

TABLE OF CONTENTS

FOREWORD	302
ABOUT OUR CONTRIBUTORS	303
THE LITURGY:	
TEACHER AND GUIDE OF ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI	
<i>Dominic Scotto, T.O.R.</i>	305
THE EARLY FRANCISCAN PENITENTS	
<i>David Flood, O.F.M.</i>	313
DAVID OF AUGBURG'S COMMENTARY ON THE FRANCISCAN RULE:	
MINORITE, MONASTIC OR MÉLANGE?	
<i>Michael Cusato, O.F.M.</i>	331
PETER OF JOHN OLIVI AND THE JOURNEY TO EMMAUS	
<i>Robert J. Karris, O.F.M.</i>	347
INDEX 2013	374
INDEX 2014	379
ANNOUNCEMENTS	385
ON THE FRANCISCAN CIRCUIT	390

FOREWORD

As I write this I have set the clocks for Fall Backward, the end of Daylight Savings Time. While enjoying the earlier daylight, the darkness in the evenings encourages fireside--or its modern equivalent--pursuits, like reading this latest issue of *The Cord*. While unusual not to have one or two new writers in its pages, this issue reminds us of the place of Eucharist in the life of Francis and engages our reflection on some of the most recent scholarship about the early brotherhood, the role of commentaries on the Rule in its development in the years post-Francis, and entices us into the world of medieval Scripture commentaries a la Olivi. It is the work of scholars like Scoto, Flood, Cusato and Karris who keep us renewed in our own Franciscan experience. While all our readers are aware of the challenges facing the Franciscan Institute today, we have been graced to find generous leadership in the person of David Couturier, O.F.M. Cap.

With advanced degrees in clinical psychology, pastoral psychology and organizational development, Fr. Couturier has served as Dean of the School of Theology at St. Mary's Seminary and University in Baltimore, MD., and, most recently, as Director of Pastoral Planning for the Archdiocese of Boston. He is also the Dean R. Hoge Professor of Pastoral Planning and Church Management at the Graduate Theological Foundation and Visiting Professor at the Antonianum University (Rome).

He has previously served the worldwide Franciscan Order as President Franciscans International, the NGO at the UN.

Accepting his appointment at St. Bonaventure University, Fr. Couturier said, "It is a real privilege building on the history of this great School of Franciscan Studies and Franciscan Institute and having an opportunity to share the Franciscan imagination with a whole new generation of young adults and with scholars around the world." Welcome, Fr. David!

Daria R. Mitchell, O.S.F.

ABOUT OUR CONTRIBUTORS

MICHAEL CUSATO, O.F.M. is a Franciscan friar and one of the foremost scholars on medieval Franciscan history in the field today. Father Cusato has worked for many years in higher education. He was Director of the Franciscan Institute and Dean of the School of Franciscan Studies at St. Bonaventure University. A volume containing sixteen of his essays on the early Franciscan movement was published in late 2009.

DAVID FLOOD, O.F.M. is a renowned and pioneering scholar of Franciscan history currently on the Research Faculty at the Franciscan Institute. He is the author of fifteen books, numerous articles and several critical editions of texts on early Franciscan history. He received his doctorate from the Universität Köln.

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DOMINIC SCOTTO, T.O.R. is a native of Brooklyn, New York, and a member of the Third Order Regular of Saint Francis of Penance. After four years of military service with the United States Air Force, during which he served a

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**THE LITURGY:
TEACHER AND GUIDE OF ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI**

DOMINIC SCOTTO, T.O.R.

On January 25, 1959, Saint Pope John XXIII called for the convocation of the Second Vatican Council. It was a pronouncement that had far ranging consequences for the development of the Catholic Church in the twentieth century and beyond. The Pope saw this development as being primarily pastoral because of the great need to draw the people of God once again into a more intimate involvement in the life of the Church. Due to centuries of neglect, alienation and separation and, more recently, the trauma of two great and catastrophic world wars which had devastated mankind, there rose the great necessity of imparting an ever increasing vigor to the life of the Christian faithful.¹ Most importantly, the Holy Father envisioned the Liturgy to be central to this entire spirit of renewal. It was the Liturgy that would impart the theological and pastoral foundation to the spirit of renewal in the Church. Consequently, it was initially necessary to produce a liturgical document that would serve as the springboard for all the other reforms called for within the Church. After the formation of a special committee under the direction of Anibale Bugnini, and a very spirited period of discussion, trial, and compromise, the committee produced the document *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, The

¹ The Constitution of the Sacred Liturgy: *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, Vatican Council II (Dublin: Dominican Publications, 1975), Introduction Art. 1, 1.

Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, which was officially promulgated by Pope Paul VI on December 4, 1963.²

The introduction of this great document states clearly that

it is through the liturgy, especially in the divine sacrifice of the Eucharist, that the faithful are enabled to express in their lives and manifest to others the mystery of Christ and the real nature of the true Church.³

The Constitution goes on to explain how it is through the liturgy that the people of God are daily being built into a “holy temple of the Lord, a dwelling place for God in the Spirit” (Eph 4:13), while at the same time “marvelously increases their power to preach Christ and to be a living witness of his presence in the world.”⁴

While the liturgy is principally the priestly work of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ offering praise and worship to the Father, it is also a wonderful means by which the people of God are instructed in their faith. For in the liturgy it is God who takes the initiative in speaking to his people and the people respond to him in song and prayer.⁵

At the heart of the liturgical sacrifice of the Mass, it is the priest who, as an *Alter Christus* presides over the assembly and acts in the name of the entire people of God. And through all the visible signs and symbols used in the sacred liturgy to signify the invisible divine elements, the power of the Holy Spirit communicates and instructs his people lifting them up to understand more clearly the mysteries of our faith. Filled with this divine initiative, the faith of the participating community is nourished, “and their needs are raised to God so that they may offer

² Piero Marini, *A Challenging Reform* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2007).

³ *The Constitution of the Sacred Liturgy*, Introduction, Para. 2.

⁴ *The Constitution of the Sacred Liturgy*, Introduction, Para. 2.

⁵ *The Constitution of the Sacred Liturgy*, Para. 33, 12.

him their spiritual homage and receive his grace more abundantly.”⁶

In his groundbreaking encyclical *Mediator Dei*, Pope Pius XII had previously stated that “the entire Liturgy, therefore, has the Catholic faith for its content, in as much as it bears public witness to the faith of the Church.” It is for this reason, that Pontiffs and Councils of the past, have always had recourse to the sacred liturgy for enlightenment, for instruction, and to supply proof and testimony towards the clarification and determination of a particular point of Christian doctrine.⁷ From all this it is easy to see how the liturgy has always had a strong pedagogical role to play in the development of the spiritual life of the Church.

It was this same liturgy that molded and shaped the spiritual life of Saint Francis of Assisi. While he was a naturally gifted and intelligent person, he did not have a great deal of formal learning.⁸ However, he did possess a deep spirit of religion, an intensity of union with and love of Christ, and a deep sensitivity to the obedience and poverty of the Lord. Essentially all of these wonderful characteristics were communicated, nourished, and strengthened through the divine liturgy.

In the very first sentence of the first rule of 1221 he wrote: “The Rule and life of the brothers is this, namely: to live in obedience, in chastity and without anything of their own, and to follow the teaching and footprints of our Lord Jesus Christ.”⁹ By following the teaching and footsteps of our Lord, Francis did not mean that one needs to simply mimic the lifestyle of Jesus, but that this imitation had to involve a total commitment of self to God. This commitment became more firmly established in the

⁶ *The Constitution of the Sacred Liturgy*, Para. 33, 12.

⁷ Pope Pius XII, Encyclical Letter, *Mediator Dei*, Art. 48, 1947.

⁸ Omer Engelbert, *St. Francis of Assisi* (Quincy, IL: Franciscan Herald Press, 1966), 42-43.

⁹ *The Earlier Rule*, Chap. 1, 1, *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*, Vol. 1, *The Saint*, ed. Regis J. Armstrong, J.A. Wayne Hellmann, William J. Short (New York: New City Press, 1999), 63-64; henceforth *FA:ED* followed by volume number and page(s).

life of Francis when, while in attendance at Mass in the little Church of Our Lady of the Angels, the words of the Gospel from Matt 10:7-10 spoke to him in a most revealing way.

Undoubtedly, Francis had heard these words proclaimed many times before, but at this point in his life he was especially moved. He did not really know why until after Mass he requested that the priest explain to him more fully the deeper meaning of these words. When the priest obliged Francis with a fuller explanation of the Gospel message it struck a strong resonant tone in the heart of Francis. While he had already been essentially following a gospel life up to this point, the words of the gospel that day helped Francis to better understand the spirit of the Lord that he had been seeking to follow faithfully. Francis was filled with joy with this enlightenment and affirmation.¹⁰

From this point on the life of Francis takes on a much more definitive direction guided by the Word of God that throughout his life would always be most closely associated with the Eucharist. Throughout his entire life Francis displayed a great love for the Word of God primarily as it came to him through the Divine Liturgy. It was from the Sacred Scriptures that Francis constantly sought direction for his life and that of his fraternity. In the context of the Eucharist God's word became for him "spirit and life" (John 6:63). Therefore, it was through the Sacred Scriptures that Francis heard the voice of the Lord speaking to him and directing him. And all of this occurred primarily in the context of the Sacred Liturgy and always as a humble member of the Church of Christ.

At the heart of the spiritual life of St. Francis was his deep, intense and practical faith in the glorified Christ as really present in the Holy Eucharist. It was the source of his inspiration and the catalyst for his on-going conversion that constantly provided guidance and motivation for the rest of his life. This receptivity to the word of God

¹⁰ Thomas of Celano, *The Life of Saint Francis*, 22, FA:ED 1, 201.

as it came to him through the Eucharist was also at the heart of his deep respect for the Church as the dwelling place of Our Lord, and the priesthood as the instrument by which the Lord made himself available to all through the Eucharist.¹¹

At a time when respect for the clergy was at relatively low ebb, Francis saw through their human limitations and sinfulness to the ministry that they performed in the divine liturgy, a ministry that invested in them alone the privilege of receiving and administering to others the sacred body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. Consequently, cognizant of these great gifts Francis spent a lifetime with a heart full of gratitude and praise for the Holy Eucharist which was at the core of the liturgical life of the Church.¹² In the major portion of his writings he reaffirms over and over again the prominence of the Eucharist in his life and in that of the fraternity. It is the sacrifice of the Mass which was the constant source of the spirit and strength of the entire apostolic life of Saint Francis. It was the Eucharist which became the source of the seraphic love of Francis. As far as Francis was concerned he could never perform a sufficient thanksgiving for the gift of the Eucharist. Throughout his lifetime Francis walked through the world continually expressing his gratitude for all God's creation, an attitude which flowed from and always directed him back to the Eucharist. It is therefore easy to discern how Francis's love of the liturgy, as primarily exemplified in his love of the Eucharist, was legendary.¹³

Again, with the Eucharist in mind, in the Early Rule of 1221 Francis stated that "all the brothers, whether clerical or lay, recite the Divine Office, the praises and prayers, as is required of them."¹⁴

¹¹ Hilarion Kistner, O.F.M., *The Gospel According to St. Francis* (Cincinnati, OH: Franciscan Media, 2014), 9.

¹² *The Later Admonition and Exhortation*, 14-20, FA:ED 1, 46-47.

¹³ Dominic F. Scotto, T.O.R., "The Liturgy: Source of Franciscan Penitential Life," *The Cord*, 34.1 (Feb. 1984): 36.

¹⁴ *The Early Rule*, Ch. 3, FA:ED 1, 65.

While in the language of that day the Divine Office could be interpreted as embracing both the Mass and the Canonical hours, it was the Eucharist which was to be the central act and inspiration for the prayer life of the friars and the source from which all their activities must flow. Francis received the Eucharist not only as the inspiration and nourishment of his own personal piety, but also as the spirit and heart of the Christian life itself. With great devotion, awe and wonder he contemplated Christ as both priest and sacrificial victim, in the Eucharist. It was this vision of Christ totally and continually giving himself in sacrifice as a holocaust for the salvation of all mankind that caused Francis's heart to overflow with love and sorrow for his suffering and crucified Lord. And it was to this vision of Christ that Francis sought to conform his own life most faithfully. It was out of this devotion to the crucified Christ in the Eucharist that Francis's authentic spirit of penance and poverty flowed.¹⁵

We also know that beside a very active ministry of preaching and service, Francis and his followers also led a life of intense personal prayer, a life of meditation and contemplation. Francis always sought out isolated places where he could be alone with God without any worldly distractions. Here he would be completely absorbed in the Lord and as Celano tells us he was "not so much praying as becoming himself a prayer."¹⁶ Filled in this way with the spirit of God, Francis, in a sense, was already experiencing a foretaste of heavenly possession. Wherever he went on his many journeys, even in company with his friars, he would always remain in a spirit of interior recollection. Always a man of prayer, Francis kept himself aware of the Lord and thus was always absorbed in his presence.

The important thing to consider here is what was the source of this great spirit of prayer that Francis possessed? The Constitution of the Sacred Liturgy informs us

¹⁵ Scotto, "The Liturgy: Source of Franciscan Penitential Life": 56.

¹⁶ Thomas of Celano, *The Remembrance of the Desire of a Soul*, LXI, para. 95, *FA:ED* 2, 310.

that in order to perpetuate the saving power of the Paschal Mystery in space and time, "Christ is always present in his Church, especially in her liturgical celebrations," and every liturgical celebration being the action of Christ the priest in His Church, "is a sacred action surpassing all others."¹⁷ As members of the Church when we are celebrating the earthly liturgy we are experiencing a foretaste of the heavenly liturgy. However, the Church also declared that while the sacred liturgy is at the heart of the Church's worship, it does not exhaust the entire activity of the Church."¹⁸ There are those activities which technically speaking are not part of the liturgical life of the Church, that is, they are not public, corporate worship. However, activities such as preaching, teaching, personal contemplation, prayer and meditation must bring the faithful to the liturgy for the worship of the Church is the summit toward which all the activity of the Church is directed.¹⁹ But ultimately it is the liturgy that inspires and leads the faithful to a life of prayer rooted in the Paschal Mystery and the Word as expressed in the Divine Liturgy.

As far as St. Francis was concerned because of his lack of formal training his inspiration and motivation toward prayer came primarily through the influence of the Divine Liturgy and effectively led back to it as it "draws the faithful and sets them aflame with Christ's insistent love."²⁰ From the liturgy, therefore, and especially from the Eucharist, grace is poured forth upon us as from a fountain and the sanctification of men in Christ and the glorification of God to which all other activities of the Church are directed, as toward their end, are achieved with maximum effectiveness.²¹ Therefore, through his life of contemplation Francis fulfilled the intended effect of the liturgy and that was to be in a state of permanent ad-

¹⁷ *Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy*, para. 7.

¹⁸ *Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy*, para. 9.

¹⁹ *Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy*, para. 10.

²⁰ *Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy*, para. 7.

²¹ *Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy*, para. 7.

oration and communication with the Lord in living faith and charity.

This then is the true pedagogical role of the sacred liturgy in the life of Saint Francis and in the life of the Church. In effect it is echoing the words of Pope Paul VI when he expressed the hope that within the liturgy, “sacred scripture will then be a perpetual source of spiritual life, the chief instrument for handing down Christian doctrine, and the center for all theological study.”²²

²² Pope Pius VI, “Apostolic Constitution on the Revised Roman Missal,” *The Sacramentary*, 1974.

THE EARLY FRANCISCAN PENITENTS

DAVID FLOOD, O.F.M.

Franciscan history may well have begun when an Assisian (in Umbria, central Italy) in his twenties (named Francis) began building his own world. He worked repairing neglected churches. While at it, he radiated a satisfaction that caught the interest of a few men his age. They got together and agreed on pursuing his line of action. With time, at one moment, they put in writing their commitment to each other to continue that life. They worded their text with the cultural elements of their day. As a consequence they could explain themselves to the powers that were. Inevitably, they understood their written accord as their own active, evolving way, whereas the powers-that-were understood the accord as a way of life that fit into the social realities of the day. The year was 1209.

On the other hand, our historical account of what they were doing and how it played out begins with the piece of writing they produced. That is the first evidence of the story that has come down to us. We have the words of 1209 in the form the writing reached in 1221. As the years had passed, after all, the men had become more specific about their *vita*. They dealt with problems that arose, while holding to the decision of 1209. The decision and its details sustained what was added. To the *Early Rule*, as we may call the document of 1221, the men added a few further writings. The most important was the Rule of 1223.

