gloriosa Domina* — “Hail glorious “Queen” — for to him she had always been “a radiant star, illuminating the night, and showing the way” to the safe haven of eternity (*Stella praeradians, nocte illuminans, ad portum dirigens*). She it was who was to guide him to Christ “as a shining light, pointing to the King of Kings, God Almighty” (*Sicut flamma coruscans et Regem Regum Deum demonstrans*).²

f) Mary is finally to St. Anthony a *paradisus humanitatis*, our *princeps et Regina*, our *Porta Gratiarum*.³ Think of everything heavenly here on earth: the smile of an innocent child; the beautiful blue eyes of a babe; the fresh fallen snow; a starlit firmament; an evening sunset; think of the joy of a boy or girl on the day of First Holy Communion; of a young bride on her wedding day; of a friar or nun on the day of the profession of vows; of a priest or bishop on the day of his ordination or consecration — then, bind all these together in a fragrant, variegated bouquet, and you have what St. Anthony declares when he calls Mary “the paradise of humanity.” Think of Mary as some fairy princess or some fairy queen — *Princeps et regina*; as the gate to all graces, the mediatrix of all graces, the *Porta gratiarum* — and you will understand why St. Anthony so loved Mary, and why his Mariology is beyond compare.

SECTION III. ECCLESIOLOGY, THE PRIMACY AND INFALLIBILITY OF THE ROMAN PONTIFF

1. *The Primacy of Peter and of the Roman Pontiff*

Commenting on the text “I shall give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven” (Matt. 16, 19) St. Anthony says St. Peter “was placed at the head of the apostles and at the head of the

Church" — and that "to him who had made a profession of Christ's divinity before all the rest, was also given before all the other apostles the prerogative of the keys."

*Cephas in capite Apostolorum et ecclesiae constitutus est — qui prae caeteris confessus est, prae caeteris donatur clavibus.*⁴ The allusion here to Peter's primacy is evident. He is placed at the head of the Apostles and of the Church and for that reason is given "above all others" (*prae caeteris*) the custody of the keys. He enjoys power and jurisdiction, because he "above all others" (*prae caeteris*) was the first to make a public profession of Christ's divinity. "Keys," continues our saint serve a twofold purpose: "they admit the worthy, they exclude the unworthy from the Kingdom."

Dignos recipere et indignos excludere — a regno. In showing the excellency, the primacy of Peter's position, the Franciscan Doctor professes that although all the Apostles enjoy the same judiciary power as Peter (cf. John 20, 22) and every diocese (bishop) has the same authority over its own priests, Peter enjoys a special prerogative because on one's unity in the Faith with Peter and association with him in the Church depends both the power to be absolved from sin (jurisdiction) and the possibility of entering the kingdom of heaven. These are his words:

*Sed ideo Petrus specialiter eam (judiciariam potestatem) accepit, ut omnes intelligant, quod quicumque ab unitate ejus se separaverit, nec peccatis solvi, nec coelum ingredi potest.*⁵

In this sentence one is forcibly reminded of the dictum "outside of the Church there is no salvation" (*Extra Ecclesiam nulla salus*), as understood by Catholic theologians; also of the famous saying of St. Irenaeus that in order to remain orthodox every church, every diocese, every faithful must conform in and remain true to the Faith of Rome.

*Ad hanc enim Ecclesiam (Romanam) propter potentio-rem (potentio-rem) principalitatem necesse est omnem ecclesiam convenire, hoc est eos qui sunt undique fideles, in qua semper ab his, qui sunt undique, servata est ea quae est ab apostolis traditio.*⁶

The Council of the Vatican (1870)⁷ could hardly have expressed

the primacy of Peter in more forceful terms. Anthony of Padua, thus precedes in time, as he equals in clarity of doctrine, all of his contemporary scholastics – Alexander of Hales, Albert the Great, St. Thomas of Aquin, St. Bonaventure, and Duns Scotus in upholding this special prerogative of Peter and of his followers as vicars of the Church in the government of the whole Church – a prerogative not merely of honor (Gallicanism), but also and especially of universal jurisdiction. In his Sunday and feast-day sermons, but particularly in his *In Cathedram Petri* (February 22) St. Anthony teaches the divine origin of Peter's primacy, its nature, its extent, its efficacy, etc.

In St. Anthony's sermons one sees reflected the grave controversies, still carried on unabated during the thirteenth century between pope and emperor (Frederick II); the latter's usurpation of the Church's power on the one hand, and the papal use of excommunication and dispensation from the oath of fealty on the other.⁸ The primacy was clearly enunciated in the Fourth Council of the Lateran (1215) which calls the Roman Church the "mother and teacher of all the faithful of Christ" the *mater universorum Christi fidelium et magistra*.⁹ St. Anthony certainly must have been acquainted with this decree and correspondingly been guided by it in his sermons.

2. *The Infallibility of Peter and of the Roman Pontiff*

Not less illuminating and resolute is St. Anthony's doctrine on the infallibility of the Roman pontiff. Commenting on the astonishment expressed by the Jews (Acts 4, 13) because they knew that both Peter and John were "illiterate and ignorant men," St. Anthony says: "Yes, indeed, Peter, as a mere man was an ignorant and illiterate person, but sitting upon his *cathedra* he was most wise" (*sedens in Cathedra sapientissimus*). In other words, Peter when he speaks *ex cathedra* is infallible, because he is "most wise" (*sapientissimus*). Surely he could not be styled *sapientissimus* if he were continually subject to error, especially in such matters as religion and faith in which even the most learned men, separated from the Church and from the communion with Peter,

have so egregiously erred down the centuries. Peter, although "an idiot" (*idiota*) — to use St. Anthony's expression — was "most wise" because "he had been with Jesus (Acts 4, 13), the wisdom of the Father, in whose school he learned not the wisdom of the world, but the wisdom of heaven."

Non est mirum si Petrus *idiota* dicitur *sapientissimus*, quoniam cum Jesu, Patris sapientia, fuit *quem plus aliis dilexit*, in cujus schola sapientiam non mundi, sed coeli didicit.¹⁰

Since Peter loved Christ more (*Diligis me plus his?*) than did all the other Apostles (*Quem plus aliis dilexit*), Christ also exalted him above all others (*prae caeteris*). Furthermore, because Peter loved Christ more than did the other Apostles, one need not wonder, says our saint, if through the light of the Holy Spirit, sent down on the Apostles on Pentecost Sunday, Christ also transformed Peter from being an idiot into a savant (*sapientissimus*), for was it not for Peter for whom Christ especially prayed, that his faith fail not, so that he in turn might confirm his brethren? (Luke 22, 32).

Petrus erat *idiota* terrae, sed *sapientissimus* coeli, cujus hodie claves suscepit et in Cathedra sedit, idest *judiciaria* potestate ligandi atque solvendi sedit.

The Anthonian expression *sapientissimus in cathedra* (most wise when speaking *ex cathedra*) can mean only one thing: papal infallibility, when, as the Council of the Vatican (1870) teaches, Peter, as head of the whole Church unalterably defines as Catholic dogma a doctrine pertaining to faith and morals. What Anthony calls *sapientissimus in cathedra*, the Council of the Vatican styles *loquitur ex cathedra ea infallibilitate qua pollet Ecclesia*.¹¹

There is also something singular in the doctrine of St. Anthony in this sense of the word that whereas St. John always refers to himself as to the disciple "whom Jesus loved" (*quem diligebat Jesus*) St. Anthony refers to St. Peter as to the one who loved Christ above all the other disciples. Therein lies a rather deep mystery of predestination and predilection. It might well be that St. Peter loved Christ more than did all the other Apostles and yet that John was loved more by Christ than were all the others

including Peter. After all, divine predilection is God's affair. However, John is too humble to say that, i.e., that Christ loved him more than He did the other disciples; he merely says that Christ loved him. Inversely also, St. Peter, even when asked by Christ if he loved Him more than did the other disciples (*plus his*), taught by his fall in denying Christ, passed over in silence this part of the question. It sufficed for Peter to assure the Master of his love, by appealing to Christ's own knowledge of Peter's love for Him: "Thou knowest that I love Thee"; as to whether he loved Christ more than the others (*plus caeteris*) Peter is prudently silent. He had learned the lesson of presumption. "Even if all others be scandalized in Thee, yet not I" (Matt. 26, 33); it now suffices for him simply to assure the Master that he loves Him; as to whether he loved Christ more than the other disciples, Peter would not say. That he left to the Lord to decide after He had once seen him "girt and lead where he would not" (John 21, 18).

PART 2. ST. ANTHONY, THE PREACHER

1. *His Natural and Supernatural Qualifications*

If St. Anthony was a learned theologian and a deep mysticist, he was no less an eloquent orator. In fact, his theology and mysticism were the very causes of his wonderful preaching apostolate which brought so many souls back to Christ.¹² Wherever he went he spread the seed of the Gospel not only "most profusely but also most zealously," says the *Legenda Prima*.¹³ All sought to hear him: the pope,¹⁴ the bishop of Padua,¹⁵ the clergy, men and women of every station of life.¹⁶ They came from the cities, towns, and villages to Padua seeking to receive from his lips the words of life.¹⁷ At times his audience numbered 30,000 persons.¹⁸ His sermons, based on the Sacred Scriptures, and "the salt of the Holy Spirit" conferred grace on his listeners.¹⁹ The people were mystified at his supernatural qualifications as a preacher and were assured that the tongue which spoke to them, briefly, but so lucidly, so prudently, and so profoundly, was indeed the "pen of

the Holy Ghost."²⁰ Artisans closed their stores; women, after the sermon was over, fought to cut off pieces of his habit with their scissors.²¹ St. Anthony thus, without the shadow of a doubt, possessed all those qualifications and operations which, through the grace of God, Pope Boniface VIII demanded of a Doctor of a Church, viz: "that through his doctrine the darknesses of errors he dispersed, obscure matters elucidated, doubtful things clarified, and the enigmata of the Scriptures solved."²² As the superiors of the Franciscan Order perceived the great good achieved through St. Anthony's sermons, they gave him permission to preach wherever he would, so long as the Rule was observed, i.e., that the permission thereto be obtained from the respective bishop of the diocese (Chapter IX).²³

Besides his wonderful knowledge of the Sacred Scriptures, St. Anthony possessed a clear voice, a winning youthful countenance, and a prodigious memory.²⁴ To these natural qualifications God added from on high the supernatural spirit of prophesy, the carisma of tongues,²⁵ and the extraordinary gift of miracles. As a true reformer he inveighed against the vices of luxury, avarice, and tyranny; as an apostle of Christ, he preached against the Cathari and Patarines, who infected the center and north of Italy; and most probably also, like St. Dominic his contemporary, against the Albigensians in the south of France, where he too at times sojourned. He thus earned for himself the sobriquet of *malleus haereticorum* — "hammer of heretics."²⁶

2. *Time and Place of the Composition of the Sermons of St. Anthony*

Concerning the time and place of the sermons of St. Anthony, the learned Jesuit Bollandist, Van Ortro, after long studies has come to the conclusion that they were written by the saint at Limoges, France,²⁷ and at a time when Easter Sunday fell on either April 18, 19, or 20, but most probably in the year, 1226 (Easter Sunday fell that year on the nineteenth of the month). If writers assert that St. Anthony wrote his sermons at Padua, as, e.g., the author of the *Legenda Prima*²⁸ (Bishop) Vittorino Fac-

chinetti O.F.M.²⁹ thinks, this can be sufficiently explained by saying that the saint rewrote or repolished some of them while at Padua during the last years of his life. This final compilation was made at the request of the cardinal of Ostia, Rinaldo dei Conti, protector of the Order Friars Minor, the later Pope Alexander IV.³⁰ The fact that temporarily St. Anthony had ceased his missionary labors, perhaps to take a much needed physical rest, gives us a clue to the assumption that he used his spare time for this most necessary and beneficial work or revising his sermons for future orators and theologians who were to draw so heavily upon them. The *Legenda Prima* tells us that he devoted the whole winter to this work.

3. *The Nature and Style of St. Anthony's Sermons*

The sermons of St. Anthony demonstrate, as hardly anything else, the depth, the industry, and the fervent spirit of the seraphic saint, also the excellent preliminary studies he had made under the direction of the Portuguese Augustinian canons, and finally the fruits of his meditations made during the first years of his Franciscan solitude.³¹

His Sunday sermons are not only homilies on the Gospel, but also of the corresponding scriptural lesson of the Divine Office, of the *Introit*, and of the Epistle of the day. Mystical interpretation of the Scriptures prevails throughout.³² All his sermons indicate patient elaboration, ingenuity, and originality. His style as well as his use of the Scriptures is so unique that he cannot be confused with any other author. His material, too, is adapted to his hearers. He not only incessantly interprets texts from the Bible, but also draws on the moral, mystical, and ascetical works of the Fathers to substantiate his doctrines. His favorites among the Fathers are SS. Basil, Gregory the Great, Ambrose, Augustine, and Bernard of Clairvaux. He uses imagery and has a delightful method of describing the antics of the animal world.³³ Otherwise, he indulges in no fanciful or oratorical flights. His doctrine is solid, thoroughly Catholic, and eminently practical. He has zeal for souls and an all-consuming love for Christ and for His

Blessed Mother Mary. Like a true apostle he demonstrates everywhere and on all occasions a real desire to be of help to others.

Anthony refers so frequently to the Bible and uses the Sacred Text so adroitly that his biographers assure us that were the Scriptures ever lost, they could be reconstructed from St. Anthony's sermons. Gregory IX, once hearing him preach, called him the "Ark of the Testament";³⁴ whereas Cardinal Rinaldi dei Conti, later Pope Alexander IV, was so impressed with Anthony's preaching that he urged him to write a whole course of sermons on the saints of God, a work he actually began, but left unfinished.³⁵ In various prologues to his sermons, in the hope of making them more attractive to his hearers, he inserts observations taken from the natural sciences,³⁶ from the vegetable and mineral kingdoms; he continually gives etymological explanations and applies them to moral and dogmatic conclusions.³⁷

His style is definitely unique. While adapting the *literary* sense in the interpretation of the Sacred Scriptures whenever there is a question of dogmatical definition or historical fact, he delights in the use of the *allegorical* interpretation. In hundreds of cases he finds in even the remotest texts of the Old Testament allusions to the doctrines of the Church. His knowledge of scriptural texts in general and his ability to use them properly is not less phenomenal than his versatility in theology. His proficiency in foreign languages, too, is always a most welcome handmaid to his deeper investigation of the Sacred Text. His application of etymology plays an important role in the elucidation of truths and development of his sermons. He will take a proper name, e.g., the sacred names of Jesus, of Christ, or of the Messiah; of Moses, Aaron, Mary, Pilate, etc., give their etymological derivations, and then proceed to draw from them the most beautiful applications or most practical conclusions.

His Latin is not difficult to read. He delights in the usual threefold or fourfold medieval divisions or subdivisions of his theme, yet never indulges in them excessively, as did some fourteenth- and fifteenth-century rhetoricians and pulpit orators, to the detriment of the practical purpose in view. St. Anthony never indulges

in the glorification of the speculative by making numberless distinctions and subdistinctions; he fully realized that these had better be avoided, or at least be relegated to the classroom rather than employed in the pulpit. Speaking of the Blessed Trinity he frequently uses such expressions as *a quo*, *per quem*, and *in quo* to designate man's relation to God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost.³⁸ Occasionally, like St. Bernard, he uses alliteration. St. Ann, for instance, as mentioned above, is an olive tree (*olea*); Mary, her child, an olive (*oliva*); and the Fruit of Mary's womb, Christ, oil (*oleum*). He delights in beauty of language to express beautiful thoughts. He continuously makes use of metaphors, similes, and allegories. The Blessed Virgin Mary is to St. Anthony a rainbow; she is an ivory tower, a rock in the desert; she is the morning star, the root of Jesse, a silvery moon in the fullness of its nocturnal glory; she is the splendor, the purity, the whiteness, and, through the grace of the Holy Ghost, the warmth of the sun; she is like the dew on a desert stone, like a gentle shower fructifying the arid soil, like a refreshing breeze on a hot summer's day; she is a lily in the fields, an olive from which the rarest oil is pressed, the perfume of the cedars of Lebanon. Mary, the Virgin, is like to both sisters of Lazarus, Martha and Mary. She is a Martha, because she brought forth the Child Jesus, nourished Him, clothed Him, and put Him to sleep in a manger. But she is also a Mary, because she kept all the mysteries of Christ's childhood in her heart and revealed them later to the Evangelist, who recorded them for our edification.

Like St. Augustine, Anthony occasionally "plays the number game" — if one may use the expression. Augustine tells us that the man in the Gospel was sick for 38 years because he lacked the perfection of forty by two — he had failed to practice the love of God and the love of his neighbor; and for that reason was naturally a very sick man. To St. Anthony, the five letters (two consonants and three vowels) of the name of Jesus (J-E-S-U-S) have a deep theological significance. The two syllables signify the human and the divine nature in Christ; the three vowels, the Blessed Trinity; the two consonants (S-S) the body and soul of Christ. Vowels

which can be pronounced by themselves are self-existent, hence they represent the Blessed Trinity; consonants cannot be pronounced excepting with the aid of a vowel, hence they represent the human nature of Christ, which subsists only in the personality of the Divine Word Incarnate.

It is a pleasure to read St. Anthony's sermons, but this must be done attentively if one would get the full import of their meaning.

4. *The Language of St. Anthony*

Although Dante never mentions St. Anthony³⁹ there is no doubt that the great poet was inspired by him as Poletti demonstrates in his important study *Sant Antonio de Padova e Dante Alighieri, Richerchi*.⁴⁰ That St. Anthony knew the Romance languages well is evident from the place of his birth and youth, Portugal; from his travels in Spain; from his sojourn in France; from his educational and missionary activities in Italy. That he was fluent in Latin his sermons clearly evince. That he also came under the influence of Arab, Jewish, and Moorish culture while on the Iberian peninsula will hardly be denied. Furthermore, he was thoroughly conversant with the various dialects which were then gradually forming the group of Romance languages.

Through their sermons, men like Francis of Assisi, Anthony of Padua, Dominic Guzman, and the other great preachers of the thirteenth century prepared the way for Dante to immortalize the Italian tongue.⁴¹ But the sermons themselves, be it remembered, were *written* in Latin, since they were intended as norms for both the diocesan and the religious clergy. They were *preached* in whatever language the audience before Anthony understood best. Being a linguist and the "favorite son" of several nations we can well imagine Anthony preaching to the people at one time in Portuguese; at another in Spanish, French, or Italian, according to the development of these languages at the time. Before the Roman Curia and the civil courts, before the clergy and cultured audiences, we can well imagine that he delivered his sermons in Latin. Where St. Anthony does not give

the full written sermon he furnishes sketches, suggestions, and sermon plans. De Chérancé rightly laments the fact that Anthony lacked a Benedetto of Siena, the stenographer of St. Bernardine of Siena, whose sermon notes he so beautifully elaborated and retouched.

5. *The Subject Matter of St. Anthony's Sermons*

In his sermons St. Anthony treats of the traditional doctrines on God and His attributes, of the Blessed Trinity, of the sacramental system as expounded by the scholastics and as defined by the general councils. He extols Christ and His Blessed Mother, their prerogatives, privileges, and power. He advances and advocates the devotion and love of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, of the Holy Name, the Divine Infancy, the Sacred Passion of Christ, the Blessed Eucharist. He implicitly at least, if not directly, teaches the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary; he exalts her Assumption as hardly any other Father or Doctor of the Church; and long before the pontificates of Pope Pius X and Pope Pius XI he proclaimed Mary the Coredemptrix of the human race and Mediatrix of all graces. He praises the unity of the Church, he extols the dignity of the Roman pontiff, his primacy and infallibility. In his doctrines on the humanity of Christ he is a real follower of St. Francis of Assisi from whom he learned both his intimate knowledge of and his love for Christ.

Per Antonium ad Jesum — through Anthony to Jesus — exhorts Pope Pius XI in his September centenary letter, *Antoniana Solemnia* of 1931,⁴² whereas the present gloriously reigning Pope Pius XII most truly calls St. Anthony's sermons: "a treasury (*thesaurus*) of sacred oratory and a fount (*aerarium*) from which sacred orators might draw abundant arguments to defend the faith, to put errors to flight, to refute heresies, and to recall the minds of wicked men back to the path of Justice."⁴³

N.B. The sources of St. Anthony's sermons will be treated more in detail in the following Chapter IV.

PART 3. ST. ANTHONY, THE THAUMATURGIST

N.B. The numbers 1, 2, 3, etc., refer to the picture in G. B. Conti's beautifully illustrated booklet of twenty miracles of St. Anthony, entitled: *I Miracoli di San Antonio di Padova* (Padua: Messaggero Press, n.d.).

St. Anthony probably outclasses all other saints in the number of miracles attributed to him. The thirteenth century fairly reveled in the supernatural, the mysterious, the miraculous. "In the life of a saint," says Lepître, only too truly, "our ancestors mainly desired an account of the miraculous."⁴⁴ While some of the miracles attributed to St. Anthony may be only legendary, there are others which are based on such early and authentic documents that to deny their factual existence would be supremely rash and highly unchristian. Several of these miracles have been mentioned in the first chapter of this work pertaining to his life (Chapter II); others will be noted shortly, together with an indication of their source and their historical or authentic value.

A large number of the miracles attributed to St. Anthony will be found listed in practically all the thirteenth-century legends, e.g., in the *Legenda Prima* (1232), Chapters XXX–XLVII⁴⁵ and in the additions thereto;⁴⁶ in the *Legenda Benignitas*;⁴⁷ but especially in the *Legenda Rigaldina*;⁴⁸ and in the *Liber Miraculorum* (1316) of the early fourteenth century.⁴⁹

It is true that in the *Legenda Prima*⁵⁰ and in the other early thirteenth-century legends up to the time of the *Legenda Rigaldina* (c. 1294), exclusive,⁵¹ very few miracles *performed during the lifetime of the saint* are recorded. The Capuchin author (Bishop) Hilarin Felder in his *Die Antonius-Wunder nach den älteren Quellen untersucht*⁵² was one of the first and most eminent of the authors of *Franciscana* to deny the existence of miracles *performed during the lifetime of St. Anthony*. In this opinion others later followed him.⁵³ However, in justice to Bishop Felder it must be said that he does not deny the *possible* existence of miracles during the lifetime of the saint; he merely defends the

thesis that, if performed, such miracles were not recorded in the early legends. That miracles occurred in superabundance immediately *after the death* of the saint no earnest student of *Antoniana* will deny, for they are recorded in the appendix to the *Legenda Prima*, which, it seems, was written by the identical author who wrote the *Legenda Prima* itself; hence they deserve the highest regard for credibility and authenticity. Furthermore, these miracles which are recorded are the very ones which were proposed to Pope Gregory IX as evidence, besides the sanctity of the saint and his practice of the theological and cardinal virtues in an heroic degree, for the purpose of his canonization during the years 1231 and 1232. (St. Anthony was canonized May 30, 1232.)

In reality, if one examines minutely the *Legenda Prima* he will find only a few indications of the miraculous or supernatural. But these are sufficient to demonstrate God's intervention. There are two miraculous apparitions recorded, the one of St. Francis to the friars assembled at Arles on the occasion of a certain provincial chapter (1224),⁵⁴ recounted by both Celano⁵⁵ and St. Bonaventure;⁵⁶ the other, the apparition of Christ to the dying saint at Arcella, when he exclaimed: "I see my Lord."⁵⁷ Then, there is the attempt of Satan to choke the saint, because through his sermons so many souls were torn away from his (Satan's) domain. St. Anthony himself retold the incident in confidence to a certain friar. "One night," he said, "it seemed to me as if the devil tried to choke me; but after I had invoked the aid of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and made the sign of the cross on my forehead, I was freed from his power."⁵⁸ Awakening from his horrible dream and expecting to see the fleeing devil he saw, instead, his room lighted up with a heavenly brilliance, indicating to him that the angel of darkness could not possibly sustain the light of God's power.⁵⁹

Then there is the direct intervention of Almighty God prohibiting the saint from laboring in Morocco because he desired him for the home mission field rather than the foreign. A grave illness forced Anthony to return to Europe.⁶⁰ To this might be added

the sermon at Forli which attracted the attention of the whole of Italy; natural perhaps, as a result of Anthony's long studies and spirit of prayer, etc.; but the *Legenda Prima* says explicitly that speaking, according to the counsel of his superior, *as the Holy Spirit would inspire him*, "his tongue became the pen of the Holy Ghost."⁶¹ The conversion of Bonillus during the saint's sermon at Rimini certainly must be looked upon as a miracle of grace, for the man who had been obstinate in his errors for thirty years was converted by the preaching of Anthony.⁶² Furthermore, Anthony built his cell in an oak tree at Camposanpiero *dictante Spiritu* (Chap. XV, Nos. 3-6). If one should undertake to deny divine intervention in the wonderful success of his sermons when persons of every rank and walk of life made every effort and overcame every possible difficulty to hear him preach, so much so that, as already noted, his audiences at times reached the incredible number of 30,000, and he was obliged to speak to them in the open fields because no church was large enough to contain them all,⁶³ it would be difficult to deny the divine charisma of prophecy recorded in Chapter XIV, No. 1, of the *Legenda Prima* when the saint predicted his own death,⁶⁴ or when, as on the feast of Pentecost peoples of various tongues heard him preaching in their own language. Many of his hearers, too, testified to the fact that they went to confession "encouraged by a divine vision" (Chap. XIII, No. 13).

No matter in what light one interprets these events, apparitions, and prophecies, all will surely admit that "the finger of God is here."⁶⁵ On the other hand, merely because certain miracles, such as those said to have happened after the death of St. Anthony, are not recorded in the *Legenda Prima* or other early legends *before* the end of the thirteenth century, one may not logically deny that they actually occurred or that the miracles recorded by later biographers and hagiographers are inventions. Again, because certain events are not recorded by a certain author one may not conclude that those recorded by later authors are all false and for that reason *solely* are to be rejected. The *argumentum ex silentio* is frequently fraught with dangerous consequen-

ces. Giulio Lacetelli⁶⁶ very properly accentuates the fact that there is an *oral* as well as a written tradition; and it is wrong to stamp *a priori* as false all oral tradition. This argument appears all the more valid since the author of the *Legenda Prima* explicitly confesses that he was not acquainted at firsthand with all the events in the life of his protagonist nor with all the miracles performed at his intercession; and for that very reason he intended to record only a few — sufficient to prove his sanctity.⁶⁷ It might be well, as Facchinetti says,⁶⁸ that the author of the *Legenda Prima* either recorded these miracles (or at least had intended to record them) in a special treatise, and hence saw no reason to dwell on them in his legend, too brief already to satisfy modern critics. Celano added such a *Liber Miraculorum* (Book of Miracles) to his *Vita Secunda* of St. Francis, by request of his minister-general, John of Parenti (1247–1257).⁶⁹

The author of the *Legenda Prima* of St. Anthony did the same in regard to the miracles performed *after* the death of our saint; but he failed to record those performed during his lifetime even though more than the extraordinary events just mentioned had actually occurred. Lepître, who otherwise does not unduly favor the miraculous, leaves the question undetermined when he writes: “The first biographer, who had before him an official document in which were narrated the miracles instanced in favor of his canonization fortunately mentions them at the end of his actual biography.”⁷⁰

Then again it might be that later authors obtained their information from witnesses who were unknown to earlier authors, or through oral tradition (unrecorded in books), and thus easily have supplemented — as they seem to have done — the miracles not recorded by earlier biographers, much as today Franciscan (as well as other) authors are continually discovering documents, codices, and texts, known indeed to have existed, but which had either been apparently lost or had been hidden away for centuries in some obscure or unsuspected archives or library.⁷¹

Again, it is quite possible that many miracles which actually occurred many years after the death of St. Anthony and hence

would be sought for in vain in the earlier biographies, legends, or codices, were, through a process of interpolation, inserted by some ardent scribe into the earlier legends in the course of copying (*Additones*), making it appear to the reader as though these interpolated — although factual — miracles actually took place during the lifetime of the saint.⁷²

Furthermore, certain miracles which actually happened may have accumulated details as years passed, and later biographers may have narrated them as facts, although *de facto* there be no mention of their detailed description in the original story. De Kerval exemplifies this in the case of a miracle performed on a certain young girl, four years old, who suffered from epilepsy and was cured through the intercession of St. Anthony.⁷³ As years rolled on, the story took on such a gradual *crescendo* of details that the parents, had they lived long enough, would hardly have recognized their own child as the heroine of the story.

Allowing for all this, there undoubtedly must have been certain miracles firmly established, since Pope Gregory IX declared St. Anthony a saint less than a year after the saint's death (May 30, 1232).

It is a singular experience to read of the many and varied prodigies of every description which took place immediately after the death of St. Anthony, even on those who had merely the privilege of touching his coffin.⁷⁴ And, lest our faith falter, the author of the *Legenda Prima* assures us that he inserted only those miracles which were based on the testimony of trustworthy witnesses (*virorum nobis fide dignorum narratione*).⁷⁵

Finally — to offset all doubt concerning the miracles of St. Anthony — it must be remembered that Pope Gregory IX ranks with Innocent III, Boniface VIII, and Benedict XIV as one of the most learned canonists of the Church. As such, he would not — could not — connive at any negligence in so important a matter, a matter in which papal infallibility is involved, the canonization of a saint. As a matter of fact miracles occurred through St. Anthony's intercession the very day he died.⁷⁶ The official registration and enquiry into the supernatural character of all the col-

lected miracles were committed and entrusted to no less a person than the bishop of Padua himself, assisted by the priors of the Benedictine and Dominican (not Franciscan!) monasteries at Padua.⁷⁷ After a lengthy examination and revision the miracles were presented to the pope by John Cardinal of Sabina,⁷⁸ read to him, to the other cardinals, and finally to all the assembled people.⁷⁹ These miracles referred to so many different kinds of ailments that a new category of prodigies not already mentioned by the author of the *Legenda Prima* can hardly be imagined.⁸⁰ It was only after the miracles had been attested to by oath, examined, and approved by the commission appointed by Gregory IX that the pope proceeded to the act of canonization proper.⁸¹

We do not wonder, then, that Pius XI, the scholarly pope of blessed memory, could say in his encyclical letters on the occasion of the seventh centenary (1931) of the death of our saint (*Antoniana solemnia*) "the world is full of miracles obtained through the intercession of St. Anthony."⁸² To bring this whole academic discussion on the authenticity of the miracles ascribed to St. Anthony to a close, as also to evaluate the lack of more records of the miraculous in the early thirteenth-century legends, it must be remembered that not everything St. Anthony did was recorded by the first hagiographers. On this one point all critics agree. As mentioned previously, a long series of events during the years 1223–1224 and during all of 1229 are omitted in the *Legenda Prima*. "Not everything which Jesus did was recorded," either, St. John assures us.⁸³ The same applies to the life and times of St. Anthony, as the author of the *Legenda Prima* explicitly states in his *Epilogue* to the second part: "Many other signs did the Lord of Majesty work through his servant Anthony, which are not written in this book."⁸⁴ On the other hand, one can easily subscribe to the works of Dal-Gal, the author of the article on "St. Anthony" in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*:

His (St. Anthony's) very popularity has to a certain extent obscured his personality. If we may believe the conclusions of recent critics, some of the saint's biographers, in order to meet the ever increasing demand for the marvellous displayed by his devout

clients and comparatively oblivious of the historical features of his life have devoted themselves to the task of handing down to posterity the posthumous miracles wrought by his intercession. We need not be surprised therefore, to find accounts of his miracles that may seem to the modern mind trivial or incredible occupying so large a space in the early biographies of St. Anthony — (the medieval mind clamored for them). It may be that some of the miracles attributed to St. Anthony are legendary, but others come to us on such high authority that it is impossible either to eliminate them or explain them away *a priori* without doing violence to the facts of history." (Vol. I, p. 558; cf. also MF, XXXIII, pp. 114–115.)

Irrespective, therefore, as to whether or not St. Anthony performed any miracles during his lifetime, irrespective of the question as to whether certain miracles recorded may or may not have occurred, or whether they took place at a later date than is asserted, the fact of the matter remains that so many prodigies did actually take place and at the time asserted that our saint will ever remain one of the greatest thaumaturgists of all times. Therefore, he is more than deserving of the title of "Wonder-worker."

Among the miracles said to have accompanied his sermons against heretics, as a divine confirmation of the words he uttered and the doctrines which he preached, three are especially noteworthy: (1) the miracle of the beast of burden adoring the Blessed Eucharist, alleged to have taken place in the public square of Rimini (Conti, No. 4);⁸⁵ (2) the poisoned food made innocuous through the sign of the cross at Rimini (Conti, No. 5);⁸⁶ and (3) the famous sermon to the fishes in the River Brenta, near Padua (Conti, No. 3).⁸⁷

Besides these miracles those most frequently mentioned by later biographers, especially by Jean Rigault in the *Legenda Rigaldina*, are the following:

1. *Bilocation and Other Prodigies*

While preaching one Holy Thursday night in the church of St. Pierre du Queriox, at Limoges, Anthony remembered that he

was to chant a lesson of the Divine Office in the convent chapel. Suddenly interrupting his sermon, he appeared at the same moment before his friars to sing the prescribed lesson; thereafter he reappeared⁸⁸ on the pulpit to continue his sermon (Conti, No. 6). On another occasion while preaching in the square *des Creux des Arenes* at Limoges he miraculously preserved his audience from a downpour of rain (Conti, No. 8).⁸⁹ At St. Junien, France, during a sermon, he predicted that by the artifice of the devil the pulpit would collapse, but that all would remain unharmed. This really happened, for while the saint was preaching the pulpit actually collapsed, but no one was hurt, least of all he himself (Conti, No. 9).⁹⁰

In a Benedictine monastery, where he had fallen ill, Anthony delivered by means of his tunic one of the monks from a temptation to commit suicide;⁹¹ likewise, while breathing on a certain novice, by the name of Peter, whom he himself had received into the Order, he confirmed him in his religious vocation.⁹²

At Brive, where he had founded a convent, he preserved from the rain the maidservant of a benefactor who was bringing some vegetables to the brethren for their meager repast.⁹³ These miracles occurred in the Province of Limoges.

While passing through Provence, France, in 1226, on his way to Italy, fatigued from his long journey, Anthony and his companions entered the house of a poor woman, who offered them bread and wine. Unfortunately, in drawing off the wine, the good woman forgot to shut off the tap of the wine barrel. To add to the confusion, already embarrassing to all concerned, a companion of the saint broke the only goblet. Sensing the discomfiture of the poor woman and of his companion, Anthony began to pray. Suddenly not only was the glass made whole, but the barrel, also, was filled anew with wine.⁹⁴

At Padua occurred the famous miracle of the amputated foot, which Franciscan writers in general attribute to St. Anthony. A young man, Leonardo, by name, kicked his mother in a fit of anger. Repenting of his deed, he went to confession to St. Anthony. The saint, horrified at such an unnatural crime, said to

his penitent: "The foot of him who kicks his mother deserves to be cut off." Taking his Father confessor's words literally, the young man went home and actually cut off his foot. When St. Anthony heard what had happened, he repaired to the home of Leonardo and rejoined the amputated limb to the boy's body (Conti, No. 15).⁹⁵

Invited to preach at the funeral of a usurer, Anthony took for his sermon the text of Sacred Scripture: "Where thy treasure is, there also is thy heart." In the course of his sermon he said: "That rich man is dead and is buried in hell; but go to his treasures and there you will find his heart." Led by curiosity, the relatives and friends of the deceased followed the saint's injunction, and there in the coffers they actually found the heart of the usurer (Conti, No. 13).⁹⁶

Immediately after his death, the saint appeared at Vercelli to his friend the Abbot Thomas Gallo.⁹⁷ His passing was announced to the citizens of Padua by the crying of children who went about lamenting: "The holy father has died. St. Anthony is dead."⁹⁸

2. Apparitions

Although there seems to be little doubt concerning an apparition of the Infant Jesus to St. Anthony,⁹⁹ there is some controversy concerning the exact place where it took place. Existing documents do not decide the question. French writers maintain that it occurred in the Province of Limousin (Limoges) at the Castle of Chateau-neuf-le-Forêt, between Limoges and Eymoutiers, whereas the Italian hagiographers fix the place at Camposanpiero, near Padua, just before the saint's death (Conti, No. 18). Three other cities contend likewise for the honor (cf. Chapter II). There is more certainty concerning the apparition of St. Francis to St. Anthony during the Provincial Chapter of Arles, while the latter was preaching on the sign of the cross (Conti, No. 2).¹

Just before his death, on the way from Camposanpiero to Padua the friars carrying the stretcher halted at Arcella to give the dying saint a little rest. It was here at the convent of the

Poor Clares, that having confessed and received absolution, he suddenly raised his eyes heavenward, as an angelic smile brightened his whole countenance. Surprised at his radiant features, one of the friars standing near by asked: "What are you looking at, Father?" "I see my Lord," was the reply. A half hour later he joined his Master in heaven (Conti, No. 20).²

3. *The Patron of Lost Things*

Shortly after his death St. Anthony began to be invoked as the "Finder of Lost Things." It was Friar Julian of Spires, the famous composer of the versified lives of St. Francis and of St. Anthony, who exhorted his readers to invoke St. Anthony:

*Si quaeris miracula
Membra, resque perditas.*³

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

1. Cf. Diomede Scaramuzzi, O.F.M., in the many works quoted under his name in the Bibliography given in Chapter VIII of this treatise; also Appolinaris (de Saint-Renan), O.F.M.Cap., "Saint Antoine de Padoue theologien" in *Etudes Franciscaines* (EF), XLVIII (1936), 605-629. Cf. *Collectanea Franciscana* (CF), XI (1941), 134-135.

2. Cf. Scaramuzzi, *La Vita Intellettuale di S. Antonio di Padova* (Rome, 1934), Chap. I; CF, VII (1937), 87.

3. "Primus in ordine doctoris scholastici exercuit officium," says the *Legenda Raymondina*, ed. by P. Antonio Ma. Josa, O.F.M.Conv. (Bologna, 1883). Cf. Léon De Kerval, *S. Antonii de Padua: Vitae Duae* (Paris, 1904), p. 217, Note 1. It is true that Alexander of Hales, who is often looked upon as the first teacher in the Order, also taught the friars at Paris as a novice; but he entered the Order only shortly before St. Anthony's death. Confusion also might have arisen from the fact that whereas Alexander taught as a profession, if one might use the expression, St. Anthony was so occupied with the preaching apostolate that, despite his injunction to teach by St. Francis himself, his teaching was rather an avocation, as we shall soon see.

