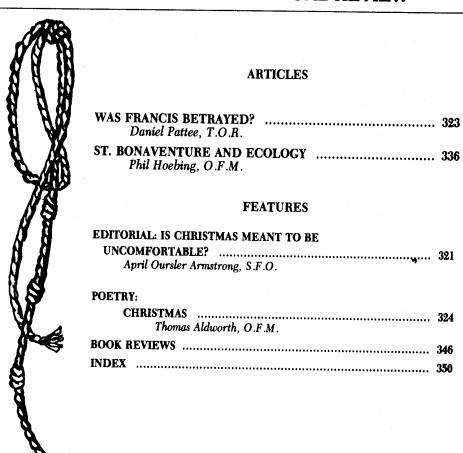
The CORD

A FRANCISCAN SPIRITUAL REVIEW



Volume 40, No. 11

The CORD

A Monthly Franciscan Spiritual Review

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The CORD (ISSN 0010-8685) USPS 563-640) is published monthly with the July and August issues combined, by the Franciscan Institute at St. Bonaventure University, St. Bonaventure, NY 14778.

Subscription rates: \$13.00 a year; \$1.30 a copy. Second class postage paid at St, Bonaven-

ture, NY 14778, and at additional mailing office.

POSTMASTER: Send address changes to The CORD, P.O. Drawer F, St. Bonaventure

NY 14778 USA.

Standard Abbreviations used in **The CORD** for Early Franciscan Sources

I. Writings of Saint Francis

Adm: Admonitions
BenLeo: Blessing for Brother Leo
CantSol: Canticle of Brother Sun
EpAnt: Letter to St. Anthony
EpCler: Letter to Clerics¹
EpCust: Letter to Superiors¹
EpFid: Letter to All the Faithful¹
EpLeo: Letter to Brother Leo
EpMin: Letter to a Minister
EpOrd: Letter to the Entire Order
EpRect: Letter to the Rulers of People
ExhLD: Exhortation to the Praise of God
ExpPat: Exposition on the Our Father

Fragm: Another Fragment, Rule of 1221
LaudDei: Praises of the Most High God
LaudHor: Praises at All the Hours
OffPass: Office of the Passion
OrCruc: Prayer before the Crucifix
RegB: Rule of 1223
RegNB: Rule of 1221
RegEr: Rule for Hermits
SalBMV: Salutation to our Lady
SalVirt: Salutation to the Virtues
Test: Testament of St. Francis
UltVol: Last Will Written for Clare
VPLaet: Treatise on True and Perfect Joy
1, II refer to First and Second Editions.

II. Other Early Franciscan Sources

1Cel: Celano, First Life of Francis 2Cel: Celano, Second Life of Francis 3Cel: Celano, Treatise on Miracles CL: Legend of Saint Clare CP: Process of Saint Clare Fior: Little Plowers of St. Francis

FormViv: Form of Life for St. Clare

LM: Bonaventure, Major Life of Francis LMin: Bonaventure, Minor Life of Francis LP: Legend of Perugia L3S: Lagend of the Three Companions SC: Sacrum Commercium SP: Mirror of Perfection

Omnibus: Marion A. Habig, ed., St. Francis of Assisi: Writings and Early Biographies. English Omnibus of the Sources for the Life of St. Francis (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1973).

AB: Regis J. Armstrong, O.F.M.Cap., and Ignatius Brady, O.F.M., ed., Francis and Clare: The Complete Works (New York: Paulist Press, 1982).

GUEST EDITORIAL

Is Christmas Meant to be Uncomfortable?

APRIL OURSLER ARMSTRONG, SFO

Dear St. Francis, help me!

This is not well-planned discourse. It's not a meditation. It's just me, a lay Franciscan, an SFO, who loves God and you. I need help, re Christmas '90.

For years I've been truly proud with the dark-brilliance of the Greccio creche that really did change Christian concept. But, Francis, is it just me, or do you too sense spiritual discomfort in many churches from advent on?

At last most American catholic Churches have lost the hidden and growing excitement toward Christmas. No fasting. No waiting and hoping in the church's new Beginning. Mangers, both inside and out, are lighted right after Thanksgiving. Even the Infants are already there, Wise Men and all. It's one thing when the stores are ready in October. But in the Church?

I don't think I can face another fake Christmas tree in the sanctuary on the first Sunday of Advent with Santa glitter. The idea of course is for families to buy and wrap presents for "the poor kids" and fill "Xmas" with the latest commercials. But why do this here in a meditating church, deep with mystery of Mary's womb? Don't Santa and presents belong elsewhere, before Christmas?

Your father had insisted you study not only Italian and French but also Latin and a bit of religious history. And so you did know that in the third century Christians were very aware that the pagans' own liturgy was held on the darkest night of the year, when the world just might stop. No Christian really knew the exact date when Mary brought forth her Child, but the spirit guided catechists to emphasize the divinity in a poor woman's

womb which worked to teach others of the Incarnate King for the next thousand years.

But it was also the Spirit who used you in a theatrical stroke to rekindle Christian hearts. By then just a thousand years of liturgy had become a bit ornate, a bit too majestcally and heavenly oriented. You were clever to get permission from the Pope ahead to try a new liturgical possibility. You asked Sir Giovanni Vellito, a lay franciscan. He had already given you a woods and cliff where you specially liked to meditate in Greccio. And you said:

If you wish to celebrate the festival of our Lord at Greccio, hurry on ahead and prepare exactly what I am telling you. For I want to observe the memory of that Child who was born in Bethlehem, and in some way see before my bodily eyes the discomforts of his baby needs, and how, with the ox and the ass standing by, he was placed there on the hay. (1 Cel 84)

Thanks to Giovanni with the candles and torches not only your brothers but lay people climbed up near midnight to wonder. You, so much in love with Jesus, preaching in your deacon robe knew that in any minute you could just break-down and weep if you used His name. No wonder people later always remembered your way of speaking of the *Child of Bethlehem* instead. And they recall the unforgetable quiet bleating sound, almost like a lamb, when you spoke of Him.

You focused on the real normal smells both of the animal stink and angel breath. You knew the homey smell of the poor outsiders like the shepherds. And you also knew the incarnate cleanness of the soul of the son of God.

In your century — and in ours — people with living faith find joy honoring God. And those a bit weak in faith are the ones moved by the holy excitement of Franciscans and others living out a divine delight. In your century there were robbers, trouble-makers, and even wolves near Greccio. In our generation we have drug users and muggers, gangs and killers. So what else is new? Catholics who love God and love one another can face anything!

St. Francis, I started writing to you asking for help. Thanks to you, I found your answer right in front of me.

Years ago you said, in effect, that God had a reason to let the Babe be born away from all immediate corruption from evil! Visions of the Babe are basically there for those who will be willing to climb in order to see.

I had been worried about the obvious growing evil for 1991. But now I see evil had been ramping even in Greccio, in the world in Eden and in our time, before and in the Church, today. And yet truly, most souls aren't terribly evil.

I think you are telling us to continue the same holy folly we Franciscans

have done in the past! You said you believed Mary herself wanted to be sure there was "the best of good feed" for the ox and ass. And that "likewise on that day all the poor ought to be given their fill of good victuals by the rich." (MP 114) And you know like a fool I always go out and "strew... grains for the little birds." (2 Cel 200)

Why was I uncomfortable and uneasy, dear Francis? Because you gave us the understanding of the uncomfortable and uneasy growth of your idea of "perfect joy." In your age or in mine the living Church is holy and fine, and — with human beings — quite imperfect.

Yearly Christmas returns amazingly new. You always said: Pax et bonum, peace and good. And that may not be what I sometimes think is best.



Christmas

How to capture what cannot be caught? So I wonder as Christmas comes bringing Its visions of candy canes and cribs. But as star-shine again strikes my eye, I marvel over and over at this God child Who burned to be born into this bruised And battered place we call our world.

Let's try to comprehend if we can How the One who gathers galaxies Into His arms, stopped to embrace One tiny world whirling through space. And in that embrace took to Himself All the hurt that has ever happened And all the darkness that ever dawned.