In the early twentieth century, Sabatier and his critic Goetz agreed on the importance of the thin collection of texts from the early years. Yet they did not think much could be done with them. In his study on the *Testament* (1949), Kajetan Esser began showing how much might be drawn from the early writings. He was interested in the spiritual life of Francis and his brothers, however, and not with the contest between the brotherhood and the times. If the men worked while refusing wages, as they put in writing, they initiated a social dynamic worth examining closely. There was a story there. The details of the narrative are in the *Early Rule*. Although we have no critical access to Francis's musings as he began fashioning a way of life, we can slip into the common mind of the brothers as they set out on their journey. Indirectly they tell us their story. The critical history of Francis of Assisi begins in the details of the *Early Rule*. Any other account of Franciscan history and its agents has to explain why it does not start there; it has to explain why it begins elsewhere.

So they set out, and as we catch up with the brothers, we see that it lay in the nature of the early Franciscans to interact with the people of middle Italy. They were definitely not hermits. If we analyze the *Early Rule*, we find three sections that belonged to the first days of the brotherhood: Chapters I, VII, and XIV. *Early Rule* XIV belonged, in some form, to the document of 1209, sanctioned by Pope Innocent III. The chapter was there from the start, for it states what the brothers propose to do once they disengage from the social realities of their day. It gave rise to Chapter XVII, which defined more precisely the brothers' presence among people. And Chapter XVII was added to the *Early Rule* before the chapter of 1216, when the brothers discussed the work of the November 1215 council (Lateran IV). *Early Rule* XIV handled the practical problem given the brothers by *Early Rule* I: What do we do, now that we have left the world? It declared that the brothers intended to promote peace and share with

others, both giving and taking. From the start they were definitely involved with other people.

Once disengaged socially (*Early Rule* I), the brothers reconnected with people as workers. They worked, for that was the human way. *Early Rule* VII made that clear. Consequently they promoted peace and sharing with others first of all at various work sites and among the working population. As the opening lines of the chapter give us to understand, they defined carefully how they were working. They worked as men interested in others. They found the words to say it and made sure they defined the words. With *servus* and *servire*, they gave notice that they were tending to the common interest. They did so both at work and in taking only what they needed. The term *servus* became a key word in the brothers' formal vocabulary. It characterized their action among people. The action definitely involved social purpose.

This is where Franciscan politics began. The interaction of the brothers with other workers involved them with and instructed them about the injustice done to workers. In general, over the centuries, people who work have done so, first, to survive and, second, to support those who controlled and benefited from their labor. The brothers who, by Chapter XIV, set out to promote peace and share with others were rapidly involved with distributive injustice. In contrast to their coworkers, they could do something about it. They had the organization and the knowledge, as well as the conscience, that urged them to call for distributive justice. And that they did. The evidence is there, in *Early Rule* IX and XVII and elsewhere.

In the same introductory paragraph to *Early Rule* VII, the brothers also made sure people, as well as they themselves, understood what *servire* did not mean. They were not about to enter serfdom. They were not going to swear submission to any lord. No brother was to bind himself legally to a landed estate and give the lord of that estate his labor for assurance of life's means. The term *officium* covered the words that sanctioned such an agreement. (It meant a formal agreement and not a privileged position.)

Serfdom was passing in central Italy, but it still offered a poor man and his family the means of survival.

The term *minores* (Early Rule VII 2) meant that the brothers belonged to those who were free. The two words *maiores* and *minores* defined Assisi's citizens. One term referred to the wealthy of Assisi (*maiores*), the other to those who were free to go about their ambitions of becoming wealthy (*minores*).¹ The brothers acted as the free men they were. That they did when, together, as penitents, they left Assisi. They claimed the term when making clear that they were free men as they devoted themselves to their purposes of peace and sharing. The people of Assisi had seen to their freedom through a struggle of several decades and, now free, pursued their own fortune. Anyone favoring serfdom caused scandal and did himself harm.

We have to heed the context in which the word *minores* occurs. Here we find the brothers defining themselves in the world of work. They said what *servire* was. They also made sure it was understood what *servire* was not. *Servi*, servants yes, as they understood the term, but not *servi* as a feudal lord saw it. They had every intention of staying free and it was important that they and people generally knew it. Why would they use a term from Scripture, *minores*, which had its context, when the term was very much alive and actual in Assisi with another meaning? Ten years later, in a wholly different context, the brothers gave the terms both *maiores* and *minores* another meaning.² And, in passing, there is no good reason to drag Mark 8:36 into these lines. The similarity is

¹ The terms *maiores* and *minores* were used in other cities of central Italy in the early thirteenth century. Each city defined by usage exactly what the terms meant. The communal documents of Bologna, for example, allow us to follow the tale of the terms in that city's history. We know what they meant in Assisi, thanks to the city's 1210 charter, and it was something other than in Bologna. The economically free and busy *minores* were lesser vis-a-vis the *maiores*.

² Among and between brothers there should be *minores* alone and no *maiores*. Some *minores* were responsible for seeing to it that their brothers abided by the *Vita* as agreed.

accidental and not purposeful, verbally similar but certainly not analogous.

The brothers did not seal themselves off from the working population by their living arrangements. In Chapter X of his Rule commentary, Hugh of Digne mentions the lodging problems the brothers encountered when they first set out. Towards the end of Chapter IV in the commentary, he gives us some idea of the brothers' early housing. At best the constructions did not go beyond what families had as homes. The residences slowly got that far. At the same time, by their work and life, as Hugh reports in Chapter IV, the brothers won themselves the trust and help of their coworkers. He even describes a sort of cooperation between workers and brothers in handling life's practical problems.³

The Franciscan idea of work in the common interest offered others support in their labors; it also brought about easy and open communication between brothers and coworkers. Once Steven Epstein has described the development of workers and guilds in Francis's day, he turns to the wider world of work and the relations between work and religion.⁴ The chapter gives us a good idea of what comprised the wider world of labor with which the brothers interacted. If Francis and his brothers seemed to have a good handle on life, they quite naturally drew attention and influenced others. They did, and that lay behind a message of encouragement addressed to people generally, but first of all to the working population.

As the spokesman of the brotherhood, Francis addressed "The Message of Recall and Exhortation," *Opusculum commonitorium et exhortatorium*, to the working

³ Hugh of Digne's Rule commentary has recently been translated and published: *Early Commentaries on the Rule of the Friars Minor* (St. Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute Publications, 2014).

⁴ Steven Epstein, *Wage Labor and Guilds in Medieval Europe* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1991). See Chapter Four, "Guilds and Labor in the Wider World." Epstein distinguishes between guild and confraternity on page 157. He refers to almshouses on page 167. This is the social reality into which the brothers stepped and were put to the test.

population. One can still call it a letter to the faithful, if one wills, insofar as Francis, once done with the workers, excoriates the wealthy. He calls them blind, guilty of injustice, and fated to damnation. The unfaithful had reason to consider Francis's criticism, but they did not, of course. Francis's conclusion to the Message indicates clearly whom he has in mind with the text. He hardly told the rich to make copies and circulate his words.⁵

Francis presents himself as one who is held to serve his addressees. (He proves that the determination of *Early Rule* VII was definitely functional.) He serves them first of all by seeing to their welfare. He recalls the words of the Lord that can turn into the words of the Spirit, the Spirit who is spirit and life. He then summarizes Jesus' offer of salvation. People grasp the chance at life offered them by doing as the gospel says: loving God and neighbor (Message 18). Once Francis supposes that done, he continues by telling his readers and listeners to confess their sins and receive communion. Then they are to go a step further and do works of penance: "Besides this, let us engage in penance worthily" (Message 25). If they are not already, Francis intends to make them penitents and penitents as he and his brothers understand the term. How are they to live? The brothers have an answer.

Some of the lines that follow have to do explicitly with the world of work. Francis does not have to explain to whom he is speaking in those lines, for, at that time, it was evident. At Message 28, he tells those who adjudicate differences among the workers to do so kindly, with understanding. Epstein refers several times to the officials who handled differences and problems that arose in the guilds.⁶ Towards the end of his penitential details, Francis gets to the work site (Message 40-44). He tells those

⁵ The manuscript Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale, cod 338, copied towards 1250, calls it *Opusculum*, etc. Message says it well enough. See the English of the text in: *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents* I, 45-51.

⁶ Epstein, *Wage Labor*, 88, 114, 137, 138. Francis certainly does not have in mind the judges of the world he and his brothers left.

who have signed on for work to abide by their agreement; the apprentices he tells to do as they are told.⁷ Those in charge are to deal with their brothers as they would wish to be treated, were they in those circumstances. It was the practice among the workers to call one another brother. These are the lines (40-44) that identify best whom Francis has in mind in the Message.

That Francis speaks to fellow workers here is plain common sense. He and his brothers have located themselves socially among the working population by *Early Rule* VII. These people are poor in the sense Jesus and his Mother were (Message 5). They had to work hard to get along. With the little that they had, they still fasted and gave alms. Guilds gave alms. The workers also knew quite well how some misfortune, sickness or accident, could suddenly cast them into poverty. Some guilds committed to helping guild members who came on hard times. Francis and his brothers picked up on the work practice of succoring the needy. The *maiores* considered that charity and admired the brothers. The working folk knew that was impressive solidarity.

After speaking to the working population, Francis criticizes severely those who do not use their wealth to help the needy (Message 63-85). The whole section has to do with distributive justice. The wealthy refuse to see to the stewardship to which they are held; they are blind.⁸ To that point, Francis tells the story of a rich man who, on his death bed, refuses to put his fortune to its proper use. And so he dies "*in criminali peccato*"; he dies as a criminal

⁷ A journeyman was to obey insofar as he had contracted to do so. As for apprenticeship, Epstein, page 197, implies that it was synonymous with servitude. Francis uses that term at Message 40.

⁸ Francis relies here on the teachings of the canonists and theologians. See Brian Tierney, *The Idea of Natural Rights*, Grand Rapids, MI: William Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1997), 43-77. In his study on (Franciscan) poverty, Frater Petrus Ioannis (Peter of John) mentions the rich prefer a bad death, leaving their wealth to their families, rather than doing justice to the needy. See Johannes Schlageter, *Das Heil der Armen...*, (Werl, Germany: Dietrich Coelde Verlag, 1989), 125.

and goes to hell.⁹ Francis does not censure his greed. He lays bare the wrong done society by the moribund's failure to put his wealth to its proper use.¹⁰

Once we have come this far in reading the Message and know where we are historically, we can go further with our examination of Francis's words. He is calling people to penance. He shares with them the brothers' experience of penance. A penitent ends up sustaining his neighbors.

Given their location in the working population, given the immediacy of the injustice they see about them, what else can they do save turn their initial ideal of sharing (*Early Rule XIV*) into their political purpose of distributive justice (*Early Rule XVII 17-19*)? In *Early Rule XXIII*, the brothers seek the attention of all. They call on the whole human race to do penance. By penance they understand heeding the words of Jesus Christ and serving people in need. By penance they do not mean a better life morally, but a different one altogether. In the text under study, the Message, Francis first summons all to change their ways. Then he goes into the details of penance for his immediate audience, those whom he and his brothers encounter day by day. He finishes by sharing with them the common experience of the brotherhood. We arrive, that is, at Francis's summary of the penitential life as seen by the brothers.

Once he has proposed that the workers harmonize their different roles (Message 40-44), Francis describes how he and his friends have lived as "*servi et subditi*," with everyone in mind. They have done penance; with *servire* they live for others as Jesus did. In a brief paragraph of three sentences (Message 45-47) Francis sums up movement life. He does so for clarity and for a reason. He

⁹ "... in mortal sin ..." indicates clearly that the translator does not know what is going on. See Egidio Forcellini's Latin lexicon re the difference between *crimen* and *delictum*.

¹⁰ The text needs the whole story. The moribund has to refuse to use his goods as God wills. There are no two Messages, the earlier and the later. (This is the third objective argument against an early version of the Message.)

wants people to know the difference penance has made in his life and that of his brothers. It has to do with work as service and not with the three vows of religious life. He would have them embrace such a life. He expresses himself in the language he and his brothers have developed. The paragraph needs close exegesis. We begin then with a translation of his words.

(45) We are not to be wise and prudent in a worldly way. We are to be simple, humble, and pure. (46) We are to look on our bodies as an ill-formed disgrace. All of us, by our own fault, have been wretched and rotten, worms as the Lord says through the Prophet: I am a worm and not a man, an insult to humanity and a failure among people. (47) We are never to desire to be over others. Rather we are to be their servants, subject to every human creature for God's sake.

In the structure of the Message as a whole, we can expect a summary at this stage. And that is what we get. We have the same proposal, basically, made by the brothers for themselves in *Early Rule* XVII 6-7 and, very simply, in Admonition XII. The passage is not as bad as it might sound at first reading. And it is true.¹¹

Unit 45 causes no problem. The line contrasts the action of a penitent life with action in pursuit of worldly success. There are two distinct minds and practices at play. One life seeks common well-being, whereas the other seeks possessions and power, in a more or less human society.¹²

Unit 47 sums up as general behavior what the brothers learned at work. They sustain one another (the sus-

¹¹ I have gone through this before: "So What Is a Franciscan? Constituting the Franciscan Subject," in *Franciscan Studies* 63 (2005): 35-47.

¹² The so-called "Salutation of the Virtues," which direly needs a better title, and which I call "The Hymn to Labor," spells out in different ways how it is better to pursue the welfare of all people than to seek individual advantages: for people and not against people.

tinere of Message 44) in their efforts to see to it that they and others get along well at work and in life. They turn the common effort into a success for all. No one gets left out. It is an ideal, of course, and they look to one another to hold to their commitment. This is especially the case in Admonitions XXII to XXV, about which there will be a further word later. Message 47 arises out of Message 46. Message 46 comes down heavy on self-promotion. This is how it happens in *Early Rule* XVII 6-9.

We need to gather further data to reflect critically on Message 46. We find it in the *Early Rule*. *Early Rule* XVII belonged to the written accord of the brothers in 1215, prior to the fourth Lateran council (November 1215). The chapter concretized *Early Rule* XIV's proposal of peace and sharing. First it set the brother's mind properly (6-9). Then it rejected the brotherhood's inclusion in society (10-13), while confessing the guidance of the Spirit of the Lord (14-16). Finally it rephrased the commitment of *Early Rule* XIV to peace and sharing, for it took on the task of distributive justice (17-19, *bona Deo reddere*, "returning all that is good to God"); it already knew that battle lay ahead, to which it said "Amen." With XVII 6-9 and 7 in particular, we have the equivalent of Message 46.

Consequent to the recent council, the brothers laid down rules for preachers, as legislated at the council. They also admonished the ministers to serve and not to rule. By bringing the chapter up to date, they dropped the few lines from Scripture¹³ which had introduced the chapter originally.

Early Rule XVII is a bold chapter and a demanding one. The brothers took time to absorb what was being required of them. This resulted in six of the Admonitions, VII to XII.¹⁴ In Admonition XII one brother or several fashioned an answer to a good question. A brother wanted to

¹³ I suppose something like Matthew 22:37-38.

¹⁴ I wrote an essay on these six Admonitions: "Social Designs and Admonitions IX-XI," in *The Cord*, 55.1 (2005): 50-62. Admonition VII indicates the sort of study the brotherhood needs. Rule X 8 supported such study.

hear: How do I know that I have the Spirit of the Lord, as *Early Rule* XVII says so easily and so definitely? The answer, Admonition XII, is a good one, psychologically and theoretically, but the point here is that it echoes Message 46. What is body in Message 46 is flesh here. In this context, flesh-body means the necessarily physical presence of a brother in society. Given a brother's service as worker and his exemplarity as Christian, he is regularly being dragged back into society. He is supposed to function as someone and first of all as a holy man. That does not wash, he has to resist. If the brother accepts the role of estimable person, he stops his service (movement action) by going along with the praise, identified as socially proper. The brother gets dragged into another social project and has then lost contact with the movement. There is something in him that makes it easy to slip away in this fashion, and that is what is being beaten into submission in Admonition XII and Message 46. Each brother has to hold fast to being the free agent of the Spirit of the Lord, always at work in and beyond humankind's world.¹⁵

I do not wish to explain the harshness of Message 46 away. When someone hears it, he or she is right to step back, shiver a bit, and ask for an explanation. Or chide Francis for talking that way. As we can see from other moments when the bothers do speak this way, the lines belonged to Franciscan life. The brothers had made them theirs. Such language was the way they traced the line between themselves and the wrong of society. They were ready to spell it out for those who wanted to understand. They spelled it out for the brother who raised the question answered in Admonition XII. The fact that, today, few if any speak about these passages makes clear that historians generally do not grasp the core of early Franciscan history.