4. Thomas of Vercelli, his guide in mystical theology, once wrote of his illustrious pupil: "Quidam amando me intime, didicit divina et loquebatur mirabilia." Cf. *Dict. de la Bible*, Vigouroux ed. (Paris, 1912). Vol. I, Col. 709-710. Cf. *Legenda Prima* (Add. of the Ms. of Lucerne, No. 29. De Kerval, *op. cit.*, p. 123).

5. Cf. *Legenda Prima*, Chap. IX, No. 4 (edition of De Kerval, p. 41);

Legenda Benignitas, Fragment, No. 1, No. 6 (De Kerval, pp. 210-220); *ibid.*, No. 4 (De Kerval, p. 220); cf. *ibid.*, p. 200.

6. "Theologia est divinae Scripturae scientia." *In Domin. II post Pascha.*, cf. Locatelli, p. 149 a.

7. A sample of his doctrine on the Blessed Trinity, taken from his sermon for the Sixth Sunday after Pentecost (cf. Locatelli, pp. 208-209) is given in the Appendix of this treatise.

8. Diomede Scaramuzzi, O.F.M., *La Figura Intellettuale di San Antonio, I suoi scritti: La sua Dottrina* (Rome: Collegio di San Antonio, 1930). This identical work was included in the authentic process of the Sacred Congregation of Rites preparatory to the official declaration of St. Anthony as a Doctor of the Church. The first part of the title remained the same. In the second part the words "*Alla luce della critica*" were added (Rome, 1934).

For the contents, the method, and development of St. Anthony's sermons, cf. *infra*, Chap. IV.

9. Cf. Scaramuzzi, *op. cit.*, pp. 169-195; 196-209 (Rome ed., 1930).

10. Luke 23, 42.

11. Locatelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-114.

12. "Ecce rex tuus veniet tibi justus et Salvator." Zach. 9, 9-10.

13. "Non habemus regem nisi Caesarem." John 19, 14-15.

14. "Behold therefore your King, Who has come for your benefit, mild that He might be loved; not that on account of His power, He be feared."

15. *Sermo 4 De Epiphania*, Nos. 1-6. Cf. *Diem Sextam infra Octavam Epiphaniae*. "He came not that He might fight whilst alive, but that He might triumph in death."

16. *In Dominicam III post Pentecostem* in Locatelli, p. 259. "Jesus Christ is the King of Kings, Who freed us from the hands of our enemies."

17. *In Dominicam XXI post Pentecostem*, cf. Locatelli, p. 530 b. "Everyone of the faithful in this world is truly a noble due to his union with Jesus Christ, who is the King of Kings of all creation and presides over the angels in Heaven and men."

18. "The kingdom of Heaven is likened unto a king who would take an account of his servants" (Matt. 18, 23).

19. "This man Who is also a king, is our Lord Jesus Christ. He is a man in his humanity, a king in His divinity; a man in His nativity, a king in His passion, in which He had the regalia which belong to a king, viz.: a crown, purple garments, and a sceptre." *In Dominicam XII post Pentecostem* (Locatelli, pp. 542 b-543).

20. Joannes de la Haye, *Sancti Francisci Assisiatis et Sancti Antonii Opera Omnia* (Paris: Bechet, 1641): *Sermo in Dominicam III post Epiphaniam*, p. 117 c (Locatelli, pp. 675-684).

21. De la Haye, *Domin. III post Trinitat.*, *op. cit.*, p. 324 d (Locatelli, p. 257 ff.); *in Domin. I Quadrag.*, in De la Haye, p. 277 (Locatelli, p. 41 ff.); *in Domin. IV Quad.*, in De la Haye, p. 281 (Locatelli, p. 73 ff.).

22. *In Domin. XXII post Trinitat.*, in De la Haye, p. 405 b (Locatelli, p. 541 ff.); *in XXI post Trinitatem*, in De la Haye, p. 401 a (Locatelli,

p. 529 ff.); in *Domin. III post Trin.*, in De la Haye, p. 324 a (Locatelli, p. 257 ff.).

23. In *Domin. II post Epiph.*, in De la Haye, p. 117, 2 (Locatelli, p. 665 ff.).

24. In *Domin. XXI post Pentecost.*, in De la Haye, p. 405 c; (Locatelli, p. 529.)

25. Ps. 47. Cf. *Serm. in Domin. in Ramis Palmarum*, in De la Haye, p. 248 (Locatelli, p. 109 ff.).

26. Luke 1, 33.

27. John 5, 22.

28. *Sermo in Cathedra Petri* in Locatelli, p. 822 b; Scaramuzzi, *op. cit.*, pp. 188–189. "There was none more patient nor more humble than He when He was scourged, crowned with thorns, struck with reeds. There is no one stronger than He, Who by an irrevocable sentence will cast the devil and his followers into Hell, from which may He preserve us, Who is blessed forever."

29. In *Domin. V post Pentecost.*, in Locatelli, p. 294 a. "Our Lord, Jesus Christ, Who is the power and wisdom of God, made for Himself a throne on which He might recline. His throne is the soul of every just person which by His wisdom He created when it was not, and which by His power He re-created when it was lost."

30. Scaramuzzi, p. 189 ff.; cf. Constant, O.M.Cap., "Le sacre Coeur de Jesus et l'ordre franciscaine," in *Italia Franciscana*, IV (1929), 304–324; J. R. Legisma, O.F.M., *La Devocion al Sacrado Corazon de Jesus y la Orden Franciscana* (Madrid: Murillo, 1930) in 8 vo., pp. 32. (Cf. CF, I [1931], 412–413; E. Lavesque, *ibid.*, p. 413.)

31. Cf. John 20, 29.

32. In *Domin. Paschae*, in Locatelli, p. 139; cf. also St. Anthony's sermon in *Dominicam XV post Pentecost.* (Locatelli, p. 452 a). "Fourthly, He showed them His wounds imploring them that having compassion on them we might not anew crucify Him with the nails of sin. Do not therefore crucify Me anew and cause to be shed in vain the blood of the testament whereby you have been sanctified, thus degrading grace by contumely." What exalted mysticism!

33. John 4, 19. "Let us love Christ, for He hath first loved us." Cf. Locatelli, pp. 90–91.

34. In *Octavam Paschae* in Locatelli, *l.c.* "He gave Himself entirely to you, that you in turn might give yourself entirely to Him."

35. Cf. Scaramuzzi, p. 192 ff.

36. Cf. *I Celano*, Chap. XXIX, No. 82 (Quaracchi ed., p. 86); Paschal Robinson, O.F.M., *The Writings of St. Francis* (Phila., 1906), p. 82; St. Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia* (Quaracchi ed.), VIII, 535.

37. Cf. the Lessons of the II Nocturn for the feast of the Holy Name of Jesus, Jan. 2.

38. Cf. Migne, *PL*, Vol. 217, pp. 466–470.

39. Luke 2, 2.

40. Observe St. Anthony's dependence here on St. Bernard. Cf. the Lessons

of the II Nocturn for the feast of the Holy Name of Jesus in the *Roman Breviary*, Jan. 2.

"O sweet Name, O charming Name, O Name of blessed hope which comforts sinners; a joy to the heart, a melody to the ear, and honey to the lips."

41. Eccles. I, 2. "*Thy Name is like oil poured out.*" St. Bernard develops only three thoughts: *Oleum enim lucet, pascit et ungit., l.c.*

42. *In Circumcis. Domini*, Migne, *PL*, 217, 466, 570; Scaramuzzi, 192.

"In virtue of this Holy Name Christ excels all men and angels (like oil that floats above every liquid), because at that Name every knee must bow; (2) if you preach that Name, you will soften hard hearts; (3) if you invoke it, you will put to flight all evil temptations; (4) if you meditate on that Name, your heart will be illuminated; and finally (5) if you read that Name your mind will be satiated."

St. Bernard once said: "No book satisfies me if I do not read therein the Name of Jesus." *Roman Brev.*, Jan. 2.

43. St. Augustine loved to find symbolism in numbers; e.g., in the thirty-eight years that the man was sick of the palsy. Cf. his exposé of the Gospel in the Roman Breviary, for the Friday of the Spring Ember Days (*Feria VI Quat. Temp. Quad.*).

44. *Symbolum Athanasianum*. Cf. Scaramuzzi, p. 193. "For as the rational soul and flesh form one man, so do God and man become one Christ."

45. "A person is a rational substance, sounding by itself (i.e., self-existent), which is Christ. Christ is indeed God and man, but *in as far as* He is man, He does not produce a sound, i.e., is not self-subsisting."

46. *In Domin. V post Pascha*, Locatelli, p. 195.

47. 2 Thes. 2, 7.

48. *In Joan. Evangelium*, tr. 27, n. 9; cf. Migne, *PL*, Vol. 35, p. 1619.

49. "Dost thou cast us from Thee? Give us another one like unto Thyself, for to whom else shall we go?"

50. "In the name therefore of Christ Jesus, we ask Thee, as He commanded us, give us Thyself, for without Thee, there is no life."

51. Acts 17, 28. "For in Him we live, and move, and have our being."

52. "Grant us, O Lord, we beseech Thee, the spirit to think and to do always those things as are right; that we, *who cannot exist without Thee*, may be able to live according to Thy will, through our Lord, Jesus Christ," etc.

53. *In Festo Purificationis Mariae*, Locatelli, p. 81 b.

"O Sweet Jesus: what is there sweeter than Thee? Sweet is Thy memory, sweeter than that of honey or any other object. Thy very name is a Name of sweetness, a Name of Salvation. For what does the name Jesus signify, if not Saviour? Therefore good Jesus, for Thy own sake be to us a Jesus; so that Thou Who gavest us the beginning of sweetness; i.e., faith, mightest give us also hope and charity, so that living in it (charity) we might die in Thee and come to Thee."

54. Cf. Scaramuzzi, *La Figura Intellettuale*, *op. cit.*, pp. 197-200; *id.* "San

Antonio di Padova e il dogma della Immacolata" in *L'Osservatore Romano*, Dec. 18, 1932.

55. Cf. Gustavo Cantini, O.F.M., "Il pensiero di San Antonio intorno al concepimento immacolato di Maria" in *Studi Francescani* (SF), Serie III, anno, III (1931), p. 2 ff. Cf. CF, I (1931), 539; *ibid.*, III (1933), 292 (no. 129); and Gaetano Stanno, O.F.M.Conv., "De Mente S. Antonii Patavini quoad Immacul. Conceptionem B.V. Mariae" in *Miscellanea Francescana* (MF), XL (1940), 254-260. Both Cantini and Stanno hold that St. Anthony at least *implicitly* defended the Immaculate Conception of Mary whereas Candido Romieri, O.F.M., in his doctoral dissertation (1939) at the *Collegio San Antonio*, Roma, entitled: "De Immaculata Conceptione B.V.M. apud S. Antonium Patavinum" (Rome, 1939), p. 89 (cf. CF, XI, 91-96; MF, XL [1940], pp. 245-260) denies this. He was sustained in his opinion by the Capuchin Amadeus von Zedelgem in CF, V, 490 (no. 22) and *ibid.*, XI (1941) p. 96. Cf. also Lepître, *op. cit.*, pp. 162-163; Facchinetti, *San Antonio-Sancto — op. cit.*, p. 50; Sparacio, *op. cit.*, I, p. 465.

56. Cf. Locatelli, p. 37 a; Scaramuzzi, *op. cit.*, p. 198, 2.

57. "God clothed His Son with a white garment, i.e., with flesh free from every taint of sin, conceived by an immaculately conceived Virgin."

58. "Mary is an *Ivory Throne* because she was *candid* in her innocence, but *frigid* without the concupiscence of passion."

59. In *Domin. V post Pentecost.*, Locatelli, p. 296.

60. "Non potuit invenire semitam." In *Annuntiatione B.M.V.*, Locatelli, p. 707 b.

61. "Venit ergo Filius ut vestem sibi faceret lanam ex ove, i.e., Virgine, quae dicitur ovis propter innocentiam." In *Annuntiatione B.M.V.*, Locatelli, 708 a. "Mary is called a sheep on account of her innocence."

62. In *Dominican XXII post Pentecostem.*, Locatelli, p. 400 a.

63. *La Figura Intellettuale di San Antonio* (Rome, 1934), p. 200, Note 1.

64. Gen. 3, 16.

65. Luke 1, 28. In *Annuntiatione Sanctae Mariae*, Locatelli, p. 840 a.

66. Sess. V: *De Peccato Orig.*, which negatively defined the Immaculate Conception of Mary by excluding her from its otherwise universal definition.

67. 1 John 1, 8.

68. *Dominica III in Quad.*, Locatelli, p. 89.

69. "Pre-redemption through the merits of Christ" and "a singular preventive grace."

70. Cf. Note 54 of this chapter.

71. Cf. CF, V, 490 (no. 22).

72. Cf. *Cath. Encyc.*, VII, 679.

73. This treatise on St. Anthony's doctrine on the Assumption appeared in the May, 1947, number of the *American Eccles. Review*.

74. Cf. Schwane, *Histoire des dogmes* (Paris, 1904), Vol. III, 187, 188, 312; Martin Jugie, "L'Assumption de la Saint Vierge e L' Ecriture Saint" in *L'Année Théologique*, III (1942), 1-46; Franciscus Salesius Mueller, S.J., *Origo divino-apostolica doctrinae evectionis Beatissimae Virginis ad gloriam*

coelestem quoad corpus (Innsbruck: Rauch, 1930); Guillelmus Hentrich, S.J., et Rudolphus De Moos, S.J., *Petitions de Assumptione corporea B.M.V. in coelum definienda ad S. Sedem delatae*, 2 vols. (Typis Polygl. Vat., 1942), cf. CF, XIV (1942), 266 ff.

75. Cf. *Cath. Encyc.* IX, 233.

76. Cf. Scaramuzzi, *op. cit.*, 1934, p. 203, Note.

77. Cf. *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, V, 52-53.

78. Cf. *The Companion of St. Anthony and St. Francis* (Chicago, Ill.), Vol. XXI, No. 8 (Aug., 1946), p. 16.

79. Cf. Bonaventure Gargiulo, O.F.M.Cap. (Bishop of S. Severo), *La corporea Assunzione di Maria al cielo. Tradizione e scuola francescana* (Napoli, 1902). Cf. CF, XIV, 264 (Note 1).

80. *Summa Theol.* 3, q. 27, art. 1; *ibid.*, q. 83, art. 6, ad 8.

81. *Op. cit.*, pp. 722-733.

82. Padova: Typis Seminarii, 1888, pp. 49-57.

83. Cf. Scaramuzzi, *op. cit.*, pp. 203-204, under Note 10; *Id. La Dottrina Theologica di San Antonio di Padova* (Romae: Libr. San Antonio, e 1933), pp. 52-54; *Id. Parla il Santo di Padova, Dottore della Chiesa* (Romae: Ferrari, 1946), pp. 83-85.

84. St. Bonaventure in his *Speculum B. Virginis* (Cf. *Opera Omnia S. Bonaventurae*, publ. at Quaracchi, 1882, Vol. I, 456-457) seems to have borrowed this similarity between Esther and the Blessed Virgin from St. Anthony. Cf. Scaramuzzi, *op. cit.*, p. 203, Note 2; Locatelli, *op. cit.*, p. 725 a. How like the antiphons of the Roman Breviary for the feast of the Assumption are not these passages in St. Anthony's sermons!

85. "Oh inestimable dignity of Mary; oh unspeakable sublimity of grace; oh unsearchable profundity of mercy!"

86. Concerning St. Anthony's doctrine on the Immaculate Conception, cf. under Part I, Sect. 2, No. 1.

87. Cf. Mueller, *op. cit.*

88. "Quae tanta gratia, tanta misericordia Angelo vel homini unquam facta fuit vel fieri potuit, quanta Beatae Mariae Virgini, quam Deus Pater sui proprii Filii sibi aequalis, ante saecula genuit, Matrem esse voluit. . . . Vere omni gratia praestantior fuit Beatae Mariae gratia, quae Filium cum Deo Patre habuit (cf. Luke 1, 35) et ideo hodierna die coronari meruit."

89. "Go forth therefore and see the mother of Solomon in the diadem with which her Son crowned her on the day of her Assumption."

90. Cf. Scaramuzzi, *op. cit.*; cf. the address delivered by the Very Rev. Ignatius Smith, O.P., on the occasion of the academic exercises held in honor of St. Anthony's being declared a Doctor of the Church at the Catholic University, Washington, D. C., Nov. 11, 1946, and reprinted in two serials in the *Baltimore Catholic Review*, Nov. 22 and Dec. 6, 1946.

91. Cf. *Acta Apost. Sedis*, VI (1914), p. 108; cf. *ibid.*, V (1913) p. 364; and *Acta S. Sedis*, XXVI, pp. 449-462.

92. "For she saw the Son of God, whom she conceived of the Holy Ghost,

nailed to the cross and suspended between thieves. . . . Before she gave birth therefore in the Passion of Christ, she brought forth a child in the Nativity." The child of Bethlehem became the Redeemer on Golgotha!

93. "Et quidem posteaquam emisit spiritum tuus ille Jesus, ipsius plane non attigit animam crudelis lancea, quae ipsius aperuit latus, sed tuam utique animam pertransivit. Ipsius nimirum anima jam ibi non erat, sed tua plane inde nequibat avelli. (*Sermo de duodecim stellis*, cf. *Roman Breviary, Lectio IV: in Festum Septem Dolorum B. V. M.*, Sept. 15.)

94. "The Blessed Virgin Mary therefore, our Mediatrix established peace between God and the sinner."

95. "Who (Mary), in virtue of her being overshadowed by the Holy Spirit, conceived The Only Begotten Son; and the glory of her virginity remaining unsullied brought forth to the world its Eternal Light, Jesus Christ Our Lord."

96. "You have, O man, a sure approach to the Lord, where you have the Mother before the Son, and the Son before the Father. The Mother shows to her Son her breast and womb, the Son shows to the Father His side and wounds. Where so many marks of charity come together, there can be no denial of your request."

Sermo in Annuntiationem B.M.V., Locatelli, p. 709 b; Scaramuzzi, *op. cit.*, pp. 205-206.

97. "Mary is a sweet balm of Lebanon because everywhere, diffusing its odor, it gives life to the dead, forgiveness to the despairing, grace to the penitent, and glory to the just. For that reason we have every cause to hope that the dew of the Holy Spirit will cool off the ardor of our mind; forgive us our sins, and infuse grace into our souls, so that we might merit to arrive at the glory of eternal and immortal life, through the merits of Him Who is blessed forever and ever, Amen."

98. *In Annuntiatione B. Mariae Virginis*, Locatelli, p. 703; Scaramuzzi, *op. cit.*, pp. 206-207.

99. *In Festo Purificationis B. Mariae*, Locatelli, p. 809; Scaramuzzi, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

1. *In Annuntiatione Sanctae Mariae*, Locatelli, p. 840 a.

2. *In Dominicam infra Octav. Nativ. Domini*, Locatelli, p. 638; Scaramuzzi, p. 207.

3. Scaramuzzi, pp. 207-208.

4. *Sermo in Cathedra Petri*, Locatelli, p. 815.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 819.

6. *Adversus Haereses*, III, 1; III, 3; *PL*, VIII, 844-848. Cf. Funk-Cappadelta, *Manual of Church History* (St. Louis: Herder, 1910), Vol. I, p. 60.

7. *Sess. IV, cap.* 1, 2, and 3.

8. Cf. Scaramuzzi, p. 141, Note 1.

9. Cf. H. J. Schroeder, O.P., *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils* (St. Louis: Herder, 1937), p. 238; Denzinger-Umberg, *Enchiridion Symbolorum* (Freiburg in Br: Herder, many editions), No. 430.

10. *Sermo in Cathedra Petri*, Locatelli, p. 820; Scaramuzzi, p. 142.
11. Cf. Sess. IV, cap. 4; Denzinger, *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, Nos. 1832–1840.
12. "Ostendere volens Dominus Jesus Christus benedictus quanta esset sanctitas fidelissimi sui Antonii, et quam devote audienda esset ejus praedicatio ac sana doctrina per animalia irrationabilia, scilicet per pisces, degarguit infidelium et insipientium haereticorumque stultitiam sicut asina redarguit insipientiam Balam." *Actus Sancti Francisci et Sociorum Ejus*, ed. Sabatier (Paris: Fischbacher, 1902), Chap. XLIX, No. 1.
13. "Circuibat proinde civitates at castra, vicos atque campestria, et vitae semina, sicut affluentissime ita et ferventissime, cunctis spargebat." *Legenda Prima*, Chap. IX, No. 3 (De Kerval, p. 41).
14. *Legenda Prima*, Chap. I, No. 2.
15. *Ibid.*, Chap. XIII, No. 6.
16. "Omnis demum conditionis, ordinis et aetatis viri congruentia sibi vitae documenta suscipisse laetati sunt." *Legenda Prima*, Chap. 10, No. 5 (De Kerval, p. 43).
17. "Veniebant enim de civitatibus, castris et villis Paduam circumstantibus utriusque sexus turba paene innumerabilis, omnes verbum vitae summa devotione sitientes et salutem suam in doctrina ipius spe firma constituentes." *Legenda Prima*, Chap. XIII, No. 2 (De Kerval, p. 47).
18. *Legenda Prima*, Chap. XIII, No. 7 (De Kerval, p. 48).
19. "Sermo namque ipsius, in gratiae sale conditus, non mediocriter audientibus gratiam conferebat." *Legenda Prima*, Chap. X, No. 3 (De Kerval, p. 42).
20. "Viribus totis, quoad potuit, renitens, tandem ad clamorem omnium simpliciter loqui exorsus est; quumque *calamus ille sancti Spiritus, lingua ipsius*, luculenta satis expositione ac brevi sermonis compendio multa prudenter disseruisset, stupenda fratres admiratione percussi intentis auribus perorantem virum unanimiter intendebant. Dabat quippe stuporis augmentum inspiratae dictionum profunditas sed nec minus aedificabat spiritus quo loquebatur et ferventissima caritas. Omnes denique, sancta consolatione perfusi, humilitatis meritum in servo Dei Antonio cum dono scientiae venerati sunt." *Legenda Prima*, Chap. VIII, Nos. 7–9 (De Kerval, p. 40).
21. *Legenda Prima*, Chap. XIII, Nos. 8–9 (De Kerval, p. 48).
22. "Quod videlicet per eam (sci. doctrinam) errorum tenebrae fuerint profugatae, obscura fuerint dilucidata, dubia declarata, Scripturarum aenigmata reservata." Benedictus XIV, *De Servorum Die Beatificatione, et Canonizatione*, Tom. IV, p. 513; Scaramuzzi, *op. cit.*, p. 47.
23. "Servus Dei Antonius generalem praedicationis libertatem a Ministro Generali suscepit." *Legenda Prima*, Chap. XI, No. 2 (De Kerval, pp. 43–44).
24. "Quum talis esset industriae ut memoria pro libris uteretur." *Legenda Prima*, Chap. VIII, No. 6 (De Kerval, p. 40); cf. *ibid.* Chap. IV, No. 6 (De Kerval, p. 29).
25. Frequently speaking in his own tongue he was understood by people of various nationalities and dialects. Cf. *Actus S. Francisci* (ed. Sabatier,

Paris: Fischbacher, 1902), Chap. XLVIII.

26. "Sanctus Antonius aperiens os suum tam mirabiliter de fide catholica praedicavit quod omnes haereticos convertit et fideles roboratos in fide cum gaudio et benedictione remiit." *Actus B. Francisci* (ed. Sabatier), Chap. XLIX (49), No. 19. "Post haec per multos dies sanctus Antonius Arimini praedicando magnum fructum fecit in conversione haereticorum et devotione cleri"; *ibid.* (*Actus*, Chap. XLIX, No. 21).

27. Cf. *Il Santo*, IV, 119.

28. "Verum quia alio in tempore, quum videlicet *sermones* per annum *dominicales* componeret, apud civitatem Paduanam residentiam fecerat," etc., Chap. XI, No. 3 (De Kerval, p. 44).

29. *Antonio di Padua, Santo*, etc. (Milan: Lega Eucharistica, 1926), p. 226.

30. "Ad preces Domini Ostiensis, in *festivitatibus sanctorum* per anni circulum compositioni se contulit." *Legenda Prima*, Chap. XI, No. 4 (De Kerval, p. 44, cf. *ibid.*, Note 2).

31. "Non mediocri autem studio semper colebat ingenium et animum meditationibus exercebat; nec diebus ac noctibus, pro temporis convenientia, a lectione cessabat." *Legenda Prima*, Chap. IV, No. 3 (De Kerval, p. 28).

32. Cf. *Il Santo*, I, 190 (*Expositio in S. Scripturam*).

33. Cf. *Il Santo*, I, 99.

34. *Legenda Prima*, Chap. X, No. 2 (De Kerval, p. 42); *Legenda Benignitas*, L. No. 1 (De Kerval, p. 215); *De Factis in Marchia Tarvesina* (c. 1260). Cf. De Kerval, p. 251.

35. Cf. De Kerval, *op. cit.*, p. 44, Notes 2 and 3.

36. Cf. *San Antonio di Padova, Dottore Evangelico* (Padua, 1946), pp. 141-147.

37. Cf. *Il Santo*, I, p. 77.

38. Cf. *Sermo in Dominicam Sextam Post Pentec.*, Locatelli, pp. 208-209.

39. Cf. *Il Santo*, II, 94.

40. Padova: Tip. Antoniana, 1906.

41. Cf. Facchinetti, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

42. Cf. *Il Santo*, anno III, *fasc.*, II, 258; and *ibid.* III, 291.

43. Apostolic Letters, *Exulta*, Jan. 16, 1946, in AAS, XXXVIII (June 1, 1946), pp. 200-204.

44. *Saint Anthony of Padua: 1195-1231*, Engl. transl. by Edith Guest (London, 1902), p. vii.

45. Cf. De Kerval, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-114.

46. De Kerval, *op. cit.*, Appendix, p. 115 ff.

47. De Kerval, p. 223 ff.

48. De Kerval, p. 242.

49. Cf. Chap. VII, Group C, No. 2; Domenico Sparacio, O.F.M.Conv., in *Il Santo*, III, 220.

50. Cf. Chap. VI, No. 1 of this treatise.

51. Cf. Chap. VI, No. 12 of this treatise.

52. Paderborn: Schönningh, 1933.

53. Cf. MF, XXXII, pp. 11-115; CF, III (1933), 296-298; *ibid.* VII, 123 (4).

54. *Legenda Prima*, Addition of the Ms. of Lucerne, II, No. 5 (De Kerval, p. 224).
55. *Vita Prima*, Part 1, Chap. XVIII. Cf. De Kerval, *op. cit.*, p. 253.
56. *Legenda Major*, Chap. IV.
57. *Legenda Prima*, Chap. XVII, No. 12 (De Kerval, p. 56). Cf. *ibid.* Chap. XVII, No. 17. "Uno tempore vivere meruit et Deum videre" (De Kerval, p. 57).
58. *Legenda Prima*, Chap. XII, No. 12.
59. *Ibid.*, No. 4.
60. "Sed quae sunt hominis cognoscens Altissimus in faciem ei restitit ac intentato gravi morbo, per totum hiemis spatium, acrius flagellavit." *Legenda Prima*, Chap. VI, No. 3.
61. "Calamus ille sancti Spiritus, lingua ipsius." *Legenda Prima*, Chap. VIII, 4 and 7 (De Kerval, pp. 39-40).
62. *Legenda Prima*, Chap. IX, No. 6 (De Kerval, pp. 41-42).
63. Cf. *Legenda Prima*, Chap. XIII (De Kerval, pp. 47-49).
64. "Obitum suum longe ante praescivit." Chap. XIV, No. 1 (De Kerval, p. 50).
65. Cf. Exod. 8, 19.
66. MF, XXXIII, 112.
67. Cf. Chap. I, No. 10 (De Kerval, pp. 24-25). Cf. *ibid.*, Pars II, Chap. 47 (Epilogue) (De Kerval p. 113).
68. *Vita di San Antonio*, Vol. 1, p. XVIII.
69. Cf. Huber, *Documented History of the Franciscan Order*, p. 126.
70. *St. Anthony of Padua* (London, 1917), p. vii.
71. Apropos of this is the fact that only recently an important thirteenth-century codex (written before 1250) containing the works of Alexander of Hales was discovered, solving instantly controversies centuries old regarding the priority of Alexander of Hales' works to the *Summa* of St. Thomas.
72. Cf. De Kerval, *op. cit.*, p. 31, Note 3; p. 35, Note 1.
73. Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 191 ff.
74. "Ibi revera oculi caecorum aperti sunt; ibi aures sudorum patuerunt; ibi claudus sicut cervus salit; ibi soluta mutorum lingua velociter et plane Dei laudes acclamavit. Ibi diisoluta paralysi membra in usus pristinos solidantur; ibi gibbus, gutta, febris et morborum pestes variae mirabiliter figantur. Ibi denique optata fidelibus beneficia quaeque praestantur; ibi salutarem petitionis effectum, ex diversis mundi partibus venientes, viri feminaeque consequuntur." *Legenda Prima*, Chap. XXV, No. 406 (De Kerval, *op. cit.*, p. 71); cf. *ibid.*, pp. 53 and 83.
75. Chap. XVI (Prologue, No. 2).
76. *Legenda Prima*, Chap. XXV (De Kerval, p. 71).
77. *Legenda Prima*, Chap. XXVII, No. 8 (De Kerval, pp. 75-76). Cf. *ibid.*, p. 76, Note 1.
78. *Legenda Prima*, Chap. XXVII, No. 18 (De Kerval, p. 78).
79. *Legenda Prima*, Chap. XXIX, Nos. 7-8 (De Kerval, p. 81).

80. Cf. *Legenda Prima*, Chap. XXIII ff. (De Kerval, p. 97 ff.).

81. "Recitatis igitur, ut praedictum est, coram Domino Joanne, Sabinensi episcopo, miraculis, attestatione juratorum verificatis, approbatis ac demum receptis, tota cardinalium et praelatorum qui tunc in curia erant praesules, universitas congregatur. Fit tandem de Beati Antonii canonizatione mentio." *Legenda Prima*, Chap. XXIX, Nos. 1-2 (De Kerval, p. 80).

82. Cf. *II Libro dei miracoli di San Antonio di Padova* (Padova: Messaggero Press, 1840), 8 ed. (anonyms.) for a large number of modern miracles attributed to St. Anthony.

83. Cf. John 21, 25.

84. "Multa quidem et alia signa per servum suum Antonium Majestatis Dominus operatus est, quae non sunt scripta in libro hoc." De Kerval, *op cit.*, p. 114.

85. Legendary narratives of the fourteenth-century place this miracle at Toulouse, whereas Wadding says it occurred at Bruges. It is recorded by the *Legenda Rigaldina*, Chap. VIII (De Kerval, p. 242).

86. *Legenda Rigaldina*, Chap. VI (De Kerval, p. 242).

87. *Ibid.*, Chap. VIII (De Kerval, p. 242); Ms. of Florence (De Kerval p. 243). Cf. *ibid.*, p. 166, Note 1; p. 176, Note 5; pp. 181, 182, 242, 263, 268, 269.

88. *Legenda Rigaldina*, Chap. V (De Kerval, p. 242).

89. *Ibid.*, Chap. VIII (De Kerval, p. 242).

90. *Ibid.*, Chap. VIII (De Kerval, p. 242).

91. *Ibid.*, Chap. VII (De Kerval, p. 242).

92. *Ibid.*, Chap. V (De Kerval, p. 242).

93. *Ibid.*, Chap. VI (De Kerval, p. 242).

94. *Ibid.*, Chap. V (De Kerval, p. 242); *Legenda Fiorentina* (De Kerval, p. 244).

95. *Legenda Rigaldina*, Chap. VIII (De Kerval, p. 242).

96. Ms. of Florence (De Kerval, p. 246).

97. *Legenda Prima*, Ad. Lucerne, II, Nos. 29-38 (De Kerval, p. 123).

Legenda Benignitas "P," Nos. 1-9 (De Kerval, p. 233); cf. *ibid.*, p. 165, Note 2; 168, 169, Note 1; 172, 176, 196; cf. Note 2, p. 203.

98. *Legenda Prima*, Chap. XVIII, No. 1 (De Kerval, p. 58).

99. Cf. *Liber Miraculorum* (De Kerval, p. 260-261). For paintings of St. Anthony with the Infant Jesus in Spanish art, cf. Fernando de Mendoz, O.F.M.Cap., "San Antonio con el Nino Jesus en el art espanol" in CF, VI (1936), pp. 177-191. Cf. CF, XI, p. 136 (2).

1. Cf. *supra*, *Legenda Prima*, Ad. Lucerne, II, No. 5 (De Kerval, p. 119); *Legenda Benignitas*, No. 6 (De Kerval, p. 224); Bartholomew of Trent (De Kerval, p. 250); Thos. of Celano, *Vita Prima*, Part I, Chap. XVIII; St. Bonaventure, *Legenda Major*, Chap. IV.

2. *Legenda Prima*, Chap. XVII, No. 12 (De Kerval, p. 56).

3. Cf. De Kerval, p. 145, Note 1.

CHAPTER IV

THE SERMONS OF ST. ANTHONY

1. *The Method Used*

The method used by St. Anthony in composing and developing his sermons was: (1) to examine and explain the sacred text of Holy Writ; (2) to compare it with the liturgical parts of the Sunday Mass and the Divine Office; (3) to draw from both practical conclusions for his hearers. He himself tells us this in the general prologue to his sermons. The original Latin text of his statement will be given first; thereafter a commentary and explanation in English. The saint's words are:

Ad Dei ergo honorem et animarum aedificationem et tam *lectoris* quam *auditoris* consolationem ex ipso Sacrae Scripturae intellectu utriusque *Testamenti* auctoritatibus *quadrigam* fabricavimus ut in ipsa cum Elia a terrenis anima elevetur et in coelum coelesti conversatione deferatur. Et nota quod sicut in quadriga *quatuor sunt rotae*, sic in hoc opere quatuor tanguntur materiae, scilicet: (1) *evangelia dominicalia*; (2) *historiae veteris Testamenti* sicut in Ecclesia leguntur; (3) *Introitus* et (4) *epistolae Missae dominicales*; quae ad invicem concordavi.¹

St. Anthony repeats this idea several times during the course of his sermons.

He compares, therefore, his whole development to the four wheels of the chariot which bore the prophet Elias to heaven. These four wheels are, as he indicates: (1) the Gospel of the Sunday; (2) the Epistle; (3) the Introit; and (4) the history of the Old and New Testament as read in the first nocturn of the Divine Office on a given Sunday. St. Anthony thus combines the Missal with the Breviary not only to effect a fruitful homily and exposition of the Sunday and festive Gospels, but likewise to produce

a beautiful concordance of all four selections mentioned. He puts, as he says, these four wheels to the chariot of Elias, hoping thereby to draw the minds and the hearts of his hearers heavenward. The use of the Breviary becomes all the more evident in St. Anthony's sermons when one takes into consideration his profuse use of the homilies of the Fathers on the Gospels, as incorporated in the lessons of the third nocturn. An excellent example of his homiletic system of development will be found in his sermon for the feast of the Assumption.²

St. Anthony expressly states that he prepared his sermons for a twofold purpose, viz.: for the reader, and for the hearer of his sermons: for the reader, that they might serve as a model for the preacher in developing his own thoughts; for the hearer, that by rereading what he has heard, he might be reminded anew what had been told him. As Pius XII stated in his quoted letter of January 16, 1946 (*Gaude*), St. Anthony's sermons "constitute, as it were, a rich mine from which sacred orators especially might extract abundant proofs and opportune arguments for the defence of the truth, for the combating of errors, for the repelling of heresies and for recalling the erring to their right senses." They have been, and still are, continues the same Holy Father now gloriously reigning, for pulpit orators such "a perennial font of most limpid water, that their author is looked upon as a Master and as a Doctor of the Church." He has thus justly been styled *Doctor Evangelicus*, i.e., the "Doctor of the Sacred Scriptures."

St. Anthony strove, indeed, to make a concordance of the Gospel with the Epistle, the *Introit* of the Mass, and with the Lessons of the Divine Office for any given Sunday or feast day in the Church's calendar. However, not to make his sermons too long the saint does not devote the same amount of space to each category. He enters more profusely (1) into the homiletic explanation of the Gospels, less profusely (2) into the history of the old Testament excepting, e.g., in his sermon for Septuagesima Sunday; and deals still more briefly, as it were only summarily, (3) with the *Introit* and (4) with the Epistles. Where no lessons of

the Old Testament occur in the reading of the Epistles, the saint comments on some other appropriate portion of the Sacred Scriptures whence the Epistle is taken. Since all his sermons revolve around the liturgical year the saint calls his work the *Opus Evangeliorum per anni circulum*.

As was customary during the Middle Ages and especially during the thirteenth century every sermon has: (1) its theme and (2) its exordium (*protéma*). The *theme* is a text or passage of the Gospel around which the whole sermon is to revolve; the *protéma* gives the occasion for the sermon, states the divisions or *clausulae* of its body, reminds the hearers of their mission and duties in the world, and exhorts them to join in prayer so that while he, the preacher, speaks, the Holy Ghost may inspire them to profit by what they hear. Thereupon follows the body of the sermon divided into various parts or *clausulae*. If the divisions are very long, each has its special conclusion; if short, the conclusion for all the various parts or divisions is reserved to the end. The divisions are frequently based on the Gospel narrative (*pericopae*). The *peroration* forms the application of all that has been said and developed.

Like an accomplished orator, St. Anthony makes use of all the clever devices used by other orators, both secular and sacred, to develop and illustrate his theme, e.g., the use of analogical, anagogical, symbolical, allegorical, tropological, and metaphorical interpretations and applications. He delights in particular in making use of (1) *allegories*, or prolonged metaphors, parables, etc.; (2) *concordances*, or comparisons with other scriptural texts, especially the *Canticle of Canticles*; (3) *symbolisms*, or the use of signs, emblems, symbols, etc., which suggest an explanation or illustration through relationship, association, convention, etc., with the point the speaker wishes to convey, e.g., the clover leaf to illustrate the mystery of the Blessed Trinity; (4) *parallelisms*, or the use of similarities and resemblances which correspond in style, manner, or wording to the thought expressed by the speaker, e.g., Mary and Esther; Mary and the sister of Lazarus; (5) *etymologies*, or derivation of words, e.g., the sacred name of Jesus,

Christ, the Redeemer (Iesus, Xristos, Soter); the names of Moses, Aaron, Mary, etc.; (6) *definitions* of terms which either explain their content or fix their dogmatic value, e.g., the terms "person," "nature," "substance," etc., as applied to the Blessed Trinity or to the Incarnation; (7) *alliterations*, e.g., when he styles St. Ann an *olea* (olive tree); the Blessed Virgin Mary an *oliva* (olive); and Christ, the "fruit of her womb," *oleum* (oil); and finally (8) *contrasts*, e.g., when he confronts Christ with Adam, the Blessed Virgin Mary with Eve, the salutation of the Archangel Gabriel, *Ave gratia plena*, with the salutation of Christians here on earth *Ave Maria*.³

In his sermons St. Anthony most frequently makes use of allegories and continually refers to other texts (concordance), e.g., of the Old Testament to explain the sacred mysteries of the New Testament. Thus the *Canticle of Canticles* is repeatedly drawn upon to explain the prerogatives of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Mother of Christ.