Sometimes we get so easily caught In Christmas chaos, that we forget To remember who this baby was. This baby who continues to tell Us all we need to know about a God Who chooses flesh to wrap Himself in.

This God who created all the worlds That ever were and ever will be. This God who dances across the sky And dazzles the dark with His light, Now comes to us crying in His crib.

Thomas P. Aldworth, O.F.M.

Was Francis Betrayed?

DANIEL PATTEE, T.O.R.

It is well known that the Regula non-bullata is twice as long as the Regula bullata. Paul Sabatier, in his now famous biography, calls the Regula bullata the "code of 1223." He is very clear about how the Regula non-bullata came to be shortened: "If it is asked, who could have made these curtailments, one name springs at once to our lips — Ugolino." Behind this statement is the belief that the ideal of Francis, indeed Francis himself, was betrayed at the time of composition. Ugolino, in the name of the Church, imposed his own views and forced Francis to compromise on his vision for a forma vitae. But Sabatier is not alone. Other modern authors, when they write about St. Francis and the Rule of 1223, look for villains even beyond Ugolino. Some of these other "villains" include Elias, the ministers, or the learned friars of the Order. Behind this search for villains is the belief that Francis was in some way betrayed when writing the Rule of 1223.

But was Francis betrayed? This is the question to be addressed by this essay. A careful reading of pertinent sources, as they relate to the composition of the *Regula bullata*, will follow as well as answers given to the question of whether Francis was betrayed by any one of the following: Elias, the ministers, the learned friars, or finally Ugolino himself. Of course, to approach the sources for the life of St. Francis is to approach another famous question, the "Franciscan Question." Hence a very brief summary of the position taken relative to the "Franciscan question" is first given along with some clarification of terminology.

The Franciscan Question

The position taken relative to the "Franciscan Question" is that it has three dimensions. It includes a search for sources of 2 Celano (2 Cel), offering solutions to the questions raised by the "Greccio letter" of 1246, and identification of the writings of Brother Leo. Basically these three dimensions come down to two works: The Legends of the Three Compan-

The author, a former instructor in theology at the Franciscan University of Steubenville, is a graduate of the Franciscan Institute. He is now pursuing a doctoral degree in Rome.

ions (L3S) and The Legend of Perugia (LP). But a thorough study of L3S cannot be done without considering its relationship to the Anonymous of Perugia (AP). My own position is that AP was written first, around the year 1241, and was used as a source for, and indeed corrected by, the author(s) of the L3S around the year 1246. But even more important for this study, LP contains genuine writings of Brother Leo called the Verba Sancti Francisci (LP 111 - 115) and, with a lesser degree of certainty, the Intentio Regule (LP 66 - 77).4

In summary of my position, then, AP is very early and so certain of its details can be trusted because it was written before controversy within the Order drastically increased. And while it is difficult to date the Verba precisely, there is a high degree of certainty that it was authored by Brother Leo. As we shall see, he was a close and intimate companion of St. Francis throughout composition of the Rule and so the Verba carries more weight as a source.

Another point needs to be made regarding terminology. The term "basic acount" will be used to designate those sources that carry with them a high degree of plausibility regarding certain historical facts relating to composition of the Regula bullata. Naturally, my position on the "Franciscan Question" determines the sources chosen. Hence, the Verba will be a highly trusted sourse. One criterion not used uniformly however, and one common to literary criticism, is that the earlier account is necessarily more accurate. This works off the principle that the account closer to the events in time is more reliable. In Franciscan studies this is not always the case. The First Life of Celano (1 Cel) is certainly earliest (ca. 1229), and yet it contains elements of style borrowed from the hagiography of that time. Yet a source like the Verba, given the proximity of its author to St. Francis, renders it very reliable even though it was most probably written later.

One final term used on occasion is "formative period" in reference to composition of the Rule. David Flood's theory is followed here which states that there was an ongoing development of the Rule from 1209 to 1221; only I extend the development to 1223. The Rule of 1221 says: "Brother Francis and whoever will be the head of this Order promises obedience and reverence to the Lord Pope Innocent and to his successors." Pope Innocent III died in 1216, yet Francis and the friars say they owe him obedience in 1221. This indicates there was but *One* Rule for Francis and the friars, designating the entire developmental process from 1209 to 1223. The Rule of 1221, therefore, represents "the Rule" at one particular stage in its development. Having said this, however, "formative period" as it is used in this essay will refer only to that portion of development which followed upon the crisis in the Order after Francis' return from the east during the summer of 1220.

Was Elias a Villain?

Having stated a position relative to the "Franciscan Question" and clarified some terms, we are now in a better position to answer the first question: was Elias a villain? Of course, beneath it — as with all the others — is the question of whether Francis was betrayed. We do know that Elias was involved with the composition of the Regula bullata. Just the name "Elias" seems to raise the eyebrow of suspicion. But do the sources support such a suspicion?

One of the first basic accounts is Legenda major IV: 11-12 (LM). Bonaventure focuses his account on Elias. He tells of how Francis, following the vision of the crumbs made into one host, went up "a certain mountain" with two companions to write the Rule. Francis, after writing it, "gave the rule to his vicar to keep." And then Bonaventure continues: "But after a few days had elapsed, the vicar claimed that he had lost it by an oversight." Here we are told that Elias somehow lost the Rule. The temptation might be to conclude, therefore, that Elias is a villain: he "claimed" he lost the Rule "by an oversight." But an argument could be made that Bonaventure's account, in some respects, is not historically trustworthy. LM IV:11-12 begins and ends with divine inspiration, something the historian is unable to scrutinize. Also there can be discerned, within the narrative itself, Mosaic topology: Francis is like Moses who goes up the mountain and there receives the Rule as Moses had received the tablets. This suggests that the narrative may have been tailored to fit biblical imagery.

But we cannot be too hasty, given these elements, in saying that *LM* IV:11-12 is totally implausible. It would be well to recall that this is a *successor* to Elias, as Minister general of the Order, writing the account. We might not expect a successor to write so disparagingly about his predecessor and yet, to our surprise, St. Bonaventure does state that Elias lost the Rule. And so we may walk away from this account with at least one historical fact: Elias lost the rule which meant that St. Francis had to write a second one. 9

No account, however, can or should be read by itself. Each of them needs to be weighed against other accounts and especially where those accounts may be very reliable. *LM* IV:11-12, if it were read by itself, could easily lead to the conclusion that Elias was a villain. Yet another account to pay close attention to is *Verba* 4 (*LP* 113) which, as was mentioned, is very likely authored by Brother Leo. Whereas *LM* IV:11 simply states that Francis was accompanied by two of his companions, *Verba* 4 names those companions: they were Brother Leo and Brother Bonizo. 10

Brother Leo was present with St. Francis, therefore, when he wrote the Rule.

Verba 4 reiterates that the Rule was at first lost and then begins to narrate a story that occurred after this incident. The account tells of how "many ministers," who heard Francis was writing another Rule, approached Elias and asked him to tell Francis they will not be bound by the new Rule. "We are afraid that he may make it so severe that we will not be able to observe it." But, as the account continues, Elias feared Francis' reproof and refused to speak with Francis and Francis, seeing Elias, asked the question: "What do these brothers want?" Elias has to identify who they are for Francis, telling him that they are ministers. And then, as their spokesman, he relayed their message. Francis at this point turns to Christ with the question, "Did I not tell you?" Christ confirms the divine origin of the rule from heaven and expresses His desire that the Rule should be observed literally and without gloss. The ministers then retire in shame.

The surprising element of this account is the way Elias just seems to disappear from the narrative. His role was that of *spokesman* for the ministers! He is hardly portrayed, in *Verba* 4, as a Judas which we might expect from a Leonine writing. The Leonine tradition, as a whole, shows little fondness toward Elias and yet here they bypass an opportunity to make him look bad. This gives further evidence that the account in *Verba* 4, regarding Elias' role in the writing of the *Regula bullata*, is plausible even if the element of divine inspiration found within it cannot be historically evaluated. Elias served as a spokesman for the ministers and was no Judas.

Were the Ministers Villains?