¹⁵ There is transcendence there. That is what the brother is not to play with. The sentence referred to invites a theological excursus. It is the sort of witness theology uses to talk about God's presence in our lives.

Following on 46 we have the simple instruction of Message 47. We make our common action work for all of us. With that we enter into the production of goods and into the social give-and-take of life, and first of all the giving. Message 47 puts a leash on Message 46's adversary.

After 45-47 comes the witness of Message 48-62. The discursive mode changes. Francis has long shifted into the first person plural. He has not been instructing, he has been describing the common life of penitents; that means himself and his brothers and those who join them. After he welcomes new penitents into the movement (48-50), he continues in the first person plural. He describes the rightness of such action. He witnesses to the satisfaction and joy which penitential ways bring into the life and the journey of men and women. Francis puts it in Christian terms as a life enhanced by the Spirit of the Lord. He could have explained it humanly as well. He did, sort of, for there is great joy in his words. The life made for a dynamic social group in a wide variety of ways. He does that to a degree in Message 61-62, with which he finishes the witness to the experience. The penitents are drenched in goodness of which God alone is source. The brothers perform similarly in *Early Rule XXIII*, with, once more, a clear distinction between who is handling life's challenges and who is not.¹⁶ We can make a further connection. Francis understood what happened to the brotherhood along the line of the joy he felt after helping a poor leper: see the opening lines of the *Testament*.

Francis leads into the confirmation, religious and social, of the brotherhood's way by addressing the whole workforce, that is, both men and women. "All the men and women" he writes in Message 48: first the male pronoun (*illi*) and then the female pronoun (*illae*). All, he says, are invited to join the action: *talia*, the ways of the brothers. When Francis began the Message, he addressed everyone. He has gotten through the detail of penitential life and now he wants to make sure that his words have

¹⁶ It's Adam Grant's *Give and Take* in the early thirteenth century.

reached his addressees. In doing so he speaks explicitly to the women as well as to the men of the workforce.

At the end of the Message, when Francis invokes God's blessing on those who turn penitential with the brothers, that is, at Message 88, he speaks again to the male and female workers. Again it is *illi* and *illae*, an explicit inclusion of women in his primary audience. He urges them to mull over his words and then to copy them and share them with others. By mentioning the women twice, both times at crucial moments in the Message, Francis acknowledges what the women bring to the working day. He does not hesitate to solicit women to join the penitential movement; and he does not hesitate to ask them to help gather in others. We touch here on an important facet of early Franciscan life which has not been brought to light.

I emphasize that Francis went out of his way to signal to women that they belonged to the penitential movement. *Omnes* (all), to his mind, did not suffice. He made it explicit. *Illi et illae* (the men and the women) made sure that women were in the *omnes*.

In the brief preface to his book, *Opera Muliebria*,¹⁷ David Herlihy tells us of the change in women and work that took place towards the end of the Middle Ages. Prior to the Middle Ages, he writes, and "as late as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries," women stood with the men in providing for society's needs. They were not only busy in the fields and at the spindle. They were important in "high administration" and in the healing arts. They made cloth and brewed beer. They interpreted and disseminated sacred knowledge as well. Then their high visibility in the working world began fading, so that, by the fifteenth century, their public participation in the economics of society was reduced and secluded. "The virtual confinement

¹⁷ David Herlihy, *Opera Muliebria. Women and Work in Medieval Europe* (Chicago, IL: McGraw-Hill Publishing Co., 1990). Steven Epstein refers regularly to women in his book, as his index shows. He draws attention to Herlihy's study and recognizes its importance. It fits well into his studies, but appeared too late for him to work it into his account.

of women's labor to work within the home, which historians found at the start of the modern age, was not an ancient arrangement."

In his book, Herlihy writes about women's "public labor": "work that serves a function beyond a woman's personal needs or those of her immediate family." He tries to follow the Greek practice of the gynaeceum out of classical times into the women's workshops of the Middle Ages. In presenting his case, he has to rely on literary sources at first, which, however imperfect, is about all that remains. At the beginning of Chapter Four,¹⁸ David Herlihy cites the complaint of the girl workers in Chrétien de Troyes' chivalric romance *Yvain*: Those they work for are rich, they say, while they are not paid enough for food and clothes.¹⁹ Herlihy has more to work with as the thirteenth century begins winding down. The guild statutes of the late thirteenth century from Toulouse allow him to identify the particular contributions of women in five different guilds. Herlihy has devoted most of his book (pages 49-126) to the central Middle Ages (900-1350). However sparse his material, he has succeeded in giving women their place in the working world of the Middle Ages, to the effect that he can with reason counsel historians "not to mistake records for realities."²⁰

In his conclusion (185-91), Herlihy explains five factors at play that turned production into a household activity, domesticated it in sum, there where the male usually ruled. The dominant guild masters struggled to keep up with the new technology. They had the authority to see to it that the son took over as master. Women subsided into a secondary role.

Francis's double reference to women in the message fits into Herlihy's report on the working scene in the early

¹⁸ Herlihy, *Opera Muliebria*, 75.

¹⁹ Thomas Piketty slightly *avant la lettre*?

²⁰ Clerics trained to do so did the recording. Salimbene referred to the non-clerics in the Order "always plotting against us." We do not have much more about the extended effort of worker brothers to continue the early movement. Here, too, do not mistake records for realities.

thirteenth century. Francis mentions the women to assure their attention. He wants them to know that they are definitely included. They see what is going on. He knows, I submit, they would extend the good word more readily than their husbands. The *illae* have good reason to take to heart what Francis says in his Message. Insofar as they respond to Francis's call to penance, they enter on a new way of working and relating to others. It is not a question of assuming prayers and practices, but of working well and of supporting one another. To what degree and manner they subscribe to the movement's intention of "giving God back all good things," as the brothers say in *Early Rule* XVII, I do not know. Nor can I say how they handled Message 46. It makes a difference in their lives and hopes, all the same, that they hear about the church's teaching on stewardship. It is good, too, that they hear voiced publicly what they know in their hearts. The women of Message 48 and 88 are the women of the Franciscan movement.²¹

Francis and his brothers were not so tied down by custom that they would readily overlook the women's contribution to the common good. Their practice of not seeking their material advantage at work and of heeding and respecting others as "subject to all" extended to women as well as to men. Francis exemplified the respect by inviting the women, in the Message, to understand that they were included in considering good work and its extension. Francis manifested this ability to recognize others when he found himself in the presence of Melekel-Kamel. It was not only Francis's way with people, but the result of the brotherhood's education of its members, Francis included. Each brother was pupil as well as teacher. Put differently, Francis before the sultan repre-

²¹ Clare of Assisi attempted to fit into a working woman's role at San Paolo. Her family could bring enough pressure on the Benedictine monastery to end her attempt. Clare belonged to a class that would not allow her to lead the same life as the women addressed by Francis in the Message.

sented the movement first of all, in its way with people, and not his singular morality.

If Francis attempts to get workers to see their condition more positively, we can broach the possibility that he and his brothers took them deeper into their understanding of penance. Was the Message the sole words addressed the workers? Perhaps one or the other of the Admonitions was fashioned for a larger audience than the brotherhood. Admonition V goes along with the Message, as do Admonitions XXII and XXIII. A particular communication between the brothers and their colleagues, men and women, necessarily opens if the Message begins circulating, as Francis urges.

All this soon ended.

We find in Volume VIII of Bonaventure's *Opera Omnia* a section in which a brother apologist defends the Order against criticism and explains some of its ways.²² Among the section's chapters the apologist faces the question: Why don't the brothers promote the so-called Order of Penitents? The author goes through the many troubles the Penitents might bring upon them, involving them in worldly problems. The brothers pursue the spiritual growth of others "without surrendering our liberty." At the end of his apology, he adds this admission:

Francis took a different tack, true, for conditions at that time and place led to other relationships between the Order and people. Moreover the well-known holiness of blessed father Francis himself and of the first brothers made for a policy then which here and now no longer has its place.

"All this soon ended," but these lines from 1268 invite us to surmise that much more happened than the very little we tend to think. Or have been told. And these words hardly got the apologist off the hook. The early brothers, Francis included, did involve themselves in the fate and

²² Volume VIII, "*Determinationes ... circa Regulam.*" Here, pages 368-69. Ignatius Brady and others have rejected the ascription of the *Determinationes* to Bonaventure's pen. He gave his reasons and no one has set them aside. I definitely agree with Brady.

troubles of others. They were not going to bring about peace and justice, to which they committed themselves, by merely preaching. They were working, after all. In proposing the penitential life to their fellow laborers, they were organizing the worker population. The line in *Early Rule* XVII 3: "... all brothers are to preach by the way they work,"²³ promoted by deed the movement's view on things. As late as 1268, and not only in central Italy, as our quote allows, working men and women knew about the working brothers of yore and that is what they wished from the brothers of their day. They did not want morality from the pulpit. They needed clout in their politics.

Those who write on the early Franciscan years do not go into the social involvement of the brothers with the common people. They will stress the brothers' concerns with the needy but ignore the brothers' involvement with the working population. That is, they highlight the brothers' virtue but not the brothers' politics. Writers consider the history in which Francis and his brothers were engaged from the distance that soon existed between clerics in Franciscan cloth and the people. These clerics knew with great certitude that they knew better than people unschooled. I propose that we have to think the contrary as the case.

After a struggle far from smooth and natural, after wrenching the brotherhood apart, the clerics took over the Order. In their 1239 legislation, they put an end to the brothers' association with the working population by putting an end to brother workers. In 1242 Alexander of Hales and his learned associates subjected the Rule to a juridical gloss. When criticized, they waved their opponents aside as ignorant. With the gloss they succeeded in imposing on the Order a non-historical interpretation of the Rule. Put differently, they banished Francis's *recordatio* as the critical approach to the Rule. In 1260, in the

²³ This line has been poorly used. It has been cited as preaching by good example, that is, in accord with the reigning morality. That the brothers did not do. The line tells them to go about life in the political sense of Message 45-47.

prologue to the constitutions, Bonaventure of Bagnoregio threatened with punishment those who discussed the new rules. In 1268 the brother apologist admitted as a question why the Franciscans cozied up to the wealthy. He tried to explain.²⁴

²⁴ *Bonaventurae opera omnia* VIII, 352-53.

**DAVID OF AUGSBURG'S
COMMENTARY ON THE FRANCISCAN RULE:
MINORITE, MONASTIC OR MÉLANGE?**

MICHAEL CUSATO, O.F.M.

Of the all the medieval commentaries on the Franciscan Rule which have been published for the first time in English translation by Franciscan Institute Publications,¹ the commentary of David of Augsburg stands somewhat apart from the other five by virtue of its tone, content and audience. Indeed, it is probably the most accessible of the six, with perhaps the exception of the work of Angelo Clareno (who always seems to find himself in a group apart). This essay is an attempt to explain the distinctiveness of David's contribution to the genre of Franciscan commentaries on the Rule and to show how it reflects certain cultural trends within the Order of Friars Minor of its day.

David of Augsburg was a German friar who apparently lived the entirety of his life in Germanic territories. Born between the years 1200 and 1210 in Augsburg, it is certain that he died in 1272 in the same city. A preacher

¹ The commentaries will be published in three volumes: *Early Commentaries on the Rule of the Friars Minor*, Vol. 1, ed. David Flood (St. Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute Publications, 2014) [contains: The *Expositio of the Four Masters* (1241); the *Elucidatio of Hugh of Digne* (1252-55); the Commentary of John of Wales; and the *Expositio of David of Augsburg* (1264-1272). The remaining two volumes will contain: the *Determinationes of Pseudo-Bonaventure* (1260s?) often ascribed (in whole or in part) to John Pecham; the *Expositio of Peter of John Olivi* (late 1270s); and the *Expositio of Angelo Clareno* (1330s).

of some renown,² he was a spiritual writer of considerably more fame, writing both in Latin and in vernacular German.³ Indeed, he boasts a significant corpus of works which exerted an important influence on others both within as well as outside of the Order throughout the Middle Ages. He was particularly influential, for example, among the Brothers of the Common Life and not a few others interested in the dynamics of the spiritual life. But, it is precisely because of his spiritual depth, that David found himself asked several times to serve as novice master for new recruits to his province. It was in this latter capacity and undoubtedly because he was perceived to be a serious and spiritual person that he was obliged to come to grips with the specifics of the Rule that was professed by all the friars – the definitive *Regula bullata* (or Later Rule) of 1223 – as well as with the general constitutions of the Order⁴ and the papal declarations on the same Rule.⁵ His commentary thus evidences a lifetime of reflection upon the dictates, admonitions and challenges set out in the text of the Rule. Such reflection would soon bear fruit. For, as he tells us in the final paragraph of this commentary:

Seeing as I was often told by my superiors to read and explain the rule to our unlettered brothers and novices, I made a few simple notes for myself

² He was known to have occasionally accompanied the more famous Franciscan preacher, Berthold of Regensburg, on his preaching tours throughout Germany.

³ Twenty-four works (perhaps not all are authentic) are ascribed by tradition to David; only about half of them have been edited. Two excellent overviews in English of David's life and work can be found in: John V. Fleming, *An Introduction to the Franciscan Literature of the Middle Ages* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1977), 216-25; and Bernard McGinn, *The Flowering of Mysticism: Men and Women in the New Mysticism (1200-1350)* (The Presence of God 3) (New York: Crossroad Publishing: 1998), 113-16 (and the excellent notes, on 377-79, with all the relevant literature up to that time).

⁴ The Constitutions of Narbonne, approved at the General Chapter in that city in 1260.

⁵ Namely, the bulls *Quo elongati* (1230) and *Ordinem vestrum* (1245).

so that I would have them ready and not forget them. I did not do it for those who neither need nor care for my learning.⁶

These notes he then apparently brought together at some point near the end of his life, probably between 1264 and 1272,⁷ into an organized treatment of the content of all twelve chapters of the rule. The result was this commentary on the Rule of the Friars Minor.

A. Towards an Approach to the Commentary on the Rule

His Audience

The particular tone and content of the work has thus, in part, been shaped by the specific audiences he was addressing: initially, certain neophytes in the Franciscan way of life and then, when it came to redacting a cohesive written text, those friars in his province interested in living the Rule with integrity and fidelity and desiring to have some kind of concrete guide for doing so. As a result, the commentary purposely eschews the technical, legalistic terminology and sometimes abstruse argumentation which was generally the hallmark of the previous rule commentaries (i.e., Four Masters, Hugh of Digne and even Pseudo-Bonaventure/Pecham). David's writing, rather, is more direct and straightforward; it is concrete in such a way that the novice, the lay brother as well as the more seasoned friar could grasp the meaning of the Rule for his own life and the things to which he was obliged by virtue of his profession. David wrote, in other words, more like a pastor than a lawyer. In this way, he succeeded in communicating to his listeners and readers

⁶ David of Augsburg, *Commentary on the Rule*, ed. David Flood, in "Die Regelerklärung des David von Augsburg," *Franziskanische Studien* 75 (1993): 201-42, here at 239 [Engl. trans. 212].

⁷ In Chapter 11, David refers to the Poor Clares by their official title – the Order of Saint Clare – which came into usage thanks to Pope Urban IV only in 1263.

the essence of the Franciscan life as he saw it expressed in the Rule.

His Context

But there is second reason that this commentary seems somewhat different than the others. In many respects, the author was far removed – indeed worlds apart – from the more charged atmospheres in which the other six commentaries were all written. The commentary of the Four Masters, for example, is an explanation of Franciscan life written from the perspective of the clerics of Northern Europe (Paris and England, in particular) who had just engineered the deposition of Brother Elias of Cortona in 1239. Their work, in other words, is a conscious defense of their particular view – predominantly clerical – of minorite life against the more pervasively lay culture of Italian Franciscanism represented by Elias and his allies. Pseudo-Bonaventure/Pecham may well also reflect the defensive posture taken by the friars during from the mid-1250s through the early 1270s in the wake of the challenges to their life and ministry levelled against them in the Paris of the Seraphic Doctor and his disciples. Set in a very different context, the works of Hugh of Digne and, to an even greater extent, Peter Olivi, testify to a growing concern among certain friars in southern France to maintain an authentic and visible lifestyle of poverty in contrast to the society in which they lived (and in contrast to even some in their own Order). And Angelo Clareno, even more so, reflects the struggles of the zealots of poverty in central Italy but also of those – including himself – who had been persecuted in southern France following the Council of Vienne, but now being viewed through an apocalyptic historical lens.