When there is a question of Catholic dogma, however, St. Anthony always adheres to the *literal* interpretation of the Sacred Text, e.g., in explaining the passages which refer to the Blessed Trinity, to the Word Incarnate, to the Blessed Eucharist, to the actual forgiveness of sins in the Sacrament of Penance, to the primacy both of honor and of jurisdiction of Peter, etc. *Etymologies* are frequently made use of to develop the *allegorical*, and therein he follows particularly St. Isidor of Seville. St. Anthony especially loved *symbolism*, and in the use of it he is an ardent admirer of St. Augustine. He draws incessantly on the *natural sciences*, especially physics, biology, and physiology to illustrate his sermons. The flowers of the field, the phenomena of nature (rainbow, sunrise, sunset), the parts of the human body (the five senses), the faculties of the soul, the fauna (birds, fish, and the animal world in general) all serve to illustrate his point. He uses, e.g., the pomegranate and its various cells to illustrate the text of the Sacred Scripture: "In my house there are many mansions"; the storms of the sea, to illustrate the trials of life and joys of the eternal shores of heaven; a mother weaning her baby to illustrate

the passing of the initial consolations in religious life to fit one for the more bitter experiences of the future, etc.⁴

Nevertheless, while making use of all these oratorical devices (the use of the literal, allegorical, tropological, and metaphorical) St. Anthony always has in mind the admonition of the Seraphic Father, St. Francis, to be effective rather than speculative, practical rather than critical.

In his quoted letters on January 16, 1946, Pope Pius XII could thus truthfully declare: "He who peruses attentively the "Sermons" of the Saint of Padua will find in him a most experienced exegete in the interpretation of Sacred Scriptures, a deep theologian in the elucidation of dogmatic truths, an excellent Doctor and Master in the treatment of matters ascetical and mystical."

2. *St. Anthony's Sermons, a Manual for Preachers*

While the sermons of St. Anthony may not be looked upon as his *Summa Theologica*;⁵ nor as a *raccolta* or collection of commentaries on the Sacred Scriptures compared and placed in juxtaposition (concordance); nor as a mystical exposition of innumerable biblical passages⁶ harmonized among themselves; nor even as a manual of biblical exegesis — although all these characteristics abound in his exposition of the Sacred Scripture — they certainly are "a manual or a model for preachers offered by the saint to his confreres, suggesting to them in the exercise of the Sacred Ministry themes, arguments, and thoughts for their own development as varied occasions might demand."⁷ His sermons are thus a font and treasure of the theological, patristical, and biblical knowledge of this preacher, one of the most eloquent of Franciscan orators and the first lector of the Franciscan School of Theology.

3. *The Sources of His Sermons*⁸

a) The first and foremost source of the sermons of St. Anthony are the Sacred Scriptures.⁹ The author of the *Legenda Prima* even tries to make a play on St. Anthony's name, saying that "Antonius" signifies something high sounding (*alte-sonans*) and this because he spoke so many and such beautiful things con-

cerning the Sacred Scriptures.¹⁰ The sacred texts cited by St. Anthony throughout the course of his sermons are almost innumerable and certain pages give the appearance of a scriptural mosaic. This need not surprise the reader, since, as mentioned before, during the Middle Ages Sacred Writ was *the* "manual of theology" and the primary font from which all sacred orators and teachers drew. The only difference in relation to St. Anthony's sermons is that they are so replete with scriptural texts, which, as a result of his deep studies and fervent meditations, he so completely mastered,¹¹ that the early legends of the saint assert, if the Sacred Writings were ever to become lost they could be reconstructed from the texts contained in his works. St. Anthony could indeed say (freely translated) "No one is really educated unless he know the Scriptures."¹² No wonder then that on one occasion when Pope Gregory IX heard Anthony preach he styled him "the ark of the testament,"¹³ for therein were once kept the Sacred Books of Moses.

Although St. Anthony was not unaware of the many forms of scriptural interpretation which predominated in the medieval schools, as expounded by Cassian and the Venerable Bede, viz., the literal, the allegorical, the tropological, and the anagogical or mystical, like many of the Fathers, especially and principally those of the School of Antioch, he preferred the anagogical or mystical, without omitting, however, the accommodated and the literal. He insists on the literal interpretation of the Scriptures (as mentioned) whenever there is a question of dogmatic texts, e.g., those used by Mother Church to substantiate her doctrines, e.g., the Blessed Trinity, the Sacraments, the primacy of Peter, etc.

b) The second source from which St. Anthony drew to substantiate, elucidate, and explain his sermons are the sayings of the Fathers and Doctors of the Church. They, like the texts of the Scriptures, occur so frequently that they run through all of his thoughts and form one beautiful unobtrusive mixture.¹⁴ The early biographers of the saint tell us that this knowledge of the Fathers, as of the Scriptures, was the fruit of his long studies

during his student years. St. Augustine, e.g., is quoted no less than 54 times, usually literally, occasionally freely; St. Bernard, 35 times; St. Gregory the Great, 48 times; St. Jerome, 11 times; St. Isidore, 6 times; St. Ambrose, 3 times; Origin, 3 times; the Venerable Bede, 2 times; St. John Damascene, 1 time; Rabanus Maurus, 1 time; various glossaries, 75 times.¹⁵ Occasionally St. Anthony quotes also Pope Innocent III, e.g., the latter's sermon on the Circumcision of our Lord, which the saint used to comment on the Holy Name of Jesus.¹⁶

4. *The Augustinianism of St. Anthony's Sermons*

Of all the Fathers of the Church, St. Augustine was the saint's favorite. He returns to him time and time again in his sermons, both in the explanation of the parables of our Lord and in the application of the allegorical passages. Some of his salient theories and affirmations depend entirely on the Holy Bishop of Hippo, e.g., when he compares the faculties of the soul (intellect, will, memory) to the three divine Persons of the Blessed Trinity; when he elucidates the relation and compatibility of grace and man's freedom; when he explains the sinlessness, if not the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary; or when he insists, like his master, on the simultaneous creation of the universe. This dependence on St. Augustine is easily understood if one reflect on the fact that Anthony was educated in the schools of Augustinian Canons in Portugal, and also that St. Augustine was the favorite Doctor of the medieval schools. Peter of Lombardy cites Augustine incessantly, whereas Alexander of Hales, even before his entrance into the Franciscan Order, was one of the most illustrious teachers of Augustinianism which dominated the University of Paris from its very inception. Occasionally, St. Anthony, like Peter of Lombardy, differs from St. Augustine, e.g., in the question of sins, once forgiven, being again charged to the soul after falling anew into mortal sin — a revival of sin as it were. Augustine favors this latter opinion; St. Anthony, rejects it.¹⁷

5. *The Originality of the Theology of St. Anthony*

a) *Dogmatic Theology*

If the axiom *nil novi sub sole* (nothing new under the sun) be true and the dependence of men on one another is evident, this is particularly true of the dogmatic truths and moral values which remain forever immutable. Here there is a question not so much of *nova*, but *noviter*; not new material but rather a new method of approach — a deeper penetration or intuition into revealed religion, a greater clarification of the eternal truths as taught by Christ; a more solid defense against the attacks of the adversaries of each thesis or proposition.¹⁸ Only occasionally is there a real “scoop” — if one dare use a modern expression — when like an astronomer who detects a new star, some learned theologian finds a new doctrine contained, indeed, in divine Revelation, but one which down to his time had remained a hidden gem. The doctrines of the Immaculate Conception and of the personal infallibility of the Roman pontiff are examples in the point. Such contributions to theological knowledge were also made by our new Doctor of the Church. Moving in the traditions of his predecessors — as it behooves Doctors of the Church to do — he was able to present traditional truths not only in a new and dazzling light, according to the exigencies of the times, but also to offset in a more convincing manner and comprehensive style the attacks of the Church’s enemies. Thus, St. Anthony seems to have prepared the way for his illustrious confrere, the Venerable John Scotus, and the latter’s teacher, William of Ware, in their defense of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary.¹⁹ He defended the corporal Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary as hardly any other Father of the Church had done before his time.²⁰ It is refreshing to note that whereas some doubted this special privilege — although concomitant with her Immaculate Conception and her divine maternity — and others rashly denied it,²¹ St. Anthony defended it with such appropriate scriptural texts, theological deductions, and pertinent quotations from the Fathers that he might well be said to have

prepared the way for Mother Church to define as a dogma of Faith this now universally believed and accepted doctrine of Mary's Assumption.²²

St. Anthony, too, has prepared the way for the ecclesiastical declaration and liturgical celebration of the Feast of Mary, the Mediatrix of all graces, invoked as such by Pope Pius X,²³ and as confirmed by Pope Pius XI.²⁴

In the treatises on Christology and Soterology, St. Anthony has some similarly interesting and novel methods of dogmatic proofs and philosophical reasonings. He is particularly strong in his defense of the divinity of Christ against the Arians and the Cathari.²⁵ Contrary to the exaggeration of certain Fathers of the Church and the falsifications of Abelard²⁶ St. Anthony teaches also in other matters the sound and accepted doctrines of Mother Church. He speaks well, as one of a much later century, of the primacy and infallibility of the Roman pontiff;²⁷ of the Sacraments of the Blessed Eucharist,²⁸ Penance, and Matrimony. He makes an evident allusion to the character impressed on the soul in the Sacrament of Confirmation when he writes: "*illuminatio fidei quae in die Pentecostes in cordibus Apostolorum tanquam quidam Character fuit insignita et impressa.*"²⁹

b) *Moral Theology*

In matters pertaining to moral theology, St. Anthony treats of the purpose of Matrimony and of the duties which follow therefrom;³⁰ of the "seal of the confessional";³¹ of the integrity of confession;³² of the nature of mortal and venial sins and of their specific and numerical distinctions;³³ of the circumstances of sins aggravating their guilt or changing their species;³⁴ and for that reason necessarily to be declared in confession — a little treatise on the Sacrament of Confession and Penance itself, which Scaramuzzi³⁵ thinks compares favorably with some of our approved modern manuals of moral theology.³⁶ He finally treats of the seven capital sins³⁷ and of the various categories of virtues.³⁸

c) *Mystical Theology*

"In Mystical Theology," says Scaramuzzi,³⁹ "St. Anthony develops a doctrine so excellent, so solid, so classical, as to cause

him to rank with the best writers in this important phase of theology." Even when treating matters of the highest speculative nature he tempers his thoughts with moderation, sweetness, and eloquence. He assiduously avoids the excesses of the Victorian School. In his development of the mystical life, he adheres to the Western schools of St. Augustine, St. Gregory the Great, and Hugh of St. Victor, but avoids the fallacies of the pseudo-Dionysius. In the doctrine of a twofold contemplation (elevation of the mind and ecstasy) he depends, indeed, on Hugh of St. Victor, but does not follow him slavishly. He prepared the way for St. Bonaventure, St. Thomas, St. Theresa, and St. John of the Cross. Like the other adherents of the Franciscan School he attributes, in infused contemplation, the prime force to the will and does not fail to let his readers and hearers share in his own personal experiences. Three centuries before the age of St. John of the Cross, and as the first among spiritual writers⁴⁰ he teaches the classical doctrines of the passive, sensitive, and intellectual activities of the soul along the *via purgativa* and of the *noce obscura*,⁴¹ and this latter so clearly that he seems to be narrating his own experiences. For that reason Father Heerinckx, O.F.M., does not hesitate to look upon him as the forerunner of St. John of the Cross.⁴² However, as the same author points out, in the question of divine consolations and spiritual delights, whereas the Carmelite Mystic is very austere, demanding a total abnegation and an absolute annihilation, as it were, of the spirit, approaching even rigorism, the Franciscan Doctor is milder, more accessible to, and more in conformity with human nature, which he does not want destroyed but rather exalted. He even affirms that for good reasons, we might desire and even request spiritual consolation from God; nevertheless, these must never serve as an end, but rather merely as a means of loving God with greater facility and ardor.⁴³

No wonder then that the author of the *Legenda Prima*⁴⁴ should apply to St. Anthony the words of his friend and teacher, that master of the spiritual life, Thomas of Vercelli, who once wrote: Love often penetrates where human reason fails even to arrive —

as I was able to experience in that holy friar St. Anthony of the Order of Minors whose friendship I had the pleasure of enjoying. He — thanks to the purity of his soul and to the flame of divine love, which burned in his heart — was drawn with great ardor of mind and fervor of spirit toward mystical theology and acquired it on so large a scale that one would be tempted to say of him what was written of St. John the Baptist, "He was a *lucerna ardens et lucens*" because burning interiorly, due to his great love, he could not but shine exteriorly.⁴⁵

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1. Locatelli, *S. Antonii Patavini . . . Sermones*, etc. (Padua, 1886), p. 4.
2. Cf. Appendix.
3. Cf. *supra* under Chap. III, Part II, 1, e (p. 35).
4. Cf. Scaramuzzi, *La Figura Intellettuale*, etc., *op. cit.*, p. 40; *San Antonio di Padova, Dottore Evangelico* (Padova, 1946).
5. Cf. Sparacio, *San Antonio*, etc., I, pp. 41, 45.
6. Cf. Licitra, "I Sermoni del Santo" in *La Verna*, IV (1906), V (1907).
7. Bellencini, "Sull' autenticità dell' *Expositio in Psalmos*" in *Il Santo*, III (1930), p. 133.
8. Cf. Scaramuzzi, p. 43.
9. "Nec diebus ac (nec) noctibus pro temporis convenientia, lectione divina cessabat." *Legenda Prima*, Chap. IV, No. 3 (De Kerval, p. 28).
10. "Antonius enim quasi alte sonans dicitur quia talia et tam profunda de Scripturis tonuit." *Legenda Prima*, Chap. V, No. 14 (De Kerval, p. 32).
11. "Profunda sermonum felici curiositate perscrutans, contra errorum foveas testimoniis Scripturae intellectum munivit; hinc sanctorum dicta sedula indagazione resolvit." *Legenda Prima*, Chap. IV, No. 5 (De Kerval, pp. 28-29).
12. The Latin text is more pointed: "Litteras nescit qui sacras non novit." Prologue to his sermons, in Locatelli, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
13. *Legenda Prima*, Chap. X, No. 21 (De Kerval, p. 42).
14. Locatelli in his edition of the sermons of St. Anthony says to the point: "Tanta est in Sancti Antonii scriptis non solum sacrarum scripturarum, sed sanctorum Patrum doctrina ut copiosa defluat permixta cum suis profundis cogitationibus," *op. cit.*, pp. 490-491.
15. Cf. Cantini, O.F.M., "De fontibus Sermonum St. Antonii, qui in Editione Locatelliana continentur" in *Antonianum*, VI (1931), pp. 331-360; Scaramuzzi, p. 45.
16. Locatelli, p. 779.
17. Cf. Scaramuzzi, *op. cit.*, pp. 224-225.
18. Pope Boniface VIII, as quoted by Pope Benedict XIV, expresses this thought very effectively when he says that through the doctrines of the

Fathers of the Church "the darkness of errors was put to flight, the obscure were elucidated, the doubtful clarified, the enigmata of the Scriptures solved." Cf. *De Servorum Dei Beatificatione et Cannonizatione*, Tom. IV, p. 513; Scaramuzzi, p. 47. The Latin text was quoted above in Chap. III.

19. Cf. *supra*: Chap. III, Part I, Sect. 2: Mariology of St. Anthony.

20. "Mary was taken up to the Heavenly courts where the King of Kings sits upon a starry throne." *Maria assumpta est ad aeternum thalamum in quo Rex Regum stellato sedit solio.*

21. Cf. *supra*. Chap. III, Part I, Sect. 2: Mariology of St. Anthony (p. 31 ff.).

22. Cf. *American Eccles. Review*, March, 1947.

23. Cf. The writer's contribution to the *Symposium on the Life and Work of Pope Pius X* distributed through the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine as America's contribution toward the future beatification of this pope and servant of God (Paterson: St. Anthony's Guild, 1946), Chap. I, Part 2.

24. Cf. Scaramuzzi, "La Mariologia di San Antonio di Padova" in *L'Osservatore Romano*, June 5, 1932.

25. Cf. his sermon, in *Dominicam XVII post Pentec.* (Locatelli, p. 499), and in *Dominicam V Quadr.* (Locatelli, pp. 104-105): Scaramuzzi, *op. cit.*, p. 169 ff.

26. Cf. Scaramuzzi, "II poema dell' umana redenzione nei Sermoni di San Antonio di Padova" in *L'Osservatore Romano*, April 7, 1933.

27. Cf. *L'Osservatore Romano*, Jan. 17, 1933; Scaramuzzi, *La Figura Intellettuale*, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-143.

28. Commenting on the Transfiguration of our Lord, St. Anthony writes: "In monte Thabor transfiguratus fuit Dominus et interpretatur lumen veniens, et significat altare, in quo fit transfiguratio, idest *transubstantiatio* de specie panis et vini in corpus et sanguinem Jesu Christi; per quod Sacramentum venit lumen in animas fidelium." Cf. his *Sermo in Coena Domini*, *Sermo Allegoricus*, in Locatelli, p. 847; and his *Sermo in Dominicam V post Pentec.*: *Sermo de fidei anima* (Locatelli, p. 297).

29. In *Dominicam I in Septuagesima*, Locatelli, p. 14.

30. In *Dominic. II post Pentecost*, Locatelli, p. 252.

31. In *Dominic. I in Quad.*, *Sermo Moralis*, Locatelli, pp. 45-46; Scaramuzzi, *La Figura Intell.*, p. 227; cf. *ibid.*, 119.

32. Scaramuzzi, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

33. In *Dominic. XVI post Pentecost. Sermo Moralis*, Locatelli, p. 464.

34. *Sermo in I Quadrages*; cf. Scaramuzzi, *La Figura Intell.*, pp. 119-120; pp. 264-265. "Quia hae circumstantiae et consimiles valde aggravant peccatum et animam peccatoris." In *Dominic. I Quadr.*, Scaramuzzi, p. 121.

35. *L.c.*

36. Cf. *Dominic. I in Quad.*, Locatelli, pp. 48-49; and in *Capite Jejunii*, Locatelli, pp. 830-831.

37. Scaramuzzi, *op. cit.*, p. 243 ff.

38. Scaramuzzi, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

39. *Op. cit.*, p. 49.

40. Cf. Heerinckx, O.F.M., "Antonius Patavinus, auctor mysticus" in *Antonianum*, VII (1932), pp. 39-76; 167-200.
41. Cf. Scaramuzzi, "La teologia mistica di San Antonio di Padova" in *L'Osservatore Romano*, 1932, No. 152.
42. "La Mystica di San Antonio di Padova" in *Studi Francescani*, 1933, p. 55; *id.* in *Antonianum*, VII (1932), pp. 179-182.
43. Cf. Scaramuzzi, *La Mystica di San Antonio, l.c.*, p. 55. Concerning the difference between Franciscan and Carmelite spirituality, cf. S. Grünwald, O.F.M.Cap., in *Franziskanische Mystik* (Munich, 1933), pp. 67-71, 123.
44. Cf. De Kerval, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-124.
45. Cf. AFH, III, 130 ff. (taken from the *Chronicle of the Twenty-Four Generals*).

CHAPTER V

THE AUTHENTIC, SPURIOUS, AND DOUBTFUL WRITINGS OF ST. ANTHONY OF PADUA

EDITIONS OF THE AUTHENTIC WORKS — THE "CODEX DEL TESORO"

THE question of the authentic and spurious writings of St. Anthony of Padua has occupied the attention of critical scholars for centuries.¹

I. THE GENUINE WORKS

Among the genuine works of St. Anthony of Padua admitted as such by all² are his "Sunday Sermons" (*Dominicales*);³ his "Marian Discourses" (*Sermones Mariales*); and his "Sermons on the Saints" (*Sanctorales* or *In Solemnitatibus*).⁴

II. THE SPURIOUS WORKS

Among the spurious works of St. Anthony, or at least of disputed authenticity, are the following: "A Mystical Explanation of the Sacred Scriptures" (*Expositio Mystica in Sacram Scripturam*);⁵ "A Moral Concordance of the Bible" (*Concordantiae Morales Bibliorum*);⁶ "The Exegesis of the Psalms" (*Expositio in Psalmos*); "The Biblical Concordance of Feast-Days of the Blessed Virgin Mary" (*Concordantiae Bibliorum in Festivitatibus B.M.V.*); "The Furnace of Love" (*Incendium Amoris*); and "The Sacred Nuptials or Converse of St. Francis with Lady Poverty" (*Sacrum commercium S. Francisci cum Domina Paupertate*).⁷

III. DOUBTFUL WORKS OF ST. ANTHONY

Among the doubtful works of St. Anthony are the *Sermones Quadragesimales* (Lenten Sermons) (cf. *infra* VII under nos. 1, 3, and 4).

IV. PROOFS FOR THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE WORKS
OF ST. ANTHONY⁸

That St. Anthony wrote the three sets of sermons mentioned above under Part I (*Sermones Dominicales; Sanctoriales* or *In Solemnitatibus*; and *Mariales*) is evident:

1. From the *Legenda Prima* or *Legenda Assidua* (written c. 1232)⁹ which states that "at the request of the Lord Cardinal of Ostia (Rinaldi dei Conti – the later Pope Innocent IV), setting aside his preaching, St. Anthony devoted a whole winter to the composition of sermons in honor of the Feast-Days of the Saints."¹⁰ The same *Legenda Prima* informs us "that on another occasion, namely when he was relieved of his duty as Provincial, he repaired to Padua, where he composed his *Sunday Sermons*."¹¹

2. This is also verified by the *Legenda Secunda*¹² which states the same thing in almost identical words.¹³

3. The *Legenda Raymondina* (written between 1293–1297) and named after Fr. Peter Raimondi of San Romano (Toulouse) says that when St. Anthony came to Padua (in 1229) he composed his Sunday Sermons while there.¹⁴

4. The *Legenda Rigaldina* (written c. 1300) by John Rigauld, a Friar Minor of Limoges,¹⁵ concords with the *Legenda Prima* when it says: "Cum autem semel apud Paduam hyemasset, et ibidem *Sermones Sanctoriales* ad instantiam Domini Hostiensis compilasset. . . ." Reference here is made, as the text indicates, to the "Sermons of the Feast-Days of the Saints" throughout the year.¹⁶

5. Bartholomew of Pisa in his famous *Conformitates*, written between 1385–1390 and published in the *Analecta Franciscana*,¹⁷ avers that he knew of certain *Sermones Subtiles* of the saint of Padua and says that at his time (Bartholomew died in 1401) "three sets of his sermons were in circulation, viz.: his Lenten Sermons, his Sunday Sermons, and his Feast-Day Sermons."¹⁸

6. Bartholomew of Trent, O.P.,¹⁹ in his *Liber Epilogorum in Gesta Sanctorum* (a summary of the lives of the saints) written c. 1240, says that he both saw and knew St. Anthony; that the saint

was a Spaniard;²⁰ that he preached to the people of Padua and while in the city composed there some excellent sermons.²¹

V. EARLY CODICES IN WHICH THE SERMONS OF ST. ANTHONY ARE FOUND

The many and varied sermons of St. Anthony may be found in whole or in part in the following codices of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, viz.:

1. At *Padua*, in the famous *Codex del Tesoro* of the Basilica of Padua, preserved in the treasury, whence it derives its name;²² in Codex No. 261 of the thirteenth century; in "Codex A," of the middle of the thirteenth century; and in "Codex a" partly of the thirteenth and partly of the fourteenth century. Locatelli²³ based the compilation of his edition of the sermons of St. Anthony on these last-named two codices "A" and "a." Today both are in the Antonian Library (*Bibliotheca Antoniana*) at Padua.

2. Two codices containing the sermons of St. Anthony are in *Rome*, the one in the Vatican (*Codex Vaticanus Latinus*, No. 9821) of the thirteenth century; the other, the *Codex Casanatensis*, No. 60, written by various hands between the middle of the thirteenth and the first part of the fourteenth century.

3. Other codices are at *Torino* (*Bibliotheca Nazionale*, Codex, No. 534, DV 20) of the fourteenth century; at *Florence* (*Codex Magliabecchiana*) written between 1360 and 1370, known also as the *Codex Pagianus*, because used by the Conventual historian, Pagi, in his addition of the sermons of St. Anthony;²⁴ in *Austria*, in the Public Library of Linz (Codex, Cc, VI, 6), written at the end of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth century; and in *Germany*, at the Royal Library of the University of Königsberg, known as Codex, No. 1272, completed in 1430.²⁵

VI. TIME AND PLACE OF THE COMPOSITION OF THE SERMONS OF ST. ANTHONY

In recent times, as mentioned, a famous discussion has arisen regarding the time and the place of the compositions of the sermons of St. Anthony. The Jesuit Bollandist, Fr. Van Ortro, favors the opinion that St. Anthony composed his sermons dur-

ing his sojourn at Limoges (1226);²⁶ whereas others, like Bellincini,²⁷ basing themselves on the *Legenda Prima* (Chap. XI, Nos. 3-4)²⁸ favor Padua, and the years between 1227-1230.²⁹

VII. EDITIONS OF THE SERMONS OF ST. ANTHONY

Among the many editions of St. Anthony's works are the following:³⁰

1. The edition of Jodocus Badius Ascensius (Badio Ascenzio) entitled *Divi Antonii Patavini Sermones Quadragesimales et de Tempore* (Paris, 1520; 1521, in 8 vols., reprinted 1528, in 8 vols.). This edition, although the oldest known in print, contains too many spurious or doubtful sermons to be of any practical use. As a source for his material the editor made use of a codex (the *Codex Montensis*) now lost, but existing at his time in a convent of the Friars Minor known as "In Montibus parte Annonae" in Belgium. The date of the original manuscript from which this copy (the codex) was made is not known. The sermons of this first Parisian edition, beginning with the First Sunday of Advent, were inserted by De la Haye³¹ in his edition of the sermons of St. Anthony and frequently coincides (as far as the genuine sermons are concerned, although with variations)³² with those accepted by Locatelli.³³

2. An edition of the "Sunday (Moral) Sermons" of St. Anthony was published by Rev. Raffaele Maffei, a Servite. It was entitled *Divi Antonii de Padua Minoritae, Sermones Dominicales Moralissimi super Evangeliiis Totius Anni* (Venetiis: Apud Joannem Antonium Bertanum, 1574), pp. 612 in — 16.³⁴ The contents are based on the same codex which the author found in the Piedmontese Mountains ("In coenobio Fratrum Minorum apud Montes Hannoveriae"). This codex, while depending on the Paris edition of 1520³⁵ and of the famous codex of the Paduan Basilica (*Codice del Tesore*),³⁶ is in many instances defective. The author furthermore made himself guilty of interpolations and of shifting parts of St. Anthony's sermons to suit best his own purposes. Thus, e.g., in St. Anthony's sermon on the Transfiguration the editor inserted a eulogy on the Servite Order which, as every historian

knows, did not as yet exist as a community at the time of St. Anthony. During the following year (i.e., in 1575) Maffei published at Venice the Lenten sermons of St. Anthony, under the title: *Divi Antonii de Padua Minoritae Sermones super Evangeliiis totius Quadragesimae* (Apud Joannem Bertanum, pp. 366, in 16 vols.). The style of the sermons published seems to correspond in every detail to that of our saint; however, there are serious doubts concerning the authenticity of the Lenten sermons ascribed to St. Anthony.³⁷

3. In 1641, Fr. John de la Haye, O.F.M., a Dutch (Parisian) Franciscan, published at Paris through the firm of Charles Ravillard an edition, in two volumes, of the works of both St. Francis of Assisi and of St. Anthony of Padua, entitled: *S. Francisci Assisatis Minorum Patriarchae necnon S. Antonii Paduani ejusdem Ordinis Opera Omnia*, 2 vols. (Paris: apud Dionys. Bechet, 1641). Later editions appeared at Lyons (Pierre Rigaud) in 1656; and at Stadt-am-Hof (near Regensburg, in 1739) 2 vols., in folio; Firm of Gastle. It was republished by Horoy at Paris, in 1889, in the collection *Medii Aevi Bibliotheca Patristica* (Series Prima, Vol. V, col. 449–1286). On examination it was discovered that the sermons ascribed to St. Anthony differed notably from those contained in the Codex of Padua and in the Codex of Torino, whereas the latter two closely conformed to each other.³⁸ Moreover, the De la Haye edition, like that of Maffei,³⁹ is marred by many interpolations; and hence it is not *entirely* trustworthy. It contains many works now held spurious or at least dubious, e.g., the *Interpretatio Mystica in Sacram Scripturam*; the *Concordantiae Morales Sacrorum Biblorum*; and the *Sermones Quadragesimales ac de Sanctis*. The "Sunday Sermons," beginning with those of the First Sunday of Advent,⁴⁰ are similar to those contained in the edition of Badio Ascenzio.⁴¹ Despite the defects mentioned however, the De la Haye edition served its purpose for centuries. Many of the authentic sermons included in this edition have not been altered by later researchers, and hence may still be quoted without reserve. The De la Haye edition was widely circulated.

4. The fourth edition of the sermons of St. Anthony is that by

P. Francesco of Pergolo, O.F.M.Conv., entitled: *Sermones Quadragesimales Sancti Antonii de Padua* (Bologna: Typis Jacobi Montini, 1649, in 8 vols.). The author, although he himself never mentions it, depends on Maffei⁴² and for that reason labors under the same defects as does his source.

5. In 1684, Fr. Franciscus Antonius Pagi, O.F.M.Conv., famous Church historian of Aix, published the sermons of St. Anthony under the title: *Divi Antonii Paduani Ordinis Minorum Sermones Hactenus Inediti de Sanctis et de Diversis* (Avignon: apud Petrum Offray, 1684, pp. 492, in 8 vols.). Pagi reproduces the sermons of St. Anthony from a famous Florentine Codex of the *Mallabecchiana*, a copy, it seems, of either the Paduan Codex of the Treasury (*Codice del Tesoro*) or of the *Torinese* (Torino). (Cf. *supra*, V, 3.) This compilation was later complemented by the diligent Conventual Librarian of the *Bibliotheca Antoniana*, Fr. Antonio Josa, O.F.M.Conv.⁴³ The sermons in the Pagi edition are indeed authentic, but not complete. The author himself admits that due to the faulty codex which he had before him, his edition is defective — a whole ream was wanting from the original manuscript. The sermon, e.g., on the Ascension of our Lord is imperfect, whereas others down to the feasts of SS. Peter and Paul are missing. Despite these defects, however, the Pagi edition is of great value and importance, for it did form the groundwork and materially assisted those who came after the author in editing more complete and better editions.⁴⁴

6. The "younger" Pagi, a great-nephew of the former⁴⁵ (d. 1753), republished the preceding edition of St. Anthony's sermons on the saints and on various other subjects. It is entitled: *Divi Antonii Patavini Sermones de Sanctis et de Diversis* (Avignon, 1734, in 8 vols.). This edition, too, is of great value and prepared the way for Locatelli's edition.

7. (a) In 1883, P. M. Antonio Maria Josa, O.F.M.Conv., prefect of the *Bibliotheca Antoniana* at Padua, supplied from the Paduan *Codex del Tesoro* the defects of the Florentine codex used by the elder Pagi,⁴⁶ by publishing fourteen additional authentic sermons of St. Anthony, including the saint's sermons for

the feast of the Ascension (in their entirety), and for the feasts of St. John the Baptist and of SS. Peter and Paul. To these sermons he added two Anthonian legends of the eighteenth century.⁴⁷ The work bears the title: *Legenda seu Vita et Miracula S. Antonii de Padua*, etc.; *Accedunt Sermones ejusdem Sancti*, etc. (Bologna: Marreginani, 1883, pp. XII, 188, in 8 vols.).

b) From the same Paduan Codex Father Josa compiled and published, in 1888, the *Sermones Sancti Antonii de Padua in laudem gloriosae Virginis Mariae deprompti ex Codice ipsius Sancti manu recognito et nunc primum editi* (Padua: Typis Seminarii, 1885; 1888, pp. 66 incl.). This edition of the sermons on the Blessed Virgin Mary was used by Locatelli.⁴⁸

c) In 1886, the same Father Josa favored Anthonian critics with another important publication giving an enumeration, description, and illustration of the manuscript codices in the *Bibliotheca Antoniana*, entitled: *I Codici Manuscritti della Bibliotheca Antoniana di Padova, descritti et illustrati* (Padova: Tip. del Seminario, 1886, in 8 vo.).

8. The latest and best edition of the authentic works of St. Anthony of Padua comes from the hands of that indefatigable student and lover of *Antoniana*, the very Rev. Canon Dr. Antonio Maria Locatelli (d. 1902), entitled: *S. Antonii Patavini Thaumaturgi Incliti Sermones Dominicales et in Solemnitatibus quos ex manuscriptis saeculi XIII Codicibus qui Patavii servantur faventibus viris S. Antonii Arcae curandae, consultis etiam Vaticano, Casanatensi, aliisque exemplaribus, edidit, notisque et illustrationibus locupletavit Antonius Maria Locatelli* (Patavii, 1895, in 4to; pp. xxiv-926). To this was added a *De Manuscriptis Exemplaribus Dissertatio*, p. XVI.⁴⁹

a) *Contents of the Locatelli Edition*

This edition which appeared after years of labor and research is a beautiful collection of the authentic sermons of St. Anthony and is done in a *quarto* edition of 929 pages, divided into double columns. A second edition, consisting of three volumes in *folio* appeared at Padua in 1905 (Typis atque Expensis Societatis S. Antonii, 1905). The Locatelli editions contain the Sunday Ser-

mons of St. Anthony, his Sermons on the Blessed Virgin Mary, and his Sermons on the Saints (*In Solemnitatibus*). The Sunday Sermons (*Dominicales*) beginning with Septuagesima, continue until the Fourth Sunday after Epiphany. Due to the fact that on certain Sundays, e.g., the Second of Lent and the Third after Easter, there are two sermons and on some Sundays, e.g., the first of Advent, even three sermons (dogmatic, moral, and allegorical) there are in reality fifty different Sunday sermons (this excludes the Sundays on which feast days occur, e.g., Easter and Pentecost, which are to be found among the Feast-Day Sermons).

The Marian Discourses (*Mariales*) are magnificent and were prepared by the saint for the feasts of the Nativity (Sept. 8), the Annunciation (Mar. 25), the Purification (Feb. 2), and the Assumption of Our Lady (Aug. 15) — the four feast days of the Blessed Virgin celebrated during the Middle Ages. These sermons are placed in the Locatelli edition between the twelfth and thirteenth Sundays after Pentecost, perhaps because at this time of the liturgical year the feast day of the Assumption usually occurs; or because at that time the Church causes to be read the Book of *Ecclesiasticus*, verses 6–14 of the fiftieth chapter of which serve as texts for the Anthonian Marian Discourses.⁵⁰ A similar idea prevailed in placing the first of the Sunday Sermons, not on the First Sunday of Advent, the traditional beginning of the liturgical year, but on Septuagesima Sunday. The reason lies in the saint's plan of co-ordinating his sermons with the historical Books of both the Old and New Testaments as read in the Roman Breviary. Now, on Septuagesima Sunday, Mother Church orders read the First Book of the Pentateuch (the First Book of Moses). Correspondingly, St. Anthony begins his Sunday Sermons with Septuagesima Sunday.⁵¹ Similarly, it was the saint's idea to co-ordinate the texts of his Advent sermons with the book of Isaias, because during Advent the prophesies of Isaias are read in the Divine Office.⁵²

The Sermones Sanctoriales or Sermones in Solemnitatibus (the third category) comprise sermons for: (1) the feast of St. John the Evangelist (Dec. 27); (2) the Holy Innocents (Dec. 28); (3) the

Circumcision of our Lord (Jan. 1); (4) the Epiphany (Jan. 6); (5) the Conversion of St. Paul (Jan. 25); (6) the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary or Presentation of Christ in the Temple — Candlemas Day (Feb. 2); (7) the Cathedra of St. Peter (Feb. 22); (8) the beginning of Lent (*In Capite Jejunii* or Ash Wednesday); (9) the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary or the Incarnation of the Son of God (Mar. 25); (10) the Resurrection of Christ or Easter Sunday; (11) the Apostles Philip and James (May 1); (12) the Finding of the Holy Cross (May 3); (13) Rogation Days (*In Litanis*); (14) the Ascension of our Lord; (15) Pentecost; (16) the Nativity of St. John the Baptist (June 24); (17) the feasts of SS. Peter and Paul (June 29); and (18) the Conversion of St. Paul (June 30). The last of these sermons is incomplete, due to the fact that during the composition of the same the saint was overtaken by death, which, as Scaramuzzi thinks, is also the reason why St. Anthony never wrote any sermons on St. Francis (feast, Oct. 4) or for any of the saints whose feasts fall later in the liturgical year and beyond the month of June, e.g. (if the author dare venture an opinion) on such favorite saints of the Middle Ages as St. Lawrence, the Martyr (Aug. 10) and St. Martin of Tours (Nov. 11), etc. -

All codices observe the same order in placing the *Sermones Sanctoriales* or *In Solemnitatibus*, as given in the Locatelli edition (September to the Fourth Sunday after Epiphany). The sermons on the Blessed Virgin Mary begin, in all the codices, with the feast of the Nativity and end with her Assumption into Heaven.