The next figures to discuss, as to their role in the writing of the Rule, are the ministers. Verba 4 does tell us of opposition from the ministers, a fact supported by other sources as well. For example, 2 Cel 188 relates how Francis lamented the way some of the ministers were leading the friars in ways other than he envisioned. ¹³ This says nothing relative to composition of the Rule, but it does register the fact of opposition on the part of some of the ministers toward St. Francis.

Another account reiterating this same opposition comes from the *Intentio regule* which, as was mentioned earlier, may have been authored by Brother Leo even if less certain. In this account, namely *LP* 69, a minister approaches Francis to discuss the "chapter on poverty." More specifically, he wanted to speak with Francis about the Gospel text — still in the Rule at that time¹⁴ — which reads, "Take nothing on the way..." The minister had books with a total worth of fifty pounds and he desired to retain them

... another dividend has surfaced, namely, the true value of the Rule itself.

in good conscience. The important element to notice, however, is the concern he has with the text: "Take nothing on the way." This text was not included in the Regula bullata: it was droppeed. And so there were things dropped from the final, bulled rule that Francis held dear. Even in LP 69 Francis expresses his desire that the friars have but one tunic, a cord, breeches, and shoes if necessary. But were the ministers betraying Francis by their opposition?

To say "yes" would, I believe, overlook two things. First to admit betrayal would be to see Francis, at least to some degree, as a passive, victim soul who was forced to cave into the minister's demands. But Francis was not so easily swayed, as LP 69 tells us. The Gospel text, "Take nothing on the way," may have been dropped, but Francis did secure the clause at the beginning and end of the Rule that the Gospel was to be observed. Within the history of the Order, these clauses caused trouble for the friars as early as the Chapter of 1230 which sent a delegation to Pope Gregory IX (Cardinal Ugolino). One of their concerns was whether they had to observe the whole Gospel or just those texts quoted in the Rule! Gregory IX responded with Quo Elongati saying, while they were to observe the Gospel like all christians, only those specifically quoted in the Rule were binding under pain of sin.

But a second element to keep in mind is that, in 1217, the Order was divided into Provinces. The centralization of authority up till that time is well documented by Cajetan Esser, ¹⁶ but with Provinces came a more decentralized governance with the institution of provincials. The ministers shared in the authority of St. Francis (and his successors), each having some share of responsibility in the future direction of the Order. They were, therefore, within their limits of authority in registering opposition. Perhaps if they can be faulted, it would be on the strength of their opposition. But their role, of speaking concerns regarding a document to be observed by all within their Provinces and an order growing rapidly in numbers, was legitimate since the document (the Regula bullata) was to be agreed upon by all. ¹⁷ And so, in summary, we may say that Francis was not really betrayed by the ministers even if the strength of their opposition most probably became a source of great pain and suffering for him.

Were the Educated Friars Villains?

This brings us to the educated friars: what was their role? Verba 5 (LP 114) tells of one incident involving the educated friars. They approached Cardinal Ugolino at one of the chapters of the Order (Michaelmas Chapter of 1220?). In studying the account, there is an evident lack of antagonism. They requested that Cardinal Ugolino try to "persuade" Francis to be "guided by them" at least some of the time. ¹⁸ They desired certain, more orderly elements to be included in the Rule after the manner of the "ancients" (the Rules of St. Augustine, St. Benedict, and St. Bernard). It must be admitted that more methodical ways are conducive to the life of study, much more than a wandering life without a library. And so the learned friar's request was reasonable (as we might expect from learned friars) and, calling to mind the Roman principle of law, what is to be observed by all must be agreed upon by all. ¹⁹

Francis dealt with this request personally as opposed to the divine intervention we saw in Verba 4. He took Ugolino by the hand and went before all the brothers claiming novelty of inspiration and way of life; "My brothers! My brothers! God has called me by the way of simplicity and shown me the way of simplicity. I do not want you to name any Rule to me, not St. Augustine's, nor St. Bernard's, nor St. Benedict's." We shall return to this later when dealing with Ugolino's involvement, but for now it is well to note the lack of any real grinding antagonism on the part of the educated brothers. We could call their request "reasonable."

But what about LP 77 which concludes the Intentio Regule? In this account Francis rails against those who oppose him based on "the authority and foresight of their learning." A closer look at LP 77 gives evidence of editorializing. The author(s) of the account suggest that they know of certain elements dropped from the Rule and other writings of Francis. According to them, these deletions "would have been of real value to the whole order, now after his death." LP 77 shows the author(s) lamenting the fact that certain elements were dropped from the Rule more than it shows us any real concern of the historical Francis: this is editorializing. Also the presumption of the author(s), or at least their expectation, is that the Rule should be omnicompetent — addressing all situations, all times, and everywhere. This is simply unrealistic and so LP 77 may be deemed implausible for these reasons. The educated friars were no villains as was concluded in the previous analysis.

Was Cardinal Ugolino a Villain?

We arrived at a consideration of Cardinal Ugolino's role in the composition of the Rule of 1223. Basic accounts for his role include AP 44-45²³

and Quo Elongati. Both of these documents attest to the fact that he did have a role in the writing of the Rule. Some of the elements in AP 44-45, however, need to be questioned. AP compresses time and has the Regula bullata (1223) being written in the wake of the first missions outside Italy (1217). The friars had experienced serious opposition "beyond the Alps," especially in Germany and Hungary because they were mistaken for heretics. They returned to Francis complaining of the abuse they received and then acquainted Ugolino with the same troubles. The result was that Ugolino summoned Francis to Rome, brought him before Pope Honorius III and had him write a Rule to be officially confirmed by the Pope.

We know for a fact that the Regula bullata was not promulgated anywhere near the Chapter of 1217. Something to notice, however, is the title of AP's account. It reads: "How the Church Protected the Brothers From their Persecutors." This section of AP is about how the church saved the Order. It aims to show how Ugolino, now assigned Cardinal protector, sent out letters²⁶ and had a Rule officially approved by the church so that the friars would have safe passage into foreign lands. Ugolino is a hero who even became Pope in fulfillment of Francis' prophecy. And so AP needs to be read carefully in light of these clearly stated intentions for the narrative.

But, once again, such a clearly stated intention does not mean the entire narrative is discredited. The account does validate Ugolino's role at the Roman court in helping get the Rule officially confirmed. It also tells us that Ugolino was a prime mover in getting Francis to write another Rule. These elements need not be doubted since they are not contradicted anywhere else in the sources, but they do need to be read in light of other accounts.

One of those other accounts is Verba 5 (LP 114). We already studied this text in connection with the educated friars. They approached Ugolino with the request that he persuade Francis to listen to them at least some of the time. Ugolino relays their message, a message initiated by the friars, and thus he assumes the role of spokesman of their concerns. Francis took Ugolino by the hand and went before all the brothers to say he does not want to hear anything about the other Rules of St. Augustine, St. Benedict, or St. Bernard. Is this the tragic Francis of Sabatier's biography who is unable to stand up to the mean pressure of Ugolino? And we might consider Ugolino's response: does he challenge Francis before the brothers as he had done at Florence in 1217 when Francis was leading a group into France? Verba 5 tells us: "The cardinal was flabbergasted and said nothing, and all the friars were afraid. It needs to be acknowledged that Francis dealt adequately and well with the Ugolino and the educated friars in this scene.

Here again we must be careful about presuming antagonism between

Francis and Ugolino, including antagonism from Francis toward Ugolino. There is evidence that Francis trusted Ugolino even to his dying day. Francis, in the *Testament* 31-33, speaks about how to deal with an incorrigible friar who refuses to observe the Rule in a Catholic manner. First he is to be delivered to the custodian by the brothers, then under guard to the minister by the custodian, and finally:

The minister is strictly bound through obedience to send him with brothers who shall guard him as a prisoner day and night until they deliver him before the Lord of Ostia who is the master, protector, and corrector of the entire fraternity.³⁰

An incorrigible friar was to be taken under guard to Ugolino. These are hardly the words of a man showing signs of being betrayed. Whom did Francis believe could guard and protect Catholic observance of the Rule? At least according to his own *Testament*, the trusted Ugolino.