David's commentary, by contrast, emerges neither from the contentious environment of Paris nor out of the controversies roiling southern France or central Italy but rather from Germany: a place relatively untouched by

these turbulent events and poisonous polemics. Hence, for this reason as well, his commentary appears relatively placid, untroubled and, therefore, at least to some observers, almost monastic in tone. Indeed, its concerns are almost entirely internal: that is, anchored in the life of the convent and concerned more with the interior spiritual journey of the friar than with defining minorite identity vis-à-vis a hostile world or hostile friars.

His Primary Interest

But is this particular tone and emphasis necessarily or exclusively monastic? Not at all: emphasis upon the spiritual journey or the interior life of a subject *could* connote monastic or eremitical concerns but it does not obligatorily connote *only* a monastic or eremitical orientation. But while David's commentary does share certain affinities with monastic milieus, it also (and more importantly) reflects a new orientation in the life and literary production of the Friars Minor – one which was becoming more predominant around the middle of the thirteenth century. As such, his work stands as an important signpost of a seminal development in Franciscan reflection. And it is this particular interest in the dynamics of the spiritual life which is what I would like to briefly explore in this essay.

This accent on the inner life of the friar is evidenced on the very first page of the commentary. The author opens his commentary with a prologue in which he explains to his readers the purpose of the Franciscan Order. In fact, there are three. First, it serves as *a port of salvation* for those seeking safe harbor from the wiles of the world without which they probably would not be saved. This is the point of entry for every new recruit to the fraternity. Second, it also functions as *a school for the study of the virtues* for those who would strive for a higher glory. And third, it aims to *build up the people of God* by preaching right doctrine, living exemplarily and assisting others

through their intercessory prayers. In this way, everyone within the Order, each according to his particular capacity, engages in and contributes to the apostolate of the Church.⁸

The focus of this third aim is thus external, emphasizing the mission of the Order in and for the world. But David addresses this aim explicitly in only one chapter – the ninth chapter on preaching: the only place where he spends any extended time on the external mission and apostolate of the friars.⁹ By contrast, our author dedicates most of the rest of his commentary explicating, either explicitly or implicitly, the first two aims of the Order: those inner attitudes and external behaviors which concern the spiritual life of the friars. The bulk of the commentary, in other words, concerns the spiritual health of the individual friar: the man seeking holiness of life and evangelical perfection within the safe shelter and virtuous school of the Franciscan Order. The lion's share of David's work is dedicated to explicating how these first two aims are to be realized within the embrace of the fraternity.

But the commentary's concentration on the holiness of the friar (and, by extension, of the whole fraternity) is a reflection not only of the specific audience for whom David is writing his commentary (the friars, young and old, of his own province) but of the relatively calm environment of German Franciscanism. It also bears the traces of an earlier, more elaborate work on the spiritual life which David had written for the brothers and for which he is now justly famous in religious history: the *De exterioris et interioris hominis compositione secundum triplicem statum incipientium, proficientium et perfectorum* (or, as it is sometimes called in shorthand: the *Profectus religiosorum*, "On the Spiritual Progress of Religious").¹⁰ This ma-

⁸ David of Augsburg, "Die Regelerklärung": 205 [Engl. trans., 166-67].

⁹ There is also a brief mention, at the very beginning of chapter 12, of the mission among the Saracens.

¹⁰ The Latin edition is: David of Augsburg, *De exterioris et interioris hominis compositione: secundum triplicem status incipientium, proficientium et perfectorum: libri tres* (Quaracchi: Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae,

jor treatise is divided into three books, the first of which – the *Liber primus* – is specifically oriented towards novices. Its particular subject is the *homo exterior*: the outer person. Book Two concerns the reform of the *homo interior* – the inner person – whereas the third and final Book is a treatise on spiritual progress, especially progress in the cultivation of the virtues. The Rule commentary, however, encompasses elements of all three books. For, even though his primary audience might have started out as novices and unlettered brothers, ultimately his reading of the content of the Rule – and its transposition into written form – will be valid and valuable for the life of all the friars.

Now, the primary concern of our author is the spiritual life, indeed the salvation, of the friar. That is why, in the prologue to his work, he lauds the first purpose of the Order as being a port of salvation. But what does an individual do once he has chosen the Friars Minor as his safe harbor? For David of Augsburg, the spiritual life is defined and summed up as a progression in the life of the virtues. Indeed, as we heard earlier, the Order is to serve as “a school encouraging the ardent study of the virtues.” This “school,” David writes, is meant to teach, for example, “poverty, humility, chastity, obedience, patience, both inner devotion and blameless prayer, and other virtues as well.” Moreover, “those who wish have, in the Order, abundant and better chances than elsewhere of planting those virtues [within themselves], if they work at it faithfully.”¹¹ And the proof is in the pudding: the Order can boast not only of several men who have been canonized by the Church as saints¹² but also many others

1899). The full title can be rendered into English as follows: “On the Form of the Outer and Inner Person according to the Three Stages of the Beginners, the More Experienced and the Perfected.”

¹¹ David of Augsburg, “Die Regelerklärung”: 205 [Engl. trans., 166].

¹² By the time of the death of David, Francis of Assisi (1228) and Anthony of Padua (1232). Extending beyond the First Order, one also wish to include Clare of Assisi (1255) as well.

whose holiness has been attested to through their miracles.¹³

Thus the whole commentary presupposes this fundamental starting point: that the Franciscan Order is the uniquely privileged environment for pursuing the path to perfection. For, while lauding other meritorious paths to God, David steadfastly asserts on several different occasions that the loftiest path of all is the one that lives in total and voluntary poverty. And only the pre-eminent virtue of poverty, he believes, serves as the remedy for all evils and vices harmful to the soul.

B. David's Examination of the *Later Rule* 10: Virtues and Vices in Franciscan Life.

Now, although the overall purpose of David's commentary on the Rule is to lay out for the friars the path to holiness by indicating which particular aspects of their life needed to be lived in fidelity, it is only in the tenth chapter of the Rule where we encounter an explicit and sustained exposition on the importance of the virtues in the life of the friar. The reason for this is two-fold. First, since the chapter deals with "the admonition and correction of the brothers," it offers David the perfect opportunity to comment on the vices and sins of the friars.¹⁴ And second, the tenth chapter, in fact, uses extensively and explicitly the language of vices and virtues in describing the potential impediments to holiness and the proper paths to follow. In short, the wording of this chapter of the Rule lends itself to a mini-treatise on the role of the virtues in the spiritual journey of the friars.

¹³ On a few examples of the saintly lives of a handful of friars in the years prior to the writing of David's Rule Commentary, see: Thomas of Pavia, *Dialogus de gestis sanctorum fratrum minorum*, ed. Ferdinand Delorme. Bibliotheca Franciscana Ascetica Medii Aevi 5 (Quaracchi: Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1923). The estimated date of this collection of vignettes is 1245.

¹⁴ David of Augsburg, "Die Regelerklärung": 232-36 [Engl. trans. 201-08].

Since, for David, the spiritual life is tightly linked to progress in the virtues and the avoidance of vices, a close examination of this chapter is in order.

The first six verses of the chapter treat the relationship of the minister to those friars under his care. Conversely, it likewise explores the relationship of the friars to their ministers, especially when they find themselves unable or unwilling to observe the Rule in all its purity. It is in the seventh verse that David's exposition on the virtues begins in earnest. He divides the next six verses of the Rule (vv. 7-12) into three separate sense units, giving the words of the Rule a meaning and emphasis which they may not have originally had. Nevertheless, what David finds within the text – when seen through the lens of religious psychology – is quite unique as well as fascinating. Since David hues very closely to the wording of the Rule, let's hear the text itself which he will then comment, starting with the first two units together:

And I also warn and exhort the brothers in the Lord Jesus Christ to beware of all pride, vainglory, envy, avarice and the care and concern for the things of this world, and of detraction and murmuring.¹⁵

This string of vices gives David the opportunity to lay out a whole array of behaviors which lead the friar away from a life of holiness. The single mention of the vice of *pride*, for example, elicits from David a mini-homily detailing a series of six different forms of pride and their associated behaviors: pride of the heart, of speech, of outward bearing, of dress and of explicit actions. Furthermore, just as there is worldly pride, he says, so too is there spiritual pride – pride in one's own religiosity – which craves praise from others for one's righteous actions. Such an attitude is merely a vice hiding under the cloak of virtue.¹⁶

¹⁵ LR 10, vv. 7a-b.

¹⁶ David of Augsburg, "Die Regelerklärung": 234 [Engl. trans. 204-05].

This latter vice then provides David with a perfect segue into *vainglory* – the daughter of pride – which hankers after public recognition. Next, the evocation of the vice of *envy* then takes us into slightly different territory: those attitudes and actions that set brother against brother and friar against neighbor, resentful of another's success or wealth, honor or fame, prosperity, etc. Related to envy but having a focus more on the desire of material or physical things is the vice of *avarice*. Similar to the statement made in the *Sacrum commercium*, avarice is depicted as the foe of voluntary poverty, panting after property, large buildings, books, utensils, food, clothing and all those temporal goods which one is tempted to gather to oneself without having any real need for them. This then ends the first unit of the *Later Rule* (v. 7a).¹⁷

The second (v. 7b) explores connections between the vices. David first turns to treat the phrase “the cares and concerns about of the world.” Such concerns occur, he says, when the friar begins to neglect the quiet concentration of the spirit of prayer and to busy himself unduly with promoting his and others' material welfare. Our author then extends his reflection:

This [neglect of prayer] leads to mental blindness in spiritual matters and distracts the mind so that, when it wants to center itself once more, it cannot; [instead it now] makes one shudder at the thought of the cell, of barren meditation, tasteless reading, the boring breviary, a muddled conscience, the bland convent table and, in general, the austerity of the disciplines of religious life. This [then] leads one to move about in search of the pleasing company of seculars, get-togethers, women friends and business – even when there is none. It estranges one from familiar acquaintance with God and often endangers one's salvation, especially for reli-

¹⁷ Ibid., 234 [Engl. trans., 205-06].

gious who ought to be serving God and have Him in mind above all, setting aside everything else.¹⁸

Estrangement from prayer, according to David, detaches the soul from its center, setting it adrift, restless and searching for something to fill it. After this, our author then moves from the friar himself to fraternal relations, exploring the dynamics of detraction and murmuring – which he sees as the fruit of a restless spirit – which spread disdain and sometimes even hatred between brothers, inflicting wounds where fraternal charity ought to be drawing the fraternity together.¹⁹

Having finished his commentary on these different but inter-related vices, David then moves onto a third unit. Citing once again the words of the Rule:

Let those who are unlettered not be anxious to learn letters, but let them remember that they must desire above all else to have the Spirit of the Lord and his holy operation, to pray always to Him with a pure heart ...²⁰

While this famous passage is usually interpreted as directed towards the lay brothers of the Order, David takes the commentary to a deeper level as he discourses on the effects of the desire for learning and its effects upon the soul of any friar. He writes:

Fervor of the mind neglects the study of virtue and devotion. For virtue and devotion is what must be learned above all else in religious life. Progress in merit consists in the purity of virtue and not in the amount of one's knowledge of letters.²¹

¹⁸ Ibid., 234-235 [Engl. trans., 206].

¹⁹ Ibid., 235 [Engl. trans., 206].

²⁰ Later Rule 10, vv. 7c-9a.

²¹ Ibid., 235 [Engl. trans, 206-07].

Rather, the friars – both the educated and uneducated – need to continually ground themselves in a mindfulness of God: to direct their thoughts to God at every hour, either in devout spoken prayer or in meditation.

And finally, our author comments on the concluding words of this tenth chapter of the *Later Rule*:

[And let them remember] ... to have humility and patience in persecution and infirmity, and to love those who persecute, rebuke and find fault with us ...²²

In classic monastic manner, David urges his brothers to think about themselves humbly, not finding others' disregard for them distasteful. All their actions – the way they dress, the way they carry themselves, the things they have ("those sumptuous and showy buildings with all the niceties which ought to make them blush with shame"): everything they have and do should demonstrate a humble lifestyle and demeanor.²³ From this comment on *humility*, David then segues into *patience in persecution*: when one suffers injury from another unjustly in things, in the body, in name, in honor, in [a lack of] friends or peace of mind. Moreover, they must also have *patience* when infirm in body: when pain and diminishing forces and the lack of necessities and embarrassment at being a burden to others wears down one's posture of patience. *Patience*, too, when others brazenly accuse the friars of not living the life they claim to profess. David claims: "We should love such people because through them we learn to be more humble, more careful [about our way of life], more patient and in real need of God's consolation within ... Strongest of all are those who, like the holy martyrs, have learned to bear for God all adversity with equanimity."²⁴ In other words, David's perspective on persecution has

²² LR 10, vv. 9b-10a.

²³ David of Augsburg, "Die Regelerklärung": 235-36 [Engl. trans., 207].

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 236 [Engl. trans., 207-08].

little to do with those trials suffered by the friars on the fringes of Christianity – on the far-flung frontiers to the north and east or among the Saracens – but rather with enemies closer to home, challenging the authenticity and legitimacy of the life of the friars. Again, in classic style, all must be borne interiorly for, in doing so, quoting both the Rule and the Scriptures: “*Blessed are those who suffer persecution for the sake of justice ... for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven.*”²⁵

C. Conclusion

David’s commentary on Chapter 10 of the definitive rule and his exposition of the virtues and vices clearly shows that we are a rather long way from the social content of the *Early Rule* and the original social posture adopted by the friars vis-à-vis the *minores* of their day. We have entered, rather, into a world of values which no longer has the same content or understanding as they did during the formative years of the early Franciscan fraternity. Initially, “the humility and poverty of our Lord Jesus Christ” was a social posture chosen by the friars so as to be in solidarity with the *minores* of their society because it was in conformity with the life of the poor and humble man of Nazareth. By the time of David of Augsburg, however, humility had been transformed into an interior virtue of the soul to be imitated and cultivated as the *habitus* of a truly holy man. The repetition of virtuous acts would engender within the faithful disciple virtuous attitudes and habits within which would then show themselves in virtuous actions without. Starting from a pre-conceived notion of the humility of Jesus (as an inner, existential, spiritual posture), the *imitatio* of this Christ would result in a similarly conformed Christian. There is merit in this; but it is not the same kind of *imitatio* or, better, the same *vestigia* of Jesus Christ as was social humility and socio-

²⁵ Ibid. [Engl. trans., 208].

economic poverty (that is, the *minoritas* of the early community).

However, this dramatic transformation from attentiveness to social location to that of virtue cultivation did not have to wait until the middle of the thirteenth century to make itself known in the Franciscan story. No, already during the Emergency Chapter of September 1220, the famous confrontation between Francis and his companions on the one side, and Hugolino and the new wave of clerics on the other, testifies to a significant change in the way that the spiritual life was already being viewed by some within the Order in contrast to the original understanding of what it meant to live *spiritualiter* and *carnaliter* in early thirteenth-century Assisi. Formed predominantly in the ecclesiastical milieu of the towns and imbued with the traditional religious categories of monastic literature, these newer recruits to the Order tended to view the spiritual journey, quite understandably, through the lens of these same classic monastic categories with its emphasis more upon the inner life of the spirit than the social life of the marketplace. Already by the mid-1220s, the Franciscan interpretation of the spiritual life had found itself at the crossroads.²⁶

And yet, did not Francis himself use this very language of vices and virtues in his admonitions about preaching, in his tenth chapter of the definitive Rule and especially in his prayer of praise known as the *Salutation of the Virtues*? Yes, he certainly did. In fact, there is a definite connection between what he states in reference to “the poverty and humility of our Lord Jesus,” on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the avarice and cares of the world in both the chapter of the Later Rule we have just studied and in the *Salutations of the Virtues*. But the concrete social understandings which Francis brought to these standard terms for the virtues (as evidenced by an exegesis of the *Early Rule*) is quite a bit different from the inte-

²⁶ See my further remarks on this theme in: Michael F. Cusato, “Social Action or Fraternal Presence: Medieval Franciscanism at the Crossroads (1220-1247),” *Franciscana* 15 (2013): 49-88.

rior, spiritual dispositions about which medieval authors trained in the monastic tradition waxed so eloquently in their writings and which theologians of the spiritual life – monastic, ecclesiastical or lay – integrated into their view of the journey into God.²⁷

David of Augsburg was very much imbued in this environment and culture. Unfortunately, we know nothing directly about his formation, before or even after he entered the Friars Minor. Perhaps more can be learned, in general, about the life of the friars in Germany during middle decades of the century. Nevertheless, what we do know for sure is that his great earlier treatise on the spiritual life – the *De exterioris et interioris hominis compositione* – is heavily dependent upon the classic work of the *Epistola de Monte Dei* of the twelfth-century Cistercian monk, William of St. Thierry. This influence testifies to the kind of spiritual culture which helped to shape our Franciscan writer: the classic works and concepts of monastic spiritual writing.²⁸

For, by the time that David was writing, the spiritual culture had become interested in exploring the dynamics of the interior journey or what might even be called spiritual theology (or even with some hesitation, religious psychology): that is, how the human spirit advances towards union with God through the interplay of its struggles against vice and its pursuit of virtue. Indeed, the finesse, subtlety and specificity of examples used by David in the tenth chapter of his Rule commentary are ample

²⁷ Indeed, a contemporary author like Krijn Pansters imposes just this kind of monastic reading onto Francis's writings which, however, require a much more historical (that is, social) contextualization of his use terms to understand their meaning. Cf. idem, *Franciscan Virtue: Spiritual Growth and the Virtues in Franciscan Literature and Instruction in the Thirteenth Century* (Studies in the History of Christian Traditions 161) (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

²⁸ On the important influence of Cistercian monastic writing upon David of Augsburg, see, for example: Jacques Heerinckx, "Theologia mystica in scriptis fratris David ab Augusta," *Antonianum* 8 (1933): 49-83 and 161-193; and, idem, "Influence de l'*Epistola ad fratres de Monte Dei* sur la composition de l'*Homme extérieur et intérieur* de David d'Augsbourg," *Études franciscaines* 45 (1933): 330-47.

testimony to a new sophistication about the dynamics of the inner life which was the hallmark of this friars' spiritual culture.