After Locatelli's death (Dec. 1902) his work was continued during 1903, and the following years, down to 1912, by his collaborators: the secular priest, Rev. Fr. Munaron, an excellent paleographer; and the Very Rev. Canons Giuseppe Perin and Massimo Scremin, from material already prepared by the original compiler. The Conventual, Fr. Bonaventure Peisuti (who himself was about to publish various manuscripts pertaining to St. Anthony) annotated the text with scriptural citations.⁵³

b) The Codices Used in the Locatelli Edition

The Locatelli edition takes cognizance of the Anthonian co-

dices at Padua; Rome (Vatican and Cassonese); of the codex at Toulouse and the other at Torino, so that today, in point of textual accuracy and editorial perfection, it is considered by all competent critics⁵⁴ to be the best complete edition of the sermons of St. Anthony heretofore printed. The Jesuit authors of the *Analecta Bollandiana*⁵⁵ look upon it as one of the most appropriate contributions to the excellently conducted and papally approved celebration of the seventh centenary celebration of the saint's death at Padua between 1931-1932.

Besides being enriched with scriptural quotations, the Locatelli edition is enhanced by the annotation of variant text readings in the codices used and consulted. It abounds in explanatory notes and parallel sayings of the Fathers and Doctors of the Church, with doctrinal, linguistical, and theological elucidations. Perhaps the only defects in the Locatelli edition are the lack of precise references to the exact source of the Patristic citations and the absence of an index. Otherwise the edition deserves the highest commendation.

9. In 1902, on the occasion of the International Marian Congress celebrated at Freiburg, there appeared a special edition of the Sermons of St. Anthony on the Assumption of the B.V.M., entitled *S. Antonii Thaumaturgi Incliti Sermo de Assumptione B. M. Virginis* (Patavii, 1902, in 8 vols. p. 14).

10. Recently, during World War II, a French edition of certain sermons of St. Anthony appeared at Paris under the caption: *Les Sermons de Saint Antoine de Padoue pour L'Année Liturgique*, with an introduction by Paul Bayart (Paris: Aux Editions Franciscaines, n.d.).

11. When St. Anthony was declared a Doctor of the Church, the Conventual Fathers of the *Messaggero di San Antonio* of Padua published an Italian translation of a few of the better-known Sunday and Feast-Day Sermons of the saint with notes, under the title *S. Antonio di Padua, Dottore Evangelico, Sermoni Dominicali e nelle Feste dei Santi, Fascicolo I* (Padova: Il Messaggero, 1946, pp. 47); preface by P. Carlo Varotto, O.F.M.Conv.

VIII. THE CODEX DEL TESORO

Reference has been made frequently in the course of this treatise to the famous Paduan codex known as the *Codex del Tesoro*, or the Codex of the Treasury, kept for a long time, together with the relics of St. Anthony, in the Basilica of the saint at Padua.⁵⁶ Covered with silk, well bound, protected by an official seal and a crystal case this book was often carried in procession as a precious relic. Many thought that it was a missal used by St. Anthony, or a Bible wherein he had made marginal notes. But, toward the end of the last century it was opened and found to contain the saint's sermons. Some thought, as the titles of the above-quoted editions indicate, that they were written in St. Anthony's own hand, but critics soon discovered that four different persons had participated in the writing of the codex. It was this codex that Josa and Locatelli⁵⁷ used. Today it is looked upon as the standard by which the authenticity of all sermons of the saint is to be evaluated.⁵⁸

Other manuscripts of St. Anthony's works, besides those mentioned — at Padua, at Belluna, and in possession of the Locatelli family — are to be found in the Vatican; in the National Library of Torino; in the State Library at Linz, Austria; in the *Bibliotheca Marchiana* of Venice; in the *Bibliotheca Capitolare* of Verona; in the *Staatsbibliothek* of Berlin; and in the (once) Imperial Library at Leningrad.⁵⁹ In all, ten manuscripts are known to contain the Sunday and Feast-Day Sermons of St. Anthony.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

1. For a good summary of the whole controversy, cf. Fr. Cuthbert Gumbinger, O.F.M.Cap., in the *Franciscan Herald and Forum*, Vol. XXV (July, 1946), pp. 199–202.

2. Cf. Scaramuzzi, *La Vita Intellettuale di San Antonio di Padua* (Rome: Tipografia Agostiniana, 1934), pp. 21–27.

3. Cf. "Le edizioni degli scritti attribuiti a San Antonio" in *Bollettino Franc. Stor. Bibl.*, III (1932), 161–164. Cf. CF, III (1933), 260–261; *Il Santo*, I, 49, 129–223; III, 12, 141, 228; IV, 119.

4. Cf. Scaramuzzi, *op. cit.*, p. 35. For a complete list of these sermons, as far at least as they are known today, cf. the edition of P. M. Antonio Pagi

(cf. under IV, No. 5); Sparcio, Domenico, O.F.M.Conv., *Vita di San Antonio di Padova* (Padova: Messaggero, 1923), Vol. I, 61–62. For an evaluation of the same cf. *Il Santo*, I, 49, 129, 223; III, 141; IV, 311. Cf. also *ibid.*, II, 165; III, 12, 232. The Lenten sermons were frequently published separately, e.g., at Paris, in 1521; Venice, 1574, 1575 (in 2 vols.); later at Bologna, 1649. Other editions by P. M. Francesco Maria of Pergola, O.F.M.Conv. (cf. under IV, No. 4). The names of the authors who published complete editions of the sermons of St. Anthony, or only parts of them, are given under VII of this same Chapter V.

5. This work was published by De la Haye in his *Opera Omnia S. Francisci Assisi, et S. Antonii de Padua* (cf. under IV, No. 3). Barzon denies its authenticity in *Il Santo*, I (1928–1929), pp. 190–192.

6. These were published by De la Haye, *op. cit.*, and by Luke Wadding, O.F.M., *S. Antonii de Padua, Concordantiae Morales Sacrorum Bibliorum* (Romae: Apud Alphons. Ciacconum, 1623), in 8 vols. Concerning the authenticity of the Moral Concordance attributed to St. Anthony, cf. A. Kleinhaus, O.F.M., in *Antonianum*, VI (1931), 276–326. Cf. CF, III (1933), 260–261.

7. For a complete list of authentic and spurious works of St. Anthony of Padua, cf. Luke Wadding, O.F.M., *Scriptores Ord. Minorum* and John Hyacinth Sbaralea, O.F.M.Conv., *Supplementum et Castigatio ad Scriptores a Waddingo Conscriptos*, especially in the latest edition of both works by A. Nardecchia (Rome, 1906 ff.) with critical comments by the Franciscans of Quaracchi (Vol. I, p. 83, No. 203).

Concerning the authenticity of the *Expositio in Psalmos*, which Lepitre, De Kerval, and Callebaut reject, but which Bellincini, in opposition to these authors, essays to prove as authentic cf. *Il Santo*, III, 125 ff. Two hundred and seventy-eight of these sermons on the Psalms were published by P. M. Azzoguidi, O.F.M.Conv., at Bologna, 1757. Cf. the Official Process *Urbis et Orbis . . . Informatio, op. cit.*, p. 59; Scaramuzzi, *ibid.*, p. 64 (9); Callebaut, in AFH, XXV (1933), pp. 261–174 (cf. CF, III (1933), p. 261; Bellincini in *Il Santo*, III (1930–1931), pp. 125–135.

The *Sermones Narraverunt* are attributed to St. Anthony, e.g., by Father Antonio M. Josa, O.F.M.Conv. (cf. *Il Santo*, III, 62), but most probably they are the work of Luke of Bitonto as Guildaldi seems to prove in *Il Santo*, III, pp. 59–76; published also separately by the Messenger Press (*Il Messaggero*) of Padua, 1930. Sbaralea wavers between Bl. Luke of Belludi and Luke of Bitonto as the author; cf. *Il Santo*, III, 62.

8. Cf. P. Jacobus Heerinckx, O.F.M., “De Sermonibus Dominicalibus et in Festivitatibus,” in *Antonianum*, Vol. IX (1934), pp. 3–26.

9. Cf. Chap. VI, No. 1 (p. 99).

10. “Interpollata praedicatione, per totum hyemis spatium cor studii honestatis applicuit, et ad preces Domini Ostiensis in *Festivitatibus Sanctorum* per anni circulum compositioni se contulit.” Chap. XI, No. 4. (Ed. of De Kerval, p. 44; ed. of Conconi, p. 17.)

11. “Alio tempore, quum videlicet *Sermones per annum dominicales*

componeret, apud civitatem Paduanam residentiam fecerat." Chap. XI, No. 3. (Ed. of De Kerval, p. 44; ed. of Conconi, p. 17.)

12. Cf. *infra*, Chap. VI, No. 2, Group A (p. 114).

13. "Primum itaque libertatis hujusmodi cursum ad civitatem Paduanam direxit ubi jam pridem sinceram populi devotionem, dum *opusculum quoddam Sermonum Dominicalium* compilaret, expertus, jam nunc ad instantiam Domini Ostiensis Episcopi, *festivales etiam Sanctorum Sermones* praefato operi connexus, explere hoc potissimum in eadem civitate disposuit." Ed. of Conconi, p. 17. (Cf. Chap. VI, No. 11, Group A.)

14. "Quo (Paduam) preveniens (1229) quia ibi *Sermones Dominicalia* componerat"; *Legenda Raymondina*, published by Fr. Antonio M. Josa, O.F.M.Conv. (Bologna, 1883), p. 92.

15. Cf. Chap. VI, No. 12, Group A (p. 126).

16. Ed. of Conconi, p. 69.

17. Vols. IV and V (Quaracchi, 1906-1912).

18. "Praedicationis ipsius exstant opera *quadragesimalia, dominicalia et festiva*, quae ipse peregit." AF, IV, 338.

19. Cf. Chap. VI, No. 4, Group A (p. 118).

20. Spain and Portugal at that time were frequently regarded as one country.

21. "Antonius quem ipse vidi et cognovi, Hispanus fuit genere, Paduanos praedicavit . . . et bonos ibi sermones compilavit." Ed. of D'Alençon, O.F.M.Cap., p. 60. Cf. De Kerval, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

For other proofs of the authenticity of St. Anthony as a writer of sermons, cf. Heerinckx in *Antonianum*, 1934, pp. 16-29.

22. Cf. *infra* at the end of this chapter (p. 95).

23. Cf. *infra*, Division IV, No. 8 of this chapter (p. 93).

24. Cf. *infra*, VII, No. 5 (p. 90).

25. Cf. Heerinckx, "De Sermonibus Dominicalibus et in Festivitatibus S. Antonii Patavini" in *Antonianum*, 1934, p. 24.

26. Cf. *Anal. Bollandiana*, XXX (1911), pp. 307-315; E. Lemp, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* (Brieger), XI (1889-1895), p. 505.

27. Cf. *Il Santo*, IV (1931-1932), pp. 119-124.

28. Ed. of De Kerval, p. 44.

29. Cf. CF, III (1933), pp. 293-294.

30. Cf. Scaramuzzi, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-37; Sparacio, *Vita di San Antonio di Padova*, Vol. I, 58-63; Anonys., *S. Antonio di Padova, Dottore Ecclesiastico* (Padova, 1946), pp. 56-57; Heerinckx, in *Antonianum*, IX (1934), 30-36; De Kerval, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-45, Note 3.

31. Cf. under No. 3 (p. 89).

32. Cf. Scaramuzzi, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30.

33. Cf. under No. 8 (p. 91).

34. Cf. Joan Hyacinth Sbaralea, *Supplementum et Castigatio ad Scriptores a Waddingo aliisque descriptos* (Rome: Edition Attilio Nardecchia, 1906 ff.), p. 84; cf. *Urbis et Orbis . . . Informatio* (S. Cong. Rituum, 1936), p. 57; Scaramuzzi, *op. cit.*, p. 56, No. 5.

35. Cf. under VII, No. 1 (p. 88).
36. Cf. *infra* at the end of this chapter (p. 95).
37. Cf. *supra*, under No. III (p. 85).
38. Cf. *Il Santo*, III, 161.
39. Cf. under No. 2 (p. 88).
40. Those in the Locatelli edition (cf. *infra* under No. 8) begin more properly, in accordance with the system adopted by St. Anthony, with Septuagesima Sunday, because on that Sunday the lessons of the First Nocturn of the Roman Breviary are taken from the First Book of the Bible, Genesis.
41. Cf. under No. 1 (p. 88).
42. Cf. under No. 2 (p. 88).
43. Cf. under No. 7 (p. 90).
44. Cf. under No. 7 (p. 90).
45. Cf. under No. 5 (p. 90).
46. Cf. under No. 5 (p. 90).
47. Cf. Chap. VI of this treatise, Group A, Nos. 1 and 11 (pp. 99, 126).
48. Cf. *infra*, No. 8 (p. 91).
49. Cf. Scaramuzzi, *op. cit.*, p. 33; *Urbis et Orbis . . . Informatio* of the Sacred Congregation of Rites (Rome, 1936), *op. cit.*, p. 61; and Scaramuzzi's, *La Figura Intellettuale di San Antonio di Padova* included in the above-named official process of the Sacred Cong. of Rites, p. 57, No. 25.
50. Cf. Sparacio, *op. cit.*, I, p. 47.
51. "In principio Septuagesimae" — to quote Hugh of St. Victor — "incipit Ecclesia servitium totius anni et legitur Pentateuchus." *Speculum Ecclesiae*, c. 4, in Migne, *PL*, 177, 347; Scaramuzzi, *op. cit.*, p. 37.
52. Cf. Locatelli, p. 585. Cf. also what was said in Chap. IV of this treatise concerning the co-ordination of St. Anthony's sermons with the Gospel, Epistle, *Introit*, and Lessons of the Roman Breviary for each Sunday of the year.
53. The use of chapters and verses, as we have them today in our Bibles, was not current in St. Anthony's time.
54. Cf. Scaramuzzi, *op. cit.*, pp. 34–35.
55. Paris, 1900, p. 22.
56. Cf. Sparacio, *San Antonio*, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 34–56; *Franciscan Herald and Forum*, July, 1946, p. 199; De Kerval, *Vitae Duae*, *op. cit.*, p. 45, Note 3. For many other Paduan Codices, cf. *Il Santo*, II, p. 316; III, 35 ff.
57. Cf. *supra*, Nos. 7 and 8 (pp. 90–91).
58. "Or, c'est ce codex qui a servi et qui sert, un peu à la légère, ce me semble, à juger tous les manuscrits et les livres imprimés que l'on a présentés sous les nom de saint Antoine." De Kerval, *op. cit.*, p. 45, Note 3.
59. Cf. *Il Santo*, III, 54 ff.

CHAPTER VI

AUTHENTIC SOURCES OF THE LIFE OF ST. ANTHONY

GROUP A. Thirteenth-Century Major Sources

1. THE LEGENDA PRIMA, THE LEGENDA ASSIDUA, OR THE VITA ANTIQUISSIMA (WRITTEN SHORTLY AFTER 1232)¹

A. TIME OF ITS ORIGIN

While the Jesuit Bollandists, toward the end of the seventeenth century,² were engaged in compiling the *Life* of St. Anthony of Padua for their famous *Acta Sanctorum* they encountered a rather serious difficulty. For, whereas it was generally known and accepted that several legends of the saint existed,³ especially the one written at the instance of Jerome of Ascoli, the tenth minister-general of the Franciscan Order (1274–1292), the later Pope Nicholas IV (1288–1292), and approved at the General Chapter of Verona in 1348,⁴ only fragments of both this important legend and other earlier documents could be found. After diligent research in all directions the Bollandists concluded that no *complete* copy of any thirteenth-century legend of the saint existed. Their inability, especially, to detect the complete original *Legenda Prima* and the corresponding necessity of being obliged to use only fragmentary or secondary sources, accounts for the rather imperfect *Life* these otherwise diligent and scrupulous hagiographers were able to transmit to posterity. Dr. Nickolas Heim, e.g., in his *Life* of St. Anthony⁵ “based on authentic sources and documents” laments the fact that despite the frequent quoting of documents, the *Life* of St. Anthony in the *Acta Sanctorum* (Vol. II, col. 1698) is not entirely trustworthy.

To accentuate this failure was the fact that the veneration and love of the people for the popular St. Anthony of Padua had woven around his personality a halo of legend which made it at times impossible to discern actual facts from poetic fancies and highly revered folklore. Thus, as centuries rolled on, although there existed many *lives* of the great Wonder-worker,⁶ not one of them was complete or entirely trustworthy. In some, incidents were related which could not be critically sustained, while in others, dates, names, and places were confused.

It remained for the famous Capuchin connoisseur of *Franciscana*, Father Hilary of Paris, to bridge the difficulty. In 1888, in a monastery of his Order at Lucerne, Switzerland,⁷ he discovered a codex which he thought was the long-lost *Legend of St. Anthony* by John Peckham, O.F.M., disciple of St. Bonaventure and later archbishop of Canterbury (d. 1292).⁸ In reality, he had found a good copy of what authors now look upon as the *Legenda Prima* or the *Vita Antiquissima* (with certain additions),⁹ which antedates John of Peckham's work by nearly fifty years.¹⁰ The transcription from an earlier faulty codex had been done by the hand of a woman — a Poor Clare.¹¹

In his *Legenda Primitiva di St. Antoine*¹² Father Hilary tells us how, having visited many of the Swiss Capuchin convents in search of precious documents pertaining to St. Anthony, he found this legend at Lucerne. It was done in small *quarto*. In the beginning was the *Legend of St. Francis* by St. Bonaventure; then followed a few pages on the Portiuncula. In the middle of the codex began the *Legend of St. Anthony*, written on 82 pages and on 41 sheets of parchment, each sheet having 22 lines. The writing is in small, cramped gothic characters of the fourteenth century; the letters are uniform, solid, and plain. Occasionally at the beginning of the lessons and paragraphs occur large initials, some painted red, others blue fading into green; a few are ornamented, but executed with little art and without miniatures. The two copyists had evidently an old manuscript before them, which to some extent was damaged, for here and there blanks occur, showing that the original was illegible.

In the middle, between the *Legend* of St. Francis and that of St. Anthony, there was also found a declaration in old German to the effect that the Legend of St. Francis had been transcribed in the year 1337, by a certain Elspeck von Amhert, whereas the *Legend of St. Anthony* had been copied by one Katherine von Purchhausen, who at the time was in her sixty-seventh year. Both legends were completed, they say, on the eve of the feast of St. Bartholomew. Then follows a request that "whoever reads the legends might pray to God for them and also for those who furnished the parchments and binding; that God may help us to the glorious host of the dear Lord, St. Francis and the worthy lady, St. Clare, Amen." Both compilers, concludes Father Hilary of Paris, were evidently Poor Clares, and their copies were probably made for the community to which they belonged.¹³

The Poor Clares had founded a convent called "Paradise" near Schaffhausen, between 1254–1257. In 1581, the Capuchins arrived in Switzerland and, in 1595, they founded the monastery at Frauenfeld, near by. The manuscript evidently came into the possession of the friars early in the seventeenth century, and it was this manuscript which Father Hilary found at Lucerne.

Father Hilary, however, and after him Chérancé, seem to have erred when they attribute the *Legend* which the former had found at Lucerne to Friar John Peckham, O.F.M. (b. c. 1240: d. 1292).¹⁴ That Peckham wrote a legend of St. Anthony is evident from Glassberger and the author of the *Firmamentum Trium Ordinum*¹⁵ but, as mentioned, the legend, a copy of which Fr. Hilary found at Lucerne, antedates Peckham's legend.¹⁶ In fact,

a) Vincent of Beauvais (d. 1264) in his *Speculum Historiale* (lib. XXXI, cap. 131–135)¹⁷ reproduces whole passages from the *Rhythmic Life of St. Anthony*, which the Bollandists for lack of better knowledge called the *Legenda Anonyma*, but which Ferdinand Delorme (D'Alarques)¹⁸ proves to have been the work of none other than the famous poet and composer of *Lives and Liturgical Offices of St. Francis and St. Anthony*, Julian of Spire. In metric measures Julian reproduces passages taken from this, the *Legenda Prima*, the same as he does from the *Legenda Prima*

of Celano in his rhythmic *Office of St. Francis*;¹⁹ hence he presupposes it.²⁰ Now, Vincent of Beauvais wrote his *Speculum Historiale* before 1264, whereas Julian of Spire died in 1250. Hence this first legend, the source on which both these two authors depend, antedates both. Whereas the *Vita Metrica* of Julian served for the hymns and antiphones of the Divine Office of St. Anthony for his feast day, June 13, as used by the Reformed Franciscan Families, the *Legenda Prima* formed the nucleus of the *Lezionario* or Book of Lessons for the Second Nocturn used throughout the octave.²¹

b) The *Legenda Prima* is also the basis of the *Dialogus de Vitis Fratrum Minorum* (c. 1245),²² published by Fr. Leonard Lemmens, O.F.M.²³ As mentioned, the Bollandists had certain fragments of it and several other documents²⁴ before them when they composed their *Vita S. Antonii* for the *Acta Sanctorum*. Rolandino, the Chronicler of Padua,²⁵ a contemporary of St. Anthony, was apprised of it, for he assures us that "the saint actually wrote and lived as depicted in the *Legenda*," which of course was the one already extant when he wrote (1260–1262).²⁶

c) If it be permitted to use a negative argument one might conclude that the *Legenda Prima* antedates the year 1263, also from the fact that it makes no mention of the transfer of the relics of the saint, which took place that year in the presence of St. Bonaventure, general of the Order at that time (1257–1274), although it does describe in detail St. Anthony's death, canonization, and the miracles performed immediately after his death, etc. The *Legenda Prima*, therefore, was written before John Peckham's time.

The above-mentioned arguments become all the more forceful when one considers not only that the *Legenda Prima* seems to have been written near or at Padua, the scene of the more important activities of the saint and especially of those referring to his death, burial, and canonization, but also that the author, as he tells us himself in his prologue, bases the narrative on events of which he was personally an eyewitness or concerning which he received firsthand information from those who were

eyewitnesses, especially his confreres and the faithful he knew.²⁷ He excepts only the events of his early youth which the author says he obtained from the bishop of Lisbon, the learned Lord Segur (Suerus; Soerio) II, who had been elected to the See of Lisbon in 1210,²⁸ the same year that Anthony joined the Augustinian Canons at St. Vincent's Abbey.

The question now arises, how did the author of the first legend get in touch with the bishop of Lisbon? This could have happened: (1) through the ordinary channels of those days, through couriers; (2) through the provincials of the Province of St. James (*Provincia Sancti Jacobi*) of Spain, of which Lisbon at that time was a custody, e.g., Bernard of Quintavalle and John Parente.²⁹ Both of these illustrious friars might have known the author either personally or otherwise and gotten in touch with him when they returned to Italy either to attend some general chapter, or perchance also to gain the Portiuncula Indulgence.³⁰

Furthermore, since the *Rhythmic Office of St. Anthony* (by Julian of Spire) is based on the *Legenda Prima* and was in use already in 1249, for Bl. John of Parma, sixth general of the Order (1247-1257) makes mention of it in a circular of that year,³¹ and was known even to John Parente (minister-general, 1227-1232), one might conclude that the *Legenda Prima* was written immediately after the canonization of the saint, May 30, 1232, as Mandach,³² De Kerval,³³ and Sparacio³⁴ hold, or at least before 1245; and surely, says Chérancé³⁵ before 1249.³⁶

The author, in fact, in his prologue, states that he wrote his legend of St. Anthony at the request of his confreres and at the bidding of some, to date, unidentified higher superior³⁷ whom some think was none other than Pope Gregory IX (1227-1241) who canonized the saint in 1232 and who desired the marvelous events of his life, which occasioned the canonization, to be as faithfully recorded as were the events of his other great friend, St. Francis of Assisi.

B. AUTHOR OF THE "LEGENDA PRIMA"

If the matter of the time of the composition of the *Legenda Prima* can be established with comparative certainty, the definite determination of the person of the author becomes more involved from year to year. Although each critic (or group of critics) thinks for certain they have arrived at some positive, incontrovertible arguments to uphold their viewpoints, they live to see their pet theories blasted by some new critic, who in turn offers what he considers unanswerable arguments to prove his deductions. Unfortunately, the author of the *Legenda Prima*, as is the case of so many other medieval documents, did not sign his work. About the only thing all agree on is that the author was a Franciscan, for in his prologue he refers to his sources as "Fratribus nostris" (to our friars), and calls St. Anthony his confrere: "Actus beatissimi patris et fratris nostri Antonii"; whereas at the end of his work (in the Epilogue, Chap. XIII, No. 18) he prays to St. Anthony to "remember *me* and the other friars of your community" (*recordare, pie pater, mei cum caeteris congregationis tuae fratribus*).³⁸

Who, then, was this Franciscan author of the *Legenda Prima*?³⁹

a) Pacheco⁴⁰ would attribute the honor to St. Bonaventure; however, since the Seraphic Doctor was born only c. 1221–1222, he could not very well have composed a legend which for the reasons given should be placed about 1232.

b) The Capuchin Father Hilary of Paris⁴¹ and after him, Fr. Leopold de Chérancé, as mentioned above, hold out for Fr. John of Peckham, basing their claims on Glassberger⁴² and the *Firmentum Trium Ordinum*⁴³ but as has been proven by Leon de Kerval⁴⁴ for the reasons given the *Legenda Prima* far antedates John of Peckham who was born only between 1232–1236.⁴⁵ Hence the conclusions made by the Conventual historians, Rodolphus Tossenianensis⁴⁶ and Sbaralea,⁴⁷ also fall by the wayside.

c) Fr. Bernard Gonzati, O.F.M.Conv.,⁴⁸ thinks that Fra Giovanni da Cremona might deserve the honor; but John of Cremona, according to Sbaralea,⁴⁹ flourished only during the four-

teenth century, receiving his doctorate in 1383; hence he could not possibly have been the author of a work which postulates the first half of the thirteenth century as the time of its composition.

d) Neither is the opinion of Fr. Niccolo Dal-Gal, O.F.M. (and later O.F.M.Conv.)⁵⁰ that Bl. Luke Belludi (b. c. 1200),⁵¹ friend and companion of St. Anthony might have been the author, tenable; for Bl. Luke died after 1285, and hence must have been a very young man at the time of the death of St. Anthony (1231) and hardly one, to whom despite his talents the friars in concert would at that early period of his life have directed a request to write the life of their esteemed provincial and a canonized saint. This seems to be all the more convincing if one reflect that St. Anthony arrived in Padua, the home of the Belludi family, only in 1229, two years before his death and hence Bl. Luke could have known little of his later great friend, especially concerning the latter's earlier period of life.

e) Finally, neither can the opinion held by Fr. Ferdinand Delormes (d'Aurales), O.F.M., in the preface of his publication of Rigauld's *Life of St. Anthony*⁵² and seconded by Fr. Domenico Sparacio, O.F.M.Conv.,⁵³ and others, attributing from internal arguments the honor to Bl. Thomas Celano, the author of the famous *Legenda Prima* and *Legenda Secunda* of St. Francis,⁵⁴ be sustained, as Facchinetti⁵⁵ and before him De Kerval⁵⁶ demonstrate. In support of their theories the two authors mentioned (Delorme and Sparacio) accentuate from the wording of the prologue;

1. The identity of the motives for the writing of both legends of St. Francis and St. Anthony, i.e., the request of the friars

2. The identity of source material — the things seen and heard by the friars

3. The same apprehensions and fears (in both legends) lest the author from lapse of memory say something that were not true or treat his subject unworthily⁵⁷

4. The method of treatment in both legends, i.e., with an eye to brevity and veracity⁵⁸

5. The same divisions in both legends: two parts to the first

division; and a special treatise on the miracles (*De Miraculis*) of both saints

6. The identity of the purpose, the glory of God.⁵⁹

De Kerval and Facchinetti, however, point out that, when the *contents* are taken into consideration, serious objections to the assumption of Celano's authorship arise, viz.:

1. The use of *antitheses*, so frequently resorted to by Celano in his *Life of St. Francis* is conspicuous by its absence in the *Life of St. Anthony*.

2. The style of language adopted by the author of the *Legend of St. Anthony* is not the style of Celano. Celano uses beautiful Latin and his sentences are well rounded and full of imagery; the author of the *Legenda Assidua* purposely avoids all flowery language⁶⁰ and follows a very simple style. Furthermore:

3. If the writer may be allowed to add another personal suggestion, all the above-mentioned similarities can easily be explained by merely admitting that the author of the *Legenda Assidua* had before him as a guide the famous *Vita Prima* of Celano, at that time universally known.

For these and similar reasons Delorme's original theory received a cold reception from the greater number of Franciscan critics. After examining Delorme's reasons and rejecting his conclusions, De Kerval is still not convinced as to the authorship of the *Legenda Assidua*: "Le nom de l'auteur de la *Legenda Prima* reste donc encore a decouvrir."⁶¹

f) But neither was Delorme himself definitely convinced that Celano was the author of the *Legenda Prima* or *Legenda Assidua*; for reacting to the criticisms of his first theory he eventually changed it for another. Intent on preparing a new edition of the *Dialogus de Gestis Sanctorum*⁶² he began to realize that the style and some of the very expressions, phrases, and words used by the author of the *Legenda Prima* corresponded rather to those used by the author of the *Dialogus* than to those used by Celano; furthermore that the prologue and epilogue of both (as he, first, and others after him tried to show in the case of Celano) were most similar.⁶³ Having arrived at the conclusion⁶⁴ that the

author of the *Dialogus* was most probably Fra Tommaso of Pavia, he was now ready to ascribe, also, to this same Fra Tommaso the authorship of the *Legenda Prima*.

Who was this Friar Thomas of Pavia?⁶⁵ Salimbene of Parma in his *Chronicle of the Order Friars Minor* (written c. 1282–1287)⁶⁶ tells us that he was “a good and holy man, an illustrious cleric and lector in Theology for many years at Parma, Bologna, and Ferrara. He was (at one time) one of the oldest men in the Order Friars Minor; well informed and prudent; a man of wise counsel; also sociable, obliging, humble, sweet in his disposition, devoted to God and a forcible and gracious preacher. He was the Provincial of the Tuscan Province for many years and a prolific writer.”⁶⁷ He was the author of a very large chronicle (*Chronicum magnum*); of a treatise entitled *Dei Sermoni* (*Tractatus Sermonum*); and of a large work on Theology (*Magnum Opus in Theologiam*), which due to its size was called *Il Bove* (the ox).

Born probably about the year 1212, Thomas of Pavia entered the Franciscan Order in 1229. He could thus have had an opportunity of seeing St. Anthony in the flesh or at least of having been present at the saint’s death and funeral, which (if he be the author of the *Legenda Assidua*) he describes as an eyewitness. After having traveled and labored much he died somewhere between 1280–1284, the last named being the year in which Salimbene wrote his chronicle. If he be the author of the *Legenda Assidua*, he must have written it shortly after the canonization of St. Anthony (1232). Strangely enough, however, Salimbene does not say a word about his companion (Thomas of Pavia) with whom he “lived for many years at Ferrara” as being the author of a *Legend of St. Anthony*. Sparacio both in his *Storia di San Antonio* and his article in the periodical *San Francesco di Assisi*⁶⁸ repudiates Delorme’s theory that Thomas of Pavia was the author of either the *Legenda Assidua* or the *Dialogus de Gestis Sanctorum*,⁶⁹ hence it would seem that De Kerval’s statement that the actual authorship of the *Legenda Prima* or *Assidua* is still a mystery, holds good as much today as when he first uttered it (1904).⁷⁰

C. IMPORTANCE AND CONTENTS OF THE "LEGENDA PRIMA"

Irrespective of its authorship the *Legenda Prima* is of primary importance.⁷¹ Despite its incompleteness, shortcomings, and lack of classical tone, it still remains, as De Kerval avers, "a most precious document and the fundamental cornerstone of all Anthonian history."⁷² Lemp, of his part, also, is willing to admit that, as we have it today, with its additions and corrections, it actually portrays the physiognomy of our saint current among the Friars Minor of Padua, at least during the last quarter of the thirteenth century.⁷³ The learned Capuchin, Melchior a Pohladura, after De Kerval, likewise calls it the "very cornerstone of Anthonian biography."⁷⁴ Yet for all this, the *Legenda Assidua* is far from being a complete *life* of our saint, as the author himself admits in the prologue and epilogue.⁷⁵ It dilates much on the sojourn of St. Anthony at Padua and on the circumstances connected with his death and burial; also on the miracles performed immediately thereafter. But it tells us very little about his infancy and early youth, about his missionary apostolate, his travels, and his other manifold activities, e.g., his sermons, his miracles performed during his lifetime, etc. He does not mention France even once, and he knows nothing of the work of St. Anthony in other cities of Italy, with the exception of Rimini, before the saint arrived at Padua toward the end of his life.

The reason for all this can be more or less satisfactorily explained. If the *Legenda Prima* was written at Padua (or near by) by a Franciscan (as appears evident from the wording of the prologue) the author could easily have been an eyewitness or have obtained, firsthand, all the information he needed to record concerning the events which transpired during the youth of our saint — especially as an Augustinian canon — except what he obtained from Bishop Suerio of Lisbon or through friars returning for various reasons from Spain and Portugal to Italy.⁷⁶ The first provincial of Spain (*Provinciae S. Jacobi*) of which Lisbon was a custody⁷⁷ was most probably Bl. Bernard of Quintavalle; thereafter it was John Parente, minister-general of the Order, 1227–

1232, who governed just at the time the friar was writing his *Legenda Prima*. Both these men would be intensely interested in St. Anthony, who, while not an Italian by birth, came from the very province over which, by order of St. Francis and the wishes of the general chapters, they had functioned as provincials. Perhaps it was one of these two men (especially John Parente, general at the time) — if not Pope Gregory IX — who had requested the author (Celano? Thomas of Pavia?) to write the life of St. Anthony,⁷⁸ now known under the name of the *Legenda Prima*.

That the author himself — no matter who he was — never saw Portugal seems evident from the naïve manner in which — in his prologue — he describes Lisbon the famous capitol of that country: “There is, *as they say*, a certain city in the kingdom of Portugal situate towards its western boundary, in the extreme (distant) parts of the earth,” etc.⁷⁹

The fact that the author speaks so little of the activities of St. Anthony in France would also seem to indicate that he never saw that country either, nor visited the places made memorable there by St. Anthony’s presence: Limoges, Toulouse, Montpellier, Bourges, etc.

The lack of the recording of any large number of miracles during the lifetime of the saint can be explained by the assumption that the author really intended at some later time to write a special *Tractatus de Miraculis*, even as Celano, who certainly seems to have influenced our author, did in the case of St. Francis.⁸⁰

To these defects must be added the question of the lacunae which the author himself senses and admits.⁸¹ The greatest lacunae in the life of our saint in the *Legenda Prima* occur concerning the years 1223 or 1224 to 1230, the very epoch of the most fervent activities of St. Anthony in France and Italy. Were these years, for some reason or other, separated from the original manuscript (now lost) so that no copyist was ever able to transcribe them (if ever written) or did the author purposely avoid writing about them because, as some critics maintain (although falsely it seems, as Sparacio holds), of some misunderstanding between St.

Anthony and Brother Elias, who, at the time of our saint's fervent activities, was vicar-general of the Order, 1221-1227, or because the *Legenda Prima* was published just at the time when Elias was minister-general, 1232-1239?⁸²

The question of the miracles performed by St. Anthony, referred to above, is also interesting. Beginning with the prologue of the tract *De Miraculis* in Chapter XXX and continuing to the epilogue in Chapter XLVII a large number of miracles are recorded which served either for the process of canonization of our saint or were otherwise recorded to confirm his great sanctity. The question now arises regarding the authorship of this second part of the *Legenda Prima*, i.e., to the section pertaining to the miracles performed after the death of St. Anthony. Did the same writer write both the first and second part; or did someone else write the second part (*Incipiunt Miracula S. Antonii*), and if so who united the two parts (the *Legenda* and the *Miracula*) to make them appear today as coming from one and the same author? De Kerval⁸³ thinks it quite probable that some other author, more or less officially appointed, had a hand in collecting and in transmitting to posterity the miracles used for the process of canonization, which later were attached to the *Legenda Prima* to form one work with it. Later additions were even found to have been made to the second section, e.g., in the manuscript of Ancona.⁸⁴

D. STYLE AND UNITY OF THE "LEGENDA PRIMA"

It would be futile to praise very highly the beauty or elegance of style of the *Legenda Prima*. It is certainly an exaggeration, as Facchinetti points out,⁸⁵ to call it, as Chérancé had done, "one of the pearls of the Middle Ages."⁸⁶ One would rather be inclined to agree with De Kerval who calls the Latin style rather poor, and the phraseology at times obscure and empty.⁸⁷ On the other hand it would be hypercritical to deny the unity of the *Legenda Prima* by claiming, as Cessi⁸⁸ and other modern critics have done, that many hands collaborated in its composition; that at first (1231) it was a "Portuguese Friar Minor" and then later, in the second

redaction (c. 1233–1240–47) an Italian friar who interpolated, with actual facts however, the original, so that as we possess it today, it is a heap of “conceptual duplications, frequent paraphrases, and real or apparent contradictions.”⁸⁹ Both Giuseppe Abate, O.F.M. Conv.,⁹⁰ and Michael Bihl, O.F.M.,⁹¹ have categorically repudiated the application of the methods of rationalist biblical students, especially of the Old Testament, to Anthonian hagiography. The *Legenda Prima* has indeed its imperfections and defects, but it is far from being the incoherent and unorganized mass of contradictions certain modern critics would have us believe it to be. Somewhere between this monstrous assertion and Chérancé’s “pearl of the Middle Ages” lies the truth.

E. DIVISIONS AND EDITIONS OF THE “LEGENDA PRIMA”

a) Divisions

The *Legenda Prima* or *Assidua* is divided into two parts, besides the prologue. The first part contains the life of the saint; the second, a catalogue of miracles performed through his intercession after death; thereafter follows the epilogue.

b) Editions

1. The *Legenda Prima* was first published, as far as we know at present, by Fortunatus a D. Bonaventura, a Friar Minor of the Convent of Alcobaca, at Coimbra, in 1830, in both Latin and Portuguese under the title *Vita et miracula S. Antonii Ulissiponensis*.⁹² It is based on Manuscripts 206 and 293 of the Royal Library of the Monastery of Alcobaca. The editor enhances his publication by two learned and pertinent dissertations, the one on the antiquity and value of the legends of St. Anthony; the other on his writings and works.

2. A second edition appeared in the Collection *Portugalliae Monumenta Historica*, published in 1856.⁹³ For a long time this edition was considered the first.