Ugolino's relationship with the Order does not end with the composition of the Rule or even the death of St. Francis in 1226. We have looked at a number of sources relating specifically to the composition of the Rule of 1223. Whether or not Ugolino, as Pope Gregory IX, betrayed the vision of St. Francis in Quo Elongati (1230) is another question. But even if some think he did, and this will be debated for many years to come, it would mean that the vision (ideal) of St. Francis was there — intact and evidently causing some difficulty for the friars at the time — in 1230. This gives indication that, at least during Francis' own lifetime, Ugolino was no villain. But it also, and this is perhaps even more important, testifies to the integrity of the Rule of 1223. The form of the Holy Gospel, which was the ideal and vision of St. Francis, is preserved in the Rule.

Did Francis feel betrayed?

The integrity and value of the Rule may be seen in another way by considering whether or not Francis himself felt betrayed. There are many ways of approaching this question, but my focus has been on the composition of the Rule of 1223. And so the particular angle the question assumes, at least in this essay, would be to ask whether Francis was in any way displeased with the Rule. If he believed that his vision and ideal were betrayed in the composition of the Rule, then there should be at least some indication that he was dissatisfied with the document. Two writings of Francis will be briefly studied to help address this last query on betrayal.

First there is the Letter to the Entire Order which was most likely written after early December of 1224.³¹ In this letter Francis gives the litmus test for being a Friar Minor: observance of the Rule.

Therefore, through every means which I am capable of employing, I ask Brother H., the Minister General and my lord, to insist that the Rule be observed inviolably by everyone. Further, he should insist that the clerics say the Office with devotion before God... and I shall pass these things on to the brothers who are with me so they may be observed in the Office and in all other things established in the Rule.

But if any of the brothers do not wish to observe these things, I do not consider them to be Catholics nor my brothers, and I do not wish to see them or speak with them until they shall have done penance.³²

These are strong words, too strong for us to doubt that Francis held the Rule of 1223 in high esteem. Evidently he was not disillusioned with the Rule or he would not have commended its observance so strongly.

Later in the *Testament* the same esteem for the *Regula bullata* becomes evident. Francis tells us what the *Testament* is: "This is a remembrance, an admonition, an exhortation, and my testament, which I, little Brother Francis, prepare for all of you, my blessed brothers, so that we may observe in a more catholic manner the Rule which we have promised to the Lord." Just prior to this statement he tells the brothers not to consider the *Testament* as "another Rule," presumably because there is no substitute for, or more valuable document than, the *Regula bullata*. But the text quoted immediately above also reveals Francis' dying wish that the Rule be observed in a Catholic maner. The Rule is the form of the Holy Gospel and is, therefore, to be observed as such.

By way of conclusion, my interest has been to study the sources relating to the composition of the Rule of 1223, and to critically evaluate whether Francis was betrayed during this formative period. But in a study like this, yet another dividend has surfaced, namely, the true value of the Rule itself.

It may be said that there is a tendency, witnessed within Franciscan history, to set up alternative documents to the Rule. Essentially this is what Sabatier did in his biography. Commenting on which Rule, between 1209 and 1223, was authentically Franciscan he writes: "That of 1210 alone is truly Franciscan; that of 1223 is indirectly the work of the Church. This not only depreciates the value of the Regula bullata, it also sets up — as an alternative — another document we do not even have (i. e., the Primitive Rule). Saying that the Rule of 1223 is, even indirectly the "work of the Church" is possible only where it is admitted that Francis was betrayed when it was being written. Hopefully this essay has helped to shed some light on the question of betrayal and, in some small way, shown how the Rule is the most valuable writing not of the Church, but of St. Francis. It was certainly most valuable to Francis himself since the Rule gave form to life according to the Holy Gospel as he had conceived it and as God had shown it to him.

Endnotes

¹I am grateful to Fr. Maurice Sheehan, OFM Cap., who taught a course on the "Rule of St. Francis" at the Franciscan Institute of St. Bonaventure University. This course gave me the opportunity to critically study and evaluate the sources and to formulate an answer to the question of betrayal. It is my own answer throughout and so too, therefore, are its shortcomings.

²Paul Sabatier, Life of St. Francis of Aassisi, trans. Louise Seymour Houghton

(New York: Scribner's Sons, 1919).

³Sabatier, 258.

⁴For a good discussion of these works see: Rosalind Brooke, ed. and trans., "Introduction," in *Scripta Leonis, Rufini et Angeli: Sociorum S. Francisci* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1970) 51-66. Brooke's position gives a high degree of certainty for Leonine authorship of the *Intentio*. However even if it was authored by Brother Leo, it must be admitted that "intentions" are a very nebulous reality and so need to be read even more carefully when searching for historical facts. The *Scripta Leonis* also contains a translation of the *Legend of Perugia* which will be the one used throughout this essay. It will simply be referred to as "Brooke" after the translator's last name.

⁵David Flood, OFM, and Thaddee Matura, OFM, The Birth of a Movement: A Study of the First Rule of St. Francis, trans. Paul Schwartz and Paul Lachance (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 19754) 3-56.

⁶Regis Armstrong, OFM Cap., trans. and ed., Francis and Clare: The Complete Works (New York: Paulist Press, 1982) 109.

⁷Ewert Cousins, trans., Bonaventure: The Soul's Journey Into God, The Tree of Life, The Life of St. Francis in The Classics of Western Spirituality (New York: Paulist Press, 1978) 216.

⁸Most Franciscans historians refer to Elias as Francis' "Vicar," instead of "Minister General," during the formative period of the Rule. But Bonaventure, at least, was aware of himself as successor to Elias since he writes about his retreat on Mount La Verna in the *Itinerarium*: Following the example of our most blessed father Francis, I was seeking this peace with panting spirit — I a sinner and utterly unworthy who after our blessed father's death had become the seventh Minister General of the friars." Cousins, 54.

⁹It is generally accepted that there were four Rules: The Primitive Rule (1209), the Rule of 1221, The Lost Rule, and The (Bulled) Rule of 1223.

¹⁰Brooke, 285.

¹¹Brooke, 285.

¹²Brooke, 287.

¹³Marion Habig, ed., St. Francis of Assisi: Omnibus of Sources (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1973) 512. This work will be referred to as Omnibus.

¹⁴Regula non-bullata, chapter XIV. V. Armstrong, 120.

¹⁵Brooke, 207.

¹⁶Cajetan Esser, OFM, Origins of the Franciscan Order, trans. Aedan Daly, OFM and Dr. Irina Lynch (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1970) 58-71.

¹⁷This was a principle of Roman law adopted by medieval canonists, i.e. what is to be observed by all must be agreed upon by all. The Regula bullata, being

a juridical document in formation, fell under the guidance of this principle.

¹⁸Brooke, 287.

¹⁹See footnote Nr. 14.

²⁰Brooke, 289.

²¹Brooke, 223.

Brooke, 223.
 An English translation of AP has been done by Eric Kahn, OFM, and is

available in: Damien Isabell, *The Franciscan Workbook*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1979) 94-115.

²⁴Cf. Jordan of Giano, The Chronicle: 4-6 in Placid Hermann, OFM, trans., XIIIth Century Chronicles (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1961) 21-23.

²⁵Isabell, 113.

²⁶Ugolino most likely did secure letters of protection for the friars following upon the opposition they faced during the first missions. There are two bulls written by Pope Honorius III, most likely at the urging of Ugolino, assuring the bishops of the friars' good Catholic standing and their being an approved Order within the Church. The first bull entitled Cum dilecti filii was issued on June 11, 1218 and was addressed to all the prelates in the church. The second bull entitled Pro dilectis filiis was issued on May 29, 1220 and was addressed to only the bishops of France. This latter bull recalled for the French bishops Cum dilecti filii indicating that some of the friars were still facing opposition in that country even as late as 1220.

²⁷We might be tempted to say that the learned friars' request was consonant with Ugolino's own interests for the Order, but then we need to be careful of isogesis: the text does not tell us anything about Ugolino's personal response to the friars' request other than he fulfilled it.

28 See LP 82 (Omnibus 1957) and paralels.

²⁹Brooke, 289.