But David was not alone in this among the friars. For a full decade before the appearance of David's commentary on the Rule and perhaps roughly contemporary with his earlier work, *Profectus religiosorum*, the Seraphic Doctor, Bonaventure of Bagnoregio, had written one of his most striking spiritual works: the *De triplici via*. This work, of course, charts a similar course from the outer person to the inner person through a gradated spiritual path of the purgative, illuminative and unitive ways.²⁹

This is the primary reason why the Rule Commentary of David of Augsburg has a monastic feel to it: not because it had adopted a monastic spirituality for mendicant friars. Rather, David – like a number of other Franciscans intent upon exploring the inner dynamics of the spiritual journey – had been raised within a religious culture which prized these insights and adapted them to a minorite life which had become increasingly settled into established convents and progressively regulated by the established rhythms of religious life; while, at the same time, this same Order maintained its uniqueness and singularity with a poverty that had become materialized in its outer trappings and spiritualized in its inner identity, ministering out in the world as friars rather than cloistered in their convents as monks. The spirituality of virtue cultivation was classically monastic but it was now being understood in a new way and in a new generation as characteristically Franciscan.

²⁹ For an English translation of this spiritual classic, see: Bonaventure of Bagnoregio, "The Three-Fold Way: On Enkindling Love," in idem, *Writings on the Spiritual Life*, ed. F. Edward Coughlin, trans. Gerald Etzkorn (Works of St. Bonaventure 10) (St. Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute Publications, 2006), 89-133.

**PETER OF JOHN OLIVI
AND THE JOURNEY TO EMMAUS**

ROBERT J. KARRIS, O.F.M.

INTRODUCTION

This translation of Peter of John Olivi's interpretation of Emmaus (Luke 24:13-35) is based on my larger work in progress of providing an annotated translation of his extensive commentary on Luke's Gospel.¹ Those who want other English samples of Peter of John Olivi's interpretation of Luke's Gospel may profitably go to earlier issues of *The Cord*² and to my *Peter of John Olivi's Commentary on Luke's Gospel: Thirty Days of Reflection and Prayer*.³

Peter of John Olivi (d. 1298) spent most of his academic life in Franciscan study houses and tried to make his lectures memorable by numbering the points he was making. Seven seems to have been his favorite mnemonic

¹ See *Petri Iohannis Olivi, Lectura super Lucam et Lectura super Marcum*, ed. Fortunato Iozzelli, *Collatio Oliviana V* (Grottaferrata [Rome]: Editiones Collegii S. Bonaventurae ad Claras Aquas, 2010), 7-674.

² Robert J. Karris, "Peter of John Olivi on Luke 2:7," *The Cord* 60.4 (2010): 401-05; Robert J. Karris, "Peter of John Olivi on Luke 23:39-43," *The Cord* 60.4 (2010): 406-11; Robert J. Karris, "Peter of John Olivi's Commentary on Luke 2:42-51: Jesus' Getting Himself Lost in the Temple," *The Cord* 61.4 (2011): 382-97.

³ Robert J. Karris, *Peter of John Olivi's Commentary on Luke's Gospel: Thirty Days of Reflection and Prayer* (St. Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute Publications, 2013). See also my *Peter of John Olivi's Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles: Thirty Days of Reflection and Prayer* (St. Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute Publications, 2014).

device. See paragraph 2: "In this appearance there are seven circumstances."

He was also very much taken up with solving inconsistencies in the biblical text(s), as a close look at paragraphs 11-13 will indicate. He could not avoid trying to figure out historical places, times, and measurements. Thus in paragraph 3 he asks to what distance does "sixty stadia" actually refer? His answer is: "sixty stadia contain 7,500 paces,' that is, seven and a half milestones or about three and a half Gallican leagues." So this friar from southern France tries to enlighten his students by using their own measurement of a "Gallican league." For us Americans sixty stadia equal 6.8 miles. In the first paragraph readers might be impressed by Peter of John Olivi's citation of Venerable Bede and John Chrysostom. In reality he is doing what exegetes of his time did: they honored a predecessor or contemporary by "borrowing" their interpretations – without attribution. Believe it or not, he is citing from the *Catena Aurea* of the Dominican Thomas Aquinas.

Those readers who want a quick homiletic fix might charge on ahead to paragraph 28: "... it could be that Christ determined that he would not enter the disciples' house unless they offered compassionate hospitality to him as a poor person."

Readers who like to see how liturgical practices change over the years might enjoyably peruse paragraph 32. It seems that during Peter of John Olivi's time some priests were no longer breaking the bread at the Eucharist but using a knife to cut it into smooth and exact pieces. Peter asks whether this practice is biblical.

Some readers may want to skip Peter of John Olivi's interpretation of the literal sense and gallop forward to paragraph 41 and what he calls "the mystical interpretation." He writes: "the pattern and movement of this appearance describes the movement and pattern of contemplative action into God."

I conclude this brief Introduction by inviting all of us to sit at the feet of one of the greatest Franciscan exegetes

of the thirteenth century and to savor the insights of this great Franciscan contemplative.⁴

Luke 24:13-35: Christ appears to two disciples

1) Luke 24:13-14: “And behold two of them.” This is the first appearance narrated in this Gospel. About others that are mentioned, it is believed to be the fourth. The first one was to Mary of Magdala by herself.⁵ The second appearance was to her and other women.⁶ The third is believed to have been for Peter, and that appearance is inserted into the story of the appearance being treated here.⁷ Now Bede comments: “Among the men the Lord is understood to have appeared first to Peter.... This is what the ... evangelists and ... Paul state.”⁸ Chrysostom observes: “He first appeared to one who was more worthy and faithful than all the others. He had need of a most faithful soul to first receive this sight that this soul might be the least disturbed by the unexpected appearance. So, he appeared to Peter because he had first professed that he was the Christ. He also wanted to console Peter lest he despair because he had denied him.”⁹ In this appearance there is a twofold manner of appearing. First there is no distinct recognition of the person appearing. Further some erroneous opinion is mixed in. The second type of appearance has distinct recognition and is found in Luke

⁴ For another sampling of Peter of John Olivi’s “spiritual writings,” see *Spiritual Warfare and Six Other Spiritual Writings of Peter of John Olivi*, translation, introductions, and notes by Robert J. Karris (St. Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute Publications, 2012).

⁵ See John 20:14-18.

⁶ See Matt 28:9-10.

⁷ See Luke 24:34.

⁸ See *Corpus Christianorum Series Latinum* cxx, 417. Paul’s reference to Cephas may be found in 1 Cor 15:5. Hereafter CCSL will be used for the title of the series.

⁹ See *S. Thomae Aquinatis Catena Aurea in quatuor evangelia*, (Taurinus: Marietti, 1938), Vol. 2, 345 and *Catena Aurea: Commentary on the Four Gospels Collected out of the Works of the Fathers* (London: Saint Austin Press, 1999), Vol. 3, 781. Peter of John Olivi quotes both Bede and Chrysostom from Thomas Aquinas and abbreviates both citations which follow one another in this instance.

24:30: “And it came to pass as he was reclining at table with them.”

2) In this appearance there are seven circumstances. The first consists of the number, journey, and conversation of those to whom Jesus appears. The text states the number as two, that is, of the disciples to whom the women had related what they had seen and heard. Their journey was taking place on “that very day,” namely, the day of Christ’s resurrection and of the events earlier narrated. “They were going to a walled town.” Mark 16:12 states that they were journeying to a “village.” These different terms for their destination are not contradictory since according to Augustine “a walled town could be called a village.” He also says that “in the Greek codices it is called a farm rather than a village. The term ‘farm’ refers not only to villages, but it was also customarily used to refer to free towns and colonies beyond the city, which is the head and mother of all the rest.”¹⁰

3) Luke 24:13: “Which was a distance of sixty stadia from Jerusalem.” Bede comments: “A stadion is one eighth of a milestone, and therefore, sixty stadia contain 7,500 paces,” that is, seven and a half milestones¹¹ or about three and a half Gallican leagues. There can be a literal reason why distances are more frequently measured by stadia than by milestones or leagues. Perhaps at that time daily travel times were more commonly measured by stadia. Thus John 6:19 measures how far the apostles had rowed from the shore in stadia.¹² Likewise John 11:18 indicates that Bethany was a distance of fifteen stadia from Jerusalem. In Revelation 14:20 states that “blood

¹⁰ See *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 43, Bk 3, ch. 25, 71 and *Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers*, First Series, Vol. 6, 217. The citation of Peter of John Olivi is not verbatim. Hereafter CSEL and NPNF will be used for the series titles.

¹¹ See CCSL cxx, 413. See also Works of St. Bonaventure VIII/3, 2204 for the same quotation from Bede. Sixty stadia are roughly 6.8 miles.

¹² See John 6:19: “But after they had rowed some twenty-five or thirty stadia ...”

flowed from the wine press for 1,600 stadia.” Further, Revelation 21:16 says that “the measure of the city was 12,000 stadia.” Sometimes in the Sacred Scriptures you will find that the distance to be traveled within one day is measured in stadia or cubits or in reeds – that measure six cubits as in Ezekiel 41:8. Acts 1:12 says that the distance between the Mount of Olives, where Christ ascended, to Jerusalem was “a Sabbath day’s journey,” that is, according to Bede, one milestone “since according to the law it was not allowed on the Sabbath to travel more than 1,000 paces.”¹³ Leviticus 35:3-4 says that “the suburbs of the cities of the Levites shall extend from the walls of the city for 1,000 paces.”¹⁴

4) “Named Emmaus.” Bede comments: “This is Nicopolis, a chief city of Palestine.”¹⁵ About this city Jerome states in his Letter which is called *The Epitaphium of St. Paula*: “At Nicopolis, which was first called Emmaus, where the Lord was recognized, she dedicated the house of Cleophas into a church.”¹⁶ Some say that in Greek Emmaus is necessarily composed of three syllables since between a and u there is a diphthong so that it is pronounced Em-ay-us.”

5) Their conversation was not about gossip or secular matters or idle concerns. Rather “they were talking” with one another “about all these things that had happened,” namely, the things concerning Christ.

6) Luke 24:15. The second circumstance is Christ’s visible drawing near to them and joining them on their journey. The text reads: “And it came to pass while they talking with one another,” that is, while they were conversing, “and arguing together,” namely, they were asking themselves and were in doubt about what the women had related to them. “And Jesus himself drew near

¹³ See CCSL cxxi, 9.

¹⁴ The citation is actually from Numbers 35:3-4.

¹⁵ See CCSL cxx, 414 and *Catena Aurea*, Vol. 2, 342.

¹⁶ See *Patrologiae Cursus Completus Series Latina* 22:883. Hereafter PL will be used for the title of the series.

and went along with them.” The text states “drew near” lest he be seen like a spirit to have come up suddenly and appeared to them. So he first positions himself a little behind them, approaches them, and then joins them.

7) Luke 24:16-18. The third circumstance is that they don’t recognize him. This is suggested by two considerations. The first is suggested by the words, “but their eyes were held that they should not recognize him.” So their visual sight or the judgment based on that sight was held by something. This holding could happen in many ways, especially if “being held” stands here for some impediment since in many ways vision may be prevented from fully comprehending and distinguishing the personal properties of an object. “Being held,” properly speaking, signifies some impression that prevents or ties up visual sight and the judgment based on it. Through this impression one could not freely and completely turn to the conditions of the person being seen. Again it can happen to a free agent with regard to one object only with the result that he freely and without error sees other objects, but not this one.

8) The second consideration stems from the way Christ conducts himself towards them in speaking and how he presents himself. He spoke to them as if he were addressing strangers and as if he had no idea about what they were speaking. At the same time he was compassionate with their sorrow which they not only expressed through their hearts, but also on their faces and in their words and gestures. Thus the text has: “What words are these that you are exchanging as you walk and are sad?” It is good that the text mentions sadness to show that they were in need of comforting. Further they merited to be comforted because they were saddened by Christ’s death. He also presented himself to them in the kind of clothing he wore and in what he was doing. From this they could judge that he was a pilgrim and poor, but to be respected. And so they talk with him as if he were a pilgrim. So Cleophas, who seems to have had a house in Emmaus according to

Jerome's opinion cited earlier, said to him: "Are you the only pilgrim in Jerusalem ...?" From this question it seems that Christ seemed to them to have come from Jerusalem on the same day as they themselves. The sense is: The things that happened with regard to Christ in Jerusalem three days ago are so widespread and well known that even pilgrims who were there at that time or went there subsequently could not be ignorant of them.

9) Luke 24:19-21a. The fourth circumstance consists of their response and has two points. The first is how they respond to the stranger and pilgrim, tell him about what happened to Christ in Jerusalem, and what they were talking about on the way. Into this mix comes Christ's question: "What things?" That is, what happened there during these days? In all this he still gives the dominant impression that he doesn't know what happened. The second is how their response encapsulates in a general way Christ's entire life and all his great deeds. They first touch upon his person, namely, Jesus of Nazareth. This could mean: You have not known what happened to Jesus of Nazareth. Or it could refer to what they were talking about: We were speaking of Jesus of Nazareth, etc. Second they treat his ministry and dignity: "Who was a prophet." Third they present his teaching and works: "He was mighty in works" of miracles and holiness "and words," namely, he presented divine teaching "before God and all the people." That is, all this really and manifestly happened and thus had to be accepted by God and human beings. Fourth they mention his passion and death with the words "and how they delivered him up." Fifth they add the redemption that the elect had hoped he would bring: "But we were hoping." These words indicate that they were not now so full of hope as they had been. "That it was he who would redeem," that is, who would liberate, "Israel," namely, from all the evils and oppressions by which it is beset. They say this specifically about the people Israel since he had most principally been promised to this people. Sixth they state his resurrection, not indeed

stating that it was true, but only indicating that it had been related and that there were doubts. They mention three things.

10) Luke 24:21b. First concerns the day on which, at least according to what he had promised, he should rise from the dead. So they declare: “And now beyond all this, today is the third day since these things came to pass,” namely, since his condemnation and crucifixion. They specify the third day either because they are simply narrating the sequence of events or because, as it was said earlier, he had often said that he would be raised up “on the third day.”¹⁷ Since they did not realize that this was clearly true because of his presence among them, they were in deepest consternation. So they said “besides all this,” namely, his crucifixion and the redemption they had previously hoped in and now were almost despairing about. They were being led deeper into despair because they did not see that he had been raised up on this “third day” or because they had heard from the women that angels had said: “Remember how he spoke that he must be crucified and on the third day rise.”¹⁸ These words had awakened some hope in them, but they had abandoned it because it was “the third day.”