3. A third edition appeared at Padua from the hands of the Conventual Librarian of the *Antoniana*, Fr. Antonio Josa, O.F.M. Conv., under the title *Legenda seu vita et miracula Sancti An-*

*tonii de Padua Saec. XIII, ex Codice Membraneo Antonianae Bibliotheca.*⁹⁴ It is based on Manuscript 74 of the *Bibliotheca Antoniana* and differs somewhat from the previous two editions in that it makes certain additions to them. Fr. Josa's publication includes beside (a) the above-quoted *Legenda Prima* also (b) the *Legenda Raimondina*⁹⁵ and (c) the *Sermones S. Antonii in Solemnitatibus, Ascensionis, Pentecostes, S. Joan. Bapt., et SS. Apostol. Petri et Pauli.*

4. Fr. Hilary of Paris, O.F.M.Cap., published the *Legenda Prima* both in Latin and in a French translation from a codex of the year 1337, found at Lucerne.⁹⁶ His work is entitled *Saint Antoine de Padoue, sa légende primitive et autres piéces historiques avec de sermons inédites et nouveaux et un manuel de devotion.*⁹⁷ It appeared also in a German translation.⁹⁸

5. The most critical of all editions heretofore published is that of Léon de Kerval, entitled *Sancti Antonii de Padua vitae duae quarum altera hucusque inedita* (the *Legenda Benignitas* of John Peckham) *edidit, notis et commentariis illustravit Leon de Kerval.*⁹⁹ Besides many variant readings De Kerval's edition contains an important comparative study on the text as published by Father Joseph Josa, O.F.M.Conv.¹ It appeared also in the *Collection d' Etudes et de Documents sur l' Histoire Religieuse et Litteraire du Moyen Age*, Tom. V.² De Kerval's publication contains:

- a) *Sancti Antonii Legenda Prima seu Antiquissima*, with a very interesting introduction
- b) An Appendix, containing additions and various manuscripts
- c) The *Legenda Benignitas*, with a corresponding introduction
- d) A second Appendix containing a critical study of the *Sources d'Histoire Antonienne.*³

Other codices which give the text of the *Legenda Prima* are in the National Library of Paris (Ms. 4363), fol. 186–196; and in the

British Museum (Cleop. B, II, fol. 156–186). These manuscripts conform to those at Lisbon and at Lucerne.

6. Fragments

a) Certain fragments of the *Legenda Prima* were incorporated by the Bollandists into the *Acta Sanctorum* (cf. *supra*) in their Volume II of the month of June; also in their Appendix; *De Miraculis ad Canonizationem productis*, pp. 718–722.⁴

b) In his edition of St. Anthony's sermons on the Psalms,⁵ published in 1757, now looked upon as spurious, Fr. Antonio Azzoguidi, O.F.M.Conv.,⁶ also published fragments of the *Legenda Prima* (pp. lxvi–lxxvi).

They were reproduced by Horoy in his *Medii Aevi Bibliotheca Patristica*.⁷

7. Sbaralea in his *Supplementum ad Scriptores* of Wadding⁸ makes mention of a *Legenda Antiquissima* transcribed by a certain Fr. Aegidius Zomorensis. It is identical, minus a few modifications, with the *Legenda Prima* and c. 1925 was still to be found at Madrid.⁹

8. An Italian version of the *Legenda Antiqua*, by A. Cojacci, appeared at Torino¹⁰ on the occasion of the Seventh Centenary of the Death of St. Anthony.¹¹ It follows the text by Ph. Ciconi.¹²

9. On the occasion of the solemn elevation of St. Anthony to the rank of a Doctor of the Church Universal (January 16, 1946), Prof. A. F. Pavanello published the *Vita Prima* or *Assidua* in Italian with notes and supplementary data (in fine print) as Volume I of the *Studio Teologico per Laici* — a new and most successful School of Theology being taught at Padua by the Conventual-Franciscans for the laity. It bears the title *S. Antonio di Padova secondo un contemporaneo: La Vita Prima Assidua a cura del Prof. A. F. Pavanello*.¹³

2. THE "LEGENDA SECUNDA" — THE "LEGENDA
VERSIFICATA" OR THE "VITA AUCTORE ANONYMO"

(WRITTEN MOST PROBABLY C. 1245 BY
JULIAN OF SPIRES [D. 1250])¹⁴

The second biographical source for the life of St. Anthony is the so-called *Legenda Secunda*, published by the Bollandists in their *Acta Sanctorum* (June 13)¹⁵ under the title of *Vita Auctore Anonymo valde antiquo*. They styled it such for the simple reason that although considering it a very early Antonian source they did not succeed in determining its real author; hence they called it the "Legenda by an unknown or anonymous author." The *Legenda* as they published it was taken from a fifteenth-century manuscript; however, they were aware of two earlier manuscripts of the same legend which they correlated with their own, i.e., the manuscript *Corsendokana prope Turholtum* (in Belgium) and the manuscript "*Ultrajectina S. Salvatoris*" (the Utrecht Manuscript). Before World War I at least, the first of these two manuscripts was to be found in the National Library of Paris (No. 5278); the second in the Royal Library of Brussels (No. 4468). The Bollandists (in 1689) used this *Vita Secunda* because, as mentioned above (cf. under No. 1), while aware of an earlier life of our saint they could not locate it in its entirety. On comparison it was later discovered that this *Legenda Secunda* was evidently dependent on the *Legenda Prima*, to which, however, besides its beautiful rhythmical and musical versification, it adds nothing new if we except the episode of the apparition of St. Francis to the friars assembled at Arles (1224) as already narrated by Celano and St. Bonaventure. But, like its original source, neither is this legend complete, for from the time of the famous incident on the occasion of the ordination to the priesthood at Forli (1222) when St. Anthony delivered his astounding sermon which first brought the attention of the world upon him, it passes over the whole rest of his life down to the time of the General Chapter of 1230. Like Father Delorme, some authors gratuitously assume that Brother Elias, minister-general of the Order from

1232–1239, had a hand in suppressing certain facts (cf. *supra* under No. 1).¹⁶

After the classical studies made by the same Father Delorme (d'Aurales)¹⁷ all critics today are willing to concede the authorship of the *Legenda Secunda* to Julian of Spires, at one time choirmaster of the Holy Chapel of St. Louis at Paris (the "Saint Chapelle"); for he not only composed the rhythmic *Offices* of both St. Francis and St. Anthony¹⁸ but according to the Franciscan chroniclers, Giardano of Giano,¹⁹ Glassberger,²⁰ and Bartholomew of Pisa,²¹ he also wrote a legend of both saints which is to be differentiated from his Liturgical Offices.²² The similarity between his *Legenda Secunda* and his *Rhythmic Office of St. Anthony* is indeed very pronounced, in fact at times so much so that it seems he merely copied the second from the first — the Office from the Legend. The responses, too, e.g., after the lessons of the Matins and the antiphons of the *Benedictus* correspond word for word in both. Julian's life of St. Anthony is the counterpart of his *Vita Versificata* of St. Francis and his Divine Office now in use among the Reformed Franciscans.²³

The antiquity of the *Vita Secunda* is evident (a) from the fact that Vincent of Beauvais (d. 1264)²⁴ cited part of it in his *Speculum historiale*²⁵ and (b) because, as mentioned, it furnished material for Julian's rhythmic *Office* of St. Anthony, known to have been in use already in 1249. Father Hilary of Paris, O.F.M. Cap.,²⁶ therefore errs when he places the date of the *Legenda Secunda* as late as the fifteenth century, confusing the codex, in which he found it, with the original manuscript.

Due to the entire dependence of the *Vita Secunda* on the *Vita Prima*, to which it adds merely the apparition of St. Francis, in 1224, to the friars assembled at Arles,²⁷ its historical value is not very great.²⁸ Its style, however, is more elegant. The beautiful antiphon *Si quaeris miracula* ("if miracles thou fain wouldst see," etc.), originated with Julian of Spires, not with St. Bonaventure, according to De Kerval.²⁹

3. THE "DIALOGUS DE VITIS SANCTORUM FRATRUM"
(C. 1245); OR "DE GESTIS SANCTORUM"; OR
"DIALOGUS FRATRIS CRESCENTII"³⁰

The *Dialogus de Vitis Sanctorum Fratrum*, known also as *De Gestis Sanctorum*, is a summary of selected episodes of certain saints of the Franciscan Order, including various events in the life of St. Anthony of Padua. The original manuscript belonged at one time to the *Sacro Convento* in Assisi, whence it made its way into the *Museo Borgia* (Ms. 347) and from there eventually into the Vatican Library (Codex 347). On this occasion Fr. Franz Ehrle, S.J., librarian of the Vatican (and later cardinal) showed the manuscript to his German compatriot, Fr. Leonard Lemmens, O.F.M. This learned Franciscan immediately saw therein not only the lost Assisian manuscript but also the lives of the early Franciscan friars written by order of the minister-general, Crescentius da Jesi (1244–1247).³¹ That the author is a Franciscan, and that he was witness of many of the facts he records is evident from the words of the "Auditor" in the dialogue: "De Sancti Antonii fratris nostri gestis, pariter et miraculis audire desidero si qua nostri," to which the "Narrator" responds: "Novi nempe de his, quae postulas, frater, multa per visum."

The actual author of the *Dialogus* according to Mark of Lisbon³² was Bl. John of Parma, also at one time minister-general of the Franciscan Order (1247–1257). However, many modern authors, including Facchinetti,³³ following Delorme, would attribute its authorship to the same Fra Tommaso of Padua whom both claim to have been the author of the *Legenda Prima*.³⁴ The internal reasons, according to these authors, are the similarity of style which correspond to Fra Tommaso's other works; his theological treatise known as the "Bos"; his *Ars Concionandi* and his *Chronica Imperatorum et Pontificum*.³⁵ Sparacio, however, denies their arguments to be conclusive.³⁶ The work is called "Dialogus" because the author introduces two persons into his narrative, the one called the "Narrator" (narrator); the other the "Auditor" (the listener).

The *Life* devoted to St. Anthony is so dependent on the *Legenda Prima* that Lemmens, who later edited it (cf. *infra*), doubted for a while as to which of the two enjoyed the priority. Much as in the case of the Gospel of St. Mark, as contrasted with that of St. Matthew regarding Christ, the *Dialogus* suppresses many particulars and details in the life of St. Anthony recorded in the *Legenda Prima*. While retaining, e.g., almost word for word, certain events and phrases recorded in the first part of the *Legenda Prima*, it suppresses almost entirely everything in the second part, including the funeral and canonization of the saint.

The *Dialogus* is known at times by the title *Dialogus Fratris Crescentii* because, as the author says in the prologue, it was composed by order of the Minister-General Crescentius, between the years 1244–1246. Facchinetti³⁷ favors setting the date of the composition *before* 1246, because that is the year usually conceded for the editing of Celano's *Vita Secunda* of St. Francis, of which our author seems to have no knowledge.

The work more frequently bears the title *De Gestis* rather than *De Vitis Fratrum Minorum* because the legends are not complete lives of Franciscan saints and blessed, but contains only certain incidents of their lives, as already mentioned in the case of St. Anthony.

EDITIONS

The *Dialogus* was first edited by the afore-mentioned Fr. Lemmens in his *Fragmenta Franciscana*.³⁸ But critics soon detected that this edition was rather defective due not only to certain paleographical difficulties encountered by Lemmens in the reading of the text but also to the lack of dogmatical and ascetical notes by the editor which would have tended to clarify obscure passages. For that reason Fr. Delorme considered it opportune to prepare and edit a new and more accurate and complete edition.³⁹ It forms part of Volume V of the *Bibliotheca Franciscana Asctica Medii Aevi*.

The learned Conventual historian, P. M. Giuseppe Abate, published in the *Miscellanea Franciscana*, fasc. III–IV (May–August),

1932, a version of the *Dialogus* as found in a Chambery Codex, No. 1932, under the caption "La Legenda Antoniana del Dialogus nel Codice di Chambery."⁴⁰

4. THE "LIBER EPILOGORUM IN GESTIS SANCTORUM" BY BARTHOLOMEW OF TRENT (C. 1250)⁴¹

About 1240–1250, Bartholomew of Trent, O.P., wrote his *Liber Epilogorum in Gestis Sanctorum*.⁴² In his *Legend of St. Anthony* he assures us that he knew the saint personally; "Antonius, quem ipse vidi et cognovi." He also testifies to the fact that the saint not only preached to the people of Padua, but that also he compiled "good sermons while in that city."

Hispanus fuit genere . . . Paduanos praedicavit et multos usuarios ad restituendum induxit et bonos ibi sermones compilavit.⁴³

Bartholomew not only exalts the spirit of St. Anthony and praises his apostolate, but he makes direct reference to his works; to the apparition of St. Francis at Arles; to St. Anthony's last days; to his death; to his miracles.⁴⁴ An incomplete manuscript of the *Liber Epilogorum* exists in the *Bibliotheca Barberini*, Rome (Codex, xxxii, 91). The small portion referring to our saint, as just quoted, when shown to the Bollandists was used by them as a precious fragment and incorporated into their life of our saint.⁴⁵

The *Liber Epilogorum* was published in its entirety for the first time by Eduard d'Alençon, O.F.M.Cap., in the *Analecta Ord. Min. Cappucinatorum*, XVII (1931), p. 370 ff.; later in the *Spicilegium Franciscanum*, IV; *Miscellanea Antoniana* (Rome: Kleinbub, 1902) in 8 vols., pp. 1–36. De Kerval published it in the *Collection Sabatier*, Vol. V (*S. Antonii de Padua: Vitae Duae*), p. 48, No. 5. Fr. Leonard Lemmens, O.F.M., included it in his *Excerpta Celanensia* (Quaracchi, 1901). It was carried in part, i.e., the section pertaining to St. Francis in the *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, I, 264–265. It may be found in its entirety in the *Analecta Franciscana*, Vol. X, fasc. 4, pp. 540–543. It depends on the *Vita Prima* of St. Francis by Celano,⁴⁶ and on the *Legenda Secunda* of Julian of Spires.⁴⁷

5. THE "SPECULUM HISTORIALE" OF VINCENT OF BEAUVAIS, O.P. (D. 1264)

This famous Dominican⁴⁸ devotes four chapters of Book XII of his *Speculum Historiale* (written before 1264) to St. Anthony of Padua. These chapters depend on the *Vita Secunda* of Julian of Spire (cf. *supra*, No. 2). In his eulogy of St. Anthony, the author refers especially to the acquaintance of our saint with the abbot of Vercelli, Thomas Gallo.⁴⁹ There are several editions of the *Speculum Historiale*, the last being that of 1624.⁵⁰ The legend pertaining to our saint will be found in Book XXI, Chapters CXXXI-CXXXV.

6. THE SERMONS OF CARDINAL ODO OF CHATEAURAU

Although Cardinal Odo (Eudes) of Chateauraux (de Castro Ridolfo), a Cistercian abbot, bishop of Frascati (d. at Orvieto, Jan. 25, 1293) and personal friend of St. Louis IX of France,⁵¹ did not write a biography of St. Anthony, in his sermons⁵² he nevertheless refers frequently to our saint as a model of preachers.⁵³ He speaks of the miracles wrought by God during his sermons, e.g., the Pentecostal gift of the tongues whereby he was understood by people of so many different nationalities;⁵⁴ the sermon to the fishes, etc., Cardinal Odo's sermons, preserved in the General Archives of the Dominicans, and published in part by the above-named Capuchin, Father D'Alençon, first in the *Analecta Cappucinorum* (1902) and later in his *Specilegium Franciscanum* are a veritable fount of Anthonian research.⁵⁵ The same applies to St. Bonaventure.

7. THE SERMONS OF ST. BONAVENTURE (1221-1274)

Even though St. Bonaventure, the other Franciscan Doctor of the Church, may not have had the opportunity of seeing St. Anthony in the flesh — for Bonaventure was at most only ten years old when St. Anthony died (1231) — as teacher and as general of the Order Friars Minor (1247-1274) he at least came into close contact with persons and friars who had seen and heard the saint and was conversant with places made memorable by his presence.

Therefore he can well serve as an authority on the saint's sanctity and doctrine, especially the former. In 1263, when the relics of St. Anthony were being transferred to the sacred temple newly erected in his honor at Padua, St. Bonaventure, picking up the incorrupt lifelike tongue of the saint — whereas the rest of the body had been reduced to ashes — said: "O blessed tongue, which always blessed the Lord and caused others to bless Him, now it is revealed how great was thy merit before God."⁵⁶

As minister-general of the Order, St. Bonaventure visited Limoges where St. Anthony had lived for a time during his sojourn in France and where, toward the end of his life, he had written or revised so many of his inspired sermons. St. Bonaventure also preached in Spain and Portugal where the devotion to St. Anthony was surpassed only by that shown to him in Italy, and especially in Padua. The holy general of the Order thus had ample opportunity of admiring the saintly friar who, in our own day, was to be placed next to him in the Order of Friars Minor, as a Doctor of the Church Universal.

There is no convincing record on hand to prove that St. Bonaventure ever wrote a legend of St. Anthony as he had written a *Legenda Major* and *Legenda Minor* of St. Francis. Fr. Hilary of Paris, O.F.M. Cap., and Fr. Leopold Chérancé, O.F.M., are of the opinion that St. Bonaventure actually began a life of St. Anthony, but, impeded by the duties of his high office, consigned the completion of it to his learned and talented pupil at the University of Paris, John Peckham.⁵⁷ However, neither furnished any direct proofs for their assumptions.

Happily St. Bonaventure is the author of a beautiful sermon in honor of St. Anthony⁵⁸ in which he took the words of the psalmist for his text: *Iste pauper clamavit et Dominus exaudivit eum* (Ps. 33, 7).⁵⁹ In this memorable sermon (which might be taken as a proof of the sanctity of St. Anthony, the second requisite for the ecclesiastical doctorate) St. Bonaventure accentuates: (1) the spirit of *humility* of St. Anthony; "Bl. Anthony desired in the Order of Friars Minor to beg for alms and to possess nothing under heaven";⁶⁰ (2) his spirit of *poverty* which rendered him so dear to

the Seraphic Father, St. Francis, and so like to Christ Jesus Himself: "at the example of St. Francis, Bl. Anthony was moved to follow him in the footsteps of poverty and thus become a renowned imitator not only of Francis but also of Christ";⁶¹ (3) the aureola of perpetual and integral *virginity*, bodily and spiritual, joined to that of the doctorate due him on account of his teaching and preaching *apostolate*; and the aureola of *martyrdom* due him not only on account of his great desire to imitate the five Protomartyrs of the Franciscan Order (1219), when he saw their sacred relics at Coimbra (1220), but also because he actually went into pagan lands in the hope of shedding his blood for Christ.⁶²

This sermon of St. Bonaventure on St. Anthony is also precious because in speaking of the humility of St. Anthony the preacher alludes almost word for word to the passage of the *Legenda Prima*, as contained in the Manuscript 74 of the Anthonian Library in Padua, viz., that St. Anthony, on his knees, begged the guardian of a certain convent that he be permitted to sweep the floors and to wash the dishes (*scutellis lavandis*), in which tasks says St. Bonaventure, Anthony, in the beginning of his Franciscan career, took greater delight than in studying the Scriptures.⁶³

To these signs of St. Anthony's sanctity might be added the many miracles *actually* performed at his intercession. More than anything else they testify to his holiness and union with God, for, as the Council of the Vatican asserts, "miracles are most certain signs and understood by all" *signa certissima et omnibus accomodata* (Sess. III, Cap. 3).⁶⁴

Besides this sermon, certainly authentic, there are four other sermons attributed, not without good reason, to the Seraphic Doctor. They were discovered in a thirteenth-century codex (No. 490) of the *Bibliotheca Antoniana* in Padua and published by the famous canon of Padua, the Very Rev. Antonio Maria Locatelli, in his sermons on St. Anthony entitled: *Sancti Bonaventurae Seraphici Ecclesiae Doctoris Sermones in laudem S. Francisci Assisiensis, S. Antonii Patavini et Sanctae Clarae*.⁶⁵

The first of these sermons furnished the material for the lessons of the liturgical Office of St. Anthony of Padua used by the Friars

Minor Conventuals. Locatelli ascribes all four of them to St. Bonaventure and confirms this assumption by forceful arguments. However even though they may not have originated with St. Bonaventure, they certainly were the composition of a religious of the thirteenth century as proven by the antiquity of the codex wherein they were found (i.e., dating from the thirteenth century). They are thus a thirteenth-century source of information on our saint irrespective of their authorship. That the author is a religious of deep learning and solid virtue is evident from the contents of the sermons. In them we find beside many other sublime thoughts, additional material on the life of St. Anthony not clearly stated in the other earlier legends, e.g.: the perpetual virginity of St. Anthony;⁶⁶ the miracle performed on the young man who confessed to kicking his mother;⁶⁷ the appellation of "Ark of the Covenant" given St. Anthony by Pope Gregory IX;⁶⁸ the miracle of the heart of the miser found in his money chest,⁶⁹ etc.

In a sixth sermon, also attributed to St. Bonaventure by Locatelli and published by him⁷⁰ as a thirteenth-century source in favor of St. Anthony, reference is made to the finding of the life-like tongue of St. Anthony, whereas the rest of the body had been reduced to ashes. Irrespective of the authenticity of these last-named five sermons, St. Bonaventure in his *Legenda Major* (cap. IV, No. 10) written c. 1260–1263, pays a tribute to St. Anthony's sanctity,⁷¹ when he declares that, while St. Anthony, whom he styles "Christi praeclaris confessor" et "egregius praedicator,"⁷² was preaching on the title of the cross (John 19, 19) during a provincial chapter at Arles, France (1224), St. Francis suddenly appeared to the assembled friars, as if to attest to the sanctity of his spiritual son, much as many centuries before St. Ambrose had done on the occasion of the funeral of St. Martin of Tours. Celano refers to the same episode in his *Vita Prima of St. Francis* (I Celano, cap. 18). His text reads as follows:

We must verily believe that the almighty power of God, that would vouchsafe unto the holy Bishop Ambrose to be present at the burial of the glorious Martin (many years after St. Ambrose's

death), that he might honor the holy pontiff with his holy ministry, did also make his servant Francis appear at the preaching of his true herald Anthony that he might ascertain his preaching of the truth, and in especial, his preaching of the Cross of Christ, whereof he was a supporter and servant.⁷³

8. THE SERMONS AND ALLUSIONS TO ST. ANTHONY BY BLESSED LUKE BELLUDI, O.F.M. (D. 1285)⁷⁴

Bl. Luke Belludi was not only a personal friend of St. Anthony (although he met Anthony only toward the close of his life), he also succeeded him in the office of provincial of what later became known as the Province of Milan. In the sermons of Bl. Luke,⁷⁵ still extant in manuscript in the *Bibliotheca Antoniana* (Codex 466) divided into four volumes and written on sheepskin, are to be found five sermons on St. Anthony. Three refer to the feast day of the saint (June 13); the other two to the transfer of the saint's relics. All five are placed after Bl. Luke's sermons for the feast of Easter. The following interesting events pertaining to St. Anthony are accentuated by Bl. Luke: (1) the fact that St. Anthony once served as provincial of the Province of Milan (known also as that of the Romagna-Emilia); and (2) the transfer of the relics of the saint to the Basilica of Padua, which occurred in 1263.

9. THE "LEGENDA FIORENTINA" OR THE "LEGEND OF ST. ANTHONY" PRESERVED IN THE LEGENDARIUM OF FLORENCE⁷⁶

This Legendarium, which once belonged to the Conventuals' Library of *Santa Croce*, Florence, but is now preserved in the *Bibliotheca Mediceo - Laurenziana* (Codex 9, Plut. XXXV) contains the lives of many Tuscan saints, among them several of the Franciscan Order. The account of St. Anthony, written in a beautiful Latin style and executed with technical precision as far as the actual writing is concerned, while agreeing with the *Legenda Prima* and *Legenda Secunda*, recounts not only the few miracles contained in these legends, but also many others (at least ten) not contained therein, e.g., the miracles of the fishes raising their

heads out of the water to listen to the saint's sermon, usually placed at Rimini; the miracle of bilocation in France; the miraculous replenishing of the wine barrel; the liberation of a certain young man from the temptation to leave the cloister and to return to the world; the broken drinking glass discovered whole; the finding of the usurer's heart in his money chest; the changing of meat to fish; the raising to life of the child of a sister of St. Anthony, etc.⁷⁷ The *Legendarium* seems to date from the years 1280–1290,⁷⁸ although De Kerval would place it at the beginning of the fourteenth century;⁷⁹ likewise Chérancé.⁸⁰ Its author is unknown. The section pertaining to the life of St. Anthony was reprinted with a short introduction by Leonard Lemmens, O.F.M., in 1902.⁸¹ It is one of the main sources of the *Liber Miraculorum*.⁸²

10. THE "LEGENDA BENIGNITAS," GENERALLY ATTRIBUTED TO JOHN PECKHAM (C. 1274–1279)⁸³

Jerome of Ascoli, minister-general of the Order of Friars Minor (1274–1279), later Pope Nicholas IV (1288–1292), perceiving that many incidents in the life of St. Anthony had not been recorded by earlier biographers, charged the learned John of Peckham (b. c. 1240), later archbishop of Canterbury (d. 1292), to supply this defect, much as his predecessor Crescentius, when minister-general, had requested St. Bonaventure (Peckham's teacher at Paris) to do in the case of the faulty legends of St. Francis current in his day.

Glassberger, in his *Chronicle*,⁸⁴ and Sbaralea,⁸⁵ basing himself on Rodulphus Tossignanans⁸⁶ refer to this command given Friar John. Glassberger, e.g., writes: "John of Peckham was charged by Jerome of Ascoli, Minister-General, to write a life of St. Anthony of Padua, which he did in a style of marvelous elegance (*miro stylo*)."⁸⁷ The legend written by Peckham is believed by many to be the one known as the *Legenda Benignitas*, so called because it begins with that word.⁸⁸ The work was published with certain corrections or interpolations (to clarify the text) by Surio in his *De Probatis Sanctorum Historiis*.⁸⁹ The original manuscript

which got into the hands of the Munich antiquarian, Rosenthal, became eventually the property of the Protestant Theological Faculty of Paris.⁹⁰ A new critical edition of it, with an introduction on sources, was published by Léon De Kerval in his *S. Antonii Vitae Duae*, edited in Sabatier's Collection of Franciscan Documents.⁹¹

The *Legenda Benignitas* factually puts into effect the desire and injunction of the minister-general, Jerome of Ascoli, because: (a) it actually contains episodes and particulars missing in the other legends;⁹² (b) it records new miracles which occurred *before*, but not *after* the years 1274–1279, while Jerome of Ascoli was general;⁹³ and (c) despite the faulty condition of the manuscript it is written *miro stylo* as Glassberger emphasizes.⁹⁴ There are, however, such serious anachronisms⁹⁵ in the work as to induce De Kerval,⁹⁶ and after him Facchinetti,⁹⁷ to believe that it could not have possibly been written at the time of Jerome of Ascoli (1274–1279). De Kerval, while not laying too much stress on the supposedly “marvelous style” of the manuscript⁹⁸ believes the author to be of a later period, preferably an Italian rather than an Englishman (John of Peckham).⁹⁹ He would identify the author with the anonymous writer of whom Rodulphus, the Conventual historian, speaks when he says that, in 1316, some anonymous author wrote a life of St. Anthony, which was approved of at the General Chapter of Verona, 1348. His words are: “*Scripsit quoque vitam ejus quidam, suppresso nomine, anno 1316.*”¹ But whoever the author might be, the *Legenda Benignitas* depends on the *Legenda Prima*, perhaps also on the *Legenda Secunda* and other early source material; for which reason Chérancé calls it a “veritable mosaic.”² The author does not seem to have known the *Legenda Rigaldina*.³ The question, however, still remains: if John of Peckham did not write the *Legenda Benignitas*, which one did he write, for according to Rodulphus⁴ he certainly did write one;⁵ and which legend did John of Cremona write; which legend Matthaëus Pedelarius; which one the unknown author mentioned by Rodulphus?⁶ Or were the anachronisms of which De Kerval complains perhaps later interpolations intended

merely to clarify the text and supplement omissions, done, perhaps, by order of some major superior in the Order?

11. THE "LEGENDA ALTERA" OR "RAIMONDINA" (C. 1293)⁷

This *Legend* which exists in Codex 74 of the *Bibliotheca Antoniana* of Padua was edited, in 1883, by P. M. Antonio Josa, O.F.M.Conv., prefect of the *Antoniana*, under the title *Legenda seu Vita et Miracula Sancti Antonii de Padua*.⁸ A critical study of the text was made by P. Luigi Guidaldi, O.F.M.Conv., and published under the title "Il Testo della Legenda Raimondina," in the periodical *Il Santo*, anno II, fasc. 2 (Sept., 1929), pp. 104–112.⁹

Following the studies of Delorme¹⁰ most critics today are agreed that the author of this *Legenda Altera* is a certain Fr. Pietro Raimondo de San Romano, near Toulouse, France, at one time lecturer at Padua and commonly known as Raimondino (the "little Raymond") due to his low stature.¹¹ He died most probably in France, March 19, 1297.¹² His legend, done in good rhetorical style, was written at Padua c. 1293–1294, and before he had become provincial of Aquitaine.¹³ From it we learn for a certainty that St. Anthony was a priest before he joined the Franciscan Order. Due to the fact, however, that the Codex is defective, the list of miracles performed after the death of the saint is missing.¹⁴ Both Jean Rigauld¹⁵ and Rodulphus¹⁶ testify to the fact that Raimondino wrote a legend of St. Anthony.

12. THE "LEGENDA RIGALDINA" OR THE "LEGEND OF JEAN RIGAUD" (WRITTEN TOWARD THE END OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY: C. 1294)¹⁷

Fr. Jean Rigauld, a Friar Minor of Limoges, was a pontifically appointed confessor (*penitenziere pontifico*) who, according to Wadding,¹⁸ on February 17, 1317, became bishop of Treguier (1317–1323). He died in 1323.¹⁹ His legend in honor of St. Anthony was unknown to older writers, if we except Bernard Guy (Bernardus Guidonus), bishop of Lodene, 1311–1318,²⁰ who makes

mention of it in his *Speculum Sanctorale*, preserved in manuscript form (in Codex 25, 407) at the National Library at Paris, fol. 2, 107.²¹ Lost for centuries, the Rigauld Legend was discovered by Fr. Ferdinand Delorme (d'Aurales), O.F.M., in Manuscript 270 of the Municipal Library of Bordeaux. It had been removed here from the suppressed Conventual library of that city. The Codex was held in such high esteem that some superior or librarian wrote a note praying that hell designate for all eternity the thief by causing him to leave black footprints wherever he moved about in the infernal regions.²² Fr. Delorme edited the work under the title *Vita Beati Antonii de Ordine Fratrum Minorum Fratris Joanne Rigaldo de eodem ordine*.²³ That same year he published also a French version of it.²⁴ The text was taken from the Bordeaux Manuscript 270. A free Italian translation of Fr. Delorme's publication was made by P. Teofolo da Soci and published at first in the periodical *La Voce di San Antonio* (anno VII); later separately in one volume at Quaracchi, 1902.

That Père Rigauld is the author is evident not only from the early testimony of Bishop Guy, but also from the words of the author himself: "*Incipit vita B. Antonii, de Ordine Fratrum Minorum, a Fratre Joanne Rigaldo de eodem Ordine, ordinata.*" Since the legend was written while Rigauld was still a simple friar, and Guy wrote his *Speculum Sanctorale* (in which he makes mention of Rigauld's legend), at the beginning of the fourteenth century, Rigauld must have written his legend toward the end of the thirteenth century. The most recent episodes are taken from the *Legenda Raimondina* (cf. No. 11) of 1292-1293.

The legend is not only critical but it likewise gives us the sources of his wealth of material, mostly the many friars who either knew St. Anthony or were stationed at places where the saint once sojourned, and, the author insists, "their testimony must be accepted."²⁵ It bridges over many *lacunae* found in the earlier lives of St. Anthony, especially the events in the life of our saint which took place in France.²⁶

Methodically commenting on the various virtues of St. Anthony, the author reveals to his reader the very soul of our saint,

his deep moral character and exalted spiritual attainments. Divided into ten chapters, the first four of which treat of St. Anthony from his birth to his retirement at Montepaolo, the legend in the following chapter exalts his great poverty, his sublime spirit of prayer, his preaching apostolate, his death and canonization. In Chapter V, No. 16, he narrates the famous miracle of bilocation which occurred on the night of Holy Thursday, viz., St. Anthony's simultaneous preaching at Limoges in the Church of St. Peter and his reading the lesson, assigned to him, in the distant choir of the friars.²⁷ The last chapter is devoted to miracles performed after the death of the saint. This is one of the earliest and most critical complete biographies of St. Anthony in the real sense of the word.

Rigauld, naturally, made use of the previous legends known in his day (especially the *Legenda Secunda* of Julian of Spires),²⁸ besides consulting his friars for further information. His accurate geographical indications and topographical citations are most valuable for fixing the locality as well as the time of certain incidents in the life of the saint. Therein lies the great value of the Rigauldian legend.²⁹

GROUP B. Thirteenth-Century Minor Testimonies

1. TWO LETTERS OF ST. FRANCIS

There are two letters ascribed to St. Francis bearing directly on St. Anthony, the one commissioning him to teach theology;³⁰ the other authorizing him to build a convent at Patti, Sicily. This latter, however, is now considered spurious.³¹

2. THE "LEGENDA PRIMA" OF ST. FRANCIS BY CELANO (1228-1229)

The *Legenda Prima* of Celano makes reference to the apparition³² of St. Francis to the friars assembled at Arles while St. Anthony was preaching on the title of the cross: *Jesus Nazarenus, Rex Judaeorum*.³³ Celano's tribute to St. Anthony as to one "whom the Lord had given the Spirit to understand the Scriptures" is as follows:

There was present at that Chapter also Friar Anthony, to whom the Lord had given "the spirit to understand the Scriptures" (Luke 24, 45) and that he might speak sweet things, "like milk and honey" (Ps. 18, 11) concerning the name of Jesus (Ps. 44, 1) to all the people. Who while he was preaching most fervently and most devotedly concerning the text "Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews" (John 19, 19) Friar Monaldus looked towards the entrance of the house where the friars were assembled (Josue 9, 2) and saw there with his bodily eyes Blessed Francis raised in the air, his hands extended in the form of a cross, blessing the friars. All also seem to have been filled with the consolation of the Holy Spirit (Acts 9, 31) that they all readily believed in the vision and in the presence concerning which they had so gloriously been informed.³⁴

3. THE "LIBER CHRONICARUM" OF ROLANDINO (1260-1262)

In the *Liber Chronicarum de factis in Marchia Tarvesina* (1260-1262) by Rolandino (d. 1276) surnamed the "Chronicler of Padua," we find a few important references to St. Anthony, especially those pertaining to his virtues; to his apostolic and social activities; and to his deep love for the Scriptures "which day and night he paged over and over again."³⁵ He also refers to the saint's visit with the ferocious Ezzelino da Romano in behalf of the Guelph prisoners. Rolandino's *Chronicles* were published by Muratori in his *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*³⁶ under the caption "Rolandini Patavini de Factis in Marchia Tarvisini Libri XII." The sections in which we are particularly interested were published also by De Kerval in the *Collection* of Sabatier.³⁷ Rolandino is likewise the author of a book entitled *Vita de Conto Riccardo di San Bonifacio*.

Born at Padua c. 1200, Rolandino was about 30 years old when St. Anthony began evangelizing the Marches of Treviso and thus must have been an eyewitness of many of the episodes he narrates. His authority for Anthonian affairs pertaining to Italy is equal to that enjoyed by Rigauld in France (cf. Group A, No. 12).

4. THE CHRONICLES OF FR. SALIMBENE (1282-1287)

In his *Chronicles ad annum 1231*,³⁸ Fr. Salimbene of Adam (of the Adami Family of Parma), writing about 1282-1287 not only referred to our saint, but also promised to write his biography, which however, he failed to do. Salimbene calls St. Anthony the "companion of St. Francis" and describes the transfer of the relics of the saint in the presence of St. Bonaventure (*Chron. ad ann.*, 1252).³⁹ G. G. Coulton inserted a large part of Salimbene's work into his *From St. Francis to Dante*.⁴⁰

5. THE CHRONICLES OF THOMAS OF ECCLESTON
(c. 1260)

In his famous account of the coming of the Franciscan friars to England, entitled *De Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam* (c. 1260),⁴¹ Thomas of Eccleston says that St. Anthony was a member of a commission sent by the General Chapter of 1230 to Pope Gregory IX to confer on certain matters pertaining to the Rule.⁴² The legend concerning some fantastic and heated controversy supposed to have taken place between St. Anthony and Brother Elias has been refuted by Azzoguidi, Salvatorelli, and recently by Sparacio in his *Fra Elia, Profilo Storico. Altercò con San Antonio?*⁴³ The altercation is said to have occurred on the occasion of the General Chapter of 1239, but at that time St. Anthony was already dead eight years. Probably Aymon of Faversham was meant.⁴⁴

Eccleston's "Chronicle of the Coming of the Friars to England" was published by the Franciscans of Quaracchi in the *Analecta Franciscana*, Vol. I (Quaracchi, 1885), pp. 215-256. The passage pertaining to St. Anthony will also be found in De Kerval, *Vitae Duae, op. cit.*, pp. 254-255.

GROUP C. Fourteenth-Century Sources

1. THE "FIORETTI" AND THE "ACTUS SANCTI FRANCISCI"
(FOURTEENTH CENTURY)⁴⁵

In the *Actus Sancti Francisci et Sociorum Ejus* and in the *Fioretti*, which depend on the *Actus*⁴⁶ there are two episodes per-

taining to the life of St. Anthony, both depending on sources of the middle thirteenth century, viz., the sermon to the fishes⁴⁷ and the miraculous multilingual sermon at Rome, where all understood him, despite the fact that his audience was made up of persons who spoke French, German, Slavonian, English, and diverse other tongues.⁴⁸ In the *Actus* the first event is narrated in Chapter XLIX, the second in Chapter XLVIII; in the *Fioretti* ("Little Flowers") correspondingly in Chapters XL and XXXIX. The *Actus* call St. Anthony a Spaniard (Chap. XLVIII, No. 3); a "companion of St. Francis" (*ibid.*, No. 1); "the ark of the Testament"; the "armory of the Sacred Scriptures" (*ibid.*, No. 4); an "admirable vessel of the Holy Spirit" (*ibid.*, No. 1), and a saint (Chap. XXII, No. 12).