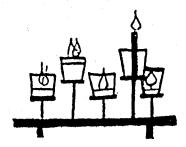
30 Testament 33 in Armstrong, 156.

³¹On the dating of this document see: Ottaviano Schmucki, "St. Francis' Letter to the Entire Order," trans. Ignatius McCormack, OFM, *Grayfriars Review* (April, 1989) 1-33.

32 Letter to the Entire Order 40-44 as quoted from Armstrong, 59-60.

33 Testament 345 quoted from Armstrong, 156.

³⁴Sabatier, 254.



St. Bonaventure and Ecology

PHIL HOEBING, O.F.M.

In this paper I wish to explore the thought of the 13th century theologian and philosopher, St. Bonaventure, in the belief that Bonaventure's thought can contribute some concepts and attitudes to the present ecological discussion. In the 20th century many voices, scientific, philosophical, theological, conservationist, and preservationist, have expressed a deep concern about our ecological crisis. These people have observed the damage that man has done to his world and have offered explanations as to how man has gotten into this crisis and also recommendations as to how to ease or solve the crisis. Many who have studied the 20th century predicament with the environmental problems are convinced that man must change his attitude toward the world around him before any major change will occur in man's treatment of our land, air and water with its many forms of life.

For the formulation of the current questions I will first give a brief sketch of the positions of Aldo Leopold and Lynn White. White who has a great admiration for St. Francis, does, I believe, misrepresent Bonaventure's relationship with St. Francis.

Aldo Leopold, whose book A Sand County Almanac was posthumously published in 1949, was among the first ecologists to call attention to the need for a land ethic. Leopold, a conservationist, a scientist, a writer, and a university professor, was deeply concerned with the state of the world in which we are living. In his many articles and lectures Leopold summarized his views in a number of pithy statements, such as, "many incorrectly believe that a stump is a sign of progress." Leopold was among the first in the U.S. to challenge the American way of conservation, recreation and sportsmanship. When he saw how timbers were being destroyed, whole species of wild life eliminated, and rivers and lakes

polluted, he called for a change of attitude. Leopold proposed a land ethic which called for love and respect for the world, the plants and the animals.

It is inconceivable to me that an ethical relation to land can exist without love, respect and admiration for land, and a high regard for its value. By value, I of course mean something far broader than mere economic value; I mean value in the philosophical sense.

In this book In Defense of the Land Ethic, J. Baird Callicot discussed in detail the views of Aldo Leopold whom he refers to as a seminal environmental philosopher. In his book of essays Callicott tries to spell out the underlying assumptions and principles on which Leopold based his ethics of the environment. He takes exceptions to the views of contemporary philosophers, such as John Passmore, Robin Attfield and H. J. McCloskey, who for one reason or another do not put much credence in Leopold's views. In support of the land it can be argued that one of Leopold's most important contributions to an ethics of the environment is his concern for the biotic community. Leopold's intepretation of the position of man in the world is that man is a member and not a conqueror of the land. The implications of this view are manifold because all of nature is interconnected and interdependent. Calicott summarizes the principles of the land ethic in the following manner.

According to the land ethic, therefore: Thou shalt not extirpate or render species extinct; thou shalt exercise great caution in introducing exotic and domestic species into local ecosystem, in exacting energy from the soil and releasing it into the biota, and damaging or polluting water courses; and thou shalt be specially solicitous of predatory birds and mammals. Here in brief are the express moral precepts of the land ethic. They are expressly informed — not to say derived — from the energy of the environment.²

In discussing some of the causes of our environmental problems, Lynn White, in a presentation to the AAAS meeting in 1966, suggested that the Judeo - Christian tradition must share some of the blame for our present ecological crisis. His argument was partly based on the first chapter of Genesis.

And God blessed them and God said to them, "Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth and subdue it; and have dominion over the birds of the air and over every living thing that moves upon the earth." (Gen. 1.28)

White suggested that Adam and Eve took this command very seriously as did their followers so that today man dominates nature and uses it as he pleases. As White concluded his presentation he noted that at least one person did not follow the traditional view of man's dominance and that man was St. Francis of Assisi. Francis, a radical in his time, did not follow the common view that man was to dominate nature but rather saw

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all creatures as having a certain equality. Because of Francis' appreciation of nature, White concluded his presentation with these words:

Possibly we should ponder the greatest radical in Christian history since Christ: St. Francis of Assisi. The prime miracle of St. Francis is the fact that he did not end at the stake, as many of his left-wing followers did. He was so clearly heretical that a General of the Franciscan Order, St. Bonaventure, a great and perceptive Christian, tried to suppress the early accounts of Franciscanism.³

Some authors might view White's view as expressing only the tradition of Genesis and that if one looks further into the Bible one will also find that man is asked to be the gardener and caretaker of the Garden. (Gen. 2, 15) The story of man's position in Eden is found in the J-tradition which pictures man in a different light than does the P-tradition. The J-tradition is compatible with many of the modern concepts of the ethics and the environment such as those of Leopold and Callicott. The Franciscan view of nature as exemplified by Francis and Bonaventure is also compatible with the view that man is a steward and caretaker of nature.

I suggest that Francis' vision and life were central to Bonaventure's philosophical - theological synthesis. To develop this claim, I suggest, at the risk of oversimplifying, three main views on the relationship of man to nature that can be discerned in the Western World. The first position is the dominance view which believes that all of nature is a commodity to be used, manipulated and enjoyed by man. The stewardship view believes that man does not have absolute control of nature but must use it wisely and respectfully in accord with God's plan. The third position, known as the "participation in nature" view, is found in Eastern thought and in some Western thinkers. This view believes that all of nature is interconnected and that man himself is also a part of nature. Since Darwin's "Origin of Species" many twentieth century writers, for a number of reasons, have espoused this position. St. Francis is classified with those who accept the interconnectedness of nature and the participation view.

One often sees the statue of St. Francis in a bird bath or in a flower garden. These would seem to be appropriate places for his statue provided one understands why St. Francis loved the birds and peached to them and why he admired the beauty of the flowers. One must avoid two extremes when considering Francis and his love of nature. First of all, Francis is clearly not a pantheist, even though he sees the presence of the Creator in everything. Celano writes about Francis and his attitude to all creatures:

The realization that everything comes from the same source filled Francis with greater affection than ever and he called even the most insignificant

creatures his brothers and sisters, because he knew that they had the same origin as himself.⁴

The second extreme position to avoid would be to make Francis a sentimentalist and a naturalist. Francis realized that things were good because they came from God and can lead man back to God.

In every work of the artist, he praised the Artist. Whatever he found in the things made he referred to the Maker. He rejoiced in all the works of the hands of the Lord and saw behind things pleasant to behold their life-giving reasons and cause. In beautiful things he saw Beauty itself; all things were to him good... through his footprints impressed upon things he followed the Beloved everywhere; he made for himself a ladder by which to come even to his throne.⁵

The footprints of the Creator in creation and the ladder by which man can ascend to union with God are concepts developed by Bonaventure in his "Journey of the Mind to God" and in many of his other writings. Like all the professors in the 13th century he could not help but be involved in the controversy over Aristotle and his thought. Although Bonaventure saw much good in the works of Aristotle, his own metaphysics took a different direction, being influenced by the Greek Fathers, the Pseudo-Dionysius, St. Augustine and the Victorines. In developing his synthesis of man's relationship to God, Bonaventure employed the Trinitarian theology of the Greek Fathers as the keystone for his view. His views on emanation, exemplarism and the return of creation to God are intimately connected to his concept of the Trinity as essentially dynamic. Bonaventure developed his subjectivity along the lines of Augustine whom he admired very much and referred to him as "The greatest of the Latin Fathers." In his works he quoted St. Augustine more than 3000 times. Bonaventure was a student and friend of Alexander of Hales who introduced him to the Victorines, the Pseudo-Dionysius and through him, to the Greek Fathers. Bonaventure's view of God as essentially dynamic has a different perspective than that of Thomas Acquinas, his contemporary. Moreover, the Neoplatonism of the Pseudo-Dionysius differed from the Neoplatonism of Augustine. The dynamic God with his exemplarism and illumination has a more intimate role to play in the creation and development of the universe than a God who is interpreted to be more transcendent than immanent. In his synthesis Bonaventure attempts to synthesize the apparently opposite interpretations of God's role with the universe.