11) Luke 24:22-23. The second matter the disciples raise is what they had heard from the women. The text adds: “And moreover, certain women of our company,” that is, of our community, “astounded us,” that is, they were struck with astonishment. They were at the tomb “before it was light,” that is, before the dawn of clear day. They were saying “they had also seen a vision of angels.” From this it is clear that before Peter and John ran to the tomb, the women had seen the angels and had related this to the apostles. A little later the text mentions that some of the apostolic community had gone to the tomb because of this news and “found it just as the women

¹⁷ See Luke 9:22; 13:32; 18:33; 24:7.

¹⁸ This is an abbreviation of Luke 24:6-7.

had said.” And so I believe that what Luke had narrated earlier correctly preserves the order of what happened.

12) Furthermore, if the announcement about the vision of angels, which these two disciples mention to Christ here, had occurred after the women had seen Christ, then how much more would they have recounted it since John 20:18 states that after Mary had seen Christ, “she went to the disciples and said: I have seen the Lord, and he said these things to me.” And Mark 16:9-11 says the same thing. And so Augustine’s way of harmonizing these accounts,¹⁹ which I held to be more probable in my commentaries on John and Matthew, I now hold to be less probable in this matter.²⁰ I believe that these women, before they had seen Christ, announced to the apostles that they had seen angels. This is what was mentioned earlier in Luke 24. Afterwards, they again saw the angels as Matthew 28:5-8 and John 20:11-13 state. Then Christ appeared to Mary by herself. Further, on the way while they were returning from the tomb, he was seen by many women. They once again announced this to the apostles.²¹ However, before this announcement Peter and John went to the tomb, as John 20:3-10 describes.

13) However, Mark 16:8 states: “The women departed from the tomb and said nothing to anyone.” This means that before they returned to the apostles, they told no one whom they met on the road or in the vicinity of the tomb. How should this be understood since it is obvious that the text says that fear was the reason why “they said nothing to anyone.” It can probably be said that Mark,

¹⁹ See Bk 3, ch. 24, n. 69 in NPNF, First Series, Vol. 6, 213-14.

²⁰ On 653 note the critical edition refers to *Lectura super Iohannem*, c. 20, 1-10 (cod. V, f. 258) and *Lectura super Matthaeum*, c. 28, 1-8 (cod. F, f. 104va-105vb).

²¹ See John 20:14-18; Matt 28:8-10; Mark 16:9-11; Luke 24:10-11. Matt 28:8-10 is very clear: “And the women departed quickly from the tomb in fear and great joy and ran to tell Jesus’ disciples. And behold, Jesus met them and said: Hail. And they came up and embraced his feet and worshipped him. Then Jesus said to them: Do not be afraid. Go, tell my brothers that they are to set out for Galilee. There they will see me.”

in saying that “they said nothing to anyone,” wanted to suggest that the women did not immediately after their first entry into the tomb run to the disciples to announce what they had heard from the angel who was sitting on the stone that had been rolled back on the right. Although Matthew says that after this entry and exit the women ran to the disciples, nevertheless before their trip to the disciples they re-entered the tomb to inspect Christ’s burial place. And since at that time they did not find the body of the Lord Jesus, they were downtrodden and sad, as Luke narrates in 24:3-5. Then “two men,” that is, angels, asked them: “Why are you seeking the living among the dead?” After this second entry into the tomb they went out and ran to the disciples and told them what they had twice now, in their twofold entry into the tomb or garden, heard from the angels. Now after this, the aforementioned women again went to the tomb. At this time Christ was seen by Magdalene. Then she and the other women ran to the disciples. On the way Christ encountered them and said: “Hail,” as Matthew 28:9 narrates. This manner of handling the inconsistencies in the resurrection appearances to the women is more probable than all other explanations that I have touched on here or in other places.

14) Luke 24:24. The third thing that the two disciples told Christ is that Peter and John went to the tomb and confirmed what the women had said, namely, that the tomb was open and that they saw his burial clothing, but did not see him. So the text continues: “And some of our company went to the tomb,” that is, Peter and John, as John 20:3 narrates. For his part Luke in 24:12 mentions Peter only since he was the most important figure and the evangelist wanted to treat this point very briefly.

15) Note that all the foregoing are reduced to three, namely, to Christ’s life of suffering, his abhorrent death, and the glory of his resurrection. To these three everything believed about Christ can be reduced. Moreover, if we sing

the praises of any saint, we speak either of their virtuous life or their holy death or their glory.

16) Luke 24:25-27. The fifth circumstance of this appearance is the instruction that Christ gives the disciples. His instruction is threefold. He rebukes. He asserts. He proves by exposition of Scripture. His rebuke was necessary to dispel their sin of incredulity. Thus the text states: "O foolish ones," that is, because of your ignorance and erroneous thought. "Slow," that is, because of your sinful difficulty of directing your affections and intellect to believe. The first is against the light of wisdom which is possessed by perfect faith. The second is against a lively ease and agility which is manifested in the act of faith. The text states that they were "slow," not in body, but in their heart, that is, in their affections and intellect, "to believe in all that the prophets have spoken," namely, about me and my passion and resurrection. The text says "in all" rather than "all," to intimate that he was speaking about the principal objects of faith, towards which, as to an ultimate goal, faith and love tend. In these one has to remain as in principal objects and as in a home.

17) Their assertion leads to a deepening of the truth of their faith. So the text continues: "Did not the Christ have to suffer these things," etc. that is, the things that you have just spoken about. "He had to," I maintain, because of the firmness of divine predestination and the truth spoken by the prophets. Also because he had to pay the price of your redemption. Further, because he gave you an example for your formation in the faith. Through this example you will come to glory as you suffer and die for God's sake and in God. In addition, because of the mystery of your justification, in which you must die to sin so that you may enter into the form and life of justice according to what the Apostle states in Romans 4:25: "He was handed over for our sins and rose for our justification."

18) The explanation and the proof of the truth just asserted lead to its firmer confirmation and its clearer and more complete understanding. Thus the text continues: “And beginning with Moses,” that is, the five books of Moses “and all the prophets,” that is, the prophetic books that follow Moses, “he interpreted for them the things in all the Scriptures that referred to him.” That is, he expounded and explained the internal meaning of the words. If “these things” is taken to be the feminine gender, then the sense is that he is showing in all the Scriptures what has been predicted about Christ’s passion and resurrection.²² He is demonstrating what these Scriptures say specifically about him. Although all the Scriptures in some final reduction refer “to him,” all of them cannot be construed to directly refer to his passion and resurrection. However, if “these things” are taken to be neuter, then the sense is that whatever was said about him, he will explain that to them “in all the Scriptures.”

19) Sometimes interpretation is taken to mean that one interprets the idiom of one language by means of another as 1 Corinthians 14:13 says: “Let him who speaks in a tongue pray that it may be interpreted,” namely, that the tongue, which is unknown to the people, be interpreted in a language known to them. For an instance of an interpretation of truly hidden meaning of words or visions take Daniel 2:1-45 where the king asks for an interpretation of his dream and Daniel provides him with one. Or take Daniel 5:1-28 where Balthasar asks for the interpretation of the writing made by the angel’s hand. Or take Daniel 8:27 where Daniel says: “I was astonished at the vision, and there was none to interpret it.” Take also Hebrews 5:11 where the Apostle says of Christ: “On this point we have much to say, and it is difficult to explain it,” that is, it is not easy to explain or state its meaning because of your dullness and unbelief. So the text continues: “Because you have grown dull of hearing,” that is, to believe and understand.

²² In Latin “suffering” and “resurrection” are feminine nouns.

20) There is a threefold reason why Luke did not give the specifics of the Scripture texts interpreted by Christ. First is that it was not the evangelists' intention to write down all the sayings and deeds of Christ, and especially those which would have required much space to develop. Therefore, they provided many summary narratives or hinted at developments. The second reason is that Christ, in interpreting the Scriptures for them, had to condescend to their ignorance and lack of sophistication. Therefore, he had many things to say to them, but they would not have greatly understood his magnificent wisdom. The third reason is that the evangelist is more intent here on laying the foundation for Christ's resurrection from what they have seen of him than in specifying particular Scriptures. These Scriptures could be found out in other ways, especially through interpreting the prophetic books. But the facts that they were narrating in a historical manner, could not be found out in other historical narratives, at least not authentically.

21) Now if you're swept away by curiosity to know what Scripture texts of the Law and the Prophets could point to him, your curiosity could be satisfied in four ways. First from the Law he showed them that Christ had to be sacrificed, namely, through the sacrifice of Isaac,²³ and the immolation of the Paschal Lamb,²⁴ and all the sacrifices of the Old Testament and transformed into the heavenly flame of glory, just as the sacrifices of the Law were transformed by the fire sent from heaven.²⁵

22) Second he perhaps showed them that Christ was the greatest prophet promised in the Law. He was predicted to be like Moses. In Deuteronomy 18:18 it is said: "I will raise up for them a prophet like you." It is

²³ See Gen 22.

²⁴ See Ex 12:1-11.

²⁵ See Lev 9:24: "and behold a fire, coming forth from the Lord, devoured the holocaust." See the story of Elijah and the prophets of Baal in 1Kings 18:38: "Then the fire of the Lord fell and consumed the holocaust ..."

certain that Moses was a person capable of suffering and experiencing death.

23) Third he could show them that Christ was the descendant promised to Abraham, in whom all nations would be blessed,²⁶ had to be capable of suffering as the flesh of Abraham. It would be meaningless if he could suffer, but not die. To this prophecy could be added the prophecy Jacob made about the whelp Judah: "He shall wash his garment in wine and in the blood of the grape."²⁷ A little earlier in Genesis 49:9 it was stated: "To the prey, my son, you have gone up," namely, through the cross. "Resting, you have couched like a lion," that is, in the tomb according to the body, and according to the soul in the lower regions. "Who will rouse him?," namely, God the Father and he himself.

24) Fourth he could explore with them the fact that every person is conceived in sin and that because of this had to sin or not fully fulfill God's commandments. For this reason God's justice required that human beings not be saved without fitting satisfaction. Since humans could not offer this satisfaction, Christ was promised to them as a redeemer. And then he could point out to them the angel and the pillar of the cloud²⁸ and the parting of the Red Sea, redeeming the people from the iron furnace of Egypt.²⁹ About this angel God, in Exodus 23:21 says: "my name is in him." So from the words of the Psalmist and Isaiah and all of the prophets he could refer to many and very clear statements about himself. Which Catholic or anyone slightly educated is ignorant of these?

25) Luke 24:28. The sixth circumstance is Christ's dissimulation, for as they were drawing near to Emmaus,

²⁶ Cf. Gen 22:18: "And in your descent shall all the nations of the earth be blessed because you have obeyed me."

²⁷ See Gen 49:9: "Judah is a lion's whelp." See also Gen 49:11.

²⁸ See Ex 14:19: "And the angel of God, who went before the camp of Israel ... and together with the pillar of the cloud ..."

²⁹ See Deut 4:20: "But the Lord took you and brought you out of the iron furnace of Egypt to make you his people of inheritance ..."

“he acted as if he were going on.” Indeed, his action is called a pretense since in his gait he pretended that he was going to another destination. And so he seems to signify something other than the intention he has in mind. We call such action a pretense or simulation. You should realize that this pretense was and could be without any indecency or sin. Note that when the pretense has in itself and from itself a false signification and when it proceeds from a fallacious and deceitful or vain or avaricious intention, then it is indecent and illicit. However, when it lacks these elements, but rather is their opposite, as having an elevated and useful truth in its signification or having the highest sincerity and piety in its intention. Further the one performing this pretense possesses the highest authority and other suitable circumstances in this action. Then he is acting in a most decent manner. Further, the persons who are subjected to this pretense are wondrously pleased when its meaning afterwards is made clear to them. And this happened in many of the deeds of the prophets that presaged the future and sometimes also in their prodigious works. And this is the case I am making.³⁰

28) Now if you ask why Christ acted as if he wanted to go farther, the reason is threefold. The first reason is that he did not want to appear to them to be pushy or nasty by asking for lodging and food from them. In this he is giving the poor a model that they not present themselves in a nasty way. The second reason is that, through their invitation, they might become worthy to receive him and the full revelation of who he is. It follows that it could be that Christ determined that he would not enter their house unless they offered compassionate hospitality to him as a poor person. And if they offered him hospitality, then his simulation would have less of a component of pretense. The third reason is because a mystery and an

³⁰ I skip paragraphs 26-27 about the philosophical justification of Christ's pretense as not being fallacious, sinful, and distasteful. See *Lectura super Lucam*, 658-59.

example are involved. The example is that through the works of mercy we arrive at a fuller and more intimate knowledge of God and his wisdom. The mystery aspect of this event can be adapted in many ways. At the end of this treatment of the literal sense we will spend some time on this consideration.³¹

29) The seventh circumstance is how the two disciples strongly urged and almost compelled Christ to stay with them: “They urged him saying: ‘stay with us,’” that is, to eat and then to lie down, “because it is getting to be evening, and the day is far spent,” namely, the sun has almost set. These disciples may well have left Jerusalem early in the morning. This seems to be the case from what has already been mentioned. The reason is that it was in the morning when “Peter ran to the tomb,” as is clear from John 20:1-3. And these disciples seem to have left before Mary, returning to the tomb, had said to the disciples: “I have seen the Lord.”³² If all this is correct, then how did these two disciples travel the seven miles towards Emmaus and first arrive when it was dusk?

30) One could argue that they were so wrapped up and delighted in what Jesus was saying that they lost track of any progress they were making on their journey. From the aforementioned details one is compelled to figure that they were not a great distance from Jerusalem when Christ approached them. The reason is this. Otherwise they could not have with any certainty determined that Christ had come from Jerusalem. They were pretty certain of this because they asked him: “Are you the only stranger in Jerusalem who does not know the things that have happened there in these days?” Thus the timetable and meaning of this verse may be that these disciples, as very good hosts, took evening in a very wide meaning so that their offer might be more attractive to the stranger.

³¹ For another way of arranging the insights of paragraphs 28 and 31 see *Peter of John Olivi's Commentary on Luke's Gospel: Thirty Days of Reflection and Prayer*, 66-67.

³² John 20:18.

Thus after they had recognized him in the breaking of the bread, they could on the same day return to Jerusalem. So it came about that they were back in Jerusalem that evening. It is pretty clear that there would not be much twilight remaining.

31) Luke 24:30 reads: "And it came to pass when he reclined at table with them." The two disciples did not recognize Christ when he first appeared to them. Now they do. There are seven points. First Christ's actions of blessing, breaking, and giving bread to his disciples predispose them to recognize him. He is acting in an authoritative way as he assumes the role of host in their house. He is acting in an intimate way as if they were family. During Christ's ministry they had already experienced his customary way of blessing, breaking, and handing over bread. In that ministry Christ's desire was to cure the sick by touching them with his hand [although the mere touch was not the efficient cause of the cure]. In this way those cured might more readily understand that they were being cured by his power. That same healing power is present here as he uses his hands to give them bread and thereby open their eyes. In this way they understand from his touch that it is by his power that their eyes have been opened.

32) Now some maintain that at that time he broke the bread and did not use a knife. Further if he had cut the bread with a knife, the sacred text says nothing about this. Moreover, it does not seem likely to me since Christ most carefully avoided any semblance of ostentation in his miracles. This is clear and can be easily learned from what has been said earlier and often about his miracles. It is always said in the Gospels that when Christ performed a miracle, it was because of the piety, devout prayer, faith or something similar on the part of those seeking the miracle. But to cut bread into exact and smooth pieces as sometimes happens with a knife, this very much seems to me to smack of ostentation unless some reason or rational circumstance would remove all trace of ostentatious

fanfare. Furthermore it is more likely that he broke the bread as he generally and customarily did. It is not to be believed that earlier his general and customary practice was to break bread for them with his hands and that later he abandoned that practice and sliced the bread with a knife. If he engaged in the latter practice, it is miraculous that none of the evangelists hints at this practice.

33) Luke 24:31a: “And their eyes were opened.” This is the second point and deals with the illumination of the disciples. If the holding of their eyes, mentioned above in verse 16, was some impression made on their eyes, now the opening of their eyes was the removal of that impression and the concomitant ability of the eyes to see clearly. On the other hand, if the “holding” occurred through other impediments, then the removal of these impediments is called the opening of the eyes.

34) Again note that the opening of their eyes can be interpreted here as the unloosing of some power or affection or evaluation connected to the eyes. It would be like what is stated in Genesis 3:7 where it is said that the eyes of Adam and Eve were opened. In this interpretation the holding of the eyes of the two disciples was due to an impediment to their common sense and interior ability to evaluate and correctly judge and discern the identity of the person who had joined them on the road. So it is not necessary to maintain that their external eyes are now seeing something in Christ that they have not previously seen. Rather their interior faculty of judgment is now discerning, advertent to, and judging something in Christ that they had not previously discerned. If one maintains that the opening of their eyes was occasioned by their correctly seeing something, then they were seeing some visible circumstance in Christ which they had not seen previously. The result of this interior vision of discernment and comprehension was that they now judged that this person was Christ.