The *Actus Sancti Francisci et Sociorum Ejus* was published by Paul Sabatier in 1902.⁴⁹

2. THE "LIBER MIRACULORUM" (c. 1316) AND THE "CHRONICLE OF THE TWENTY-FOUR GENERALS" (c. 1368)⁵⁰

The *Liber Miraculorum* (Book of Miracles) is a list of miracles performed through the intercession of St. Anthony and recorded by some unknown author of the fourteenth century. The Bollandists were the first to use it in their *Life* of St. Anthony for the *Acta Sanctorum* (Tom. III, pp. 216-231) reproducing it from the same codex once used by Wadding. It was later published by the Franciscans of Quaracchi in the third volume of the *Analecta Franciscana*⁵¹ and forms part of the *Chronicles of the Twenty-Four Generals*⁵² which was written during the later half of the fourteenth century (c. 1368).⁵³ In it 65 references are made to our saint, in particular to the vision which he had at Coimbra while celebrating Mass; to the apparition of the Infant Jesus in some unmentioned city (*in quadam civitate*);⁵⁴ to the martyrdom of the five Protomartyrs of the Franciscan Order and its influences on St. Anthony, etc. The *Liber Miraculorum* is the first to inform us definitely that St. Anthony lived to be 36 years old, 15 of which

he spent in his father's home; 9 at the convent of Coimbra; and 10 as a Franciscan.⁵⁵ The latest edition of the *Liber Miraculorum* (in Italian) published by the Messaggero Press of the Basilica of Padua is entitled *Il Libro dei Miracoli operati dal Glorioso Taumaturgo S. Antonio di Padova*.⁵⁶

As before mentioned, the author of the *Liber Miraculorum* is still unknown, and the exact date of its composition is uncertain. Facchinetti places it at the beginning of the fourteenth century, or, at the latest, in the first decennium of the second half of the fourteenth century.⁵⁷ Chérancé⁵⁸ and De Kerval⁵⁹ place the date of its composition after 1367.

The author used as source material all the earlier treatises on the miracles of St. Anthony, especially the *Legenda Fiorentina*.⁶⁰ Some of the miracles already recorded he copied word for word; others he loosely amplifies to satisfy his own taste, and that of his readers, for the miraculous. He made use of popular traditions and folklore which he was able to obtain from the friars or other people he knew; at any rate the style is popular and not too critical. There are many chronological anachronisms and topographical errors. Nevertheless, despite these inaccuracies, the work should not be looked upon *a priori* either on the one hand as a falsification, nor on the other as a completely reliable narrative as was done by the Anthonian hagiographers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The critic must separate the grain from the chaff.

3. THE LEGEND OF BISHOP PAOLINO OF VENICE⁶¹

Paolino of Venice was a papal *penitenziere* (confessor) at the time of Pope John XXII (1316-1332) and held that office up to June 20, 1324, when he was appointed bishop of Puzzuoli (Puteolanus). He died as bishop of the See in 1344. Sbaralea calls him a "learned and seriously-minded religious." His life of St. Anthony is a brief compendium of the *Legenda Prima* and of the *Legenda Secunda*, complemented by the additions of the Manuscript of Lucerne,⁶³ and of the *Legenda Benignitas* attributed to John of Peckham.⁶⁴ The author published his legend toward the

end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century in the *Historia de Origine Mundi*, a copy of which is preserved in the Vatican Library (Codex, 1960). It was from this latter manuscript that Fr. Eduard d'Alençon, O.F.M.Cap., published his *Vita Compendiata*, at first in the *Analecta Cappuccinorum*, later in the *Spicilegium Franciscanum*.⁶⁵

4. THE LEGEND OF THE MARTYRS OF MOROCCO⁶⁶

This legend, referred to above,⁶⁷ and incorporated into the "Chronicles of the Twenty-Four Generals" was published in Volume III of the *Analecta Franciscana*.⁶⁸ As the title indicates, the legend describes the sufferings and death of the Franciscan Protomartyrs of 1219, and their influence on St. Anthony in becoming a Franciscan. The work dates from the middle of the fourteenth century.

5. THE "LIBER CONFORMITATUM" OF BARTHOLOMEW OF PISA (A.D. 1399)⁶⁹

In his *Liber Conformitatum*, Bartholomew of Pisa devotes a whole section to the life of St. Anthony (*Vita Sancti Antonii*). He seems to have been aware of the *Liber Miraculorum*.⁷⁰ There are two episodes narrated by Bartholomew which are however exclusively his own; the prediction of martyrdom to the scandalous lawyer of Le Puy; and the miraculous journey of our Thaumaturgist to Lisbon to defend his own father against the false accusation of having murdered a boy.⁷¹ Bartholomew pays a sterling tribute to the preaching activities of St. Anthony when he writes: *Totum se dedit ad opus praedicationis exercendum, unde ex tunc coepit civitates circuire et castra et audacter verbum Dei proponere. Etsi verba ejus essent divinae sapientiae sale et discretione condita, vitia tamen reprehendebat audacter, nulli adulando nec aliquem formidando.*⁷²

The *Liber Conformitatum* was published by the Franciscans at Quaracchi and forms Volumes IV and V of the *Analecta Franciscana*.⁷³ The section pertaining to the life of St. Anthony will be found in Volume IV, pp. 264-273.

6. THE VERSIFIED LEGEND "UNA LAUDE"

A beautiful versified song of praise (*Una Laude*) of thirteen stanzas dating from the beginning of the fourteenth century and written in old Italian (partly Latin), was recently discovered in the *Bibliotheca Marciana* of Venice (Ms. 4973) by P. Dr. Luigi Guidaldi, O.F.M.Conv., director of the *Bibliotheca Antoniana*; of the *Museo Antoniano* and of the periodical *Il Santo* (Padua). It was published by him at Padua (Messaggero Press) in 1932.

For a similar versified legend of the fourteenth century, found in the National Central Library of Florence, cf. AFH, XXXII, 267-269.

7. THE "SPECULUM VITAE S. FRANCISCI ET SOCIORUM EJUS"

This work written most probably by Fr. Fabiano, of Hungary, at the beginning of the fourteenth century⁷⁴ and based on the *Speculum Perfectionis* also refers to our saint. The *Speculum* was published by Sabatier in his *Opuscules de Critique Historique*, Tom. I (Paris, 1903). It first appeared at Venice in 1504; later at Rottenburg in 1509.

GROUP D. Fifteenth-Seventeenth Century Legends, Chronicles and Annals⁷⁵

1. THE LEGEND OF SICCO POLENTONE (D. 1463)

Sicco Polentone was a learned public notary of Padua, a diligent and passionate collector of documents and traditions. Living at the very peak of the Renaissance, his style is elegant and inspiring.⁷⁶ He left to the Anthonian Library at Padua his manuscript, which later was published with notes and dissertations of great interest and value by Fr. Antonio Maria Azzoguidi, O.F.M.Conv., in his edition of St. Anthony's *Sermones in Psalmos*.⁷⁷ The typographical and topographical errors in Polentone's original manuscript were corrected or annotated as erroneous by Azzoguidi. In his legend are to be found many particulars concerning the life of our saint.

2. THE CHRONICLES OF FR. MARIANO OF FLORENCE (D. 1523)⁷⁸

Fr. Mariano of Florence, one of the main sources of Wadding's *Annales Minorum*,⁷⁹ not only refers to St. Anthony in his *Compendium Chronicarum Ord. Fr. Minorum*⁸⁰ but in *Legend of the Lives of Holy Friars Minor*⁸¹ likewise gives a synthesis of the life of our saint. This latter work preserved in a codex of the National Library of Florence and written on paper has not as yet been published (Magliabecchiana, XXXVIII, col. 99).

3. THE CHRONICLES OF NICHOLAS GLASSBERGER (C. 1508)⁸²

The Chronicles of Nicholas Glassberger which treats almost exclusively of the history of the Order Friars Minor in Germany and Bohemia speaks repeatedly of our saint. Glassberger's Chronicle was printed in Volume Two of the *Analecta Franciscana* in 1887.⁸³

4. THE CHRONICLE OF MARK OF LISBON (C. 1550-1561)⁸⁴

Mark of Lisbon in his *Chronica de la Orden de los Frayles Menores de S. Francesco*, written originally in Portuguese, but later translated into practically all modern languages, except English, devotes to his compatriot, St. Anthony, a whole book. It forms the fifth section of the second volume. The author speaks repeatedly of our saint also in other sections of his important history of the Order, accentuating especially the many miracles performed at various times and places at the intercession of St. Anthony.

5. THE LEGEND OF LORENZO SURIO (1570)⁸⁵

The legend of St. Anthony by the Carthusian, Surio, published in his *De Probatis Sanctorum Historiis*,⁸⁶ was taken from an old manuscript (now lost), written by a Franciscan Father, who, says Surio, composed his legend "seriously and faithfully."⁸⁷ The time of its composition will probably never be known. There is little

in Surio's legend which cannot be found in earlier sources; hence its historical value is not very great, all the more so since he changed, as he himself admits, the style of the original manuscript to make it more pleasing to the reader. Critics naturally hold this against him.

6. THE "ANNALES" OF LUKE WADDING, O.F.M. (D. 1657)⁸⁸

Luke Wadding, the famed Franciscan analyst of the Order Friars Minor, speaks repeatedly of our saint and of the miracles attributed to him in the first two volumes of his *Annales Minorum* (cf. under "Antonius, Sanctus").⁸⁹ Wadding's accounts concerning St. Anthony depend on Surio's *De Probatis Sanctorum Historiis*.⁹⁰ He also gives a good, but a not too critical list of St. Anthony's works in his *Scriptores Ordinis Minorum* under "Antonius Ullyssiponensis."⁹¹ An important supplement to Wadding's *Scriptores* was edited by the Conventual, John Hyacinth Sbaralea (*Supplementum ad Scriptores a Waddingo aliisque descriptos*).⁹²

7. THE PORTUGUESE HAGIOGRAPHY OF CORDOSA (C. 1650)⁹³

Yorge Cordosa ranks among the best-known Portuguese hagiographers. In the third volume of his *Agiologio Lusitano dos Santos et varones illustres em virtude do Réinode Portugal et suas conquistas*⁹⁴ he has an extensive life of our saint (June 13) which influenced many other future Portuguese writers.

8. THE "EPITOME" OF MIGUEL PACHECO (C. 1650)

Pacheco, to whom reference has repeatedly been made in this treatise, is the author of a Portuguese *Epitome de la vida, acciones y milagros de S. Antonio de Padua*. It was published at Madrid in 1658.

9. THE "CHRONICA SERAFICA" OF DAMIANO COREJO (1683)⁹⁵

Corejo's *Chronica Serafica* which first appeared in Madrid in

1727 was later translated into various languages. The author devotes all of Book III in Part II of his work to St. Anthony.

10. FRANCISCAN MARTYROLOGIES

The *Martyrologium Franciscanum*, published by Arturo de Monasterio, at Paris, in 1638 and again in 1653, in *folio* eulogizes our saint on his feast day, June 13, as "Confessor, vitae sanctitate et praedicatione celeberrimus."⁹⁶ The latest edition of the Franciscan Martyrology is that published by the Franciscans of the *Collegio San Antonio*, Rome, in 1938, and at Vienna in 1939.

11. OTHER LATER REFERENCES

Other later references to St. Anthony will be found in Rodolphus Tossenianensis, O.F.M.Conv., *Historiae Seraphicae Religionis, Libri Tres* (Venice, 1586, in *folio*);⁹⁷ in Franciscus Gonzaga, O.F.M., *De Origine Seraphicae Religionis* (Rome, 1587, in *folio*); and in St. Antonine's (O.P.) *Summa Historiale*, tit. XXIV.

To these might be added a curious anonymous legend of St. Anthony in a French translation found in the National Library of Paris (Ms. 5036, folio 117 *recto* to folio 125 *recto*) published for the first time by the Capuchin Ubald d' Alençon at Paris.

12. COLLECTION OF BIBLIOGRAPHY

For additional source material, cf. Chevalier, who in his monumental *Repertoire des Sources Historiques du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1877-1886, and *ibid.*, 1905) quotes as many as 135 works regarding St. Anthony. Practically every modern life of St. Anthony gives a short treatise on Anthonian sources and a list of literature (cf. Chapter VIII of this work).

GROUP E. Papal Documents and Ecclesiastical Diplomas⁹⁸

Of the many papal and diplomatic documents in which either direct mention or at least reference is made to St. Anthony of Padua, the most important are the following:

1. The Bull of Honorius III (1216-1227), *Cum secundum consilium*, September 22, 1220,⁹⁹ referring to the one year's novitiate required before final admission to the Order and the taking

of vows, although no mention of it occurs in the Rule of St. Francis. St. Anthony must have been one of the first to fall under this new legislation.

2. Various Bulls of Pope Gregory IX (1227–1241):

a) The *Quo Elongati*, of September 28, 1230, pertaining to the interpretation of the Rule of St. Francis¹

b) The Bull, *Licet Sacrosancta*, October 24, 1227, pertaining to the Church of *San Donato in capite montis de Bessano* which came under the provincial jurisdiction of St. Anthony²

c) The Bull *Cum dilectos filios*, of October 21, 1227, confirming the Franciscan "possession" of the above-mentioned church³

d) The Bull *Cum de summo munere*, September 2, 1223, praising the mayor (*syndico*) and people of Padua for their resistance to the ferocious Ezellino "Satellex Sathane" (sic!)⁴

e) The Bull *Litteras quas*, June 1, 1232, acknowledging the receipt of certain letters sent by the Paduans, confirming the reception given their representatives, and solemnly proclaiming that the pope (Gregory IX) had placed their saint in the canon of saints⁵

f) The Bull *Cum dicat Dominus*, June 23, 1232, formally announcing to the bishops of the world the canonization of St. Anthony and ordaining that they solemnly celebrate his feast day every thirteenth of June⁶

g) The Letter *Intelleximus cum dolore*, July 11, 1233, condemning the prior of the monastery of the Holy Cross at Coimbra, Portugal, for the animosity shown the Friars Minor of that city.⁷

To these must be added:

3. The Brief of Alexander IV (1254–1261), *Quoniam ut ait apostolus*, July 17, 1256, exhorting the faithful of the world to contribute generously toward the completion of the church at that time being erected at Padua in honor of St. Anthony and granting indulgences to the contributors⁸

4. The letter of Boniface IX (1294–1303), *Ecclesiarum*, April 25, 1294, granting an indulgence of seven years to all who would contribute toward the repair of the church and convent of St. Anthony at Padua, which had been struck by lightning⁹

5. The Bull of Sixtus IV (1471–1484), *Cum alias*, August 7, 1481, granting permission to all Franciscans to celebrate the feast of the Franciscan Protomartyrs of Morocco, at the sight of whose relics St. Anthony decided to join the Order Friars Minor¹⁰

6. The Brief of Sixtus V (1585–1590), *Immensa*, January 14, 1586, restoring the feast of St. Anthony, omitted in the corrected calender of Pope Pius V (1566–1572), to the Church Universal *sub ritu duplici*, and eulogizing St. Anthony as “endowed with divine wisdom”¹¹

7. The Apostolic Letter, *Antoniana Solemnia* of Pope Pius XI (1922–1939), March 1, 1931, sent on the occasion of the Seventh Centenary of the death of St. Anthony, to the Bishop of Padua, his Excellency, Most Rev. Elia della Costa, the present cardinal-archbishop of Florence, in which letter the pope gave a beautiful eulogy of our saint;¹² and finally

8. The Encyclical Letter, *Exulta*, of Pope Pius XII, now gloriously reigning, under date of January 16, 1946, elevating St. Anthony of Padua to the rank of a Doctor of the Church Universal.¹³

To these papal documents finally should be added the following official decrees of a *diplomatic* nature:

9. The decree of Philip, archbishop of Ravenna (1256), praising St. Anthony for the deliverance of the city of Padua (June 20, 1256) from invasion by the tyrant Ezzelino¹⁴

10. The letter of the bishop of Ceneda, 1310, granting to the faithful of his diocese an indulgence of forty days for their participation in the transfer of the relics of St. Anthony;¹⁵ and lastly

11. The letter of the minister-general of the Friars Minor Capuchin, Felice da Cassia, October 8, 1628, eulogizing St. Anthony and asserting that St. Anthony used the same kind of habit as that worn by St. Francis.¹⁶

12. The *Official Process of the Sacred Congregation of Rites*

a) Preparatory to the solemn proclamation of St. Anthony as a Doctor of the Church by Pope Pius XII in virtue of his Apostolic Letters *Exulta* (cf. No. 8), the Sacred Congregation of Rites, headed by Raphael Cardinal Rossi, issued several important documents. The first of these, entitled *Urbis et Orbis Declaratio-*

nis seu Confirmationis Cultus ac Tituli Doctoris et Extensionis ad Universam Ecclesiam cum Officio et Missa de Communi Doctorum in Honorem S. Antonii Patavini ex Ordine Fratrum Minorum,¹⁷ was really composed of five different parts, all bound into one volume.

1. The first part, entitled *Informatio* (pp. 1-90) was a treatise on the preliminary requisites preceding the official declaration of a new Doctor of the Church, viz., a high degree of sanctity of life (*insignis vitae sanctitas*) and "eminent learning" (*eminentia doctrinae*) (cf. Chap. I). In five succeeding chapters (II-VI) the document demonstrates how St. Anthony possessed and practiced both of these qualifications, exalted sanctity and eminent doctrine.

2. The second part is a reprint of the beautiful Apostolic Letters of Pope Pius XI, *Antoniana Solemnia* of March 1, 1931, addressed to the then bishop of Padua, Elia della Costa, on the occasion of the Seventh Centenary of the death of St. Anthony (pp. 91-100).

3. The third part is a reprint of the excellent study of Diomedo Scaramuzzi, O.F.M., entitled *La Figura Intellettuale de San Antonio di Padova alla luce della critica*.¹⁸

4. The fourth part contains the "Litterae Postulatoriae ad Summum Pontificem directae," i.e., letters from cardinals; patriarchs; nuncios; apostolic delegates; archbishops and bishops; prelates; canons; major superiors (general and provincial) of religious communities; heads of universities, seminaries, and colleges; eminent laymen and ecclesiastical bodies, including the petition of the president of Ireland (Eire) in the name of the whole Irish people, etc. (pp. 1-130).

5. The fifth part is made up of another document "Urbis et Orbis" from the "Sectio Historica" of the Sacred Congregation of Rites entitled: "*Inquisitio circa Assertum Cultum Liturgicum S. Antonio Patavino uti Doctori Tributum*."¹⁹ This was the official and final verdict of the ecclesiastical judges (theologians and the Promoter General of Faith) of the S. Congregation of Rites, based on the aforesaid arguments (Parts I-IV), petitioning the Holy

Father to raise St. Anthony to the rank of a Doctor of the Church. In his final summation Msgr. Salvator Natucci, Advocate Judge of the Sacred Congregation and Promoter General of the Faith, said:

Novum hoc beneficium quod a Te, Beatissime Pater, universa Franciscalis Familia expostulat, maxima erit solatio religiosis sodalitatibus, innumerisque S. Antonii cultoribus, haud parvum pariet catholicae Ecclesiae emolumentum majoremque faciet in Divum Antonium venerationem. (March 12, 1936)²⁰

b) The second of these documents of the Sacred Congregation of Rites was entitled *Urbis et Orbis Confirmationis Cultus Doctoris S. Antonio Patavino per Saecula Tributi Ejusdemque Extensionis ad Universam Ecclesiam, Nova Postulatio*.²¹ This document was divided into two parts:

1. The first part contained the *Nova Informatio super Dubio 'An confirmandus sit cultus Doctoris S. Antonii Patavini per saecula tributus et ad Universam Ecclesiam extendendus, cum Officio et Missa de Communi Doctorum.'*²² To this question as to whether the cult of St. Anthony as a Doctor of the Church should be confirmed or not, the Sacred Congregation referred to its sessions, held in 1936, and to the difficulties arising therefrom; to the new elements in the case which permitted a resumption of the question; to the new edition of the sermons of St. Anthony by Canon Locatelli; to the question of the influence of the doctrine of St. Anthony and finally to the actual status of the question with all the conclusions of the consultors.

2. The second part contained a dissertation (*Disquisitio*) by Fr. Charles Balic, O.F.M., professor at the Pontifical Atheneum of *San Antonio*, Rome, on the value and critical importance of the sermons of St. Anthony as edited by Locatelli (pp. 20-38).

To these documents there is finally to be added:

c) The official decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites under date of June 12, 1945, recommending to the Holy Father the conferring of the honor and title of a Doctor of the Church Universal upon St. Anthony of Padua.²³ It was on this recommendation of the Sacred Congregation that Pope Pius XII finally

issued on January 16, 1946, the Apostolic Letters, *Exulta*,²⁴ officially declaring St. Anthony to be a Doctor of the Church Universal and as such entitled to all the liturgical privileges which *de jure* accompany such an honor.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

1. Cf. Facchinetti, Vittore, O.F.M., *Antonio di Padova: Il Santo: Il Apostolo: Il Taumaturgo* (Milano: Casa Editrice S. Lega Eucharatica, 1925, 2 vols), Vol. I, p. xvii ff.; Sparacio, Domenico, O.F.M.Conv., *Vita di San Antonio* (Padova: Messaggero, 1923), 2 vols., Vol. I, Introduction; De Kerval, Léon, *S. Antonii de Padua Vitae Duae* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1904), cf. Introduction, pp. 1-22; P. Mag. Giuseppe Abate, "La Compositio della *Leggenda Assidua* secondo un recente studio" in MF, XXXVII (1932), 249-255; P. Michael Bihl, O.F.M., in *Bollettino Storico Bibliografico Francese* (Reggio Emilia, 1934), cf. CF, III, (1933), 259-260.

2. *Acta Sanctorum (Acta SS)*, June 13, Vol. II (Antwerp, 1688; Venice, 1742), pp. 703-780. For corrections and additions, cf. Vol. VI (Antwerp, 1715), pp. 124-126. Later editions of the *Acta SS* appeared at Paris (V. Palme, 1863) and *ibid.* (up to Tom. IV., November, 1925). In this edition the *Life of St. Anthony* is given on pp. 196-269. Cf. also the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina antiquae et mediae aetatis* (BHL), publ. by the Bollandists (Brussels, 1898-1899), Nos. 587-602 and *Supplementum*, p. 1316, Nos. 587-601.

3. Cf. Wadding, *Acta Minorum (AM) ad ann.*, 1232, No. xvi, p. 288.

4. Cf. *infra* (p. 125).

5. *Der hl. Antonius von Padua* (Kempten, 1895).

6. Cf. Bibliography at the end of this treatise, Chap. VIII, Sections I and II.

7. Cf. CF, II (1932), 247, 248.

8. Cf. *infra*, No. 10 (p. 124).

9. Cf. De Kerval, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-157.

10. Cf. De Kerval, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.

11. The Poor Clares always cherished a great devotion to St. Anthony due to the fact that the saint died at their convent of Arcella in 1231 (cf. *Il Santo*, II, 163, 233). They were determined for that reason at first to keep his precious remains in their possession and would have fought for their pretended rights had not the provincial of the Friars Minor, Fr. Leo Valvasari (later archbishop of Padua) appealed to the bishop of Padua at the time, who naturally sided with the friars and ordered the remains returned to the Franciscan Monastery of *Santa Maria* in Padua (*Il Santo*, II, 218) whence St. Anthony had set forth on his final missionary journey. (Cf. Chérancé, *op. cit.*, English transl., pp. 202-205.)

12. *Op. cit.*, cf. Chap. VIII; Bibl. I, 17; Chérancé, *ibid.*, Bibl. II, 4.

13. Chérancé, Leopold, O.S.F.C., *St. Anthony of Padua*, English transl. by Fr. Marianus, O.S.F.C. (London: B., O. & W., 1895), p. 186.

14. Cf. *infra*, Group A, 10 (p. 124).

15. Cf. *ibid.*, III, 8.
16. Cf. De Kerval, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.
17. Cf. *infra*, Group A, 5 (p. 119).
18. Cf. *infra*, (p. 114).
19. Cf. Huber, *Documented History of the Franciscan Order: 1182-1517* (Milwaukee and Washington, 1944), p. 539, 2.
20. Concerning the Liturgical Office of St. Francis and St. Anthony, cf. Huber, *Documented History of the Franciscan Order, op. cit.*, p. 539; cf. also under No. 2 of this present Chapter VI (p. 114).
21. Cf. Sparacio, *S. Antonio di Padova* (Padova, 1923), Vol. I, p. 85, Note 2.
22. Cf. this chapter, Group A, No. 3 (p. 116).
23. Rome: Typis Sallustianis, 1902, in 4to.
24. For a list of these documents, cf. Sparacio, *op. cit.*, I, Bibl., p. xii, No. 1.
25. Cf. this chapter, Group B, No. 3 (p. 129).
26. Cf. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, Tom. III, col. 203: *Il Santo*, I, 50.
27. "Mira circa eum (S. Antonium) et per eum Deus majestatis operari dignatus est, fratribus nostris et fidelibus aliis mihi astruentibus . . . compegi." De Kerval, *op. cit.*, Prologue, Chap. I, No. 9, p. 24. He adds furthermore that that what he tells us in his legend is based upon the testimony of "trustworthy men" (*virorum fide dignorum*).
28. Segur II was bishop of Lisbon from 1210-1231. According to Fr. H. Denifle, O.P., he died Jan. 29, 1232; cf. Chérancé, *op. cit.*, p. ix, note 3: Gams, *Series Episcoporum Eccles. Cathol.* (1873), p. 104, No. 11.
29. Cf. Huber, *Doc. Hist. of the Francis. Order, op. cit.*, p. 737.
30. Cf. Raphael Huber, *The Portiuncula Indulgence* (Franciscan Studies, Vol. XIX; also publ. separately by Wagner, New York, 1938).
31. Cf. AF, II, 46.
32. *Saint Antoine de Padoue e l'Art Italien* (Paris, 1891), p. 1.
33. Cf. *S. Antonii Vitae Duae* (Paris, 1904), p. 5.
34. *San Antonio di Padova* (Padua, 1923), Vol. I, p. 87.
35. *St. Antoine de Padoue* (Paris, 1906), p. ix.
36. Cf. De Kerval, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
37. The Prologue begins with the words: "*Assidua fratrum postulatione deductus, nec non et obedientiae salutaris fructu provocatus.*" De Kerval, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
38. De Kerval, *op. cit.*, pp. 23, 57.
39. Cf. De Kerval, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-9.
40. Pacheco, Miguel, *Epitome de la Vida Acciones y Milagros de San Antonio de Padua* (Madrid, 1647; Lisbon, 1655, 1658). The work appeared also in various translations.
41. *St. Antoine de Padoue, sa legende primitive* (1890), pp. xx-xxvi.
42. AF, I, 90-91.
43. Cf. *infra*, under Group A, No. 10 (p. 124).
44. *S. Antonii de Padua Vitae Duae* (Paris, 1904), pp. 2-6.

45. Cf. Wadding, AM, XXIV, *ad ann.*, 1278; AF, II, 361, No. 5.
46. *Historiae, Seraphicae Religionis Libri Tres* (Venice, 1586).
47. *Supplementum ad Scriptores*, etc. (Rome: editio Nardecchia, 1921), Pars II, p. 114; cf. *ibid.*, p. 114 c, annotation by the Quaracchi editors.
48. *La Basilica di San Antonio di Padova* (Padova, 1852).
49. *Op. cit.*, pars II, p. 56.
50. *Nuova Luce d' Italia, Il Santo di Padova nella Storia* (Rome: Scuola Tipografica Pio X, 1932), p. 10.
51. Cf. CF, II (1931), p. 580; Sbaraglia, *op. cit.*, Pars II, p. 178 under "Lucas Patavinus," No. MMDCXI (1360).
52. Cf. *infra* under Group A, No. 12 (p. 126). Engl. transl. (London: Catholic Truth Society, 1904).
53. *Vita di San Antonio di Padova*, I, Introduction, p. 88 ff.
54. Cf. Huber, *Doc. Hist. of the Franc. Order*, *op. cit.*, pp. 535-539.
55. *Vita di San Antonio*, Vol. I, p. xvi.
56. *Op. cit.*, pp. 6-8.
57. "Humili devotione sed praevia veritate conscriptissimus" says the author in his prologue to Pars II, Chap. XVI, No. 1 (cf. De Kerval, *op. cit.*, p. 53). "Hortor autem lectorem, ego qui scripsi, ut quum haec legerit et me in aliquo minus dixisse vel certe incaute loquacitate veritatis metas usquam excedisse perspexerit, non me mendacii aut falsitatis arguat, quin potius ignorantiae aut oliviioni meae misericorditer ignoscat." Prologue to the First Part, Chap. I, No. 10 (De Kerval, p. 25).
58. "Succincte enim, praevia tamen veritate." Prologue, Chap. I, No. 4 (De Kerval, p. 24).
59. "Ad laudem et gloriam omnipotentis Dei." Prologue, Chap. I (De Kerval, p. 23).
60. "Ne foliis homines utantur pro fructu." Prologue, No. 4 (De Kerval, p. 24).
61. *Op. cit.*, p. 8.
62. Cf. *infra*, Group A, No. 3 (p. 116).
63. It would indeed be an interesting study for some student to compare in detail the *Legenda Prima* with the *Vita* of St. Anthony in the *De Gestis Sanctorum*. Cf. *infra*, Group A, No. 3 (p. 116).
64. The Quaracchi editors call it a "mere conjecture," of Sbaralea, *Supplementum ad SS.*, *op. cit.*, Pars III, p. 138.
65. Cf. Sbaralea, *op. cit.*, Pars III, p. 138.
66. Cf. *infra*, Group B, No. 4; Ed. Holder-Egger in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, Vol. XXXII (Hanover and Leipzig, 1905-1913) p. 429 ff.; Ed. also by G. Pochettino (Soc. Ed. Toscana, 1926), Chap. XXIV, p. 140.
67. Cf. Wadding and Sbaralea, *Scriptores* under his name: "Thomas Papiensis" (edition Nardecchia, Rome, 1936), p. 138, No. 3591; MF, XXXIV, p. 23.
68. "Fra Tommaso da Pavia (d. c. 1280) può essere annoverato tra i biografi di San Antonio?" Vol. IX (1929), pp. 84-88 and 147-152.

69. Cf. *infra* under 3 (p. 116); also CF, I (1931), pp. 117-118.
70. Cf. *Vitae Duae*, p. 8.
71. "C'est la source la plus antique et la moins contestable" says Chérancé in the preface of his *St. Antoine de Padoue d'après les documents primitifs* (Paris, 1906), p. viii; and again: "Malgré ses défauts sa biographie demeure la pièce fondamentale de l'histoire antonienne," *ibid.*, p. x. Cf. Giuseppe Abate, O.F.M.Conv., in MF, XXXII, 249.
72. "Un document des plus précieux et la pièce fondamentale de l'histoire antonienne." *Op. cit.*, p. 13.
73. "Avec ses corrections et ses additions elle nous représente la physionomie du Saint telle qu'elle e'tait comprise chez les Frères Mineurs de Padoue, dans le dernier quart du XIII siècle," as quoted by Chérancé, *op. cit.*, pp. viii-ix.
74. "Verus lapis angularis biographiae antonianaë." CF, III (1933), p. 296.
75. De Kerval, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24; 113-114.
76. Cf. Huber, *Doc. History of the Franciscan Order*, pp. 38-41; also Huber, "The Portiuncula Indulgence" in *Franciscan Studies*, Vol. XIX (1938).
77. Cf. Huber, *Doc. History of the Franc. Order*, p. 737.
78. "Obedientia salutaris fructu" — are the words of the author. Prologue, De Kerval, Chap. I, No. 1, p. 23.
79. "Est namque, ut fertur, in regno Portugalliae civitas quaedam, ad occidentalem ejus plagam, in extremis mundi finibus sitam," etc. The expression "in extremis partibus mundi" was frequently taken to signify Spain and Portugal, De Kerval, p. 25, *op. cit.*, Ch. II, No. 1.
80. Cf. *infra*, Group C, No. 2: "Liber Miraculorum" (p. 131).
81. "Sed quia longum est enarrare quot lustravit provincias, quot verbi Dei semine repleverit terrarum partes, ad ea quae magis necessaria occurrunt et evidentiora virtutum ejus declarant manum convertimus." Chap. XI, No. 1, De Kerval, *op. cit.*, p. 43; cf. *ibid.*, Note 1.
82. Cf. Lemp, *Fr. Elie de Cortone* (Paris, 1901), p. 92, Note 2; De Kerval, p. 42, Note 1; MF, XXXVII (1937), 273.
83. *Op. cit.*, p. 9.
84. Cf. De Kerval, pp. 149-157.
85. *San Antonio di Padova*, *op. cit.*, I, p. xviii.
86. "Une des perles du moyen age," preface to his *Life of St. Anthony of Padua*, *op. cit.*
87. "En réalité . . . on s'en convaincra bientôt à la lecture . . . elle est assez pauvre de style, Rédigée dans un latin souvent manière en longues phrases obscures et creuses," *op. cit.*, p. 13.
88. R. Cessi (professor at the University of Padua), "Agiografia Antonina; La Composizione della *Legenda Assidua*" in *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto; Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*. Tom. XCI, parte seconda, p. 62. Printed also separately at Venice and Ferrara, 1932.
89. MF, XXXII, 250 c.
90. Cf. MF, XXXII (1932), p. 249 ff.

91. "Per l'unita della Leggenda Primitiva di San Antonio di Padova" in *Bollettino Storico-Biografico Francescano*, fasc. 23 (1934); publ. also separately at Reggio Emilia: Libr. Editr. "Frate Francesco," 1932.
92. Coimbra: Ex Typog. Academica regia, 1830.
93. *Scriptores*, Vol. I, 116-130 (Lisbon, 1856).
94. Bologna: Marreggiani, 1883, pp. 1-73 in 8 vo.
95. Cf. *infra* under Group A, No. 11 (p. 126).
96. Cf. *supra* (p. 99 ff.).
97. Montreuil-sur-Mer, 1890.
98. Padua: Antonianische Buchdruckerei, 1895, in 32.
99. Paris: Fischbacher, 1904.
1. Cf. *supra*, No. 3 (p. 111).
2. Paris: Fischbacher, 1904.
3. It is on this edition that the writer primarily based those studies on St. Anthony. Tom. III of the same collection contains Eduard Lemp's, *Frère Elie de Cortone: Etude Biographique* (Paris, 1901). Concerning this study, cf. Huber, *Doc. History of the Franciscan Order*, *op. cit.*, p. 105, Note; or MF, VIII, 133 and *Anal. Bolland*, XXII (1903), p. 195 ff.
4. Venice, 1742.
5. *S. Antonii Ulyssiponensis Sermones in Psalmos* (3 vols., in 4to, 1757).
6. It was Fr. Azzoguidi who composed for the Conventuals their liturgical Offices for the feasts of St. Francis of Assisi (Oct. 4); of the Stigmata of St. Francis (Sept. 17); of St. Clare of Assisi (Aug. 12); and of St. Bonaventure (July 14). All of these Offices were approved by Pope Benedict XIV in virtue of the Bull, *Praecipuum*. Feb. 16, 1742. Cf. Sparacio, *Vita di San Antonio*, *op. cit.*, I, p. 79.
7. Paris, 1880, Vol. VI, pp. 450-470.
8. Vol. I, p. 383.
9. Cf. Facchinetti, *S. Antonio etc.*, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. xix, Note 1.
10. Società Editrice Internazionale, n. d., op. 126.
11. Cf. CF, III (1933), 256.
12. Cf. Bibliography under his name.
13. Padua; Messaggero Press, 1946, p. 153.
14. Cf. De Kerval, *op. cit.*, pp. 237-238; Hugo Dausend, O.F.M., *S. Francisci Assisiensis et Sancti Antonii Patavini Officia Rythmica, auctore Fratris Juliano a Spira* (Monasterii: Typis Asendorff, 1934), in 12, p. 52 (cf. AFH, XXX, 238-239); cf. also MF, XXXVIII (1938), p. 164; CF, I (1931) pp. 385-386. An Italian version of the *Legenda Secunda* was done by Guglielmo Pellegrini, who however falsely entitled it the *Legenda Prima* in his *Le Prime Vite de San Francesco e di San Antonio*. Prima Versione Italiana (Florence: Libr. Ed. Fiorentina, 1932); in 16, pp. iv-188. Cf. CF, III (1933), p. 256.
15. Vol. III (ed. of 1867), pp. 198-209.
16. Delorme, *Saint Antoine Padoue et sa Legend*, *op. cit.*
17. For Delorme's studies concerning the origin, historical importance, literary and musical value of Julian's *Vita Secunda*, cf. the Appendix to his

(Delorme's) edition of the Legend of Rigauld (cf. *infra*, Group A, No. 12), p. 184 ff.; also Weiss, J. E., *Julian von Speir, Forschungen zur Franziskus und Antonius Kritik zur Geschichte der Reimoffizien und des Chorals* (München: Leutner, 1900); and Fr. Hilarin Felder, O.F.M.Cap., *S. Francisci Assisien. et Antonii, Pat. Officia Rythmica; Die Reimoffizien auf die Heiligen Franziskus und Antonius von Julian v. Speier* (d. c. 1250) (Freiburg, in Switz., 1901). The rhythmic Office of St. Anthony by Julian appears in Felder's edition just cited on pp. 125-134; cf. De Kerval, *op. cit.*, pp. 237-238.

18. Ed. Hugo Dausend, O.F.M., *op. cit.* (CF, VIII, 130 [220] and 130-131, No. 1.)

19. AF, I, 46 (No. 53) "Qui (i.e., Julianus) historiam beati Francisci et beati Antonii nobili stilo et pulcha melodia composuit."

20. AF, II, 91.

21. AF, IV, 308.

22. "Historiam, antiphonas ac Legendam . . . digessit," says Glassberger in AF, II, 91.

23. Cf. Huber, *Doc. History of the Franciscan Order*, p. 539.

24. Cf. under Group A, No. 5 (p. 119).

25. Lib. XXXI, cap. 131-135.

26. Cf. his work: *S. Antoine de Padoue et sa legende primitive* (Montreuil-sur-Mer, 1890), pp. viii-ix, No. 5.

27. Part I, Chap. XVIII.

28. Cf. Facchinetti, *op. cit.*, p. xix.

29. *Op. cit.*, pp. 145-146, Note 1.

30. De Kerval, *op. cit.*, p. 239, No. 3; CF, I (1931), 447.

31. Cf. AF, II, 68; III, 263; Wadding, AM., XIII, *ad ann.*, 1244; also Huber, *Doc. Hist. of the Franciscan Order, op. cit.*, p. 125 ff.

32. Cf. Group D, No. 4. "Frate Giovanni da Parma, Ministro Generale, compose un libro della vita di quei Frati Minori, che furono santi, in modo di Dialogo, del quale la maggior parte se ne perde," Delle Croniche dei Frati Minori, Italian transl., p. II, lib. 1, cap. XXIX.