The Pseudo-Dionysius had a great influence on the thirteenth century thinkers and especially on St. Bonaventure. Bougerol in his book writes:

The Areopagite's teaching is hard to summarize. We may say, however, that his influence on Bonaventure was threefold: he gave Bonaventure a viewpoint, a method, and a few fundamental themes. Bonaventure himself

says: "The first (dogma) is exposed chiefly by Augustine, the second (morals) by Gregory, and the third (the end of both), or mystical anagogy by Dionysius." 6

Bonaventure held the view that to have a true metaphysics one has to be concerned with emanation, exemplarity, and consummation. The metaphysics, thus, had to consider creation, the ideas of God in creation, and the return of creation to God. Bonaventure states this in his *Collationes in Hexaemeron*:

Through the first Truth, all come back as the Son expresses it: "I have come forth from the Father and have come into the world. Again I leave the world and go to the Father." (Jn. 16, 28) Likewise let anyone say: "Lord, I came out of You, the Supreme Being: I will return to You and through You, the Supreme Being."

Such is the metaphysical Center that leads us back, and this is the sum total of our metaphysics: concerned with emanation, exemplarity, and consummation, that is, the illumination through spiritual radiations and return to the supreme Being.⁷

Ewert Cousins insists that the metaphysics of Bonaventure must be grounded in his theology of the Trinity and that the act of creation takes place because of the dynamism in the Trinity.

the root of Bonaventure's doctrine lies in his conception of the Father as dynamic, fecund source of the Trinitarian processions. In examining the Father, Bonaventure employs two principles: the principle of fecund primordiality and the principle of the self-diffusion of the good. Both of these principles he applies to the divinity in relation to creation and to the Father in the Trinity.⁸

Because Bonaventure believed that the Trinity is dymanic he was able to join two conceptions of God that appeared to be irreconcilable in Western thought, namely, the self-sufficiency of God and the self-communication of God. Bonaventure unites both in his theological synthesis. He did so by appreciating St. Francis' vision that the whole of creation is an expression of God's love. Love becomes the means of reconciling the concepts as Cousins states:

For Bonaventure God's self-sufficiency and self-communication are so intimately united that his principle can be stated as follows: Because He is self-sufficient, he is absolutely self-communicating.⁹

Being a Christian thinker, Bonaventure could not accept either an eternal universe or a necessary universe. Without going into the arguments as to why he opposed both Aristotle who postulated an eternal universe and the arab philosophers who accepted a necessarily created universe, Bonaventure argued that the world was created in time, that the world was created from nothing, and that it was created freely by God. In the Breviloquium Bonaventure writes:

Having summarily considered the trinity of God, it is proper to speak next of creation. Briefly, the following must be held. The entire fabric of the universe was brought into existence in time and out of nothingness, by one first Principle, simple and supreme, whose power, though immeasureable, disposed all things by measure and number and weight. ¹⁰

The second important theme of Bonaventure's methaphysics is concerned with exemplarism. Bonaventure believed that Aristotle had made a fundamental error in separating the Ideas from God. In his unique way, Bonaventure places the Ideas in the second Person of the Trinity and makes them the exemplar ideas of all the individuals in creation. Surely, this relates to the idea of emanation because creatures reflect the perfections of God and God can be found in all of His creatures. Francis knew this intuitively but Bonaventure structures a theological explanation with his exemplarism. He often states in his writings that God can be found in two books, the book of Sacred Scripture and the book of nature. Regarding the question: "Whether God is Knowable through Creatures" he writes:

I reply: it must be said as the cause shines forth in the effect, and as the wisdom of the artificer is manifested in his work, so God, who is the artificer and cause of the creature, is known through it.¹¹

And again:

From this we may gather that the universe is like a book reflecting, representing, and describing its Maker, the trinity, at three levels of expression: as trace, as image and as likeness. The aspect of trace is found in every creature; the aspect of image in the intellectual creatures or rational spirits; the aspect of likeness, only in those who are God-conformed. Through these successive levels, comparable to the rungs of a ladder, the human mind is designed to ascend gradually to the supreme principle who is God. ¹²

That God is the exemplary cause of all creatures is at the very center of Bonaventure's metaphysics. Bonaventure reasoned in this way: if God created the world He would act, not in a blind manner, but rather in an intelligent way. Bonaventure was convinced that Plato erred when he put the Ideas in a world apart from God because it is necessary that these Ideas exist in the divine intellect. It would be more correct to say that these ideas or patterns are in God and that he acts according to them. Being a Christian and a believer in the Trinity he developes his interpretation of the ideas along these lines. God is supremely intelligible to Himself and comprehends Himself in a single act, but in performing this act, he equals himself. This similitude, as a Christian knows, is the Divine Word, which is equal to God and expresses all His being, all His power and all His knowledge. (Hex. III, 4, v. p. 343) It is in the understanding

of the Uncreated Word that everythiong is known and understood. In his interpretation of the exemplar ideas in the Word, Bonaventure differs from some of the other medievalists by stressing the activity of the divine Intellect in the production of the Ideas. Besides being representations of the essence of God, which are imitable by creatures, they are also active. Bonaventure compares them to the ideas of an artist who plans to produce a work of art. God knows the creatures through His Ideas which are not universal but individual and specific. Thus, Bonaventure in explaining the relation of creature to creator used his doctrine of analogy.

One of the characteristic features of Bonaventure's exemplarism is his doctrine that every creature is an analogy of God. Since all things are made according to their pattern in the divine ideas, they bear the seal of their descent. There are many degrees of analogy between the creature and God, namely, shadow, vestige, and image. A rock, for example, represents God in a distant and indistinct way, a vestige represents God in a distant but distinct way. All living things are vestiges of God whereas man who represents God closely and distinctly is an image of God. The man who is conformed to God by grace is a similitude because such a person represents God most closely.

All creatures must bear the seal of the divine because they are made according to the patterns in the divine Word. Bonaventure, like his teacher, Alexander of Hales, emphasizes the positive aspect of analogy in seeing creatures as reflections of the creator. In treating analogy in this way there is no longer an infinite distance between God and the creature.

Bonaventure saw analogy as the structural law of creation. Since all things are made according to their pattern in the divine ideas, all things bear the seal of their divine descent. All things are analogies of God. Man, however, being the image of God in this world of analogies, has the central position because he is able to appreciate the various levels of analogies and refer them back to their Maker.

Consummation or the return of creatures is the third part of Bonaventure's metaphysics. In the return of creatures to God, man plays a central role in the synthesis of Bonaventure. Man is a composite of the spiritual and the corporal and is the natural mediator between creation and God and the rest of creation becomes a mirror which reflects the perfection of God. The visible world is a book through which, God, the artist, proclaims His infinite perfection. Bonaventure admits that man can view nature simply as objects to be appreciated in themselves or he can see them in their symbolism which gives them real meaning. Until man see creatures in their relationship to their Creator he does not really understand his position in the world or the value of nature.

After briefly considering a few of Bonaventure's basic ideas one sees that he is in agreement with St. Francis in his love for nature. With his

exemplarism, his analogy of creatures with God and man's central position in the return of things to God, Bonaventure has given a philosophical theological rationale for Francis' exuberant and enthusiastic love of nature.

St. Bonaventure, because of his metaphysics of exemplarity and analogy, can make a contribution to the 20th century discussion of ecological ethics. Many writers argue that man must see the intrinsic value in nature to change man's use of nature. If nature has only instrumental value then it can be used in any way by man but if it has intrinsic value then it must be respected for that value. Bonaventure, with his metaphysics, has given nature an intrinsic value.