35) Luke 24:31b: The third point is Christ's sudden departure: "He vanished from their sight." But why did he vanish so quickly? Without mentioning mystical reasons, seven reasons can be proffered. The first reason is that they might more firmly recognize him since the miracle of his sudden disappearance together with the miracle of their tardy and sudden recognition of him amazed them. It also showed them that he could appear to be someone else. The second reason is that he might leave for them and impress upon them the highest desire to see him and a greater estimation of and appreciation for an appearance in which they recognize him – at least partially and for a while. The third reason is that they might more deeply recognize that they were unworthy of such an intimate appearance. The fourth reason is found in what follows in the text. Soon after Christ's disappearance they return to Jerusalem and tell the other disciples all that they had seen and heard. Thus they are together with them and again and frequently see the risen Christ with joy.³³ The fifth reason is that they might acknowledge the spiritual agility and power of the glorified body and learn from that experience that the blessed in their glorified body can suddenly appear and disappear and do so as often, when, and how they want. The sixth reason is that the minds and senses of the disciples were still mostly on the material and animal level and would have interpreted the bodily vision of Christ as something material and animal if he appeared to them too often. Therefore during the forty days dedicated to his appearance he did not always appear to them. Furthermore sometimes he quickly departed from them. But at other times he tarried with them, so that they might be more fully certain of his resurrection and relate to him with greater familiarity and trust. The seventh reason is that he might more deeply lead and elevate them to the state of eternal glory, a state that is incomprehensible and super-mundane. Moreover

³³ See Luke 24:36-49.

he is also leading them from the state of this life which is too external and distant.

36) Luke 24:32. The fourth point stems from their aforementioned recognition and Christ's disappearance. It deals with all that had happened to them as they recall these matters, more fully comprehend them, and are moved by them. The text states: "And they said to one another: Were not our hearts burning within us while he was speaking on the road and explaining to us the Scripture" that is, their sense and meaning. They are arguing that even before they recognized him, they knew that there was something more. Their hearts had been inflamed by the divine love which they experienced and felt from his words even before they recognized him. Therefore, they could testify that it was he and not somebody else. They were also saying that they were astonished that they did not recognize him when their hearts were burning ardently as he opened the Scriptures for them. It was as if a person would marvel that she is seeing the sun at mid-day and is feeling its heat, but does not recognize that it is the sun.

37) Luke 24:33a. The fifth point is their rousing themselves to get on the road again and the completion of their journey as the text states: "And rising up that very hour, they returned to Jerusalem." It is obvious from this text that they had eaten nothing at home.

38) Luke 24:33b-34. The sixth point is that upon the disciples' return to Jerusalem to tell of Christ's appearance to them they are greeted with the solemn announcement of yet another appearance: "... they found the Eleven gathered together and those who were with them. They were saying: The Lord has risen indeed and has appeared to Simon," that is, to Peter. Although they had heard of Christ's appearance to Mary and another made to her and other women,³⁴ they highlight the appearance made to Peter since they regarded his testimony to be

³⁴ See Matt 28:9-10; Mark 16:9; John 20:14-17.

more certain and of a higher order. The reasons are: the testimony of a man is generally preferred to that of a woman; a man would not believe flimsy evidence and is more circumspect and insightful in discerning those appearances that are false and fantastic than a woman; among all the disciples Peter was clearly at that time one whose faith was constant, and he was of clear judgment, penetrating intellect, and possessed supreme authority.³⁵

39) And why does the text say that this was said by everyone when John 20:24-25 states that Thomas, one of the Eleven, would not believe in the aforementioned appearance to Peter. Further Luke 24:41 says: "But as they still disbelieved ..." There is a twofold response to this quandary. First off, Scripture has a way of using synecdoche whereby a part is taken to refer to the whole. In this understanding it is not necessary that all said that "the Lord has risen," but that some from their group said this. The second response is that all said this with a modicum of doubt, for as Luke 24:38 states: "Why do doubts arise in your hearts?" Sometimes doubt came upon them very quickly and powerfully and gave them scruples. At other times their doubt was almost total. Their experience was like that we sometimes have in our spiritual and carnal temptations when we are often confronted with actions and sensations contrary to the virtues.

40) Luke 24:35. The seventh point is the jubilation of all the disciples as the two provided collaborative evidence and narrated how the Lord had appeared to them: "And they themselves began to relate what had happened on their journey and how they had recognized him in the breaking of the bread," that is, while he was breaking the bread.

41) Here is the mystical interpretation. The pattern and movement of this appearance describes the

³⁵ One notices that Peter of John Olivi is subject to the view of women that dominated his era.

movement and pattern of contemplative action into God. Straightaway its primary foundation is set forth and has six characteristics. The first one is the mutual harmony of love since there are “two.” The second is the profession of the status of being disciples of Christ because they are “of/from them,” that is, from among Christ’s disciples. Third is the fitting time for contemplation, for it is “on that very day,” that is, on the day of Christ’s resurrection and the vision of the angels and their announcement. The reason is that before Christ’s resurrection the door of heaven was not so open to see God. The fourth is the approach to the desire for safe counsel and to the fervent strength to travel along the way since “they were traveling to a village named Emmaus.” “Emmaus” means desire for counsel or traveling.³⁶ Those who want to approach God in contemplation must possess the desire and zeal for spiritual counsel or meditation. Further this desire must fervently move forward to taste heavenly matters. Moreover it should be so strong and safe and well fortified that it can fittingly be called a fortified village.³⁷ The fifth is that the approach itself be extended in a fitting space and emanating from the seat of contemplation and divine worship, namely, “from Jerusalem,” which is the vision of peace³⁸ and which was at that time the seat of divine worship. Now the distance was “sixty stadia” or seven and a half milestones. Now those who are devoted to and zealous for the counsel of holy prayer and meditation do not arrive at the fortified village unless they have experiential knowledge of the divine law imparted in the Decalogue and of the six days of divine creation. Richard treats these matters.³⁹ Besides the Law there are six

³⁶ See Hugh of St. Cher, 224b.

³⁷ The Latin is “castrum,” which in the context of the story of Luke 24:13-35 is usually translated as “village.” Its basic meaning is “a fortified place.”

³⁸ See CCSL lxxii, 121.

³⁹ See *Beniamin maior*, Book 1, ch. 6 (PL 196:70-72). See Book II, ch. 6 of *The Mystical Ark* or *Beniamin maior* in *Richard of St Victor, The Twelve Patriarchs, The Mystical Ark, Book Three of the Trinity*, translation and introduction by Grover A. Zinn (New York: Paulist Press,

times ten, that is, sixty. It is necessary that each part of this sixty is an eighth just as a stadium is. The result is that in each part the light and glory of the resurrection shines forth. This took place on the eighth day and after the seventh age and almost consummated after the seventh day.⁴⁰ Besides it is beneficial that the number eight is not an imperfect number, but is a millennial number because a perfect part must be characteristic of the perfect. Therefore, it is well that this distance has seven milestones. The reason is that the understanding of the divine perfection that is shining in the seven ages of the world is necessary for divine considerations. Further half of the eighth milestone is necessary, that is, a half enjoyment of the blessed resurrection indicated by the eighth milestone. Don't think that this distance is completed unless the appearance and contemplation themselves accompany it. Further the intention and effort to get going and to accomplish the journey pertains to the aforesaid foundation of contemplation. The sixth point is the actual exercise of the interplay between devotion and devout understanding, during which one especially correlates past, present, and future. Thus, Luke 24:14 states: "they were talking to each other about all the things that had happened." They were asking themselves such things as if they were engaged in meditation.

1979), 181-83. This chapter deals with both divine and human laws and regulations.

⁴⁰ The view of world and church history that Peter of John Olivi presupposes is given clear expression in Section 2 n. 1 of Bonaventure's *Breviloquium*. See *Breviloquium*, introduction, translation and notes by Dominic V. Monti, Works of Saint Bonaventure IX (St. Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute Publications, 2005), 8: "Sacred Scripture ... considers the world's course through three times: the time of the law of nature, that of the written law, and that of grace. Within these three times, it also distinguishes six ages: the first from Adam to Noah, the second from Noah to Abraham, the third from Abraham to David, the fourth from David to the Babylonian exile, the fifth from the exile to Christ, the sixth from Christ until the end of the world; the seventh, which runs concurrently with the sixth, commences with the repose of Jesus in the tomb, and lasts until the general resurrection, which marks the beginning of the eighth." Hereafter WSB will be used for the series title.

42) Thus the text indicates the process of contemplation which begins with internal means. First it commences under a form that seems to be moving forward. The reasons are that it is moving along the way of sensible impressions. After the extrinsic sensible impressions Christ's humanity appears. With respect to its relationship to the divine it, too seems, to be moving forward. The reason is found in what Paul says in 2 Corinthians 3:⁴¹ "While we are in the body, we are moving away from the Lord."⁴² 2 Corinthians continues: "We walk by faith, and not by sight."⁴³ Paul also states in 1 Corinthians 13:12: "We see now through a mirror, in an obscure way."

43) In this commencement three things are lined up in order. First he excites the mind to more fully remember and ruminate on the prior conversations about God. By doing this, he most fully opens the gates of sorrow which is manifest in their conversation and vigorous walking away from Jerusalem. They lack the clear light of the truth. Second he fully engages in their conversation. He chides them for the darkness of foolish ignorance, introduces a ray of truth with the unlocking of the Scriptures and the divine works contained in them, and inflames their hearts. Third "he acted as though he were going farther," that is, as if he wanted to take flight away from these mental processes.

44) Now the mind stands at the midpoint of the journey since the mind now begins to more strenuously draw him by prayers and considerations and almost force him to enter his house as a cherished guest and appropriately seat him at dinner. And this is the struggle of Jacob with God to the point that he was blessed and saw his face.⁴⁴

⁴¹ The exact reference is 2 Cor 5:6.

⁴² Throughout this paragraph Peter of John Olivi is playing on the meanings of the word *peregrinus/peregrinare* ("pilgrim /stranger/ traveler; to travel about/to be absent from"). *Peregrinatio* means "pilgrimage."

⁴³ 2 Cor 5:7.

⁴⁴ See Gen 32:24-30, esp. 32:29-30: "... and he blessed him ... and Jacob called the name of the place Phaul, saying: I have seen God face to face ..."

The text adds a reason to most powerfully induce God to remain, because, as he was about to go ahead, the day was very far spent⁴⁵ and the day of his enlightenment was very rapidly ending just as dusk removes the light.

45) The end of the journey first occurs when he enters their house, sits at table and thereby shows his familial, peaceful, and intimate familiarity with them. Then praising the bread of wisdom, he breaks it, that is, he breaks it down into its various distinctions and thereby opens his internal workings with his distinctions and presents himself to be eaten, that is, he imprints himself on the taste buds and taste-worthy virtues of the mind. And then all figures are abandoned, and truth begins to be intellectually recognized, and, as it were, in its own form. He quickly disappears so that he might rise on high and re-ascend and leave human beings to themselves. And then it all goes resolutely back to the first principle, from which all contemplation has gone out with its foundation, namely, to God as the principle of all grace and to the heavenly Jerusalem, which is our Mother and even to the intimate bosom and seat of the mind. In this setting it finds a multitude of recollections of witnesses to the truth, and collation and correlation of the witnesses takes place, each one enriching the other. This leads to the fullest appearance as will be narrated below. Pay attention to how every perfect illumination forms a circle since it is not perfect unless it is perfectly led back to the primal origin from which it issues.

46) From an allegorical perspective this passage describes the whole process of the illumination of the people of God from the beginning of the age until its end. Thus in the beginning there were few elect, and if we were to speak literally, there were only two, Adam and Eve. Then there was a new reason for a great hope for the human race which, in sadness, was engaged in pondering its situation. In this sadness the work for the reparation of fallen humanity commenced for there was talk of the

⁴⁵ See Luke 24:29.

drawing near of Jesus, that is, the Savior. From that time, although in very vague figures, Jesus appeared to eyes that were still half-closed and bleary-eyed. Now there were sixty stadia, that is, sixty Patriarchs from the time of the Creation till the angel of the great counsel⁴⁶ and till the virginal fortress in which the counsel of our redemption was fabricated through divine wisdom. Each stadium represents a single generation. Thus from Adam to Joseph, the spouse of the Virgin, there were sixty Patriarchs, excluding the three that Matthew does.

47) In the intermediate time the scriptures from Moses and the prophets provided illumination. Concerning Christ's coming there was singular blindness in the synagogue and in the world. When the day of the coming illumination had just about arrived, it still seemed that it was moving farther away.⁴⁷ This was true especially of the Jews who thought that Christ's coming was still further delayed. But Christ, because of the insistence of the holy Patriarchs and because life was totally lacking unless he came, was coerced to enter into the virginal fortress, and thus the desired counselor came.⁴⁸ So since he had broken the bread of his humanity through his passion and death and had appeared to the holy Patriarchs in Limbo and to the disciples in this world, he immediately departed from the world and ascended into heaven. Because of this the Church of the elect is depicted by the seven milestones, that is, through the seven Ecclesiastical times indicated by the seven appearances of the signs described in the Apocalypse. So the Church returns to its first origin and does so in a twofold manner.

48) First, so that from the fullness of the Gentiles it may return to the Israelite people, from whom Christ disappeared when he ascended and from whom the faith of

⁴⁶ The reference is vague.

⁴⁷ There is a reference to Luke 24:28: "He acted as if he were going farther."

⁴⁸ The reference seems to be Isa 9:6: "... and his name shall be called: Wonderful, Counsellor ..."

the Gentiles primordially originated.⁴⁹ Then in Jerusalem one will find apostolic life and the elect multitude of the disciples, shouting praises for Christ's truth and glory in a voice incomparably more powerful than before. This will occur especially since the apostolic designate in Peter and his apostolic seat will shine on all with the singular light of Christ. And then again Christ will appear marvelously and most joyfully in the Spirit, so that all will be amazed at the joy of it all.

49) Then again from the perspective of another trope of the mystery, after the most concise repetition of the seven periods of time, it will return to the origin of creation and grace, that is, to the essence of the one creating and justifying and to the heavenly Jerusalem, through which in the divine hierarchy all grace is administered in our sub-celestial hierarchy. And there they will literally find that all the holy Patriarchs are acclaiming with beatific beams of light and words "The Lord has truly risen,"⁵⁰ and "has appeared to Peter" before anyone else. Thus he has appeared to the highest angelic and ecclesiastical hierarchy designated in Peter. While they were speaking with one another, the light of divine majesty came near as a super-appearance, so that according to the Apostle "God may be all in all."⁵¹

⁴⁹ This paragraph alludes to one of the cardinal points of Peter of John Olivi's eschatological theology, that is, the Jews will be converted at the end. Like St. Bonaventure before him, he based his interpretation on Rom 11:25-26: "For I would not, brothers and sisters, have you ignorant of this mystery, lest you should be wise in your own conceits, that a partial blindness only has befallen Israel until the full number of the Gentiles should enter, and thus all Israel should be saved."

⁵⁰ See Luke 24:34.

⁵¹ See 1 Cor 15:28. The influence of Ps-Dionysius in this passage is evident.