33. *Op. cit.*, I, p. xx.

34. Cf. *supra*, Group A, 1.

35. Cf. the edition of the *De Gestis Sanctorum Fratrum* by Delorme in his preface, p. 1, vi, par. 10. The full title will be given later (Cf. n. 38).

36. Cf. *San Francesco d' Assisi* (the periodical), Vol. IX (1929), pp. 84-88; and *ibid.*, 147-152; also CF, I (1931), pp. 117-118.

37. *Op. cit.*, p. xx.

38. *Dialogus de Vitis Sanctorum Fratrum Minorum*, scriptum, c. 1245, nunc primum ed. Fr. L. Lemmens, O.F.M. (Roma: Typis Sallustianis, 1902), pp. xxiv-122.

39. *Dialogus de Gestis Sanctorum Fratrum minorum auctore Fr. Thoma de Pavia, O.F.M.* (Quaracchi, 1923).

40. Cf. *Il Santo*, II, p. 108.

41. Cf. De Kerval, *op. cit.*, pp. 249-250.

42. Huber, *Doc. History of the Franciscan Order*, p. 540; cf. Sparacio, *Vita di San Antonio*, I, p. 11; *Il Santo*, II, 164, 177, 195, 237.

43. Cf. edition by D'Alençon (*infra*), p. 22; Scaramuzzi, *La Figura Intellettuale* (Urbis et Orbis edition), p. 48, No. 5.
44. Cf. Facchinetti, *op. cit.*, I, p. xxvii.
45. *Asta SS*, III, June, p. 203.
46. Cf. Scaramuzzi, *La Figura Intellettuale di San Antonio*, *op. cit.*
47. De Kerval, p. 250.
48. Cf. *Cath. Encycl.*, XV, 439.
49. Cf. *Il Santo*, III, 220.
50. Cf. Potthast, *Bibl. Hist. Medii Aevi*, Vol. II, p. 1095.
51. De Kerval, *op. cit.*, pp. 269-270.
52. Published by Eduard d'Alençon, O.F.M.Cap., in *Spicilegium Franciscanum; Miscellanea Antoniana* (Rome: Kleinbub, 1902), pp. 7-36.
53. "Cujus (Antonii) praedicationis fuit magnae efficaciae, etiam apud eos qui eum non intelligebant." Sermon 23, cf. De Kerval, pp. 260, 270.
54. Cf. *Fioretti* of St. Francis, Chap. XXIX.
55. "Sicut aperuit (Dominus) quondam Apostolis sensum ut intelligerant Scripturas, ut per praedicationem ipsorum Ecclesia fundaretur et aedificaretur . . . per doctrinam B. Antonii fecit Deus mundum reviviscere, et plures qui jam aruerunt reflorescere." *Urbis et Orbis* . . . *Informatio*, *op. cit.*, p. 56; Scaramuzzi, *op. cit.*, p. 48, No. 6.
56. Cf. *Il Santo*, II, 238.
57. Cf. *infra*, Group A, No. 10 (p. 124).
58. It was published in the *Opera Omnia* of St. Bonaventure at Quaracchi in 1884 ff., Vol. IX, pp. 530-538.
59. "This poor man cried to the Lord and the Lord heard him."
60. "Beatus Antonius . . . in Ordine Minorum voluit mendicare, et nihil sub coelo habere."
61. "Ad cujus (Francisci) exemplar motus fuit B. Antonius, ut in semita paupertatis esset, non solum Francisci, sed etiam Christi imitator eximius." Scaramuzzi, p. 536.
62. "De ipso possumus cantare illud. Psalmi: Desiderium animae ejus posuisti in capite ejus coronam . . . coronam scilicet aureae et duplicis aureolae, scilicet praedicationis et virginitatis, quia Domino ab infantia sua servivit; et quia ardentissimo desiderio martyrii flagravat." Scaramuzzi, p. 538.
63. "Majus se exercitavit in principio suae conversationis in scutellis lavandis, quam in scripturis perscrutandis." Scaramuzzi, p. 537. The corresponding text of the *Legenda Prima* will be found in Josa's edition of St. Anthony's *Legenda Prima*, p. 10.
64. Cf. Denzinger, *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, No. 1790.
65. Patavii; Typis Seminarii, 1882, in 4to, pp. 69-95.
66. "Dic de puritate ipsius quod fuit virgo" (Sermo I).
67. "Dic miraculum illius qui percussit matrem cum pede" (Sermo I).
68. "Dominus Summus Pontifex ipsum Arcam Testamenti appellabat" (Sermo II).
69. Sermo III.
70. *In Laudem Thaumaturgi Antonii Patavini Sermo ex Mss. et Collecta-*

taneo Antonianae Bibliothecae Codice nunc primum editus (Padua: Typis Seminarii, 1883).

71. Concerning the tribute of Pope Gregory IX to St. Anthony's sanctity, cf. *Urbis et Orbis . . . Informatio, op. cit.*, pp. 13-14.

72. "The renowned confessor of Christ" and "wonderful preacher."

73. English transl. of the *Legenda Major*, Chap. IX from J. M. Dent and Sons (London and Toronto, n. d., pp. 327-328), No. 485 of Everyman's Library.

74. Cf. *Il Santo*, I, 253 ff.; II, 46-55; 117-130; III, 77; Sbaralea, *Supplementum ad Scriptores a Waddingo . . . Conscriptos*, Pars II (Rome: Edition Nardecchia, 1921), p. 178; P. Niccolo Dal-Gal, *Beato Luca Belludi, Compagno di San Antonio* (Padova: Messaggero Press, 1942); B. Mariangeli, O.F.M.Conv., *Cenni sulla vita del Beato Luca Belludi dei Frati Minori di San Francesco detti Conventuali discepolo e compagno di San Antonio di Padova* (Padova: Basilica del Santo, 1928), in 8 vols., pp. xi-224. For other works on Bl. Luke Belludi, cf. CF, II (1931).

75. Cf. CF, II (1931), p. 579, nos. 7-8.

76. Cf. De Kerval, *op. cit.*, pp. 243-249.

77. Cf. *supra*, Chap. III, 3; De Kerval, pp. 243-246. All of these miracles have recently been beautifully illustrated in paintings by J. B. Conti in his *I miracoli di San Antonio* (Padua: Messaggero Press, n. d.).

78. Cf. Sparacio, *Vita di San Antonio, op. cit.*, I, 97.

79. *Op. cit.*, pp. 162 and 249.

80. *Saint Antoine de Padoue* (Paris, 1906), p. xii.

81. "Zur Biografie des hl. Antonius von Padua" in *Römische Quartalschrift* (Rome, 1902).

82. Cf. *infra*, Group C, No. 2 (p. 131).

83. Cf. *S. Antonii de Padua Vitae Duae* (Paris, 1904), pp. 159-205.

84. Cf. AF, II, 90-91.

85. *Supplementum ad Scriptores* under the name of "Joannes Peckanus," Pars II (Rome: Nardecchia, 1921), p. 114.

86. *Historiae Seraphicae Religionis Libri Tres* (Venice, 1586). Lib. I, p. 83.

87. *L.c.*

88. "Benignitas et humanitas Salvatoris nostri apparuit in hoc mundo." Cf. Tit. 3, 4.

89. Cf. *infra*, under Group D, No. 5.

90. Cf. De Kerval, *op. cit.*, p. 159; *Actus Beati Francisci et Sociorum ejus* (ed. Sabatier in "Collection d'Etudes et de Documents," Vol. IV, Paris, 1902), p. xxxv.

91. Paris, Fischbacher, 1904, p. 207 ff.; cf. *Il Santo*, I, 255; III, 202.

92. "Quae videntur in ejusdem Sancti (Antonii) legenda antescrpta (i.e., in the *Legenda Prima*) penitus omitta." Cf. De Kerval, *op. cit.*, pp. 160, 207.

93. Cf. De Kerval, *op. cit.*, pp. 197-205.

94. Cf. *supra*, note 84.

95. "Les anachronismes y sont trop forts."

96. *Op. cit.*, p. 197.

97. *Op. cit.*, p. xxiii.

98. AF, II, 91.
99. *Op. cit.*, p. 197, No. 3.
1. *Historiae Seraphicae Religionis Libri Tres* (Venice, 1586). Cf. De Kerval, *op. cit.*, pp. 194-197.
2. "Véritable mosaïque composée de matériaux de valeur diverse." *Vie de San Antoine de Padoue* (Paris, 1903), p. xiii.
3. Cf. *infra*, Group A, No. 12 (p. 126).
4. *Op. cit.*, Lib. 1, p. 83.
5. Cf. De Kerval, p. 194.
6. Cf. Rodulphus, *l.c.*
7. Cf. De Kerval, *op. cit.*, p. 239, No. 4.
8. Bologna, 1883.
9. Cf. *ibid.*, IV, p. 220.
10. R. F. Ferdinand D'Aurales, *La Vie de St. Antonine par Jean Rigauld*, *Introd.*, pp. xx-xxii.
11. "Anno Domini MCCXCII (1292), Frater Petrus Raymondinus de Sancto Romano Paduae Lector existens, qui postea Minister in Aquitanea fuit factus, quaedam miracula collegit, et fecit solemniter coram episcopo testibus idoneis comprobari" Delorme-Rigauld, *Le Vie de Saint Antoine de Padoue* (Bordeaux, 1899), Vol. II, p. 130.
12. Cf. *infra* under Group A, No. 12 (p. 126).
13. *Ibid.*
14. Cf. Guidaldi, *op. cit.*, and *Analecta Bollandiana*, Tom. XLVIII, fasc. I and II (1930), p. 227.
15. Cf. *infra* under Group A, No. 12 (p. 126).
16. *Hist. Seraph. Relig. Libri Tres*, lib. 1, p. 83 (Venice, 1586).
17. Cf. De Kerval, *op. cit.*, pp. 241-243; AFH, XXXII, pp. 210-214.
18. *Annales Minorum*, Vol. VI, 489.
19. Cf. *Gallia Christiana*, Vol. XIV, p. 1125.
20. Cf. Sbaralea, *Supplementum ad Scriptores*, etc., *op. cit.*, pp. 455-456 (ed. Nardecchia).
21. "Ea, quae sequuntur de sancto Antonio excerptissimum sub compendio ex legenda quam conscripsit religiosus vir frater Joannes Rigauldi, Lemovicensis diocesis, postmodum Episcopus Trecorensis," *l.c.* (Codex 5407), folio cvii.
22. "Qui capis ingentem nostra sede libellum Nigra tibi infernus semita pandat iter."
23. Bordeaux, 1899.
24. *La Vie de Saint Antoine de Padoue par Jean Rigauld* (Bordeaux-Brive, 1899).
25. "Ils étaient encore nombreux quand je suis encore dans l'Ordre. On doit recevoir leur témoignage, car ils ne font que rapporter ce qu'ils ont vu ou entendu."
26. Cf. De Kerval, *op. cit.*, p. 161, No. 5.
27. "Que (sic) ecclesia (Sancti Petri scilicet) a loco fratrum magno erat spatio elongata." AFH, XXXI, 211.

28. Cf. Group A, No. 2 (p. 114).
29. Cf. Facchinetti, *op. cit.*, pp. xxi-xxii; Rigauld-Delorme, *op. cit.*, pp. xxx-xl.
30. Cf. *supra*, Chap. I.
31. Cf. Facchinetti, *San Antonio*, Vol. I, p. xxvii, Note.
32. Cf. Huber, *Doc. Hist. of the Franc. Order*, pp. 535-538.
33. John 19, 19. Cf. *I Cel.*, Chap. XVIII.
34. Cf. De Kerval, *op. cit.*, pp. 252-253.
35. Miserat enim Deus tunc temporis Paduam . . . fratrem Antonium, de Ordine Fratrum Minorum, qui . . . multa litteratura fundatus, Arca Veteris Testamenti et forma Novi, et si verbis audacia tribuatur, potens opere et sermone . . . die noctuque regirans Vetus Testamentum et Novum, et scribere parabat utilia toti populo christiano." *Urbis et Orbis . . . Informatio*, *op. cit.*, p. 55; Scaramuzzi, *La Figura Intellettuale*, p. 54, No. 7; De Kerval, p. 251.
36. Milan, 1757; Tom. VIII, col. 198; 202-203.
37. Paris: Fischbacher, 1904, Vol. V, pp. 251-252. Cf. Sparacio, I, 112; Facchinetti, I, xxvii, No. 5.
38. *Chronica Fratris Salimbene Parmensis*, various editions, e.g., Parma, 1857, p. 30; Holder-Egger in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores*, Tom. XXXII (Hannover and Leipzig, 1905-1913, in 4to).
39. De Kerval, pp. 255-256.
40. First ed. London, 1906; 2 ed., 1908, *ibid.*
41. Cf. Huber, *Doc. Hist. of the Franciscan Order*, p. 587.
42. De Kerval, p. 255.
43. Milan, 1923, cf. also De Kerval, p. 255, Note 1; G. M. Antony, *Saint Anthony of Padua, the Miracle Worker (1195-1231)* (New York: Longmans, 1911), p. 65, Note 1; MF, XXXII, 297a.
44. Cf. Huber, *Doc. Hist.*, *op. cit.*, p. 11, Note 28.
45. De Kerval, *op. cit.*, p. 268; cf. AFH, XXXII, 432.
46. Cf. Huber, *Doc. Hist. of the Franc. Order*, pp. 556-559; Sparacio, *op. cit.*, I, 112-113; Facchinetti, *op. cit.*, I, p. xxvii, No. 13.
47. Cf. AFH, XXXII, 432-434.
48. *Fioretti*, Chap. XXXIX; AFH, XXXII, 432, No. 48; Dent. ed. p. 70. The *Actus* reads thus: "Nonne hic Hispanus est? Et quommodo nos audimus per eum linguam nostram in qua nati sumus, Graeci, Latini, Francigenae et Teutonic, Sclavi et Anglici, Lombardi, et Barbari?" Chap. XLVIII, No. 3.
49. Paris: Fischbacher, 1902. For the many editions of the *Fioretti* in the various languages of the world cf. Huber, *Doc. Hist. of the Franc. Order*, pp. 556-559. Cf. the *Actus* (ed. Sabatier), pp. 146-150.
50. Cf. Sparacio, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, 105, 113; Facchinetti, I, p. xxiv; De Kerval, *op. cit.*, p. 257; Hilarin Felder, O.F.M.Cap., *Die Antonius-Wunder nach den älteren Quellen untersucht* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1933); cf. MF, XXXIII, 111 ff.
51. Quaracchi, 1897, pp. 121-158.

52. AF, III, 693-727.
53. Cf. AF, III, 121-158 (Quaracchi, 1897); Huber, *Doc. Hist. of the Franc. Order*, p. 587.
54. De Kerval, *op. cit.*, p. 261.
55. De Kerval, p. 262.
56. Fourth ed. Padua; Messaggero, 1940, p. 281 ff. Cf. CF, XI, 128, No. 299, p. 129.
57. *Op. cit.*, p. xxiv.
58. *St. Antoine de Padoue, op. cit.*, p. xiii.
59. *Op. cit.*, p. 257.
60. Cf. *supra*, Group A, No. 9 (p. 123).
61. Sparacio, *op. cit.*, I, p. 107; De Kerval, pp. 266-267.
62. *Supplementum ad SS of Wadding*, under "Paulinus de Venetia."
63. Cf. *supra*, Group A, Nos. 1 and 2 (pp. 99, 114).
64. Cf. *supra*, Group A, No. 10 (p. 124).
65. Fasc. IV of the *Miscellanea Antoniana seu de S. Antonio Paduano Monumenta inedita vel ad meliorem formam restituta* (Romae: Kleinbub, 1902), pp. 37-82.
66. Cf. Sparacio, *op. cit.*, I, pp. xiii-xiv.
67. Cf. Group C, No. 2 (p. 131).
68. Quaracchi, 1897.
69. Cf. Sparacio, *op. cit.*, I, 108; Facchinetti, *op. cit.*, p. xxv; De Kerval, *op. cit.*, pp. 262-266; Huber, *op. cit.*, pp. 548-550.
70. Cf. Group C, No. 2 (p. 131).
71. Both of these miracles are given by De Kerval, pp. 263-266. Cf. *I miracoli di San Antonio* (depicted in paintings) by G. B. Conti (Padova: Messaggero Press, Illustration No. 16).
72. *Urbis et Orbis . . . Informatio, op. cit.*, p. 56; Scaramuzzi, *ibid.*, p. 62, no. 3.
73. *De Conformitate Vitae Beati Francisci ad Vitam Domini Jesu Christi*, etc. (Quaracchi, 1906 and 1912). Cf. AF, V, 526 under "Antonius, S."
74. Cf. Huber, *Doc. Hist. of the Franc. Order*, p. 561.
75. Sparacio, *op. cit.*, I, 110; Facchinetti, *op. cit.*, xxv; Cf. Chap. VIII; Bibliography, under his name.
76. P. Antonio M. Josa, O.F.M.Conv., in his monograph: *I codici manoscritti della Bibliotheca Antoniana di Padova, etc.* (Padua: Tip. del Seminario, 1886, p. 176), wrote a beautiful eulogy on Polentone.
77. *Sancti Antonii Ulyssiponensis cognomento Patavini Sermones in Psalmos* (Bologna: Typis Laelli a Vulpe, 1747, 3 vols. in 4°); cf. also Horoy, *Medii Aevi Patristica* (Paris, 1880). The Legend of Polentone (*De Vita et Miraculis S. Antonii*) is printed on pp. XV-LX; the notes and commentaries of the editor on pp. LXII-CCXI.
78. Cf. Facchi., I, XXV; Huber, *Doc. Hist.*, etc., pp. 567, 586.
79. Cf. Huber, *op. cit.*, pp. 589-590.
80. Quaracchi, 1911; AFH, I-IV (1908-1911).

81. *Libro della vita de Sancti Frati Minori* (sicl).
82. Cf. Facchinetti, p. xxv; Huber, *op. cit.*, 587.
83. Cf. Index, under "Antonius Sanctus."
84. Cf. Sparacio, I, 110; Facchinetti, p. xxv; *Il Santo*, I, 256; III, 203, 209; Huber, *op. cit.*, p. 588; *Cath. Encyc.*, IX, 682-683.
85. Sparacio, I, 110; Facchinetti, I, p. xxvi; *Cath. Encyc.*, XIV, 343.
86. Cologne, 1569. The legend of St. Anthony in this edition appears in Vol. III, pp. 723-736. Another edition was printed in 1618.
87. "Scripta a quodam Patre Franciscano graviter et fideliter," *op. cit.*, p. 723.
88. Facchinetti, p. xxv; Huber, pp. 589-590.
89. Three editions: 1 ed., Lyons-Rome 1625-1654; 2 ed., Fonseca, Rome, 1731-1741; 3 ed., Quaracchi, 1931 ff.
90. Cf. preceding, No. 5 (p. 135).
92. First ed., Contedini, Rome, 1806, in *folio*; second ed., Nardecchia, Rome, 1906 ff., with valuable annotations by the Franciscans of Quaracchi.
93. Facchinetti, p. xxvi.
94. Lisbon, 1652.
95. Facchinetti, p. xxvi.
96. "Confessor most renowned by his sanctity of life and by his preaching."
97. Cf. *Urbis et Orbis . . . Informatio*, *op. cit.*, p. 57; Scaramuzzi, *ibid.*, p. 62.
98. Sparacio, *op. cit.*, I, pp. xiii-xiv.
99. *Bullarium Franciscanum* (BF), published by John Hyacinth Sbaralea, O.F.M.Conv., in four volumes (Rome, 1759-1768). Vol. I (Rome, 1759), p. 6. Cf. Huber, *op. cit.*, pp. 583-584.
 1. BF, I, 68-70; Eubel, Conrad, O.F.M.Conv., *Bullarii Franciscani Epitome* (Quaracchi, 1908), pp. 228-231. According to Thomas of Eccleston, *De Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam* (cf. *supra*, Group B, No. 5), St. Anthony personally went to Rome to get the pope's interpretation of the Rule on certain points. Cf. *Il Santo*, III, 23; Huber, *op. cit.*, p. 102.
 2. BF, I, 34-35; *Il Santo*, II, 164.
 3. BF, I, 35.
 4. Cf. Bernard Gonzati, O.F.M.Conv., *La Basilica di San Antonio di Padova* (Padua: Bianchi, 1852), Vol. I, *Documenti*, pp. iv-v (Document III).
 5. BF, I, 791, Gonzati, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, Document V; Facchinetti, p. xxvii, Note 3.
 6. BF, I, 79-81; Facchinetti, p. xxvii, No. 2; *Acta Sanctorum*, Tom. III (June), pp. 215-216.
 7. BF, I, 115.
 8. Gonzati, *op. cit.*, Doc. IX; *Il Santo*, II, 233.
 9. Gonzati, *op. cit.*, Doc. XXV; *Il Santo*, II, 208.
 10. Gonzati, *op. cit.*, Doc. XXVIII.
 11. "Divina sapientia imbutus." *Bullarium Romanum* (ed. Laertii Cherubini), Vol. II, 512.

12. AAS, XXIII (1931), pp. 71-80; *Il Santo*, III, 29.
13. Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1946; English transl. in part in *Franciscan Herald and Forum*, Vol. XXV, No. 6 (June, 1946), p. 163.
14. Gonzati, *op. cit.*, Doc. IX.
15. *Ibid.*
16. Boverius, *Annales Capuccinorum*, Vol. I, pars II, p. 940.
17. Romae: Ex Typis Augustianis, 1936.
18. Rome: Tipografia Agostiniana, 1934, p. 126.
19. Typis Polyglottis Vat., 1936, pp. 1-137.
20. *Op. cit.*, p. 36. "This new favor which the whole Franciscan Order requests of you, Most Holy Father, will be a source of great consolation to Religious Sodalities and to innumerable devotees of St. Anthony; it will bring not a small increase to the Catholic Church and will greatly increase the veneration of this great Saint."
21. Typis Polygl. Vat., 1945, p. 35.
22. Rome, April 11, 1945.
23. Cf. AAS, Anno XXXVII, Series II, Vol. XII (1945), p. 198.
24. Cf. *supra*, Group E, No. 8 (p. 139).

CHAPTER VII

LITERARY EVALUATION; HISTORICAL RETROSPECT¹

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

THE literature on St. Anthony of Padua is increasing in volume from year to year. In 1905, Chevalier in his valuable *Repertoire des Sources Historiques du Moyen Age*² was able to enumerate as many as 135 works on St. Anthony of Padua. The celebration of the Seventh Centenary of his death (1931) throughout the world augmented immensely the already long list of works; and the Anthonian solemnities in connection with his elevation to the rank of a Doctor of the Church Universal by Pope Pius XII on January 16, 1946, will undoubtedly add still more valuable biographies, studies, and publications containing source material.

An evaluation of modern bibliography will be found in most biographies of St. Anthony, but especially in Facchinetti's *Antonio di Padua*;³ in Sparacio's *Vita di San Antoni*;⁴ and in Chérancé's *Saint Antoine de Padoue*.⁵

Besides the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century legends (cf. Chap. VI) and the early annals (cf. *ibid.*) we know that, at the time of the Conventual historian and bishop, Rodulphus Tosinianus (d. 1601), at least five biographies of St. Anthony were in existence, even though the exact titles of some of them, owing to the ravages of time, have been lost. These were the legend of John of Peckham (d. 1292), the archbishop of Canterbury generally designated as the *Legenda Benignitas*;⁶ that of John of Cremona, provincial of the province of St. Anthony, i.e., of Lombardy; that of Fr. Matteo Pedelario, at one time lector of the convent of Bologna; that of Fr. Pietro Raimondino, professor at Padua;⁷ and finally that of Bartholomew of Trent, of the Order of

Preachers.⁸ Besides these there was the legend of an anonymous author written in 1316, "and approved by Fr. James Sauri, Provincial of the Province of St. Anthony, and by the General Chapter of Verona (1348)."⁹ Since the turn of the beginning of the eighteenth century hundreds of biographies and studies on St. Anthony and valuable publications of his works have appeared.¹⁰

The father of modern higher Anthonian criticism is undoubtedly the Franciscan Tertiary, Léon de Kerval, who not only published the *Vita Prima* and the *Legenda Benignitas*¹¹ but also enhanced the value of these thirteenth-century legends by valuable critical comments, commentaries and notes. De Kerval holds the same place in *Antoniana* which Paul Sabatier holds in *Franciscana*; but unfortunately like his friend, compatriot, and copublisher he leans at times somewhat toward the rationalistic rather than to the supernatural aspect of St. Anthony's life. The miraculous is relegated to the background. The same is to be said of the Protestant authors, Dr. Eduard Lemp and Albert Lepître, although the latter less than the former. Nevertheless, all three of these critics have made valuable contributions to *Antoniana*. Lepître's *Life* of St. Anthony, is considered by many to be one of the most critical of modern times.

The way was prepared for these men by great pioneers in Anthonian research. Among these must be reckoned first of all, the Jesuit Bollandists, who, in endeavoring to reconstruct the life of St. Anthony for the *Acta Sanctorum*, made use of every available authentic source, even fragmentary, known at the beginning of the eighteenth century. As new sources became available they added fresh material or corrected former statements in their *Analecta Bollandiana*. Only after diligent research could the authentic works of St. Anthony finally be established. Ascenzio, Maffei, De la Haye, and Francesco of Pergola¹² included, indeed, many spurious works in their otherwise meritorious collections, but they prepared the way for the two Pagi and especially for the indefatigable lover of *Antoniana*, Father Antonia Maria Josa, prefect of the *Bibliotheca Antoniana*, and that other equally meritorious secular priest, the Very Rev. Canon Dr. Antonio Maria

Locatelli, for their publications of the authentic sermons of the saint.¹³

1. *Portuguese Contributions*

Among the early biographers who paved the way for others must be mentioned the Portuguese Jesuit, Emmanuel Azevedo who, during the period in which the Society of Jesus was under temporary ecclesiastical ban, devoted his time at Padua to the life of the great medieval thaumaturgist, his fellow countryman. His work has formed the basis of many modern lives of St. Anthony, as e.g., the one by Coleridge.¹⁴ Then came the important study of another great Portuguese author, F. A. Carlos das Neves who, in 1895, published his *O grande Thaumaturgo de Portugal Sancto Antonio de Lisboa*,¹⁵ the occasion being the Seventh Centenary of the birth of St. Anthony. To this life he added a copious bibliographical introduction, written from a Portuguese viewpoint.¹⁶ Despite the lack of a critical evaluation of all the sources used, the author demonstrates that he was most conscientious, well informed, and exact in his citations.

2. *Spanish Contributions*

In Spain, Fray Miguel Metre's *Vida y milagros del glorioso San Antonio di Padua*, while devoid of literary critique, played an important role in spreading the knowledge and veneration of our saint throughout the Iberian peninsula, for, already, in 1777, this work ran to thirteen editions.¹⁷ The volume of M. José de Sousa, *Santo Antonio de Lisboa*,¹⁸ is more authoritative and more interesting, especially from a psychological viewpoint. A good critical life, albeit brief but containing copious citations of literature and select illustrations, will be found in the modern Spanish *Enciclopedia Universal Illustrada*.¹⁹

3. *French Works*

France is especially rich in *Antoniana*. Foremost among contemporary scholars must be mentioned such illustrious students as the Capuchin Fathers, Hilary of Paris and Eduard D'Alençon; and the Franciscan Fathers, Delorme (d'Aurales) and Chér-

ancé. One of the most interesting and original studies, written in a spirit of fervent love and expounded with orderly clarity is the *Histoire de Saint Antoine de Padoue*, by P. Ata.²⁰ Other French hagiographies are by Msgr. Antoine Ricard, *Saint Antoine de Padoue*;²¹ O. Jean de Saint – Eulalie, *Le Saint de tout le monde*;²² and the Franciscan missionaries of Vanves, *Histoire de Saint Antoine de Padoue, Frère Mineur*, published under the pseudonym of Antoine de Lys, but most probably the work of the venerable foundress of the Missionary Franciscans of Mary, Mère Marie de la Passion.²³

In 1900, a study on St. Anthony according to thirteenth-century documents entitled *Saint Antoine, son esprit et sa phisionomie morale d'après les documents du XIII siècle*, appeared in the *La Voix de Saint Antoine*;²⁴ thereafter followed a long list of other important investigations entitled: *Problèmes Antoniens*, by the well-known French author Lepître and others. Interesting also are the studies of P. Lucien Roure in the collection *Figures Franciscains*,²⁵ which include lives of St. Francis, St. Clare, and St. Anthony. In 1906, Father Chérancé published his excellent *Saint Antoine de Padoue d'après les documents primitifs*²⁶ with a very good evaluation of the sources. During World War II some popular editions of the lives of St. Anthony (also of St. Francis and other Franciscan saints) appeared under the auspices of the *Profils Franciscaines*. The life of St. Anthony in this series was done by Jean Soulairol.²⁷

4. English Publications

Important biographies and studies of our saint in English were published by the Jesuit, H. J. Coleridge in his *Chronicle of St. Anthony of Padua*;²⁸ by Charles Warren Stoddard, *The Wonder-Worker of Padua* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1896), and especially by C. M. Antony who published an excellent volume on *St. Anthony of Padua, the Miracle Worker*, which he enhanced by a good study of the sources and a copious bibliography.²⁹ A new popular English version of the life of St. Anthony was edited by Fr. Isidore O'Brien, O.F.M., in his *Enter St. Anthony*.³⁰

5. *German Lives of the Saint*

In Germany the best known and at the same time the most highly esteemed biographies are those by Dr. Nicholas Heim and Gabriel Meier. To these should be added the studies of Fr. Leopold Lemmens, O.F.M. (Cf. Chap. VIII: Bibl., under their names.)

6. *Dutch and Polish Publications*

In Holland the best loved biographies of St. Anthony are those by P. Gervais Dihrs and H. Bartels; in Polish those by Norbert Gobichowski and Eusebius Stancy. Recently Fr. Norbert Zonca, O.F.M.Conv., edited a popular life of St. Anthony which was published by the Nowiny News Company of Milwaukee, Wisconsin. (Cf. Chap. VIII: Bibl., under his name.)

7. *Italian Literature*

In Italian, as might well be expected, the literature on St. Anthony is immense. Already in 1645, Lelio Mancini Poliziano published his *Relazione del grande Santo di Padova Antonio*, in two volumes, the first of which treated of his life, the second of his miracles.³¹ This was one of the best books of that day on St. Anthony.

The eighteenth century was most productive of good works and studies on St. Anthony. These included the publications of the Conventual-Franciscan, Azzoguidi;³² of the Reformed Franciscans, Angelico da Vicenza,³³ Luigi da Missaglia,³⁴ and of Argosto Busti,³⁵ all of whom were used and superseded by the above-mentioned Emmanuel de Azevedo, S.J., one of the best and most conscientious students of *Antoniana* up to his day. Besides his excellent life of St. Anthony he is the author of many poems in honor of our saint (*Fasti Antoniani*) and some forty dissertations on pertinent Anthonian subjects.³⁶ Azovedo influenced practically all subsequent European biographers. In fact one must go down to the year 1887 to arrive at some new approach to the life of St. Anthony. Between 1886 and 1888 there appeared two new studies as a result of a literary competition (*Concorso Internazionale Tommasoni*) fostered by the "Royal Institute of Venice for

Science, Letters and Arts" and set for the year 1886. The winner of the contest was Enrico Salvagini, who wrote on *San Antonio e i suoi tempi*.³⁷ Although far from perfect, because marred by not a few prejudices and errors in the method of treatment, Salvagini's work was highly praised for its chronological and topographical exactness, for its evaluation of social aspects of the thirteenth century, and for the knowledge of the sources which the author used to good advantage. The defects of the book were later pointed out and corrected by Msgr. Pietro Balan in his observations on Salvagini's book. These were published first at Padua in *Il Santo*, and later (1890), in a separate reprint.³⁸ Salvagini's work, despite its defects, was a real contribution. Less important was the published work of one of the four losing contestants, that of Rev. Giustiniano Scrinzi, entitled *San Antonio di Padova e il suo tempo*.³⁹ Two revised editions of this work appeared later; another at Vicenza.⁴⁰ The judge of the contest, Morsolin, in announcing the verdict of the members of the board, deplored in the work of the losing contestants the lack of the use of unimpassioned sources and of the fruits of sound critique; he styled the work submitted by Scrinzi that of "an exaggerated eulogist and of an intemperate polemicist" rather than that of a cool and literary man and student of history.⁴¹

Some twenty years following the "Tommasoni" competition, and after the critical studies by Lemp, Lepître, and De Kerval had appeared, Fr. Niccolo Dal-Gal (first an Observant Friar Minor and later a Conventual-Franciscan) published his *Sant' Antonio di Padova Taumaturgo Francescano*, with the subtitle *Studi di Documenti*.⁴² The author proposed to write a life of St. Anthony, which would both satisfy the critics and at the same time give expression to his own personal devotion and love for the saint of Padua. Although Facchinetti⁴³ does not think that the author achieved either object, Dal-Gal was invited to contribute the article on St. Anthony of Padua which appears in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*.⁴⁴

Two of the more recent important lives of St. Anthony of Padua were written by the Conventual-Franciscan, the late Fr.

Domenico Sparacio and by the Observant-Franciscan (Bishop) Fr. Vittorino Facchinetti. Both works are beautifully illustrated and were widely circulated. Sparacio's work in two volumes is entitled: *San Antonio di Padova: Taumaturgo Francescano-Nella Vita- Nel Pensiero- Nella Gloria*.⁴⁵ The preface was written by that ardent lover of *Franciscana*, Msgr. Faloci-Pulignani of Foligno, founder and for years editor of the *Micellanea Francescana*. Facchinetti's work, in one volume, on gilded paper, with 414 drawings and original designs by Professor Elisa Romei, was published at Milan, in 1925,⁴⁶ under the title *Antonio di Padova, Il Santo; L'Apostolo; Il Taumaturgo*. Both works deserve the highest praise and gratitude of lovers of *Antoniana*; both authors gave valuable introductory remarks on sources and biographies; both strove to arrive at definite conclusions and to solve hitherto irritating chronological and topographical difficulties.

Facchinetti criticized Sparacio's work⁴⁷ from which he differs on many points. Facchinetti on his part appears at times too willing to accept conclusions of previous authors based on mere internal arguments and conjectures. This is apparent when he ascribes the authorship of the *Legenda Prima* to Thomas of Pavia or accepts as uncontested facts the conclusions of Fr. Delorme, who twice changed his own previous opinions. But, despite all this, Sparacio and Facchinetti have both made valuable contributions, and the author of this present treatise readily admits that he has profited much from the learned works of both in preparing this study for the English-speaking public.⁴⁸

Besides these authors, praise must be given to such other students of *Antoniana* as the Conventual-Franciscan, Dr. Luigi Guidaldi, author, director of the *Bibliotheca Antoniana*, and editor of the beautifully illustrated and deeply erudite Anthonian periodical *Il Santo*, published at Padua in commemoration of the Jubilee Year of 1931 (cf. Chap. VIII under "Relevant Studies" for Guidaldi's many contributions); to the secular priest, Canon Antonio Maria Locatelli, for his critical edition of the sermons of St. Anthony; and to Diomede Scaramuzzi, O.F.M., not only for his many learned articles on *Antoniana* in newspapers (e.g., the

Observatore Romano) and periodicals, but especially for his latest work *La Figura Intellettuale di San Antonio di Padova*,⁴⁹ which as no other book before or since then has brought home to the ecclesiastical world the profound theology and deep mysticism of St. Anthony of Padua, thereby effectively preparing the way for the official proclamation of our saint by the present gloriously reigning Holy Father, Pope Pius XII, as a Doctor of the Church Universal. This work by Scaramuzzi was included in the formal process of the Sacred Congregation of Rites which, in 1945, declared in favor of an official proclamation and confirmation.

A commendation finally should be paid to the contributors of such excellent Franciscan periodicals as the *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*; the *Miscellanea Francescana*; the *Antonianum*; the *Collectanea Franciscana*; the *Franciscan Educational Conference Report* (1948), etc., for their painstaking and invaluable studies and reviews, and for the printing of heretofore unknown material concerning the life and times of St. Anthony.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VII

1. For the complete titles of the works enumerated here, consult Chap. VIII.

2. Cf. *supra*, Chap. VI, Group D, No. 12 (p. 137).

3. Milan, 1925, pp. ix-xxxiii.

4. Padua, 1923, Introduction to Vol. I.

5. Paris, 1906.

6. Cf. Chap. VI, Group A, No. 10 (p. 124).

7. *Ibid.*, No. 11 (p. 126).

8. *Ibid.*, No. 4 (p. 114).

9. Rodulphus, in *Historiae Seraphicae Religionis Libri Tres*, lib. I, 83 (Venice, 1586). Cf. also Glassberger, *Chronicon*, etc., in AF, II, 90-91 (Quaracchi, 1887); and John Hyacinth Sbaralea, O.F.M.Conv., *Supplementum ad Scriptores a Waddingo conscriptos*, etc. (Rome: Contedini, 1806). Cf. also under "Johannes Peckham" in the Nardecchia edition of Wadding-Sbaralea, Rome, 1906 ff., under the same name.

10. Cf. Chap. VIII.

11. Cf. Chap. VI, Group A, Nos. 1 and 10 (pp. 99, 124).

12. Cf. Chap. V, Group VII, Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4 (pp. 88-90).

13. *Ibid.*, Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 8 (pp. 91-94).

14. Cf. *infra*, under No. 4; cf. also the Bibliography in Chap. VIII for the complete titles of these and other works mentioned in this chapter.