Today some authors like to speak of the intrinsic value of nature rather than discuss the rights of animals. Callicott, for example, in responding to Peter Singer and Tom Regan, discusses the intrinsic value of species and the need to preserve those species. Although the men who lived in the 13th century had different problems and attitudes than the people living in the 20th century they did realize the intrinsic value of nature. They had different reasons for their views than some 20th century ecologists as the Franciscans saw things as valuable because they came from the goodness of God. Contemporary writers see things as intrinsically valuable because all of nature is interconnected. Since every species is valuable because all things in nature are interdependent, man is harming himself by his destruction of species. The 13th century thinkers did not realize the danger of eliminating species because they did not have such a problem. It would be hypothesizing to say what Bonaventure and Francis would say about our current ecological crisis. There are so many situations in Francis' life where he showed respect and concern for the world and its creatures that it is easy to put words in his mouth. For example, when St. Francis delivered his famous sermon to the birds he was expressing a special concern and respect for the flock of birds that listened attentively to his words.

One may speculate as to St. Bonaventure's comments on problems that were unknown in the 13th century. Since that time science and technology, although they have solved many of man's problems, have not been without questions regarding their values and development. Some ethical questions that are discussed frequently in our daily newspapers are the following: Do animals have rights? Is it ethically permissible to use animals for medical experiments that will benefit only humans? Does the non-human and non-animal world have any moral rights or moral status? Is it ethical to have animal farms whose only purpose is commercial? Do members of endangered species have more rights than members of a species that is not endangered? What is the status of such predators as the mountain lion and the timber wolf? Does our present generation have an obligation

to future generations? Do future generations have a right to a beautiful

and unpolluted world?

These questions are difficult to answer but there is another problem which seems unique to the last years in the 20th century. This is the problem of species extinction. Conservationists tell us that from 1600 to 1900 species became extinct at the rate of about one every four years. From 1900 to 1950 the rate of extinction was about one a year. If man continues to exploit in the future as he has during the last 40 years, conservationists think the extinction of species would be more than a hundred a day. This is seen as one of the biggest problems in our ecological crisis. If all of nature is interconnected how many species can nature lose before it is harmed beyond repair?

These questions may seem very distant both in time and in concept from a thirteenth century Franciscan teacher at the University of Paris. As one reads Aldo Leopold's "Thinking Like a Wolf," which is an essay on the need for the wolf, one appreciates his message on attitudes. During his early years as a conservationist, Leopold was adamant in his view that the wolf had to be destroyed because it was ruining the deer population. He took part in wolf hunts and wrote articles advocating the extermination of the wolf. Later in life his view is the exact opposite because he came to realize that by eliminating the wolves the deer became overpopulated and seriously damaged the forests when their food became scarce. He learned that it was more difficult to repair the damage done to the forests by the hungry deer than it was to replace the deer destroyed by the wolf. He learned that all of nature is interconnected and that to destroy parts of nature is to weaken and harm all of nature.

In struggling to find answers to the many problems in our ecological crisis many writers, like Leopold, believe that we must learn to see the intrinsic value of nature. They believe strongly that the non-human world does not exist solely for the manipulation of man. Bonaventure certainly gave an intrinsic value to all of nature in that it reflects the perfections of God, but he also viewed nature in an instrumental way. He would advocate a reasonable use and appreciation of God's world in which man lives. In his Retracing the Arts to Theology Bonaventure, for example, considers hunting as an external art that also leads one to God. It would seem that Bonaventure, with his metaphysics, would be able to offer valuable concepts to a twentieth century discussion on ecology from both a philosophical and a theological aspect.

In his thoughtful New Year's address Pope John Paul II called on all people to respond to our ecological crisis which he called a "moral problem." He specifically addressed himself to those people without any particular religious conviction, to those people who believe in God but are not Christian, to the entire body of Christians and to the Catholics. In

our discussion of Bonaventure and his philosophical - theological principles it is fitting to conclude with Pope John Paul's conclusion to "Peace with All Creation":

In 1979, I proclaimed St. Francis of Assisi as the heavenly patron of those who promote ecology (cf. Apostolic Letter "Inter Sanctos": AAS 71 (1979), 1509f). He offers Christians an integrity of creation. As a friend of the poor who was lived by God's creation — animals, plants, natural forces, even Brother Sun and Sister Moon — to give honor and praise to the Lord. The poor man of Assisi gives us striking witness that when we are at peace with God we are better able to devote ourselves to building up that peace with all creation which is inseparable from peace among all peoples.

It is my hope that the inspiration of St. Francis will help us to keep ever alive a sense of "fraternity" with all those good and beautiful things which almighty God has created. And may he remind us of our serious obligation to respect and watch over them with care, in light of that greater and higher fraternity that exists within the human family. ¹³

Endnotes

¹Aldo Leopold, A Sand County Almanac. (Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 223.

²J. Baird Callicott, In Defense of the Land Ethic. Essays in Environmental Philosophy (State University of New York Press, 1989) p. 91.

³Lynn White, "The Historical Roots of Our Environmental Past." Science, March 10, 1967, Vol. 155, Number 3767;1203-1207 p. 1206.

⁴Celano, Lives of St. Francis, his Writings and Early Biographies. English Omnibus, ed. Marion Habig, O.F.M. (Franciscan Herald Press, 1972) p. 692.

⁵Celano, p. 494. ⁶José de Vinck, Introduction to the Works of Roman

⁶José de Vinck, Introduction to the Works of Bonaventure (trans. from the French of J. Guy Bougerol, O.F.M.) St. Anthony Guild Press, 1963) p. 40.

⁷José de Vinck (trans.) The Works of Bonaventure. Vol. V. Collationes on the

Six Days (St. Anthony Guild Press, 1963).

⁸Ewert Cousins, Bonaventure and the Coincidence of Opposites. (Franciscan Herald Press, 1978) p. 101.

⁹Cousins, p. 102.

¹⁰José de Vinck trans. The Works of Bonaventure, Vol. II. The Brevilooquium (St. Anthony Guild Press. 1963) p. 69.

¹¹Richard McKeon, ed and trans., Selections from Medieval Philosophers, St. Bonaventura (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930) p. 131.

¹²Bonaventure (trans. José de Vinck) Vol. II, p. 104.

¹³Pope John Paul II. "Peace With All Creation." Bulletin Institute for Theological Encounter with Science and Technology (Winter, 1990, Vol. 21, No. 1.) p. 10.

Book Reviews

Francis and the Franciscan Movement. By David Flood, O.F.M. Quezon City, Philippines: The Franciscan Institute of Asia, 1989. Pp. 173, n.p.

Reviewed by Francis Berna, O.F.M., Ph.D. (Fordham), Theology Department, St. Bonaventure University.

"Once upon a time..." - what a wonderful time! In this magical, mythical time everthing was just as it should be. It was a time of life and unbounded energy; a time of inspiration and creativity; a time of change and great revolution. But eventually "once upon a time" met on "hard times." This is David Flood's reading of Francis and the communities which bear his name.

Even if one is unfamiliar with the previous work of the author the first pages of this text immediatley inform the reader that "something different" will unfold in the pages to follow. At the end, however, one recognizes that the difference lies only in the particular details, not the overall tone.

The "foreward" alerts the reader to the essential difference which Flood intends to detail. He notes that he will refer to the early Franciscan writings in the customary way save his reference to Francis' Letter to the Faithful. This text he prefers to title Commonitorium, insisting that with this text Francis intends to "shake the hearers loose from a world without vision" and "challenges them to break with normal Christian ways" (p. 1). Throughout the text Flood will draw on this work as well as the Early Rule to accentuate the radical na-

ture of the primitive community and to suggest how this radical vision was dimmed by the ideological structures of the patriarchal Church.

As with the Letter to the Faithful Flood insists on a different title for the Early Rule. Rather than a "rule" it is the "basic document of the Franciscan movement." A "rule" employs the language of recognized Church institutions. The "basic document" arises from the movement's creation of its own terminology. In Flood's estimation, as Francis and his friends "marginalize Assisi," (p. 49) so, he would seem to also suggest, they "marginalize the institutional Church." This is the "once upon a time." And as Flood later observes, it is not new. It is a variation and detailing of Desbonnets' theme of "intuition and institution" (pp. 149ff).

In detailing the "hard times" which bring the ruin of "once upon a time" David Flood raises some challenging though questionable observations. The person of Francis and the question of poverty, not surprisingly for Franciscan circles, are the two topics needing the most attention.