INDEX TO THE CORD – 2013

ARTICLES BY AUTHOR

- Benson, Joshua, *“Hold back nothing of yourselves for yourselves ...,”* Jan/March, 63.1: 27-35.
- Brown, Benjamin, *Reflections on St. Francis and the Nature of Research,* Apr/June, 63.2: 154-62.
- Cirino, André, *Litany of Saint Marianne Cope,* Jan/March, 63.1: 73-74.
- Delio, Ilia, O.S.F., *Franciscan Life in Evolution,* Oct/Dec, 63.4: 334-50.
- Dyczek, Chris, O.F.M., *The Franciscan Question from Ozanam to Sabatier,* Apr/June, 63.2: 136-53.
- Glaser, Teresine, O.S.F., *“I am Obligated to Administer the Words of My Lord”: The Longer Version of Francis of Assisi’s Letter to the Faithful,* Apr/June, 63.2: 107-19.
- Glaser, Teresine, O.S.F., *“I have done what is mine; may Christ teach you what is yours.” Francis of Assisi (2 Cel: 214),* Jan/March, 63.1: 5-26.
- Hammel, Laura, O.S.C., *How Is Our Rule a Model of Transformation for Us,* July/Sept, 63.3: 291-96.
- Hughes, Barnabas, O.F.M., *Jesus of Nazareth: Meditations on His Life from The Writings of Saint Anthony of Padua,* Oct/Dec, 63.4: 405-23.
- Jagdfeld, Lawrence, O.F.M., *Franciscans and the Sick and Disabled,* July/Sept, 63.3: 249-55.
- Johnson, Timothy J., *The Apocalypse in St. Augustine: Christopher Columbus, Religion, and the New World,* July/Sept, 63.3: 209-33.
- Jordan, Brian, O.F.M., *Franciscans: Whether we are ordained or lay, we are all brothers!,* Jan/March, 63.1: 61-66.
- Jordan, Brian, O.F.M., *Father Sixtus O’Connor,*

- O.F.M., *Chaplain at Nuremberg*, July/Sept, 63.3: 256-67.
- Karris, Robert J., *Contemporary and Medieval Insights into the Parable of the Prodigal Son (Luke 15:11-32)*, July/Sept, 63.3: 268-73.
- Messa, Pietro, O.F.M., *Francis of Assisi, a man of peace shaped by the liturgy*, Jan/March, 63.1: 36-44.
- Moore, Jean, F.S.P.A., *A Process for Integrating Franciscan Values into Life*, July/Sept, 63.3: 234-48.
- Murray, Russel, O.F.M., *Get a Life! The Franciscan Tradition and the Education of a Lifetime*, Jan/March, 63.1: 45-60.
- Murray, Russel, O.F.M., *"In the footsteps of our Lord, Jesus Christ ..." Foundations of a Franciscan Anthropology for Ecumenical and Interfaith Dialogue*, Oct/Dec, 63.4: 351-73.
- Richey, Lance B., *Brother Elias: Patron Saint of Business Leaders?*, Apr/June, 63.2: 163-71.
- Spiess, O.F.S., *St. Elizabeth of Hungary: Penitential Contemplation and Action*, Oct/Dec, 63.4: 385-404.
- Stachura, John, *The Devil and the Friar*, July/Sept, 63.3: 274-90.
- Stewart, Robert, O.F.M., *Learning to Walk the Pilgrim Path*, Jan/March, 63.1: 67-72.
- Stewart, Robert, O.F.M., *Franciscan Mysticism*, Apr/June, 63.2: 120-35.
- Warner, Keith Douglass, O.F.M., *Social Praxis in Light of Christogenesis: Franciscan Wisdom for an Evolutionary World*, Oct/Dec, 63.4: 313-32.
- Wirba, Gloria, T.S.S.F., *The Challenge of Being an African Religious Woman Today*, Apr/June, 63.2: 172-81.

The Cord, 64.4 (2014)

Zerra, Luke D., *Duns Scotus: The Boogiemans of Modernity? A Response to John Milbank on the Univocity of Being*, Oct/Dec, 63.4: 374-84.

Stewart, Mary Esther, *Meet Our Brother Bonaventure: Reflections on The Journey into God* (Phoenix, AZ: Tau Publishing, 2012).

BOOK REVIEW

Cirino, André and Josef Raischl, *St. Bonaventure's Journey into God* (Phoenix, AZ: Tau Publishing, 2012).

Vauchez, André, *Francis of Assisi The Life and Afterlife of a Medieval Saint* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012).

POETRY

Field Sean L., *The Rules of Isabelle of Francis: An English Translation with Introductory Study* (St. Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute Publications, 2013).

LePage, Bradley, T.O.R., *Creator of All Good Things*, Oct/Dec, 63.4: 333.

SUBJECT INDEX

Gangloff, Mary Francis, O.S.F., *The Life and Legacy of Saint Marianne Cope, O.S.F.* (Phoenix, AZ: Tau Publishing, 2013).

McBride, Alfred, O. Praem., *Holding Jesus: Reflections on Mary the Mother of God*, (Cincinnati, OH: Franciscan Media, 2012).

Apocalypse

In St. Augustine, July/Sept, 63.3: 209-17.

Medieval views, July/Sept, 63.3: 217-23.

Christopher Columbus, July/Sept, 63.3: 223-28.

Brother Elias

Patron saint of business leaders, Apr/June, 63.2: 163-71.

Chaucer, Geoffrey

The Friar's Tale, July/
Sept, 63.3: 274-90.

Christogenesis

And social praxis, Oct/
Dec, 63.4: 313-27.

Francis of Assisi

And the Church, Jan/
March, 63.1: 42-44.

And scripture, Apr/
June, 63.2: 111-13.

And the nature of re-
search, Apr/June,
63.2: 154-62.

Early life, Jan/March,
63.1: 5-7.

Education of, Jan/
March, 63.1: 46-50.

Rebuilding the Church,
Jan/March, 63.1:
9-17.

Shaped by the Liturgy,
Jan/March, 63.1:
36-42.

Franciscan Anthropology

And ecumenical and
interfaith dialogue,
Oct/Dec, 63.4: 351-
73.

Franciscan Life

In evolution, Oct/Dec,
63.4: 34-39.

Chardin's contribution,
Oct/De, 63.4: 340-
46.

Franciscan Mysticism

And care for creation,
Apr/June, 63.2:
133-34.

And love, Apr/June,
63.2: 131-32.

And mystery, Apr/
June, 63.2: 120-21.

Christ-centered, Apr/
June, 63.2: 128-31.

Eucharistic, Apr/June,
63.2: 122-24.

Incarnational, Apr/
June, 63.2: 121-22.

Franciscan Partnerships

For social praxis, Oct/
Dec, 63.4: 327-32.

Franciscan Question

Apr/June, 63.2:136-43.

Franciscan Tradition

At Siena College, Jan/
March, 63.1: 53-60.

Of education, Jan/
March, 63.1: 50-53.

Franciscan Values

Integrating into life,
July/Sept, 63.3:
234-48.

Franciscan Wisdom

And Christogenesis,
Oct/Dec, 63.4: 315-
19.

Franciscans

All brothers, Jan/
March, 63.1: 61-66.
And the Sick and Dis-
abled, July/Sept,
63.3: 249-55.

Frederic Ozanam

On freedom and proph-
ecy, Apr/June, 63.2:
143-51.

Jesus of Nazareth

And the writings of An-
thony of Padua, Oct/
Dec, 63.4: 405-23.

John Duns Scotus

A response to John
Milbank, Oct/Dec,
63.4: 374-84.
The Univocity of Being,
Oct/Dec, 63.4: 375-
76.

Letter to the Faithful

Longer version, Apr/
June, 63.2: 107-19.

**Parable of the Prodigal
Son**

Contemporary and
medieval insights,
July/Sept, 63.3:
268-73.

Pilgrims

The path of, Jan/
March, 63.1: 67-72.

Poor Clares

The Form of Life, July/
Sept, 63.3: 291-96.

Primacy of Christ

Oct/Dec, 63.4: 339-40.

Religious Women

The Challenge in Afri-
ca, Apr/June, 63.2:
172-81.

Saint Marianne Cope

Litany of, Jan/March,
63.1: 73-74.

Sixtus O'Connor, O.F.M.

Chaplain at Nurem-
berg, July/Sept,
63.3: 256-67.

St. Elizabeth of Hungary

Penitential contempla-
tion and action, Oct/
Dec, 63.4: 385-404.

Thomas Aquinas

And the analogy of Be-
ing, Oct/Dec, 63.4:
376-78.

Transitus

Address 2012, Jan/
March, 63.1: 27-35.

INDEX TO THE CORD – 2014

ARTICLES BY AUTHOR

- Arsenault, Fred, O.F.S., *Graymoor's Father Paul Wattson on Franciscan Poverty*, July/Sept, 64.3: 273-89.
- Cirino, André, O.F.M., *Pope John XXIII, Saint!*, Apr/June, 64.2: 159-64.
- Cusato, Michael, O.F.M., *The Fortunes of Poverty: Minor(ite) Musings on a Medieval Matter*, Apr/June, 64.2: 109-28.
- Cusato, Michael, O.F.M., *David of Augsburg's Commentary on the Franciscan Rule: Minorite, Monastic or Mélange?*, Oct/Dec, 64.4: 331-46.
- Dyczek, Chris, O.F.M., *How Franciscans Notice Creation and Salvation*, Jan/March, 64.1: 70-88.
- Dyczek, Chris, O.F.M., *St. Francis's Words and His Followers' Teachings*, Apr/June, 64.2: 129-48.
- Dyczek, Chris, O.F.M., *Assisi and Frederic Ozanam*, July/Sept, 64.3: 243-58.
- Flood, David, O.F.M., *Francis of Assisi and the Eucharist in Context*, Jan/March, 64.1: 53-61.
- Flood, David, O.F.M., *The Early Franciscan Penitents*, Oct/Dec, 64.4: 313-30.
- Glaser, Teresine, O.S.F., *Divine and Human Embrace: Living in the Mystery of the Incarnation*, Jan/March, 64.1: 30-52.
- Havercamp, Michael, A., *The Jesuit and the Friar: Pope Francis and the Enduring Legacy of the Franciscan Spiritual Tradition*, Apr/June, 64.2: 178-92.
- Hughes, Barnabas, O.F.M., *Jesus of Nazareth: Meditations on His Life from The Writings of Saint Anthony of Padua*, Jan/March, 64.1: 5-29.

The Cord, 64.4 (2014)

Jordan, Brian, O.F.M.,
*Preaching Influences of
Anthony of Padua*, Apr/
June, 64.2: 149-58.

*Reweaving a Franciscan
Spirituality on Earth*,
July/Sept, 64.3: 217-
230.

Karris, Robert J., O.F.M.,
*Peter of John Olivi on
the Journey to Emmaus*,
Oct/Dec, 64.4: 347-71.

Welle, Jason, O.F.M., *Do
We Have an App for
That?*, Apr/June, 64.2:
165-77.

Miller, Ramona, O.S.F.,
Group Transformation,
July/Sept, 64.3: 231-
42.

BOOK REVIEWS

Scotto, Dominic F., T.O.R.,
*Saint Francis of Assisi:
Liturgical Reformer of
the Middle Ages*, Jan/
March, 64.1: 62-69.

F. Edward Coughlin,
O.F.M., *Enkindling
Love: The Spiritual Jour-
ney of St. Francis ac-
cording to Bonaventure*
(NowYouKnow Media).

Scotto, Dominic F., T.O.R.,
*The Liturgy: Teacher
and Guide of St. Fran-
cis of Assisi*, Oct/Dec,
64.4: 305-12.

Daniel Horan, O.F.M., *The
Last Words of Jesus: A
Meditation on Love and
Suffering* (Cincinnati,
OH: Franciscan Media,
2013).

Tortorelli, Kevin, O.F.M.,
*Renewing the Church:
The Franciscan Charism,
The Challenge of Pope
Francis, Our Task as
Secular Franciscans*,
July/Sept, 64.3: 259-
72.

Joan Mueller, O.S.C., *St.
Clare: A Short Biogra-
phy* (Cincinnati, OH:
Franciscan Media,
2013), Jan/March 64.1:
89-92.

Warner, Keith Douglass,
O.F.M., *Creation, Cos-
mology, Contemplation:*

Rohr, Richard, O.F.M. and
John Bookser Feister,
*The Radical Grace Daily
Meditations* (Cincinnati,

OH: St. Anthony Messenger Press, 1995).

POETRY

Murray Bodo, O.F.M., *St. Clare's Well*, Apr/June 64.2: 198.

Murray Bodo, O.F.M., *Saint Francis and the Bird*, Apr/June, 64.2: 198.

Chet Corey, *Clare's Treasure*, Apr/June, 64.2: 199.

The Embrace, Apr/June, 64.2: 200.

Stones of the Coast of Ancona, Apr/June, 64.2: 200

Meditation on a Monastery's Chapel Bells, Apr/June, 64.2: 201-02.

Dancing Francis, Apr/June, 64.2: 202-03.

Benedicta Dega, F.S.S.J., *Lady Clare*, Apr/June, 64.2: 197

SUBJECT INDEX

Admonitions

Form a bond, Apr/June, 64.2: 131-33.

Contemplation

And spirituality, July/Sept, 64.3: 228-30.

Cosmology

And spirituality, July/Sept, 64.3: 224-27.

Creation

And spirituality, July/Sept, 64.3: 219-24.

David of Augsburg

Commentary on The Rule, Oct/Dec, 64.4: 331-46.

Context of his interpretation, Oct/Dec, 64.4: 334-38.

Early Rule

Primacy of, Apr/June, 64.2: 113-14.

And the life of the early fraternity, Oct/Dec, 64.4: 113-30.

Evangelization

New, July/Sept, 64.3: 263-70.

Francis of Assisi

And the Eucharist, 64.1 Jan/March, 53-61.

And the Liturgy, Oct/Dec, 64.4: 305-12.

And work, Oct/Dec, 64.4: 319-21.

Liturgical reformer,
64.1 Jan/March,
62-69.
His intentions, Apr/
June 64.2: 145-48.

Franciscan

Inclusiveness, Oct/Dec,
64.4: 324-27.
Penitential life, Oct/
Dec, 64.4: 320-25
Spirituality, Apr/June
64.2: 189-92.
Reweaving, July/Sept
64.3: 217-30.
Social elements of life,
Oct/Dec, 64.4: 328-
30.
Virtues and vices, Oct/
Dec, 64.4: 338-43.

Franciscans

And creation, Jan/
March, 64.1: 70-88.
And right relations,
Jan/March, 64.1:
73-75.
Secular and renewing
the Church, July/
Sept, 64.3: 259-72.

Frederic Ozanam

And Assisi, July/Sept,
64.3: 243-58.

Graymoor

And the Society of the
Atonement, July/
Sept, 64.3: 273-89.

Group Transformation

July/Sept, 64.3: 231-
42.

Haecceitas

Dignity of the Human
Person, 64.1 Jan/
March, 37-46.

Incarnation

In the Franciscan Tra-
dition, 64.1 Jan/
March, 33-36.

Jesus

As an adult, 64.1 Jan/
March, 5-23.
Suffers, dies and rises,
64.1, Jan/Mar, 23-
27.

Mutuality

With God, 64.1 Jan/
March, 46-49.

Peter of John Olivi

Emmaus story, Oct/
Dec, 64.4: 347-71.

Poverty

In the Early Francis-
can Movement, Apr/
June 64.2: 111-12.
Money and Ownership
of Property, Apr/
June 64.2: 114-17.

In the Second Generation of Friars Minor,
Apr/June 64.2: 119.

And the Clerical Mentality, Apr/June 64.2:
119-24.

In the Third Order, Secular and Regular,
Apr/June 64.2: 125-28.

Father Paul Wattson and poverty, July/Sept, 64.3: 273-89.

St. Anthony of Padua

And Mary, 64.1 Jan/March, 28-29.

Sources of his preaching, Apr/June 64.2:
150-58.

Themes

Spiritually Blind Christians, Apr/June 64.2: 133-37.

Joy and the Resurrection, Apr/June 64.2:
138-40.

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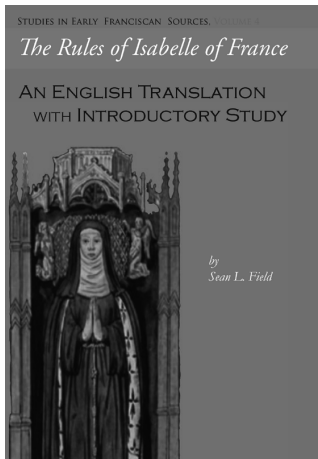




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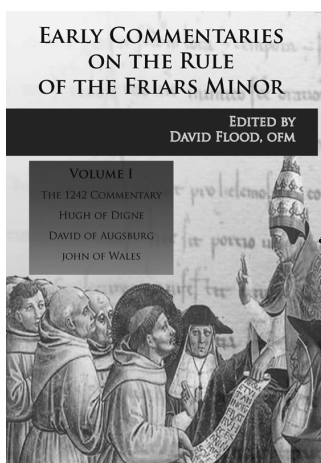
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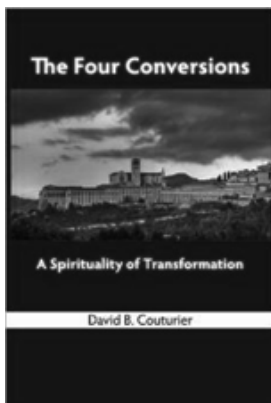
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Feb. 18 – 20: *From Ashes to a Garland (Is 61: 3)*

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