15. Porto: Gomez de Silva, 1895.
16. *Op. cit.*, pp. 1-xxx.
17. Madrid, 1777.
18. Madrid, 1895.
19. Barcelona, n. d., Vol. VI.
20. Paris: Vives, 1878.
21. Paris: Tequi, 1912.
22. Paris: Vanves, 1902.
23. Vanves, 1900.
24. Vanves, 1900.
25. Paris: Plon, 1913.
26. Paris: Poussielque, 1906; and Corevin; Maison Saint Roch, Belgique, 1906.
27. Paris: Aux Editions Franciscaines, 1942.
28. London, 1875-1883.
29. London: Longmans Green & Co., 1911.
30. Paterson, N. J.; St. Anthony Guild, 1933.
31. Padua: Frambotti, 1654.
32. Bologna, 1757.
33. Bassano, 1748.
34. Padua, 1776.
35. Bassano, 1786.
36. Cf. Chap. VIII under his name.
37. Naples and Torino: Roux & Co., 1887.
38. Padua: Antoniana, 1890.
39. Verona, 1888.
40. Galla, 1906.
41. Cf. Bernardo Marsolin, "Concorso per una nuova vita di San Antonio di Padova" in *Miscellanea Francescana* (MF), anno II, p. 108 ff.
42. Quaracchi: Collegio di S. Bonaventura, 1907. French transl. by P. Theobald Aumosson (Paris: Vanves, 1908).
43. *Antonio di Padova*, *op. cit.*, p. xxxii; and MF, X, 127.
44. Vol. I, pp. 556-558.
45. Padua: Messaggero Press, 1923.
46. Casa Editrice S. Lega Eucharistica, 1925.
47. Cf. *La Scuola Cattolica*, June 15, 1924, pp. 451-467; Oct. 1, 1924, pp. 340-361; *Antonio di Padova*, *op. cit.*, p. xxxii.
48. Cf. *Antonio di Padova*, *op. cit.*, pp. xvii-xviii.
49. Rome: Tip. Agostiniana, 1934.

CHAPTER VIII

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(DOWN TO 1946)

I. THE WORKS OF ST. ANTHONY. SUMMARY

For the various editions, etc., cf. Chapter V.

Editions by:

1. Badio Ascenzio (1520)
2. Raffaele Maffei (1574)
3. John de la Haye, O.F.M. (1641 etc.)
4. Francesco Marty da Pargalo (1649)
5. Francesco A. Pagi, the Elder (1684)
6. Francesco A. Pagi, the Younger (1734)
7. Antonio Maria Josa, O.F.M.Conv. (1888)
8. Antonia Maria Locatelli (1895 ff.)
9. Marian Congress (1902)
10. Paul Bayart (between 1904–1918)

II. SOURCES OF THE LIFE OF ST. ANTHONY. SUMMARY

Group A. Thirteenth-Century Major Sources

For the complete titles of these sources, cf. Chapter VI.

1. *Legenda Prima* or *Legenda Assidua*, by an anonymous author (c. 1232)
2. *Legenda Secunda*, by Julian of Spires (before 1249)
3. *Dialogus de Vitis Sanctorum* or *De Gestis Sanctorum* (c. 1245)
4. *Liber Epilogorum in Gestis Sanctorum* by Bartholomew of Trent (1240–1250)
5. *Speculum Historale* by Vincent of Beauvais (d. 1264)
6. The Sermons of Cardinal Odo of Chateauraux (d. 1293)
7. The Sermons and Legends of St. Bonaventure (1221–1274)
8. The Sermons of Bl. Luke Belludi (d. 1285)
9. The *Legenda Fiorentina* (1280–1290)
10. The *Legenda Benignitas* attributed to John Peckham (1292)
11. The *Legenda Altera* or *Legenda Raimondina* (c. 1293)
12. The *Legenda Rigaldina* (end of thirteenth century)

Group B. Thirteenth-Century Minor Sources and Allusions

1. The Letters of St. Francis to St. Anthony
2. The *Legenda Prima* of St. Francis by Celano (1227–1228)
3. The Chronicles of Romandino of Padua (1260–1262)
4. The Chronicles of Salimbene (1282–1287).
5. Eccleston's *The Coming of the Friars to England* (c. 1250)

Group C. Fourteenth-Century Sources

1. The *Actus Sancti Francisci* and the *Fioretti*, ed. Sabatier (Paris, 1902)
2. The *Liber Miraculorum* (c. 1316) and the *Chronicles of the Twenty-Four Generals* (c. 1368)
3. The Legend of Paolino of Venice (end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century)
4. The Legend of the Martyrs of Morocco (fourteenth century)
5. The *Liber Conformitatum* of Bartholomew of Pisa (1399)
6. The Versified Legend *Una Laude* (fourteenth century)
7. The *Speculum Vitae S. Francisci et Sociorum Ejus* by Fabian of Hungary (fourteenth century)

Group D. Fifteenth to Nineteenth-Century Legends, Chronicles, and Annals

1. The Legend of Sicco Polentone (d. 1463)
2. The *Chronicles of Fr. Mariano of Florence* (d. 1523)
3. The *Chronicles of Nicholas Glassberger* (c. 1508)
4. The *Chronicle of Mark of Lisbon* (c. 1550-1561)
5. The Legend of Lorenzo Surio (1570)
6. The *Annals of Luke Wadding, O.F.M.* (d. 1657)
7. The Portuguese Hagiography of George Cordosa (c. 1650)
8. The *Epitome of Miguel Pacheco* (c. 1650)
9. The *Chronica Serafica* of Damianao Cornejo (1683)
10. The *Martyrologium Franciscanum* by Arturo de Monastero (1653)
11. *Franciscan Histories* by Rodulphus, O.F.M.Conv.; Franciscus Gonzaga, O.F.M.; and the works of Antonine of Florence, O.P. (fifteenth and sixteenth centuries)
12. Collections of Bibliographies, e.g., Chevalier's *Repertoire des Sources Historique du Moyen age* (Paris, 1877-1886; 1905)

Group E. Papal Documents and Ecclesiastical Diplomas

1. Bull of Honorius III, *Cum Secundum Consilium*, Sept. 22, 1220
2. Various Bulls and Documents of Gregory IX (1227-1241)
 - a) *Quo Elongati*, Sept. 28, 1230
 - b) *Licet Sacrosancta*, Oct. 20, 1227
 - c) *Cum dilectos filios*, Oct. 21, 1227
 - d) *Cum de summo munere*, Sept. 2, 1231
 - e) *Litteras quas*, June 1, 1232
 - f) *Cum dicat Dominus*, June 23, 1232
 - g) *Intelleximus cum dolore*, July 11, 1233
3. Brief of Alexander IV, *Quoniam*, July 17, 1256
4. Letter of Boniface IX, *Ecclesiarum*, April 25, 1294
5. Bull of Sixtus IV, *Cum alias*, Aug. 7, 1481
6. Brief of Sixtus V, *Immensa*, Jan. 14, 1586
7. Encyclical Letters of Pius XI, *Antoniana Solemnia*, Mar. 1, 1931
8. Encyclical Letters of Pius XII, *Exulta*, Jan. 16, 1946

9. Decree of Philip, Archbishop of Ravenna (1256)
10. Letter of Bishop of Ceneda (1310)
11. Letter of Felice da Cassia, O.F.M.Cap., Oct. 8, 1628
12. Two Documents of the Sacred Congregation of Rites (*Urbis et Orbis*) (1946)

III. BIOGRAPHIES AND EDITORS OF THE WORKS OF ST. ANTHONY

N.B. The complete titles of the books already mentioned in the body of this treatise are not repeated but merely designated by page numbers. A number in parentheses after a page signifies a note on that page, e.g., p. 46 (2).

A review of a book or articles is annotated after the work in parentheses, e.g. (cf. CF, III [1933], p. 261).

Prayer books and other works of devotion, etc., in honor of St. Anthony of Padua are not recorded.

The biographies selected, while not complete, certainly rank among the best published.

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| Abreu,
<i>Acta</i> | <i>San Antonio portugues</i> (Coimbra, 1725).
<i>Sanctorum Bollandiana</i> , Tom. 11 (June 13); cf. <i>ibid.</i> , Appendix: <i>De Miraculis ad Canonizationem productis</i> , pp. 718-722 (Venice, 1742). |
| <i>Actus</i> | <i>S. Francisci et Sociorum Ejus</i> , ed. Sabatier (Paris: Fischbacher, 1902). |
| Aleman, Mateo, | <i>Libro di S. Antonio di Padua</i> (Seville, 1604). |
| Alexander IV, Pope, | cf. <i>supra</i> , Group E, No. 3 (p. 138). |
| Amadeo, Bonaventura, | <i>Vita di San Antonio</i> (Naples, 1743). |
| Angelica da Vicenza,
O.F.M. Scrit. Obs., | <i>La vita di San Antonio di Padova</i> (with critical remarks) (Bassano: Remondini, 1748). |
| Anonymous, | <i>Una Laude</i> ; cf. <i>supra</i> , Group C, No. 6 (p. 134). |
| Anonymous, | <i>The Martyrs of Morocco</i> ; cf. <i>supra</i> , Group C, No. 4 (p. 133). |
| Anonymous, | <i>Histoire et poesie, Saint Antoine de Padoue</i> (Lille: Desclee, 1901), transl. into Italian by Don. Giuglio Cantogalli (Bologna: Gargnani, 1904). |
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| Anonymous, | <i>Il Libro dei Miracoli di San Antonio di Padova</i> (Padua: Messaggero, 1940), IV ed. 287 pp. |
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| Anonymous, | <i>Il giglio o Santo Antonio di Padova</i> , by a O.F.M. Cap. (Vicenza: Golla, 1931), in 16, 200 pp. |

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- Anonymous, *Compendio della vita e miracoli del glorioso Taumaturgo, S. Antonio di P.* (Torino: Marietti, 1931), in 16, pp. 136 (revised by an O.F.M.).
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- Id.*, *Fasti Antoniani, libri VI comprehensi* (in verse) (Venice, 1786; 2 ed. *ibid.*, 1789).
- Id.*, *Della Geneologia di Sant' Antonio di Lisbona*, transl. from a Portuguese manuscript. Azevedo is also the

- author of some 40 dissertations on the life of St. Anthony, solving objections, clarifying obscurities, collecting traditions, etc. He was one of the best biographers and students of *Antoniana* up to his time.
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Venezie
 Vernet, F.,
 Vicente, de Peralto,
 O.F.M.Cap.,
Vie Franciscaine, La,
Vie spirituelle, La,
Voix de Saint Antoine,
La,
 Wilk, K.,
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APPENDIX

THREE OF ST. ANTHONY'S SERMONS IN THE ORIGINAL

DE TRINITATE

Quum venerit Paraclitus etc. (John 15, 26).

Nota primum quod in hoc Evangelio sanctae Trinitatis Fides aperte manifestatur. A Patre et Filio mittitur Spiritus Sanctus, qui tres unius sunt substantiae et inseparabili aequalitate. Unitas est in essentia, et pluralitas in Personis. Unde Dominus Unitatem divinae essentiae ac Personarum Trinitatem aperte insinuans dicens in Mattheo: Ite, baptizate omnes gentes in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. In nomine utique, ait, non in nominibus, ut unitas essentiae ostendatur. Per nomina tria quae supponit, tres esse Personas ostendit. In illa ergo Trinitate summa origo est omnium rerum et perfectissima pulchritudo et beatissima delectatio. Summa autem origo, ut Augustinus ostendit in libro de vera religione, intelligitur Deus Pater, a quo sunt omnia, a quo Filius et Spiritus Sanctus. Perfectissima pulchritudo intelligitur Filius, scilicet veritas Patris, nulla ei ex parte dissimilis, quam cum ipso et in ipso Patre veneramus, quae forma est omnium, quia ab uno facta sunt et ad unum referuntur. Beatissima delectatio et summa bonitas intelligitur Spiritus Sanctus qui est donum Patris et Filii: quod donum Dei cum Patre et Filio aequae incommutabile credere et tenere nos convenit. Per considerationem itaque creaturarum unius substantiae Trinitatem intelligimus; scilicet unum Deum Patrem, a quo sumus, et Filium, per quem sumus, et Spiritum Sanctum, in quo sumus; scilicet principium, ad quod recurrimus, et formam quam sequimur, et gratiam qua reconciliamur. Mens vero nostra ut ad contemplationem Creatoris se extendat, et Unitatem in Trinitate, et Trinitatem in Unitate indubitanter credat, videamus quale Trinitatis vestigium in ipsa mente appareat.

Dicit Augustinus in libro de Trinitate: Licet humana mens non sit eius naturae cuius Deus est, imago tamen illius quo nihil melius est, ibi quaerenda est et invenienda, quo natura nostra nihil melius habet, idest in mente. Ecce mens meminit sui, intelligit se, diligit se. Hoc si cernimus, cernimus trinitatem, non quidem Deum, sed imaginem Dei. Hic enim quaedam apparet trinitas: memoriae, intelligentiae et amoris vel voluntatis. Haec ergo tria non sunt tres vitae; nec tres mentes, sed una mens; nec tres essentiae, sed una essentia. Memoria vero dicitur ad aliquid, et intelligentia et voluntas sive dilectio similiter ad aliquid dicitur; vita vero ad se ipsam et mens et essentia. Haec igitur tria eo sunt unum quo una vita, una mens, una essentia. Haec autem tria cum sint distincta ad se invicem, dicuntur tamen unum esse, quia in animo substantialiter existunt; et est ipsa mens quasi parens, et notitia eius quasi proles eius. Mens enim cum se cognoscit, notitiam sui gignit, et est sola parens suae notitiae. Tertius est amor qui de ipsa mente et notitia procedit, dum mens cognoscens se, diligit se. Non enim posset se diligere, nisi cognosceret se. Amat etiam placitam prolem idest notitiam suam, et ita amor quidam complexus est parentis et prolis. Ecce in his tribus verbis quaecumque Trinitatis vestigium apparet.

(*Dom. 6 p. Pent. Locatelli 208–209*)

DE VERBO INCARNATO

31 . . . *Ostendit eis manus et latus* (John 20, 29).

Dominus quatuor de causis, ut mihi videtur, manus, latus et pedes ostendit Apostolis. Primo ut se vere resurrexisse ostenderet, et omnem dubietatem nobis auferret. Secundo ut columba id est Ecclesia vel fidelis anima in illius plagis quasi quibusdam foraminibus nidificaret, et a facie accipitris ipsam rapere machinantis se absconderet. Tertio ut suae passionis signa insigna cordibus nostris imprimeret. Quarto ostendit rogans ut ipsi compatientes clavis peccatorum ne ipsum iterum crucifigamus. Ostendit ergo nobis manus et latus dicens: *Ecce latus ex quo vos, fideles, Ecclesia mea, geniti estis, sicut Eva ex latere Adae procreata! lancea apertum fuit, ut vobis portam paradisi, Cherubim et flammeo gladio clausam, aperiret. Virtus sanguinis a latere Christi profluentis removit angelum et hebetavit gladium, et aqua extinxit*

ignem. Nolite ergo iterum me crucifigere, et sanguinem testamenti in quo sanctificati estis, pollutum ducere, et spiritui gratiae contumeliam facere.

Si haec bene attenderis et auscultaveris, o homo, pacem habebis cum te ipso. Et ideo postquam Dominus ostendit eis manus et latus iterum dixit: *Pax vobis! Sicut misit me Pater ad passionem, etsi amet, quasi ea caritate mitto vos ad mala, ad quae Pater me misit. In quibus malis hoc nobis patientiam et in futuro pacem aeternam tribuat, qui est benedictus in saecula. Amen.*

(*In Oct. Paschae. Locatelli 139*).

DE ASSUMPTIONE CORPORALE MARIAE IN CAELUM

Et locum pedum meorum glorificabo (Is. 60, 13). Locus pedum Domini fuit Beata Maria, ex qua humanitatem (Christus) accepit, quem locum hodierna die (Christus) glorificavit, quia ipsam super choros Angelorum exaltavit. Per hoc aperte habes, quod Beata Virgo in corpore, quo fuit locus pedum Domini, est assumpta. Unde in Psalmo (131, 8): *Exurge, Domine, in requiem tuam, tu et arca sanctificationis tuae. Surrexit Dominus cum ascendit ad Patris dexteram. Surrexit et arca sanctificationis suae, cum in hac die ad aethereum assumpta est thalamum. Unde in Genesi (8, 4) dicitur, quod requievit arca super montem Armeniae. Armenia interpretatur mons avulsus, et significat Angelorum naturam, quae dicitur mons propter illos, qui confirmati fuerunt, avulsus propter illos qui ceciderunt. Arca veri Noe, quae requiescere nos fecit a laboribus nostris, in terra cui maledixit Dominus, requievit hodierna die super montes Armeniae, id est choros Angelorum. Ad laudem ergo ipsius Virginis, quae est expectatio Israel, id est populi christiani, et tantae festivitatis decorem exponamus praedictam auctoritatem. . . .*

Ista nostra gloriosa Esther hodie per manus Angelorum ducta est ad *cubiculum Regis Assueri* (Esther 2, 15–17), id est aethereum thalamum, in quo Rex Regum beatitudo Angelorum, stellato solio, residet Iesus Christus, qui eandem gloriosam Virginem super omnes mulieres amavit, ex qua carnem accepit, quae gratiam et misericordiam super omnes mulieres coram Ipso invenit. O inaestimabilis Mariae dignitas! O inenarrabilis gratiae sublimitas! O investigabilis misericordiae profunditas! Quae tanta gratia,

tanta misericordia Angelo vel homini unquam facta fuit vel fieri potuit, quanta Beatæ Mariæ Virgini, quam Deus Pater sui proprii Filii sibi æqualis, ante sæcula geniti, Matrem esse voluit. Maxima foret gratia et dignitas, si aliqua paupercula femina cum imperatore filium haberet. Vere omni gratia præstantior fuit Beatæ Mariæ gratia, quæ Filium cum Deo Patre habuit, et ideo hodierna die coronari meruit. Unde subditur: *Et posuit diadema regni in capite eius* (Esther, l.c.). Dicit Salomon in Canticis (3, 11): *Egredimini, filiae Sion, et videte regem Salomonem in diademate quo coronavit eum mater sua*, in die desponsationis suæ, idest Conceptionis, qua unita est divina natura, tamquam sponsus, humanæ naturæ, tamquam sponsæ, in thalamo eiusdem Virginis, ideo idem Filius suam Matrem coronavit hodierna die diademate coronæ cælestis. *Egredimini ergo et videte matrem Salomonis in diademate, quo coronavit eam* Filius suus in die assumptionis suæ!

. . . Fuit (Maria) matura in hodierna assumptione, pullulans, idest pollens cum lætitia in cælestis gloriæ beatitudine. Unde ipsius lætitiæ congaudentes, cantamus in Introitu hodiernæ Missæ: *Intravit Iesus in quoddam castellum*, etc. (Luc. 10, 38). Castellum vel castrum dictum quasi castum vel quod ibi castretur libido. Hostis enim de foris instanter castrum impugnans, non permittit inhabitantes quiete dissolvi, luxuria pollui. Pugnae enim instantia contra castrum libidinis castrat incitamentum. Nota, quod castellum est, ubi murus est in circuitu et turris in medio. Castellum enim est Beata Maria, quæ, quia totius castitatis claritate nituit, ideo in ipsam Dominus intravit. Nurus ipsam muniens, turrim circumcingens fuit virginitas. Turris murum defendens ipsius fuit humilitas. Turris dicta quod sit "teres," idest directa et longa. Humilitas Beatæ Mariæ fuit *directa et longa*. Directa, quia ad Illum solum aspexit, qui ipsius humilitatem respexit; longa, quia in verbo humilitatis: *Ecce ancilla Domini* (Luc. 1, 38) facta est Regina cælestis. Haec eadem Virgo fuit Martha et Maria. *Martha* Puerum pannis involvens, præsepio reclinans, ubere de caelo pleno lactans, in Aegyptum cum eo fugiens et inde rediens. *Maria autem conservabat*, ut dicit Lucas (2, 19), *omnia verba hæc conferens in corde suo*.

Locatelli, *In Assumptione S. Mariæ Virgini*, pp. 732b-733.

INVOCATION

“O vere Sanctus Altissimi servus, qui uno tempore vivere meruit et Dominum videre! O sanctiisima anima, quam etsi crudelitas persecutoris non abstulit, desiderium tamen martyrii et compassionis gladius millies pertransivit.

Te ergo, digne pater, devotionis hostiis prosequentes benignus assume et, quibus per se nondum licet accedere vultui Dei, pro nobis precator assiste, Amen.

Legenda Prima, Chap. XVII, No. 17

INDEX

- Abate, Giuseppe, O.F.M.Conv., 111
 Actus S. Francisci, 130
 Adam, 32
 Albigensians, 12, 46
 Alexander IV, Pope, 47, 48, 138
 Alexander of Hales, 61 (*n* 3), 78
 Annals of, Luke Wadding, O.F.M., 136
Antoniana Solemnia (Pius XI), 51
 Apparitions of St. Anthony of Padua, 60
 Arcella, 15, 60
 Arles, Provincial Chapter, 13, 60
 Assisi, General Chapter (1230), 13
 Assumption of B.V.M., cf. under "Mary"
 Augustinianism, 78
Ave gloriosa Domina, 41
- Badio Ascenzio, edition of, 88
 Baier, David, O.F.M., xi
 Balic, Charles, O.F.M., 141
 Bankruptcy, law, 14
 Bartholomew of Pisa, O.F.M., 86, 133
 Bartholomew of Trent, O.P., 86, 118
 Bayart, Paul, 94
 Belludi, Luke, Bl., 14, 20 (*n* 63), 105; sermons of, 123
 Benedict XIV, Pope, ix, 1, 3, 4, 16
 Berlin, library at, 95
 Bernard of Quintavalle, O.F.M., 103, 108
 Bible, 48
Bibliotheca Antoniana, 87
 Bihl, Michael, O.F.M., 111
 Bilocation of St. Anthony of Padua, 58 f
 Boehmer, H., 11
 Boehner, Philotheus, O.F.M., x
 Bollandists, 99
 Bologna, School of Theology, 12
 Bologna, University of, 2
 Boniface VIII, Pope, 3, 46
 Boniface IX, Pope, 138
 Borgia, St. Francis, 17 (*n* 2)
 Boullion, Martin de, 9
 Brazil, Franciscans, 6
- Brive, miracle at, 59
- Camposanpiero, 13-14, 60
 Canonization, process of, 15
 Canons Regular of St. Augustine, 9
 Cassian, 77
 Celano, Thomas of, 128
 Ceneda, Bishop of, on relics of St. Anthony, 139
 Cessi, Roberto, 110
 Chateau-neuf-le-Forêt, Apparition of Christ Child, 60
 Chérancé, Leopold, O.F.M., 110
 Chevalier, C., *Repertoire*, 137, 155
 Christology, St. Anthony of Padua on, 24
Chronica Serafica, 136
 Chronicle of Mark of Lisbon, 135
 Chronicle of Nicholas Glassberger, 135
 Chronicle of the 24 Generals, 131
Codex del Tesoro, xi, 87, 90, 95
Codex Florentinus, 87
Codex Montensis, 88
Codex Pagianus, 87
Codex Torinus, 87
Codex Vaticanus (No. 9821), 87
 Coimbra, 9; Convent of Alcobaca, 111
 Conventual-Franciscans, ix
 Cordosa, Yorge, hagiographer, 136
 Corejo, Damiano, 136
 Costa, Elia della, Cardinal-Archbishop, 3
 Council of the Vatican, on miracles, 121
 Crescentius a Jesi, Min. Gen., 117
Cum Dicat Dominus, 7 (*n* 5)
- De la Haye, John, O.F.M., xi
 Delorme, Ferdinand, O.F.M., 101
Dialogus, editions, 117
Dialogus de Vitis (gestis) Sanctorum, 116
 Doctor of the Church, qualifications, 1
 Doctors of the Church, 2, 77

- Ecclesiology*, St. Anthony's doctrine on, 41
 Eccleston, Thomas of, *Chronicles*, 130
 Ehrle, Franz, S.J., Cardinal, 116
 Elias, chariot of, 72
 Elias, Brother, O.F.M., 110, 114
 Elspeck von Amhert, 101
 Esther, type of Mary, 35
 Eve, and Mary, 32
Expositio in Psalmos, authenticity, 96 (*n* 7)
Exulta, Lusitania felix, 1
 Ezzelino da Romano, 129
- Facchinetti, Vittorino (Bp.), O.F.M., x, 110
 Fathers of the Church, 2, 47, 77
 Felice da Cassia, Min. Gen., O.F.M. Cap., 139
 Ferrara, 13
 Fioretti, 130
 Florence, 13
 Francesco of Pergolo, O.F.M.Conv., 90
 Franciscan motto, 4
 Franciscan Order, 2
 Franciscan Rule, 13
 Franciscan School, 34
- Gallo, Thomas, Abbot of Vercelli, 12
 General Chapter of Verona (1348), 99, 125
 Goetz, Walter, 11
 Gonzaga, Franciscus, O.F.M., 137
 Grassman, Thomas, O.F.M.Conv., x
 Gratien of Paris, O.F.M.Cap., 12
 Graziano, Friar, 10
 Gregory IX, Pope, 1, 3, 13, 77, 103, 122; (various Bulls), 138; canonizes St. Anthony of Padua, 15
 Guelphs, 14, 20 (*n* 68)
 Guidaldi, Luigi, O.F.M., 126
 Gumbinger, Cuthbert, O.F.M.Cap., xii
 Guy, Bernard, Bishop of Lodene, 126 f
- Haye, John de la, O.F.M., 89
 Heerinckx, Giacoma, O.F.M., 81
 Heim, Nickolas, Dr., 99
 Herscher, Irenaeus, O.F.M., x
 Hess, Bede, Min. Gen., O.F.M.Conv., Encyclical Letters, 6 (*n* 1)
 Hilary of Paris, O.F.M.Cap., 100
- Holy Name of Jesus, St. Anthony's doctrine on, 27-30
 Honorius III, Pope, 137
 Hugh of St. Victor, 81
- Immaculate Conception, cf. under "Mary"
Immensa (Sixtus IV), 3; (Sixtus V), 3
 Infallibility, St. Anthony's doctrine on, 43-45
 Innocent III, Pope, 78
- Jerome of Ascoli, 124; cf. Nicholas IV, Pope
 John of Cremona, 104
 John of Parma, Bl., 103; and *Dialogus*, 116
 John of Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury, 124
 Josa, Antonio M., O.F.M.Conv., xi, 90-91
 Julian of Spires, 4, 101; and *Legenda Secunda*, 115
- Katherine von Purchhausen, 101
 Kingship of Christ, St. Anthony's doctrine on, 24 ff
 Königsberg, Royal Library, 87
- Languedoc, 12
Legenda Altera, 126
Legenda Benignitas, 124
Legenda Fiorentina, 123
Legenda Major, of St. Francis, 120
Legenda Minor, of St. Francis, 120
Legenda Prima, 86, 99; authorship, 104; divisions and editions, 111 ff; fragments, 113; importance, 108; of St. Francis, 128; style and unity, 110
Legenda Primitiva, 100
Legenda Raimondina, 86, 126
Legenda Rigaldina, 86, 126
Legenda Secunda, 86, 114
 Legend of, Lorenzo Surio, 135
 Legend *Una Laude*, 134
 Lemmens, Leonard, O.F.M., 102, 116
 Leningrad, library at, 95
 Leo XIII, Pope, 3, 15
 Leonardo, miracle, 59
Liber Chronicarum, 129
Liber Conformitatum, 86, 133
Liber Epilogorum, 86, 118

- Liber Miraculorum*, 131
 Limoges, 46, 59
 Linz, public library, 87, 95
 "Lisbon, St. Anthony of," 5
Little Flowers of St. Francis, *see*
 Fioretti
 Locatelli, Antonio (Canon), xi, 91 ff
 Lost things, St. Anthony, finder of, 61
 Lucerne, Capuchin Convent at, 100
 Lynch, Kilian, O.F.M., x
- Maffei, Raffaele, 88
 Marian Congress, International (1902),
 94
 Mariano of Florence, Fr., chronicles
 of, 135
 Mariology, St. Anthony's doctrines,
 31 ff
 Mark of Lisbon, an author of
Dialogus, 116
 Martin of Barcelona, O.F.M.Cap., 12
 Martyrologies, Franciscan, 137
Martyrs of Morocco, Legend of, 133
 Mary, Bl. Virgin, affectionate names
 of, 39-41; Ark of the Testament,
 40; Assumption, 34-38; Coredemp-
 trix, 38; Immaculate Conception,
 17 (*n* 2), 31, 65 (*n* 55); Mediatrix,
 39; Mother of Mercy, 40; Star of
 the Sea, 40
 Mayer, Vincent, O.F.M.Conv., xi
 McLaughlin, Thomas, Most Reverend
 Bishop of Paterson, xi
 Miracles of St. Anthony, evaluation,
 52-58; fishes, 18 (*n* 27)
 Montepaolo, 11
 Montpellier, 2; (France), 12
 Moral Theology, and St. Anthony of
 Padua, 80
 Munaron, Rev. Fr., 93
 Mystical Theology, and St. Anthony
 of Padua, 80
- Nicholas IV, Pope, 99, 124
- Odo of Chateauraux, Cardinal, 119
O Gloriosa Domina, 15
 Oratory, sacred allegories, 74; sacred
 alliterations, 75; Sacred Concor-
 dances, 74; sacred contrasts, 75;
 sacred definition of terms, 75;
 sacred etymologies, 74; sacred
 parallelism, 74; sacred symbo-
 lisms, 74
 Origin, the Exegete, 78
 Ortrov, Van, Bollandist, 46
- Pacheco, Miguel, Epitome of, 136
 Padua, Basilica at, ix, 15-16
 Pagi, Francis Anthony, The Elder,
 O.F.M.Conv., 90; The Younger, 90
 Paolino of Venice, Bishop of Puz-
 zuoli, Legend of, 132
 Parente, John, O.F.M., 103, 108
 Peckham, John, Archbishop of
 Canterbury, 14, 100, 101
 Peisuti, Bonaventure, O.F.M.Conv.,
 93
 Perin, Giuseppe, Very Rev., 93
 Peter of Lombardy, 23, 78
 Philip, Archbishop of Ravenna, 139
 Philip, Friar, 10
 Pietro Raimondo, of Toulouse, 126
 Pius V, Pope, 1, 2, 4
 Pius XI, Pope, 3, 51
 Pius XII, Pope, ix, x, 1, 2, 4, 76, 139;
 Encyclical Letters, 6 (*n* 1); *Gaude*,
 73
 Plassman, Thomas, O.F.M., x
 Poor Clares, 15, 100 ff, 142 (*n* 11)
Praecipuum (Ben. XIV), 4
 Primacy, St. Anthony's doctrine on,
 41-43
 Protomartyrs, five, of Franciscan
 Order, 1
 Provence, 59
 Puy-en-Velay, 13
- Quaracchi, editors, 12
- Rabanus Maurus, 78
 Raimondi, Peter, of Toulouse, 85
 Rezzonico, Cardinal (later Clement
 XIII, Pope), 16
 Rigauld, Jean, O.F.M., Bishop, 126
 Rigauld, John, O.F.M., 86
 Rodulphus Tossenianensis, Bishop,
 O.F.M.Conv., 137
 Roger, Friar, 14
 Rolandino, of Padua, 102, 129
 Romagna-Emilia, Province of, 13
 Romano, Ezzelino da, 14
 Rossi, Raphael, Cardinal, 139

- Sabatier, Paul, 11
- Sacred Congregation of Rites, 2, 5; official process, 139 ff; *Sectio Historica*, 140
- Sacred Heart of Jesus, St. Anthony's doctrine on, 26-27
- Sacro Convento*, Assisi, 116
- Salimbene, Fr., chronicles of, 130
- San Antonio*, Rome, Pontifical Athenaeum, O.F.M., 141
- Santa Croce*, Convent of O.F.M.Conv. at Florence, 123
- Scaramuzzi, Diomede, O.F.M., x, 24
- Schaaf, Valentini, Min. Gen. O.F.M., Encyclical Letters, 6 (*n* 1)
- Schaffhausen, Convent of Poor Clares, 101
- Scotus, Duns, Ven., 33
- Scremin, Massimo, Very Rev., 93
- Segur II, Bishop of Lisbon, 103
- Sermons of St. Anthony of Padua, Augustinianism, 78; editions, 88; language, 50; Locatelli edition, 91-194; manual for preachers, 76; method, 72; natural and style, 47; originality, 79; sources, 76 ff; subject matter, 51; time and place, 46; time and place of composition, 87
- Servite Order, St. Anthony's eulogy on, 88-89
- Sicco Polentone, legend of, 134
- Sixtus IV, Pope, 3; *Cum alias*, 139
- Sixtus V, 3; Pope, 139
- South America, devotion to St. Anthony of Padua, 5
- Sparacio, Domenico, O.F.M.Conv., x *Speculum Historiale*, 119
- Speculum Vitae*, 134
- St. Ambrose, 78, 122
- St. Ann, 33
- St. Anthony of Padua, "Ark of the Testament," 3; authentic sources of life, 99 ff; bibliography: I, Works of St. Anthony, Editions of, 164; II, Life of St. Anthony, Sources, 164; III, Biographies, 166; IV, Other Relevant Publications, 179; V, Periodical Literature, 187; VI, Encyclopedia Articles, 198; VII, Bibliographical Collections, 199; critical life of, 9 ff; death of, 14-15; Divine Office of, 5; evaluation of literature on, 155; Finder of Lost Things, 61; finding of tongue, 120; Latin sermons, specimens: 1, *De Trinitate*, 200; 2, *De Verbo Incarnato*, 201; 3, *De Assumptione*, 202; literary contributions on: Dutch, 159; English, 158; French, 157; German, 159; Italian, 159; Polish, 159; Portuguese, 157; Spanish, 157; liturgical office of, 121; Mass of, 4; miracles, evaluation, 52-58; and moral theology, 80; and mystical theology, 80; ordination to priesthood, 10; originality of sermons, 79; preacher, 45 ff; qualifications as a Doctor, 1; sanctity, ix, 16; sermons, 12-13, 47 ff, 72 ff; *Summa Historiale*, 137; teacher and theologian, 23 ff; thaumaturgist, 52 ff; theology, ix; tongue miraculously preserved, 15-16; writings, 85 ff; writings doubtful, 85; writings genuine, 85; writings spurious, 85
- St. Augustine, 29, 78
- St. Bede, Ven., 77, 78
- St. Bernard, 30, 78
- St. Bernardine of Siena, 30
- St. Bonaventure, 23, 81; of Bagnoregio, 2; sermons on St. Anthony of Padua, 119 ff; tongue of St. Anthony of Padua, 15-16
- St. Clare of Assisi, *Privilegium Paupertatis*, 29
- St. Dominic Guzman, 46
- St. Francis of Assisi, 2, 11, 103, 121; *Deus meus et omnia*, 29; Lady Poverty, 30; legend of, 101; letters, 128
- St. Gabriel, Archangel, 32
- St. Germain-des-Prés, Abbey of, 34
- St. Gregory, the Great (Pope), 78
- St. Isidor of Seville, 75, 78
- St. Jerome, 78
- St. John, the Baptist, 32
- St. John Capistran, 30
- St. John of the Cross, 81
- St. John Damascene and the Assumption, 34, 78
- St. John of God, 29
- St. Junien, France, 59
- St. Leonard of Port Maurice, 30
- St. Magdalen of Pazzi, 29

- St. Martin of Tours, 122 f
 St. Paul, Apostle, 30
 St. Theresa of Avila, 29, 81
 St. Thomas of Aquin, 23, 81
 Symbolism, 64 (*n* 43); cf. Oratory, Sacred

 Tello, Archdeacon, 17 (*n* 15)
 Theology, 23
 Thomas of Celano, O.F.M., and *Legenda Prima*, 105 f
 Thomas Gallo, Abbot of Vercelli, 19 (*n* 40), 60, 61 (*n* 4), 81, 119
 Thomas of Pavia, 107
 Toulouse, 2, 12, 13
Tractatus de Miraculis, 109 f
 Transfiguration of Christ, St. Anthony's comment on, 83 (*n* 28)
 Travejra, Theresa, 9

 Trent, Council of, 32

 Urban VIII, Pope, 21 (*n* 76)
Usuard Martyrology, 34
 Usurer, miracle, 60

 Varotto, Carlo, O.F.M.Conv., 94
 Venice, library at, 95; province of, 13
 Verona, 14
 Vincent of Beauvais, O.P., 101, 119
Vita Versificata, 115

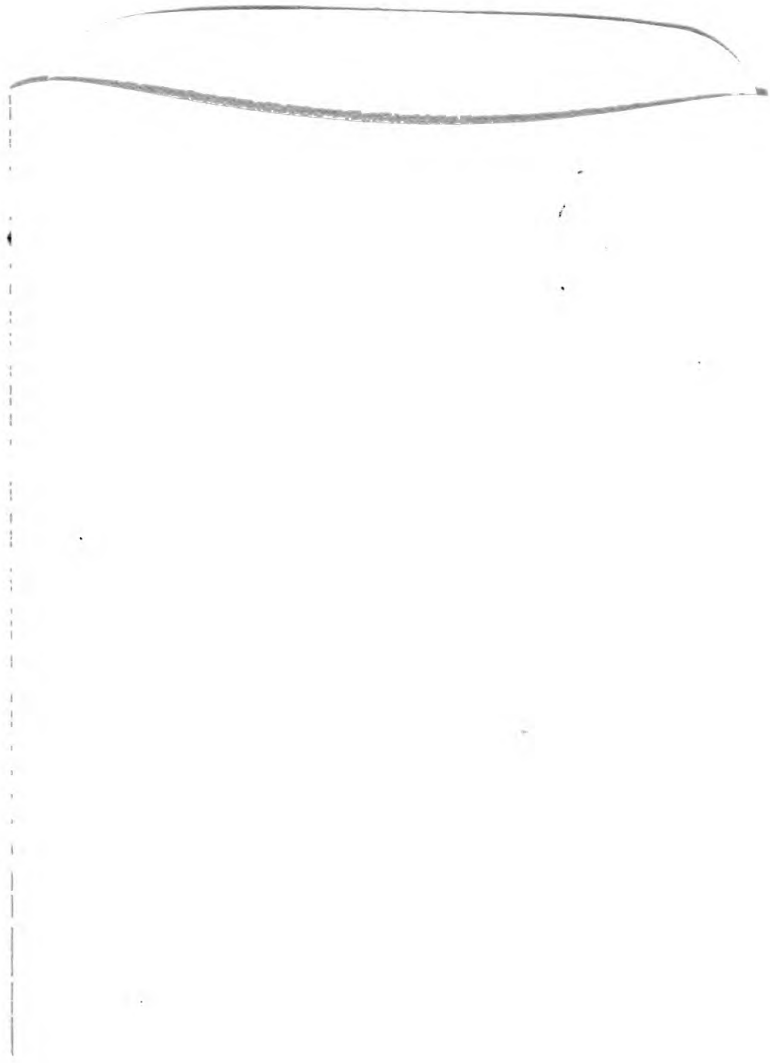
 Welle, Donatus A, Min. Gen. O.F.M. Cap., Encyclical Letters, 6 (*n* 1)
 William of Ware, O.F.M., 33
 Writings of St. Anthony of Padua, 85 ff; proofs of authenticity, 86

 Zomorenسيس, Aegidius, Fr., O.F.M., 113

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