In what first appears outrageous Flood writes, "Francis was not poor" (p. 32). He then goes on to specify that by poverty he means being a person without social supports. And certainly, within the brotherhood, Francis had social supports. This kind of confusion caused by reinterpretation follows Flood's already established practice. When addressing the role of money in the primitive movement he contends the motivation rested in a disregard for an economic system and not the virtue of poverty — "whatever that may be" (p 23). One would hope that the author could suggest the meaning of that virtue. That hope finds a justifiable ground in light of Flood's conclusion which highlights the Praises of the Virtues, especially Lady Poverty!

Flood's problem with seeing poverty as a virtue lies in his perception that once Francis is identified with traditional Christian virtues he fits too neatly into the institutional church. Flood prefers Francis on the outside. Flood goes so far as to suggest that Francis rejects asceticism, or at least any rule about asceticism, as this would have Francis fitting into traditional religious asceticism, the work of an order and not a movement. If there were no references to asceticism in any of the other works by Francis then Flood's position might be plausible. However the numerous references to penance and the established fact of Francis' own mortification reduce such a position to fantasy.

Afraid to identify Francis with anything that might possibly seem traditionally (institutionally) religious David Flood reinterprets Francis' insistence to be placed naked on the naked ground as he lay dying. Flood holds, "The learned in the order lacked the knowledge to reflect on Francis' closeness in prayer to 'our sister, Mother Earth' ' (p. 163). No, Thomas of Celano with his failure to appreciate this part of Francis, or perhaps because he had given himself over to the ideology of the hierarchical institution, had to see in this event of Francis a "being with the naked and humble Christ." First, one could question what is so intitutional about Celano's interpretation. Second one could wonder, is not Flood doing exactly what he accuses his brother Thomas of doing — having ideas ready to explain the event of Francis? Instead tions, Francis and the Franciscan

of interpreting Francis along the lines of the traditional institutional model. Flood interprets the Poverello in terms of contemporary critiques of the institu-

It is precisely this which is continually disturbing about Flood's text. He comes to the event of Francis with his own categories of interpretation, indeed his own theology, yet tries to pass it off as if it were the event itself disclosing its meaning. If only Flood would admit to the prejudice of his own perspective, one could get on with considering one's own interpretation of Francis in light of the author's suggestions. Though he recognizes the complexity of interpretation because of "restrictions laid on the mind by social interests" (p. 169) he fails to recognize the restrictions of his own interpretations imposed by his own social interests.

The social interests of David Flood, and others, do not allow him to see any possibility of the Spirit of God at work in the charisms of Thomas of Celano. Bonaventure, Haymo of Faversham or any of the other later "institutional" figures. Flood boldly asserts that the likes of Peter Damian "did not become Fransicans". (p. 153) He suggests the same of Bonaventure. This perspective leads to a real contradiction of the evidence about Francis himself as well as the community's recognition of these later

One might be so bold to say that if the Franciscan movement died with the canonization (institutionalization) of Francis, as Flood lays claim, then let the movement rest in peace. And, one should be so bold to say that the argument proposed by Flood should rest in

However, despite the severe limita-

Movement is worth a careful reading. It is always good to know what is on the mind of David Flood. What is on his mind will always stir up what is on one's own mind. And his insights, though prejudiced, ring true with the contemporary interpretation given to Francis and Franciscan life — interpretations which claim the inspiration of the Spirit. The socially radical Francis depicted by Flood enables the contemporary Franciscan to image well ways of being redically Franciscan today. One need only be cautious in proposing a "once upon a time" — even if that time be today.

Visions of a Future. By Zachary Hayes, O.F.M. Michael Glazier: Wilmington, Delaware, 1989. Pp. 213. Paper, \$14.95.

Reviewed by Fr. George Marcil, O.F.M., Ph.D., Assoc. Professor in the Franciscan Institute of St. Bonaventure University.

In the last decade a number of interesting books have been published on future prospects such as the very recent Jonathan Weiner work, The Next One Hundred Years or the Paul Kennedy best seller, The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers. Before that there was Herman Kahn's study The Next 200 Years. These books have a futuristic perspective on what the near future holds in store for us. The perspectives are described by scientists, sociologists or even economists.

The present work is not another prophetic statement of that type. It is a theological work, "a study of Christian eschatology." The title is significantly different in that it points only to "a" future.

The book is part of an eight volume

series. Each of the contributions is meant to be of use esepcially to the advanced student of theology. The series includes works on standard theological subjects: fundamental theology, the Trinity, Christ, the Church, anthropology.

Zachary Hayes has already published extensively on the subject of eschatology. Apart from his numerous articles, such as those in *The New Dictionary of Theology*, also printed by Michael Glazier, he had written monographs, What are they saying about The End of the World, and a pertinent translation, The Theology of History of St. Bonaventure.

The present work is developed to be a good guide and a high level challenge to the advanced student. The author who is very conversant with the contemporary scene leads the reader through some of recent discussions, both Protestant and Catholic. He mentions often Catholics such as Rahner, Urs von Balthasar, and even Ratzinger, but also such first rate Protestants as Moltmann and Pannenberg.

The first two chapters cover scriptural commonplaces of both the old and new testaments. Here is a good summary of apocalyptic texts leading to a compact conclusion: "God leads history forward to a fulfillment, not backwards to a Golden Past nor pointlessly in circles."

Fr. Hayes then reviews the current theological discussions on death and the afterlife, on theology of history, on the end of history, and on the final conditions (heaven and hell). The author never trivializes, but looks in depth at whatever aspect of the question he is examining. At the end of each chapter he leaves the serious student with a short contemporary bibliography.

I was particularly impressed by his

chapter on theology of history, where he leads the student through an early Christian-Marxist dialogue, then through the debates at Vatican II, and finally gives an analysis of the Moltmann-Panenberg hope literature and the Catholic stance on liberation theology. The survey probes the proper limits of attitudes toward the historical situation: must we be involved in the historical task to be Christian at all or is it best for us to merely hope for a transcendent future?

The author's judgment and elegant use of language are both remarkable, particularly as he touches such themes as "signs of the end," and parousia. He is especially keen in alerting the reader to symbols and to the problems of metaphorical language.

This is not a simple book. It does go over some of the tougher existential questions of faith. The book certainly is recommended to serious students of theology.

Naked Before the Father: The Renunciation of Fancis of Assisi. By Richard C. Trexler, Vol 9, Humana Civilitas Center For Medieval and Renaissance Studies, University of California. New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc., 1989. XIV ... 129 pp., 32 illus. \$22.95.

Reviewed by Peter F. Macaluso, Ph.D., Associate Professor of History. Montclair State College and Adjunct Lecturer Bene Merenti Saint Peter's College.

This work by Richard C. Trexler is a careful examination of the dramatic confrontation in 1206 between Francis of Assisi and his father, Pietro di Bernardone. The author does not mean to offer

a general assessment of Francis' life but aims to better delineate Francis in his passage from boyhood to manhood and from secular to religious preoccupations.

The images of the renunciation of Francis have come down to us by way of paintings and written words but Trexler considers the latter to be last in importance in shaping the pictures. Since the pictures that are examined range over a longer period than the Latin written sources, they help the author to investigate not just what happened, but how the paintings of Francis' renunciation addressed changing concerns about the young, about gender, about dependence, and about property. They also indicate the interaction over time of written and printed sources.

In this intepretation of the documentary and artistic evidence in order to understand the event Trexler finds that the conflict between the men was actually over women's property — that of Francis' mother, Pica. He presents several plausible conclusions to show a threatened father. In a meticulous study of the early biographers, he also discovers that they created two different tales of renunciation, to match two different notions about Franciscan poverty.

There are continuities between Francis' renunciation and his later life such as his undressing to clothe the poor. The dying context lived on in Francis in many ways and the author feels this idea deserves exploration.

This beautiful book contains 32 photographs, a substantial bibliography of primary and secondary sources, and an appendix of the Renunciation in the Primary Lives of Francis.

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The staff of the Franciscan Institute joins the Editors in wishing you a very blessed Christmas and every grace and good from our heavenly Father throughout the new year.